

Teachers' professional judgement when recontextualising Indonesia's official curriculum to their contexts

Uswatun Qoyyimah^{a*}, Parlo Singh^b, Catherine Doherty^c and Beryl Exley^d

^a *Universitas Pesantren Tinggi Darul Ulum (Unipdu), Indonesia;* ^b *Griffith University, Australia;* ^c *University of Glassgow, UK;* ^d *Griffith University, Australia;*

email: uswatunqoyyimah@fbs.unipdu.ac.id

^aUswatun Qoyyimah works as a senior lecturer and researcher in English Language Teacher Education Department, Universitas Pesantren Tinggi Darul Ulum (Unipdu), Indonesia. Her research areas are language teaching, teacher professionalism, and curriculum development and implementation.

^bParlo Singh is a Professor (Sociology of Education), School of Education and Professional Studies, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia. She has been working in the area of educational policy, cultural identity, and teacher professionalism for over 20 years and has led many large scale research projects in this field.

^cCatherine Doherty is currently a professor of Pedagogy and Social Justice at the University of Glasgow. As a sociologist of education, her research has addressed different sectors and settings to pursue questions around curricular markets, pedagogic design, classroom morality and geographic mobility

^dBeryl Exley is a Professor of Education with the School of Education and Professional Studies at Griffith University in Australia. She recently co-edited with Vitale 'Pedagogic Rights and Democratic Education: Bernsteinian explorations of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment', published by Routledge in 2016. She adopts a socio-cultural perspective for her work in English Curriculum and Literacies Education. Exley serves as National President of the Australian Literacy Educators' Association

Teachers' professional judgement when enacting Indonesia's official curriculum in their contexts

This paper examines how a new policy was enacted by teachers with different working conditions in Indonesia. The concept of curriculum enactment and an elaborated theoretical perspective for understanding teachers' professional judgement are presented to reveal whether teachers from different school sectors encounter dilemmas in curriculum reform and whether they display consistency in their patterns of resolving those dilemmas. The data reported in this study were obtained from transcripts of interviews and fieldnotes of classroom observations with nine teachers from state and private secondary schools in Indonesia. The results suggest that the two groups of teachers experienced different dilemmas and developed different resolutions. The paper concludes that the resolutions adopted by teachers reflected their attempts to 'act for the best'.

Keywords: curriculum enactment, curriculum reform, dilemmatic space, recontextualisation, professional judgement

Introduction

An educational context that is dynamic has consequences for teachers' work. Teachers inevitably experience tensions, especially when they must continually implement government policy reforms in their classes to meet prescribed standards (Kelchtermans 2013). They must consider issues such as the best way to implement a particular curriculum and identify which approaches are more or less appropriate for their students. In classroom life, the manner in which teachers respond to a new curriculum will have pedagogical significance.

The complexities of teachers' work in responding a new educational policy have prompted scholars to propose theories regarding teachers' dilemmas in curriculum enactment (see Harrison 2001; Cumming 2009; Tan and Wong 2012; Tronsmo 2018).

In this paper, theories on curriculum enactment and theories of dilemmas are explored to illustrate how teachers with different working conditions responded to a new policy. This theoretical lens is applied in an empirical study of how recent curricular reforms in Indonesia, particularly the introduction of character education, was enacted by teachers situated in differently resourced sectors and how these teachers understand and navigate the dilemmas created by this new policy.

Policy context: Character education policy in Indonesia

This empirical study aimed to understand how Indonesia's government policies on character education (CE) was enacted by teachers in different contexts. CE is an explicit attempt to teach values to students (Walker, Roberts, and Kristjánsson 2015; Winton 2010; Lickona 1996; Halsted and Taylor 2000; Qoyyimah 2016), and it refers to the effort to instil important core values such as honesty, fairness and respect for self and others. The Indonesian government introduced the CE curriculum in 2013 with the aim of addressing and preventing societal problems such as corruption, criminality, and internal conflicts in schooling.

The Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) declared CE policy to be a crucial part of the national curriculum because it could promote national character building (Nuh 2011). The values stipulated in Indonesia's CE, such as honesty, respect, religiosity, patriotism, democracy, care, responsibility, and social awareness, must not only be embedded in religious or citizenship discourses but also be promoted through other subjects (Nuh 2011). Under the CE policy, all school-level educators are required to infuse and reflect these values in the school's vision, course learning objectives, and classroom activities; insert the stipulated values into teachers' lesson documents (lesson plans); model values through class activities; and assess whether students have internalised the values being taught (Kemendiknas 2011).

This 2013 CE policy was introduced within the frame of school-based curriculum in which school and teachers are given more freedom about which values to prioritise (Hadi 2015). Within this curriculum framing, the educational board provided a general outline of this policy but allowed school principals and teachers to work together to enact a policy appropriate to their context and to determine the values to prioritise. Hence, in addition to providing a whole-school initiative to integrate the CE policy into schools' vision and course learning objectives, the CE policy was intended to change teachers' classroom activities.

In terms of control over policy implementation, Indonesian Government Regulation Number 74 of 2008 on official supervision was established to ensure that educational policies, including CE policy, are enacted by schools and teachers. In doing so, registered supervision teams randomly visit targeted schools (Hariri, Monypenny, and Pridaux 2012) both to ensure that CE values have been integrated into schools' vision and learning objectives and to assess whether teachers have prepared lesson plans to provide meaningful instruction in accordance with Indonesia's educational policies (Haris, Naway, Pulukadang, Takeshita, and Ancho 2018). Previous studies conducted in Indonesia (such as Lukum 2013; Haris et al. 2018) indicated that although supervision essentially aims to enhance the quality of education and to implement the curriculum in the classroom, schools and teachers have a different perception. Teachers were afraid to be supervised since 'classroom and school visits done by school supervisors are viewed as formal, scary activities' (Haris et al. 2018, 370) and the assessment reported to the local education office of MOEC could determine the performance level of schools and teachers.

Indonesian teachers are expected to implement this change. The CE policy has increased teachers' responsibilities for not only developing teaching materials related to

each subject but also introducing specific values through classroom activities. This study explores the experience of English language (EL) teachers who worked in various settings when they enacted the CE policy. Analysing data generated from teachers of the same subject enabled the study to make a reasonable comparison of teachers' recontextualisation. Although other studies on reform implementation have described teachers' experiences and dilemmas in policy enactment (see Kannen and Acker 2008; Lappalainen 2006), research on both the dilemmas and the decisions of teachers working in different sectors when enacting a new curriculum is lacking. Therefore, this study contributes to filling this gap and extending theory in this field of study.

Theorising curriculum enactment

Any curriculum reform potentially leads to teachers' dilemmas since it requires teachers to attempt to teach according to the amended 'characteristics' of the curriculum (English, Hargreaves, and Hislam 2002, 9). Teachers are primarily affected by curriculum reform policies, as 'policy is done by and done to teachers' and teachers are 'actors and subjects, subject to and objects of policy' (Ball, Maguire, and Braun 2012, 3). Accordingly, a matter of particular interest in the current study is curriculum enactment experienced by teachers working in differently resourced schools.

Curriculum enactment involves a reconstruction of the curriculum implemented by teachers in their contexts (Davis 2003). The process of reconstruction requires creative processes of interpretation and recontextualisation, that is, 'the translation of texts into action and the abstractions of policy ideas into contextualised practice' (Ball et al. 2012). To do so, professional learning for teachers is necessary because the philosophy underpinning the curriculum and the conclusions drawn from philosophical ideas are usually not made clear to the teachers (Ball et al. 2012; Spatz, Wilhelm, Hopf, Waltner, and Wiesner 2019; Cumming 2009; Davies, Howes, and Farrell 2008; Davis 2003). In other words, despite the professional domain of teachers, this process requires the

interconnection of different actors (Ball et al. 2012) such as school leaders and the educational board both to assist teachers in developing professionalism and to control policy implementation. Curriculum recontextualisation involves struggles between agents over what is deemed worth knowing and how, to whom, and the level of proficiency to which knowledge should be taught (Singh 2017).

Drawing from Coburn (2005) and Colebatch (2002), Ball et al. (2012) enlisted different actors and their roles in curriculum enactment: Authoritative interpreters, ‘who drive the way in which policies are selected and understood’; transactors, ‘those middle level implementers who work to make texts into action and render actions into outcomes’; and copers and defenders, ‘who are at the receiving end of policy in classrooms and corridors’ (3). Accordingly, curriculum enactment ends up with a pedagogic discourse that is constructed through recontextualisations at ‘multiple levels of the education system and relayed to the teachers’ (Jacklin 2004, 379). The way the system works determines teachers’ professional judgement in policy enactment because the agents in the system can both increase teachers’ awareness of a new policy and develop teachers’ professionalism to implement the policy in the classroom.

Support from educational boards and school leaders are necessary for teachers to make more sense of the CE policy in their context. Hence, this study synthesises the theories of curriculum enactment and theories of dilemma to explain teachers’ experience of responding to an official curriculum by performing a two-dimensional analysis involving both vertical and horizontal analyses. Vertical analysis can be illustrated by the teachers’ relational positioning compared with the more powerful agents that outline the official curriculum, syllabus, and administrative standards. Horizontal analysis can be described as teachers’ relational negotiations with colleagues and students in their context.

Dilemmas and professional judgement in policy enactment

In a broad sense, the term dilemma can be defined as a complex problem expressed at an intrapersonal level that requires a person to consider and choose between competing but equally valid options (Sánchez-Moreno and Toussaint 2018). Dilemmas in schooling represent situations that are problematic for teachers. When classroom teachers experience dilemmas, they develop ways to resolve the dilemmas that draw on competing values, beliefs, and practices (Rose and Norwich 2014; Talanquer, Tomanek, and Novodvorsky 2007). It is important to note that the decision a teacher makes about a dilemma he/she encounters in teaching activities does not represent a firm and final choice; teachers use their agency to act strategically by implementing temporary solutions (Kannen and Acker 2008).

Berlak and Berlak (1981) introduced a typology of teachers' dilemmas to help define the multiple spaces in which teachers can hold certain values and exercise preferences. The typology includes the curriculum set that consists of dilemmas related to knowledge acquisition, such as whose/what knowledge to transmit and how to transmit that knowledge. In addition, Berlak and Berlak (1981, 272) coined the term 'pattern of resolution' to describe the decisions that a teacher habitually makes when addressing any of these dilemmas. By identifying teachers' dilemmas and their patterns of resolution, researchers or teachers themselves can better understand how these dilemmas inform and shape teachers' professional judgement. However, since policy enactment is not exclusive to teachers (see Ball et al. 2012; Davis 2003), this study explores how different actors contribute to teachers' dilemmas and professional judgement in curriculum enactment.

Regarding the emergence of dilemmas, Ehrich, Kimber, Millwater, and Cranston (2011) offer models of teachers' dilemmas and consider dilemmas to be special

situations to which teachers react. Their models suggest that dilemmas are situations in which logical sequences flow in one direction, producing tensions that require resolution by the teacher. However, Fransson and Grannäs (2013) prefer Honig's (1994) concept of dilemmatic space, which regards dilemmas as 'social constructions resulting from structural conditions and relational aspects in everyday practice' (2013, 17). In this regard, dilemmas are constantly present in the everyday interactions and conditions that are created in the relations between teachers and the educational system and between teachers and other individuals in the school (Singh, Märtsin, and Glasswell 2014).

The concept of dilemmatic space is useful for analysing teachers' experience in curriculum enactment. Fransson and Grannäs conceptualise it as ongoing situations in which the 'reciprocal dependencies' (2013, 11) of the competing forces of structures and individuals are held in tension. The competing forces in dilemmatic spaces can be derived from the teachers themselves, from the structures regulating educational systems, from school principals' enforcement of particular types of conduct, and from teachers' colleagues and students. More importantly, the concept of reciprocal dependency in dilemmatic space implies that dilemmas emerge only if the actor is oriented to something or someone else in the dilemmatic space. This notion can be explained by considering the concept of 'relational agency' (Leong 2014, 467; Edwards 2011), which suggests that teachers' relations to others invoke their consciousness and awareness. Teachers' consciousness and awareness then contribute to their dilemmas and therefore to their decisions about how 'to act for the best' (Honig 1994) or how to act appropriately based on structural and relational conditions. The 'teachers act for the best' notion is similar to Berlak and Berlak's (2012) pattern of resolution, as both refer to teachers' ultimate professional judgement. However, acting for the best is more reflective of teachers' orientation to others.

The concept of acting for the best allows for a variable of individual awareness; thus, teachers' experiences of dilemmas can differ. Accordingly, this paper assumes that the dilemmatic space constructed by curricular reforms will play out differently for different individuals. For example, a new policy might be seen as dilemmatic by one teacher but not by another if those two people have different experiences of structural and relational conditions, including different experiences in 'the process of expansive learning' (Rose and Norwich 2014, 61). These different experiences will lead not only to different constructions of dilemmas but also to different solutions to these dilemmas, that is, in how teachers act for the best. Hence, this paper presents the responses of two differently positioned groups of teachers in Indonesia—state-school and private-school teachers—to a new policy that potentially produces dilemmatic space.

Sites and methods

The study participants were English-language (EL) teachers working in junior secondary schools in East Java Province, Indonesia. There were two significant groups of participants relevant to the design: teachers working in state schools and teachers working in private schools. The reason for distinguishing between state-school teachers and non-state-school teachers was that this research attempted to understand the experience of teachers with different working conditions who enacted the new CE policy in their classes.

State schools in Indonesia are established and funded by the government; hence, the quality of teaching in state schools is generally the same across Indonesia (Stern and Smith 2016). Regarding the teaching workforce, the recruitment process for state schools requires applicants to take competitive and complex paper-based examinations organised by the government (Sumintono and Raihani 2010; Qoyyimah 2018). Since private schools are owned and financed by non-government organisations, the quality of their teaching varies depending on the wealth of their organisation. In many cases,

private junior secondary schools in Indonesia are less resourced (see Bangay, 2005; Stern and Smith 2016). Private schools in Indonesia have direct authority to employ teachers but they do not have stricter criteria than those used to employ state-school teachers. However, despite these different resourcing and working conditions, state and private schools are required to implement the same curriculum.

Regarding student recruitment, Indonesian state secondary schools have selection procedures governing student enrolment. To be admitted to the state junior secondary school, candidates were involved in several selection stages such as national exam result screening and an academic potential test. Because of the recruitment process, the educational standard of performance in Indonesian state schools is typically higher than that in private schools (Stern and Smith 2016). In many cases, however, private secondary schools are regarded as second-choice schools that admit students who have been rejected by the government schools. Additionally, most of the private junior secondary schools in Indonesia are less resourced and cater to students from low-income families with lower learning motivation (Heyneman and Stern 2014).

More specifically, this research examines teachers' experience through the constructivist-interpretive paradigm (Mertens 2014; Denzin and Lincoln 2011). The paradigm adopts a naturalistic set of methodological procedures, such as interviews and observations, to understand teachers' lives and experiences. The data for the current study were collected through class observations and semi-structured interviews (Kvale and Brickman 2009) with nine EL teachers. Classroom observations were conducted three times for each teacher over the observation period to gain a better understanding of how each teacher negotiated the CE policy (Martinez, Taut, and Schaaf 2016).

To select the research participants, Author 1 approached the principals of several state and private secondary schools in East Java, Indonesia, to ask permission to

conduct research in their schools. After gaining approval from principals of seven schools, Author 1 asked them to recommend participants for this study (i.e., EL teachers with more than 10 years of experience). After receiving lists of EL teachers and their email addresses and contact numbers from the principals, Author 1 contacted all the potential participants; only those who gave positive responses were selected. None of participants knew us until we met them to talk about the research and asked them to sign the research consent form prior to interview and observation. This process, which respected research integrity and mutual recognition between the researcher and the teachers, enabled the researcher to generate the required data in a confidential but transparent manner.

Pseudonyms are used when referring to the schools and the recruited teachers in accordance with ethical research conduct. The state-school teachers are labelled T1, T2, T3, and T4 in this paper, while the private-school teachers are labelled T5, T6, T7, T8, and T9. Though the participants represent only a small sample from a large workforce, they give us an empirical window into their dilemmas and insights into the diversity and patterning of their responses.

In analysing the qualitative data, qualitative researchers must articulate the interconnection between theoretical and empirical fields and consider what they will do with the data collected (Rubin and Babbie 2009). Similarly, this study conducts an iterative process that involves a continual interplay between theory and analysis. For that purpose, this research involves activities such as coding, memoing, and concept mapping (Rubin and Babbie 2009). Prior to data collection, the codes/concepts that derived from the assembled theories were listed. Based on these codes, the semi-structured interview questions were designed. Although the codes created may be derived from the theory being explored, we also use 'open coding in which codes are

suggested by researchers' examination and questioning of the data' (2009, 312). Hence, although the coding was mostly 'down' from theory to data, there was also coding 'up' from data to theory, since new cases and themes of interest were identified. For example, we coded for the additional concepts of *reactive approach* from the data, since we found this concept useful in analysis. The concept helped us to understand teachers' accounts of their sense of responsibility for implementing CE policy.

Results

Roles of different agents in CE enactment

The data collection was undertaken three years after the CE policy was issued; therefore, teachers were supposed to understand CE. This section reports on how different agents in CE enactment provided learning opportunities to update teachers' understanding of the official CE policy. As outlined above, professional learning for teachers is necessary because the ideas underpinning the curriculum and the conclusions drawn from those ideas are not made clear to teachers (Ball et al. 2012; Spatz, Wilhelm, Hopf, Waltner, and Wiesner 2019; Cumming 2009; Davis 2003). Teachers working in state schools reported a considerably higher degree of professional learning than those working in private schools, as exemplified by T1's excerpts below:

R: How do you know about the CE?

T1: When the curriculum was first issued, the school principal invited an expert to train the teachers in this school. Additionally, I have been actively involved in the English teacher MGMP [teacher working group] because in its meetings, there is always a team from the capital city of the province there to talk about CE. The meeting is conducted once a week. So far, I have always attended the MGMP meetings so I can share ideas with my colleagues, such as how I could arrange lesson plans for my context and help teachers from different schools arrange their lesson plans.

Space and community for developing professional responses to the reform are available for state-school teachers. The MGMP mentioned in the statement above was a teachers' community organised by the regional educational board in Indonesia with the aim of enabling teachers from different schools to share knowledge so that they can meet government standards (see also Soebari and Aldridge 2015). A team from the Educational Board served as facilitators for every MGMP meeting in which teachers met and processed ideas with colleagues from different schools. This teachers' community was important in promoting teachers' understanding of the curricular reforms and served as a catalyst in the adoption of a new policy (Goodnough and Murphy 2017).

Professional learning designed to update curriculum knowledge among private-school teachers was less supported. The extract below illustrates private-school teachers' experiences regarding their professional learning opportunities.

I understood the CE reform from my school's curriculum deputy principal. At the beginning of every academic year, there is a meeting attended by all of the teachers of this school to decide how many classes each teacher should teach for the upcoming year. We also share the information about any curricular reforms and how to implement them. In terms of character education curriculum, however, I haven't joined any training,... We have an English teachers' MGMP. The MGMP meetings are usually conducted every three months before school examinations. (T8)

The last meeting of English teachers' MGMP I attended was the one in 2008. I found it was useful as it trained me to arrange exam materials, and it let me know any reforms issued. Unfortunately, the organizer was not really consistent with the scheduling ... I knew the Character education policy from my colleague who works in state schools. He brought a model of the syllabus from the Department of Education in the district. But I don't know about the list of values because it is not published well... (T7)

I think there should have been teachers' MGMP. There may be MGMP meetings in other schools. However, it is not for teachers in this school. I never joined the MGMP. I don't know why I have never been invited to join its meeting. (T5)

Despite the introduction of the CE reform, the opportunity for professional learning is less evident for private-school teachers. As can be seen from the teachers' reports, private-school teachers indicated their regret when they realised MGMP meetings were not provided for teachers in their school. This lack of learning opportunity was an inevitable disservice to these teachers in curriculum enactment (see also Spatz et al. 2019; Davis 2003). The following section presents data and analysis on how the different resources affected teachers' recontextualisation of the CE policy in their classes.

CE enactment: different learning opportunities inform different dilemmas and professional judgements

This section describes how support and training given to teachers inform teachers' enactment and more specifically, how these privileges influenced teachers' dilemmas and resolution when they implement the CE policy in their classes. The data description and discussion in this paper are to be structured thematically based on the dilemmas encountered by teacher participants in three different phases: planning the lesson, prioritising values, and introducing the CE's stipulated values to EL classes. By doing so, we can identify when teachers act for the best in policy enactment.

Dilemmas and resolution in lesson planning

The lesson plan is such an important document prepared by teachers that it is assessed by the local MOEC with school supervision (Haris et al 2018). In their lesson plans, teachers are required to identify the objectives of their lessons and to arrange their activities to reflect those objectives. With the introduction of CE policy, it is also necessary for teachers to add to the lesson plan the values they intend to introduce in

their classes. In this phase, the state-school teachers spoke about the additional aspects they had to consider, as can be seen in the following teachers' reports:

I made a lesson plan to guide me in the classroom, especially in the process of teaching and learning. Before choosing the values to include in the lesson plan, I first considered the teaching materials. Moreover, the teaching materials that I chose must reflect the curriculum guidelines, students' interests and the values of the school. I certainly hope the values I included in the lesson plan will affect students' morals and conduct. (T2)

I have many things to consider. ... I am required to understand the content standards outlined by the government and then prepare the syllabus and engaging lesson plans. We must put the content standards as the first consideration. At the same time, we also need to look at students' needs and characteristics. (T3)

As reported by T2 and T3, the state-school teachers in this study indicated how they considered different layers when creating a lesson plan; those layers include structural and relational conditions that include the official competence standard and the school context, respectively. In this case, the teachers reported considering additional aspects such as how to make their teaching materials align with other structural components, for example, the curriculum guidelines, and how the values they selected could enhance their students' morality.

Compared to teachers working in state schools, private-school teachers reported considering fewer layers. The following statements illustrate their considerations when lesson planning:

... I copied the lesson plan from the Internet. However, I also considered my students' needs and whether or not such materials are suitable for my students. Consequently, although I kept the existing values in the copied lesson plan, I did not introduce the values in classes, especially when I realised I could not model this value to my students. I don't know how to implement this for my students. This value was inserted into my lesson class for compliance, just because the MOEC requires it. Additionally, assessing people's behaviour takes a long time. I could not make such an assessment. (T5)

I arranged the lesson plan with my colleagues, and it took time. Sometimes, we ended with disagreement. Anyway, when I went back to my classes, it was my choice. Often, I copied the lesson plan from the Internet. (T7)

I copied lesson plans from my colleagues. I do not make my own. In the training session, I was trained to make a lesson plan. However, it takes time for me to arrange a lesson plan. I sometimes forget to insert the values in my lesson plans or forget to model the values in classes. Instead, when I found that students were disobedient, I admonished them. For example, when they made noise, I reprimanded them. (T8)

The private-school teachers mainly obtained their lesson plans from the Internet or copied them from colleagues, and only T5 reported grappling with dilemmas when incorporating the CE policy into lesson planning. Thus, these teachers did not perceive the lesson plans for their classes to be a significant consideration and preferred to either avoid or ignore the authority's mandates. Instead, the private-school teachers mostly reported problems in relation to their work conditions, such as too many students in their classes, disengagement among their students, and a lack of time. By their account, the CE policy did not change their classroom practices. Instead of implementing the curriculum policy as required by the MOEC, private-school teachers, such as T8, pursued a more *reactive approach* to CE. The reactive approach is implemented when teachers address students' disruptive behaviour after an event (Thornberg 2008) rather than proactively teaching or modelling existing values, as envisaged in the MOEC reform. Below, T9's excerpt also illustrated the reactive approach:

In every teaching-learning process, I will reprimand students who are impolite and direct them. It (CE) must be practised and implemented like this. ... especially when I encountered disruptive students. Although I gave them reprimands, they kept seeking my attention. When I am too strict with them, they become more troublesome ... If I ask them to do something, they are reluctant to do so. (T9)

Learning from T8 and T9, it was appropriate for private-school teachers to implement CE using a reactive approach rather than following the MOEC's curriculum guidelines. This also indicated that students' lower motivation in private schools has driven teachers to implement the reactive approach of CE. In other words, some teachers' reactions or responses to emergent disruptive behaviour served as their way of implementing the curriculum.

Mismatch between what they planned and what they taught

When teachers found that the adopted lesson plan was not applicable to their classes, they chose to implement CE in a certain way, resulting in a mismatch between what they planned to teach and what they taught, as seen in the following vignette recorded from T5:

Private-school 2. Year IX. Topic: Descriptive Text

T5 started the class by telling his students the objectives of today's English lesson, the outcomes he would attain, and the selected values to be learned by the students. At the beginning of the lesson, the teacher verbally noted the values that would be taught: 'the values we will learn today are trustworthiness, respect, diligence, and responsibility.' Then, T5 explained the descriptive text, its generic structure, and its language features to the class. T5 also gave a model of a description text and introduced 'religiosity' through the actor in his description text by saying 'Look! the lady described here always comes to the Mushalla to pray'. After that, T5 asked the class to write a text 'describing a person.' Despite the introduction of the values, there was no evidence that the teacher modelled or taught the planned values in the class. Instead, when he found that students were reluctant to work with their group, he reprimanded the class regarding 'cooperativeness': 'Please work cooperatively with your group; don't be selfish.'

Although T5 began by articulating the objectives of teaching and learning, including the selected values the students were supposed to learn, he proceeded to teach different values. In addition, T5 often gave opportunistic speeches about the importance of religiosity and cooperativeness when a teachable moment arose. In this way, the

curriculum policy was implemented as an explicit pedagogy but in a more indirect, fractured way rather than through a systematic and planned approach.

Similarly, T6 reported a mismatch between lesson planning and classroom practice. When asked about his experience implementing the CE policy in classes, he commented:

So far, I have not found any difficulty; maybe the only problem is too many students in the classroom ... Also, when I teach the very last sessions, I cannot model the instilled values because the students have fallen asleep. I might model the values in the morning sessions. I usually put students into groups in the morning to discuss the topic. In the last sessions, however, students are no longer energetic, which is why I will not model any values in the afternoon sessions. My implementation in the classroom will be different from what I planned. I might even model other values...

T6 reported encountering classroom conditions that in his opinion, made it impossible to implement CE at certain times. Because of his understanding that CE must be implemented through classroom activities such as group discussions designed to model values, he perceived a dilemmatic space, especially when his students were less enthusiastic about engaging. However, he resolved the dilemma by not implementing the curriculum policy in the afternoon sessions when he encountered un conducive class conditions. In this way, this teacher interpreted CE as informing the nature of pedagogic activities.

Dilemmas and resolution in selecting appropriate values

Teachers tend to experience and manage dilemmas related to teaching particular values (Kannen and Acker 2008). However, since private-school teachers did not report dilemmas in lesson planning, they considered not reporting other dilemmas in further phases of implementation.

Meanwhile, the state-school teachers in this study reported that dilemmas arose when the teachers started to think about introducing the values that they considered

important. Dilemmas particularly emerged when they had stronger notions about what values were appropriate for English lessons. For example, although some teachers chose 'secular' values for their lesson plan, they tended to teach religious values instead. This tension can be seen in the following statement by T2:

T2: The values that I always want to teach are religiosity, honesty, discipline, hard-working, and independence {pause} also being friendly, respecting their friends, and not mocking each other.

Researcher: Why have you never listed 'religiosity' in your lesson plan?

T2: If I had to write this (religiosity) value into my lesson plan, I would be worried I am teaching religiosity too often in English classes

Likewise, when asked to name her professionally preferred values, T1 explained as follows:

'Religiosity' {pause} and 'honesty' are my priorities. Although I did not put them in my lesson plan, I implicitly teach these values in my classes. Students should be honest, especially when they have to work on tasks individually, that is, they should not cheat. For 'religiosity', we always model it through our daily activities... (T1)

Having personally chosen *religiosity* as a value to include in their EL classes, these teachers did not want their decision to be recorded in their lesson document since they knew that this value was not relevant to the subject they were teaching. As a result, the teachers were also concerned about the slippage between what they planned to teach and what they taught as they experienced conflicting feelings about which values to teach. This can be assumed that state-school teachers engaged in planning intentionally, not simply to comply with the guidelines. They regretted the mismatch between what they planned to teach and what they taught. Hence, this study suggests that this feeling is not inevitable but instead is the result of idea processing in trainings and MGMP meetings so that these teachers understood how to arrange what they think of as a compatible EL lesson plan.

Dilemmas and resolution in introducing CE values in classes

In addition to encountering tensions in lesson plans and value selection for CE, state-school teachers in this study also reported dilemmas around the introduction of the CE policy in their classes, including the assessment of learning outcomes.

... It is difficult [to implement the CE in classes] because teachers cannot teach all of the stipulated values, and the manner of teaching values is somewhat challenging. For example, I cannot teach the value of 'democracy' explicitly. I mean, I am not literally saying this word (democracy) in the classroom explicitly. I don't need to tell my students that I will teach them the democracy value; instead, I model the democracy value by asking students to participate in discussion groups with their peers. (T2)

... I found it difficult to internalise values in students' heads through learning activities. How can I assess whether classroom activities influence students' behaviour? (T4)

... Yesterday, for example, I taught 'care' and 'respect.' I did not have difficulty with them when I wrote them into the lesson objectives. However, it will be challenging to include these values in the 'assessment' column. How will teachers assess whether students *care*? How do we know they care for others? By keeping an eye on their behaviour? Also, how will we recognise their religiosity? In addition, we are also required to describe 'cooperativeness.' What will be the criterion for being cooperative? (T3)

The teachers above described strategies that they used to introduce the stipulated values through classroom activities, such as modelling democracy through group discussion rather than merely telling students about the value of democracy. In addition to thinking about how to introduce these values, these teachers were unable to ascertain whether they were successfully learned. This left the teachers with questions about whether their students would recognise and realise that they were learning values while participating in classroom activities. Additionally, T3 and T4 questioned the appropriateness of the administrative requirements associated with the CE policy, especially when they were required to address the selected values in their assessment

rubric. Since values were abstract notions, they questioned whether it is possible to perform a valid and rigorous assessment of these abstract concepts.

Consequently, the teachers decided to teach some values explicitly by verbalising them, as seen in the following statement by T4:

Researcher: I also noticed that you spoke and reminded your students of the importance of being respectful of others' opinions when putting them into groups. What was your thinking behind this?

T4: Actually, all teachers have similar purposes in grouping students. But they must always tell their students as well. Yes, that's why I tell the class....

T4 chose to explicitly verbalise and reinforce the respect value to make that value more visible to students. This resolution therefore reinforced the invisible pedagogic design with a complementary visible pedagogic design.

Hence, the state-school teachers reported at least three tensions when introducing CE in classes: the best way to model values; how to assure that students recognise the selected values; and how to assess learners' progress. The first two dilemmas were resolved by combining different approaches, such as invisible and visible pedagogies. In this way, the teachers both modelled and verbally taught the curricular values to ensure that students recognised them and more specifically, to ensure that students realised and recognised that they were learning specific values. In this regard, although the state-school teachers decided to introduce class activities (such as group discussions) to model the selected values, they questioned whether the values were internalised and wondered about how to assess the learning outcomes (T2, T3, and T4). In Bernstein's (2000) theoretical terms, this concern related to whether students were acquiring both the rules of recognition and the rules of realisation regarding the selected values. This dilemma exposed other dilemmas: invisible pedagogy failed to explicitly identify the criteria that would have helped students acquire the rules of

realisation regarding what constitutes the legitimate performance of a value and that would have helped teachers assess whether students had learned the curricular values. Consequently, the teachers decided to teach the abstract values explicitly.

To sum up teachers' experience when enacting CE, Table 1 presents a summary of all of the participants' responses across the phases in lesson planning (Phase 1), value selection (Phase 2) and class activities (Phase 3). Overall, the private-school teachers reported fewer dilemmas regarding the lesson planning, value selection, and value modelling than did the state-school teachers (see Table 1)

Table 1. Teachers' dilemmas and resolutions over the three phases

		Dilemmas in lesson planning (Phase 1)	Resolutions	Dilemmas in value selection (Phase 2)	Resolutions	Dilemmas in curriculum implementation in classes (Phase 3)	Resolutions
State-school teachers	T1	Considering the school context, teaching materials and activities	Resolved by professional learning sessions	Suitable values versus personal values BUT coping mechanism (selecting similar values for different lessons)	Implicit pedagogy of religiosity—relying on the school's routine activities	No report	Visible and invisible pedagogies of values (observation)
	T2	Considering the curriculum guidelines, school values, students' interests, students' conduct	Resolved by professional learning sessions	Considering multiple aspects + suitable values versus personal values	Improvisation	Modelling or teaching? accommodating personal values	Visible and invisible pedagogies of values Planned vs taught
	T3	Considering the content standards, students' needs, teaching materials	Resolved by professional learning sessions	Considering multiple aspects + suitable values versus personal values	Improvisation	Modelling values? how to assess students' learning	Visible and invisible pedagogies
	T4	Considering competency standards, teaching materials and activities, values	Resolved by professional learning sessions	Considering multiple aspects + suitable values versus personal values	Improvisation, Opportunity-based CE	Assessment	Visible and invisible pedagogies of values (observation) Unresolved
Private-school teachers	T5	Limited professional capacity	Resolved by avoidance—applied copied lesson plans	No report	Copied lesson plan	Implemented a copied lesson plan, assessment, lack capacity for modelling	Discrepancy between planned and taught Teaching personal values
	T6	Too many students in the classroom	Resolved by adjustment	No dilemma: value selection as normative compliance	No report	Selected values vs students' amenability	Teaching other values, skip CE
	T7	Group lesson plan does not agree with her personal choice	Resolved by avoidance—applied a copied lesson plan	Dilemmas between the group's idea and the individual's idea	Avoidance: using other people's lesson plan, no values selected	Students' disruptive behaviour	Avoidance, reactive approach
	T8	No time	Resolved by avoidance—copied lesson plan	No report	Avoidance: no values selected	Dilemmas with copied lesson plans vs students' disruptive behaviour	Avoidance, reactive approach
	T9	Curriculum guidelines, methods, class uniqueness	Resolved by adjustment	No report	Avoidance: no values selected	Students' disruptive behaviour	Avoidance, reactive approach

Discussion: Roles of different agents in Teachers' CE enactment

As outlined previously, educational policy and its enactment constitute social productions and social interactions, respectively (Ball et al. 2012; Jacklin 2004; Cumming 2009; Davis 2003). By using the theory of dilemmatic space, this study also suggests that in terms of structural condition and relational aspects, social interaction is so influential that it precedes teachers' awareness of how they should respond to a new policy. The structural conditions constitute the regulations issued by the Educational Boards in terms of official curricular reforms. Meanwhile, the relational aspects arise from the learning opportunities provided for teachers and students/class behaviour (Fransson and Grannäs 2013; Edwards 2011).

Figure 1 below models the state-school teachers' experience when enacting the CE policy in their context:

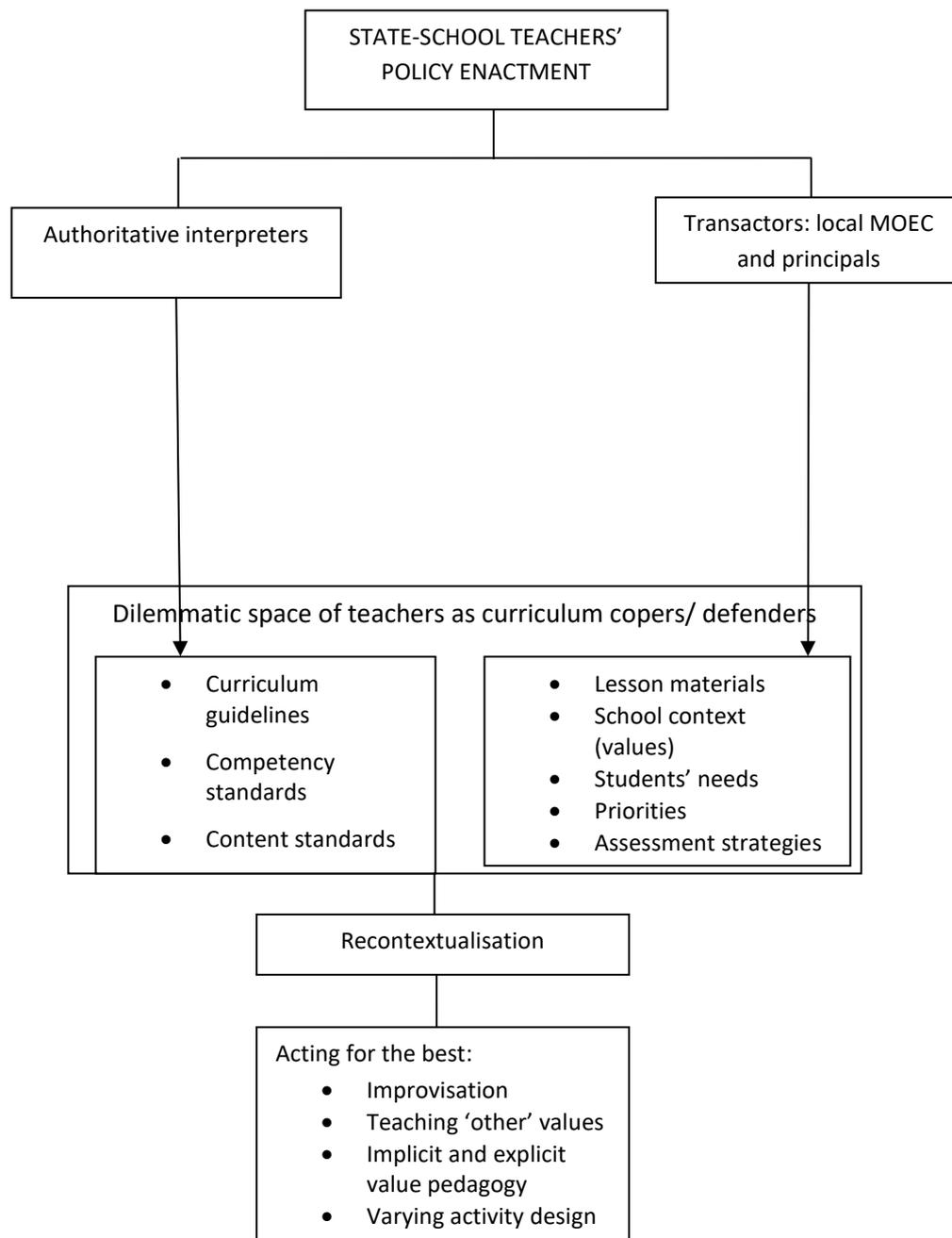


Figure 1: State-school teachers' CE policy enactment

Figure 1 shows that the structural conditions stemming from the authoritative interpreters and mid-level implementers (Ball et al 2012; Coburn 2005; Colebatch 2002) such as local educational boards and school principals caused teachers as curriculum defenders to become aware of their obligations to follow official curriculum guidelines and enact the curriculum. The support provided by school leaders and other teachers stimulated the teachers' awareness of these aspects. State-school teachers' awareness of

the relational aspects of the context prompted them to consider relevant teaching materials, school context, students' needs, and their own priorities for curricular values. The teachers sought such improvisation that they accommodated all of these aspects into their practices. Burnard (2011) suggests that improvisation is essential evidence of teachers' creativity that can improve effective teaching. These teachers actively struggled to act for the best when incorporating the CE policy into their practice by improvising, implementing both visible and invisible values pedagogy, and designing pertinent class activities. Hence, any form of professional learning provided for teachers positively contributed to teachers acting for the best (see also Leong 2014; Edwards 2011).

Figure 2 below maps the state-school teachers' experience when enacting CE policy in their context.

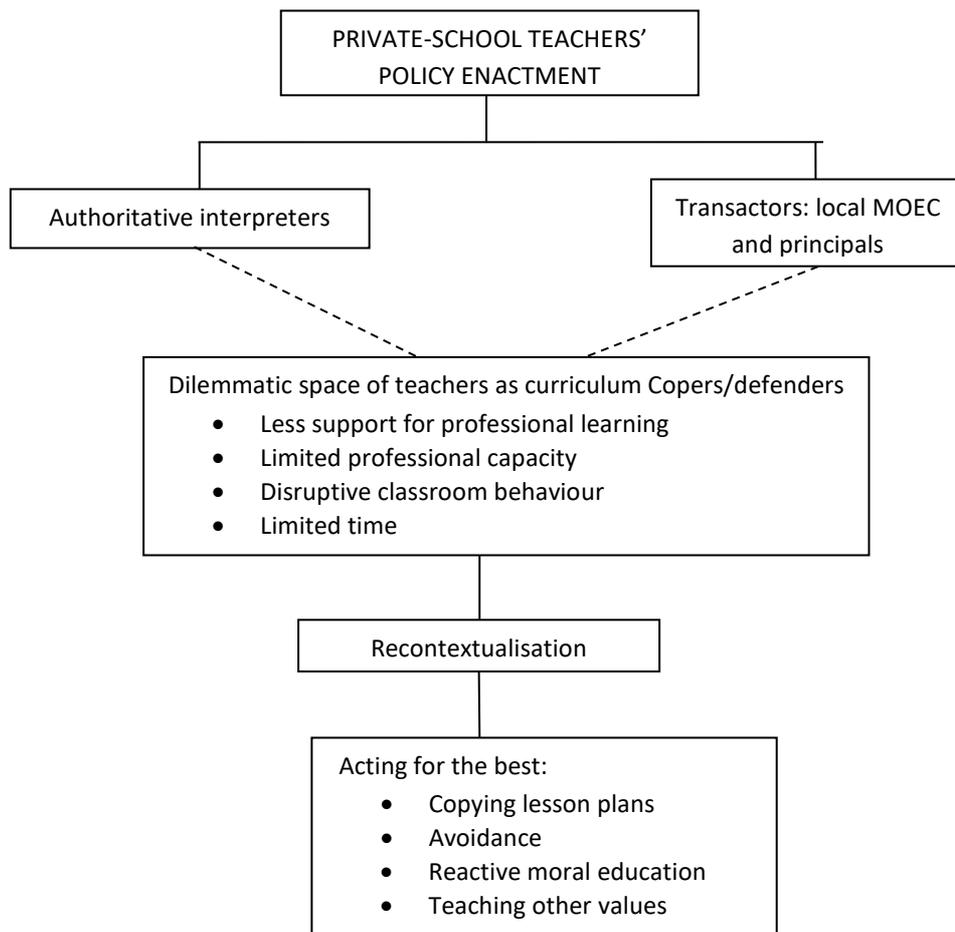


Figure 2: Private-school teachers' CE policy enactment

When enacting CE policy, teachers working in private schools encountered intransigent dilemmas embedded in their working conditions. The dashed line between the more powerful agents and private-school teachers' dilemmatic space indicates that i) the official curricular reforms did not contribute any dilemmatic space to these teachers; ii) the curricular reforms were rendered largely irrelevant to these teachers' recontextualisation work; and iii) the educational boards' failure to recognise how the conditions under which these teachers work indirectly contributes to prolonging their dilemmas. This disconnect between private-school teachers and the official curriculum reform produced another problem: the lack of conducive working conditions made it impossible for these teachers to consider the structural aspects of the reform or relational aspects such as students' interests. Because they had to contend with sectoral problems such as students' lower motivation (Bangay, 2005; Heyneman and Stern 2014), in addition to receiving less support from the government and their regional/school educational boards for professional learning, these teachers implemented the curricular reforms differently than the state-school teachers. However, they were still acting for the best within their circumstances and constraints. In their case, acting for the best meant adopting other people's lesson plans to their setting, teaching other values (based on their professional priorities) and implementing a reactive approach to CE. A reactive approach is preceded by both teachers' lack of professional knowledge in values education and unconducive class behaviour (Thornberg 2008).

From the figures, we can conclude that dilemmas in curriculum enactment are not perceived as unique situations to which teachers react (Fransson and Grannäs 2013). Instead, dilemmas become evident to an individual only if the individual is aware and conscious of his/her positioning in the set of relations. In the educational field,

dilemmas emerge from teachers' awareness and consciousness of their responsibilities (Tronsmo 2018) as curriculum defenders (Ball et al. 2012) and their awareness of impinging aspects of their setting, which in turn informs teachers' professional judgement regarding curriculum enactment. Hence, since the two groups of teachers reported different levels of orientation towards this combination, they encountered different dilemmas when coping with the curricular reforms and eventually developed different resolutions so that they could act for the best.

Professional knowledge as dilemma-solving in policy enactment

Professional learning to develop understanding and knowledge provided for teachers is pivotal in policy enactment (Spatz, et al. 2019; Goodnough and Murphy 2017; Davis 2003). This study found that teachers who experienced more systemic privileges and support in terms of learning opportunity reported considering richer aspects in the dilemmatic space. In contrast, teachers who received less systemic support remained focused on managing their contextual problems. Additionally, the teachers' dilemmas resulting from professional learning had a significant impact on all of the processes relating to curriculum implementation: the more elements the teachers considered in the dilemmatic space, the more conscious efforts the teachers made to 'act for the best' (Honig 1994; Fransson and Grannäs 2013) in terms of adapting and developing the curricula to suit their context. Conversely, when teachers were oriented to fewer elements in the potential dilemmatic space, they reported investing less effort in engaging with the government initiative. Consequently, teachers who encountered more dilemmas made 'richer' professional decisions. In this case, tensions and dilemmas could drive teacher professionalism (see also Kelchtermans 2013; Davies et al. 2008).

In policy enactment, teachers' dilemmas trigger teachers' conscious efforts to act for the best. Therefore, it is critical to increase teachers' awareness of multiple

aspects to ameliorate teachers' dilemmas. Teachers' awareness could be increased by providing more problem-based professional learning opportunities, which can serve as a first step in alerting teachers to the intent of the curricular reform and the crucial work of recontextualisation that teachers will need to perform (Rose and Norwich 2014; Cumming 2009). Additionally, ongoing professional learning would allow teachers to consider structural conditions and relational aspects while recontextualising the curriculum in their classrooms (Edward 2011). This study suggests that a higher degree of awareness and consideration of such issues informs teachers' resolutions related to meeting the intent of the official reform within their local class contexts. It enables them to incorporate their own professional priorities.

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