



MONASH University

**Becoming an English Teacher: The Shaping of Everyday
Professional Experiences in Early Career Teaching**

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Abstract

Standards-based reforms are increasingly being imposed on English teachers, shaping their everyday work and development. These reforms are particularly significant for teachers in the first years of their careers as they transition into teaching, and the responsibility for supporting their development transfers from universities to schools. For many teachers, there is a disconnect between their university and school experiences, resulting in them feeling inadequately supported during their transition into the profession.

In this study, I present critical and reflexive accounts of the work, experience and professional development of nine early career secondary English teachers in Victoria, Australia. Alongside the approach to development within standards-based reforms that focus on decontextualized skills and knowledge, the accounts of teachers in this study recognises the situated, collaborative and ongoing experience of teaching and professional development through these transitional years. My analysis of the teachers' development is broadened to include their affective labours and emerging ideologies (views, values and beliefs).

The purpose of this study is to inquire into the human experience of teaching to better understand early career English teachers' work and how institutions and policies can better support English teachers in their first few years in the profession. In examining the affective, multifaceted, dynamic and collaborative experience and development of early career English teachers, I used an ethnography-in-education methodology. I generated a selection of ethnographic accounts of the nine early career English teachers' experience and professional development from over two years of data generation that included: focus groups, individual interviews one-on-one with participants and observations of their classroom teaching. These accounts were developed from the perspective of the teachers working within the institution of schools.

By examining teachers' work largely from their perspectives, I considered the stories of teachers that included a co-constructed process of meaning-making. As part of my efforts to understand this co-constructed process of meaning-making, I drew from Bakhtin's work on ideological becoming that occurs within heteroglossic (multivoiced) contexts. From a Bakhtinian perspective, I show how the human experience of early career teaching is inherently social, with individuals working with and alongside others.

I found the participants' experience to be individual, contextual and nuanced. Yet, alongside this individual and localised experience, there was a shared experience across the participants as they

engaged in becoming English teachers. They were all members of English subject-specific professional communities outside of their schools, and they highly valued this dimension of their becoming. The study shows that becoming a teacher is about becoming part of the profession as well as developing within a local school setting. Their individual stories are also recognised as part of the broader multivoiced narrative of English teaching.

A key recommendation of the study is that governments, universities and schools reconsider the developmental needs of early career teachers. This reconsideration needs to include the discipline-specific, ongoing, collaborative and affective development and experience of teaching as teachers simultaneously become part of a local community and a subject-specific profession.

Declaration

This thesis is an original work of my research and contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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Publications during enrolment

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List of Abbreviations

ACARA	Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority
AITSL	Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership
APST	Australian Professional Standards for Teachers
EESY	English Education in the Secondary Years
GERM	Global education reform movement
HITS	High-impact teaching strategies
LOTE	Language other than English
NAPLAN	National Assessment Program for Literacy and Numeracy
STELLA	Standards for Teachers of English Language and Literacy
TEMAG	Teacher Education Ministerial Advisory Group
UK	United Kingdom
VET	Vocational Education and Training
VCAA	Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority
VCAL	Victorian Certificate of Applied Learning
VCE	Victorian Certificate of Education
VIT	Victorian Institute of Teaching

1 Introduction

1.1 Why This Thesis?

On 1 March 2017, I waited with trepidation in a poorly ventilated tutorial room on the bottom floor of the education building at Monash University. This was not my first semester as a teaching associate at the Faculty of Education, but it was the first time I had taught either of the English method units, a pair of fourth and final year semester-length classes for preservice English teachers.

Guided by Graham, the unit coordinator and one of my PhD supervisors, and supported by the other lecturer in the unit, Fleur, who would later become another of my PhD supervisors, I felt prepared but also somewhat anxious about teaching the unit English Education in the Secondary Years to a new class of preservice teachers. The first tutorial was focused on building relationships, running students through the unit outline and delving into their prior experience of English classrooms based on their biographies, expectations, developing identities and the readings for the week. My apprehension was both familiar—the unease and excitement of meeting a new group of students—and unfamiliar. I had the sense that this group of preservice teachers was subtly different from those I had taught previously in other units at the university. They were becoming *English* teachers and I was about to be part of that process. Waiting in that stuffy room, I had the sense that they were about to enter not just a tutorial room or a new unit, but the profession of English teaching, and I had the opportunity to be part of that initiation. They had possibly identified as English teachers across their university degrees, but this was the first unit in which they would be surrounded by colleagues who were also becoming specialist English teachers.

There is something special about one's first secondary English class. I remember the students I taught as a graduate teacher in a suburban government secondary school on the eastern outskirts of Melbourne with a specificity that I do not have for subsequent years. I distinctly remember the classrooms we occupied and individual students' names and faces. I remember specific lessons and all the firsts—first introductions, first round of report writing and first farewells at the end of the year. The same was true for 'my' first group of preservice teachers in the English method unit. I remember standing behind Theodore, discovering why he was tired in the first tutorial of the semester—he had flown back from an Adele concert at 5:00 am that morning to make the tutorial because he had been unable to purchase tickets to the Melbourne show. I remember the social clique at the back table, confident and highly engaged. Among them sat Ally, Hunter, Kitty, Cordelia and Lily (all names are pseudonyms). They had found each other in the first year of their education degrees—a group of

‘wannabe’ English teachers—and had stuck together ever since. I remember having the class make reflective videos and Lily—with pale, bloodshot eyes and a barely audible voice—determinedly recording her video in a stairwell as she persevered through a cold. I remember standing with Rebecca on the final day of her teacher education degree, outside in dappled sunlight, as she cried through her end-of-year stress and anxiety.

The whole class was special—at least to me—but a small group of them became even more significant when, 6 months later, Ally, Theodore, Hunter, Kitty, Cordelia, Lily and Rebecca accepted an invitation to be part of this PhD study. During their degrees we had built positive relationships, but as we worked together over the next 2 years, we built a professional community. Two other early career English teachers, Charlotte and Tiffany, who had graduated a few years before, also joined the group. Together we supported each other’s becoming and learned about early career English teaching—them as secondary school English teachers and me as a teacher, teacher educator and researcher.

My aim at the beginning of this PhD study was to present the voices and experiences of early career English teachers to enable others (including those in institutions such as schools and universities) to better understand them as I had learned to do through working and learning with my colleagues in the English method unit. Through this understanding, I hoped that systems and processes could be developed to better support new and early career English teachers. I also hoped that my participants would come to understand their individual and collective experience as unique and messy as they were all engaged in a similar process, moving through various bureaucratic steps to enter the profession. These understandings may not neatly align with other prominent discourses they would encounter in their schools. In these discourses, teacher development was typically positioned as the linear acquisition of a discrete and generic set of teaching skills and knowledge. Although this continued to be my aim, as the study took shape over the years, another aim emerged—the importance of recognising the becoming of English teachers as a relational and collective experience. Their collective experience involved not only meeting the same standards and moving through the same bureaucratic steps but working with and alongside each other. This emerged from working with participants and writing about their becoming but also through reflecting on my own becoming alongside my colleagues and supervisors. I was becoming a teacher educator with my supervisors and fellow teacher educators in the English method units, just as my participants were becoming teachers with me, the other participants and their colleagues at school.

Reflecting on my becoming with my colleagues and fellow English teacher educators (Parr, Bulfin, Diamond, Wood, & Owen, 2020), I developed a stronger sense of myself as someone involved in a collective experience and dependent on community. I was a member of two significant communities

in this research: one with my participants and one at the university with my colleagues and supervisors—Fleur, Graham and Scott—in which I was the student and they were my supervisors. However, because we all held a range of identities, I was also a fellow teacher educator, researcher and respected colleague and friend. There was a hierarchy of expertise and experience, but within the community I was positioned as offering ‘different’ rather than ‘less’. This collective experience of becoming influenced how I understood the becoming of participants, who were working with others and finding communities in which they could offer different rather than less. In contrast to the policy discourse of teacher development, which positions teachers to undertake their becoming individually under the guidance of more experienced mentors, the experience of the participants was collective as they sought out communities with which to work.

1.2 Early Career English Teaching in Victoria, Australia

This study aims to better understand the learning and development of early career English teachers within the context of standards-based reforms in Victoria, Australia. Understanding the experience of early career English teachers requires insights into the associated institutions, including the schools in which they work and the state and national governments and statutory bodies that impose policies and initiatives on schools and teachers. There are also more widely available education discourses that shape how education and English teaching is understood by those both within and outside education. In this section, I provide a brief outline of the policy environment within which Victorian English teachers currently work and the education discourses that mediate this environment. While this is a broad outline, the experience of the early career English teachers involved in this study inform the discussion; thus, I focus on the salient features of the environment relevant to this group of teachers.

The standards-based reform agenda in Australia over the last three decades has impacted the practice and professionalism of English teachers (Allard & Doecke, 2014; Ball & Bowe, 1992; Biesta, Priestley, & Robinson, 2015; Breen, Illesca, & Doecke, 2018; Manuel, Carter, & Dutton, 2018). It has reconfigured the relationship between teachers and those in authority such as members of the principal class in schools (Biesta, 2015; Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011, 2013; Lingard, Sellar, & Lewis, 2017). It has also changed the nature of teaching and learning, as standards-based reforms have increasingly colonised teachers’ everyday work (Kostogriz, 2012; Parr, Turvey, Lloyd, & Castaldi, 2014). This reform agenda is similar to the agenda in other parts of the world, which has been labelled the global education reform movement, or GERM (Sahlberg, 2007, 2009). Reid (2020) describes some of the features of this movement/agenda: ‘school choice, competition between schools in an education market, high-stakes testing regimes that drive public accountability, narrowing the range of subjects and how they are taught, and publicly naming and shaming schools to drive improvement’

(p. xv). Underlying these features is a discourse of ‘competition, regulation, quantification and conformity’ in the pursuit of ‘making education systems more uniform’ (p. xv).

In Victoria, the educational policy environment is shared between state and federal authorities, each producing a range of policies, curriculum initiatives and reform efforts. Reid (2020), in considering the policy environment in Australia, discusses two key educational policy discourses. He explains that while there are multiple discourses at state and national levels, many are based on a ‘strange dichotomy’ (p. xv) of standardisation and a futures focus. The former relates to standardising across schools and emphasising accountability. Reid (2020) argues that it is a discourse that focuses on ‘technical standards without considering context’ (p. xv). Running in parallel to standardisation is a futures-focused discourse. Within policy, this discourse is often referred to as ‘21st-century learning’ (p. xvi) (also see Scott, 2015). According to Reid (2020), the premise of the futures-focused approach is that ‘the rapidity and extent of change in the contemporary world demands a new approach to education’ (p. xvi). The change is related to technological, economic, social and environmental changes. Strategies in the futures-focused approach include ‘student-centred teaching approaches, integrated and project-based learning, inquiry, more flexible student groupings, a focus on general capabilities, and so on’ (p. xvi). Reid (2020) believes that there is a ‘stark’ difference between the standardisation and futures focus approaches, explaining that the former is about uniformity, efficiency and competition, while the latter is based on flexibility, agility and collaboration (p. xvi).

There are, however, similarities between these discourses. Both tend to decontextualise education and remove the influence of context on policy. The standardisation and future focus discourses both align with the ‘technical-economic discourses’ (Kostogriz, 2012, p. 398) of standards-based reforms. Technical-economic discourses are those that emphasise ‘outcomes, effectiveness, performance standards, service delivery to “clients”, customer satisfaction and accountability’ (p. 398). From the perspective of these discourses, teachers’ work is considered in terms of performance, efficiency, accountability and measurement.

The Victorian Government’s ‘High-impact teaching strategies’ (HITS) initiative is an example of the standardisation that occurs as a result of the technical-economic discourses experienced by teachers in schools. HITS is one component of a series of pedagogical strategies mandated by the Victorian Government to be used in schools. These strategies are included in the Framework for Improving Student Outcomes, which draws on the ‘latest research on student learning and global best-practice’ (Department of Education and Training Victoria, 2020a, para. 2) to develop a framework for schools to focus their efforts on improving outcomes for students. According to the Department of Education and Training Victoria (2020b), the Victorian Teaching and Learning Model ‘brings the framework for improving student outcomes . . . into the classroom’, creating ‘a line of sight between the whole-

school improvement approach and classroom practice’ (para. 1). HITS is a component of the Victorian Teaching and Learning Model and an approach to teaching derived from John Hattie’s (2009) meta-analysis work (Department of Education and Training Victoria, 2019). The Department of Education and Training Victoria (2019) rationalises the use of Hattie’s meta-analysis for HITS by virtue of the thousands of research findings that Hattie claims demonstrate what high-quality teaching looks like. The HITS framework includes the following 10 strategies: setting goals, structuring lessons, explicit teaching, worked examples, collaborative learning, multiple exposures, questioning, feedback, metacognitive strategies and differentiated learning. Commonly, in schools, teachers see the influence of HITS through the requirement to explicitly include ‘learning intentions’ and ‘success criteria’ in their lessons. The purpose of these strategies is to standardise teachers’ work.

This standardisation also extends to teacher development, where teachers in Victorian schools have to align their developing practice to a set of Australian government endorsed standards. The Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (APST) divides the teaching profession into four career stages: graduate, proficient, highly accomplished and lead teachers (Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership [AITSL], 2011). The Victorian Institute of Teaching (VIT) manages the registration of teachers following graduation. In their first two years of teaching (although many complete in their graduate year), teachers are granted provisional registration until they have completed at least 80 days of teaching and have met the ‘proficient teacher’ level in the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers. They are then deemed to have moved from the graduate teacher level to the proficient teacher level. This linear approach to teaching, which is accompanied by benchmarks and descriptors of what teachers should be able to do and know at each stage, limits teacher development to ‘evidence-based’ levels that can be proven and measured (Allard & Doecke, 2014). The HITS initiative in the broader Victorian Teaching and Learning Model and the APST are both local examples of the imposing nature of GERM and national priorities for standardisation.

The Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) is a main player in leading education reforms at the system and policy levels, resulting in increased standardisation in relation to practices of schools. ACARA was formed in 2008 as the national education authority. The authority’s charter is set by the Council of Australian Government’s Education Council, thus is informed by Australian state, territory and federal ministers of education. ACARA (2016) aims to be an ‘authoritative source of advice on, and delivery of, national curriculum, assessment and reporting for all Australian education ministers’ and to ‘inspire improvement in the learning of all young Australians through world-class curriculum, assessment and reporting’ (para. 1). Through its work on various national education initiatives, ACARA has a powerful shaping effect on education policy and practices in Australia. Key initiatives have included the development of the Australian Curriculum,

endorsed in 2015, the National Assessment Program, which includes the National Assessment Program for Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN), and the *My School* website.

In Victoria, the Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority (VCAA) (2019) incorporates the Australian Curriculum into the Victorian Curriculum, which ‘sets out what every student should learn during their first eleven years of schooling’ (para. 1). The Victorian Curriculum differs slightly from the Australian Curriculum because, we are told, it ‘reflects Victorian priorities and standards’ (VCAA, 2019, para. 2). All Victorian state and Catholic schools are required to use the Victorian Curriculum F–10 (foundation to Year 10), while independent schools may choose to use the curriculum as a model and resource for the implementation of the Australian Curriculum. In Victorian state schools, the final two years of schooling comprise either the Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE) or the Victorian Certificate of Applied Learning (VCAL). Within these two options, students can also include Vocational Education and Training (VET). Assessment in the final two years of secondary school is under the jurisdiction of the VCAA.

Alongside these curricula, assessment and reporting authorities at the state and national levels are other government-endorsed policy initiatives, including the Melbourne Declaration on Education Goals for Young Australians (Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs [MCEETYA], 2008). The Melbourne Declaration outlines the goals towards which state, territory and federal education ministers work towards to ensure high-quality schooling in Australia. The Melbourne Declaration was preceded by the Hobart Declaration in 1989 and the Adelaide Declaration in 1999 (Cumming, Kimber, & Wyatt-Smith, 2012). In December 2019, the Alice Springs (Mparntwe) Education Declaration (Education Council, 2019) was published. These declarations influence the government education priorities in Victoria and at the national level, and are reference documents for the Australian and Victorian curricula (Cumming et al., 2012).

In this crowded policy and initiative environment, various tensions exist between and within documents (Chapman & Buchanan, 2013). In the education declarations, for example, there is a tension between priorities for teachers. As Chapman and Buchanan (2013) explain,

Whilst the Melbourne Declaration places emphasis on the dual purposes of promoting equity and excellence, it can also create some dilemmas for educators. Does commitment to educational excellence take precedence? Do we focus on educational equity? Does such an approach draw a false distinction, that no system can be truly excellent without also being equitable, thereby balancing each of the claims equally? Or that perhaps, neither goal is really possible. (p. 26)

While policy documents and curriculum have changed since 2013, these tensions are still evident in current policies. Teachers and schools are required to navigate these tensions in the implementation of policy at the school-wide level but also within individual classrooms, as teachers consider how these policies and the tensions within them will play out in their everyday work.

Narrowing to the focus of this study, achievement in subject English is often viewed as a key school-based factor that will lead to national economic prosperity and increased social participation (Kostogriz & Doecke, 2013; Mclean, Perkins, Tout, Brewer, & Wyse, 2012). English teachers, in their everyday work, are required to implement initiatives from both state and federal authorities. Some initiatives, such as the literacy dimension of NAPLAN, are often viewed as the primary responsibility of English teachers. This responsibility often results in changes in the classroom. For example, in many schools, the first units that students study in English relate to writing genres that appear in NAPLAN (O'Mara, 2014). Teachers of English experience high levels of scrutiny, oversight and have to deal with frequent policy reform initiatives (Birmingham, 2016, 2017; Department of Education, 2014; Kostogriz & Doecke, 2013). This often results in English teachers doubting and questioning their practices, professional identities and understandings of English (Allard & Doecke, 2014; Bulfin & Mathews, 2003). This creates a crowded, busy and messy policy environment for early career English teachers to negotiate.

Moreover, within this education policy agenda, early career teachers are often positioned as underprepared for their profession—policy discourses often present early career teachers as not fully ‘classroom ready’ (Teacher Education Ministerial Advisory Group [TEMAG], 2014, p. ix). On entering the profession, early career teachers are expected by oversight bodies to achieve the same levels of success with respect to student outcomes as their colleagues with more experience and expertise. This is in tension with the recognition, often by the same oversight bodies, that teachers’ capabilities develop over time (AITSL, 2011; Hargreaves, 2005; Klassen & Chiu, 2010). Each of these initiatives, policies and discourses shapes the everyday work of early career English teachers. Such standardisation, achieved through evidence-based practice or improvement (Department of Education and Training Victoria, 2020a), limits the understanding of teachers’ work and development. This study attempts to grapple with these contextual factors and their effects on early career teachers of English at the level of the school and, most importantly, at the level of the individual teachers themselves. The study examines how this context shapes the professional lives and experience of early career English teachers, for ‘neither the life of an individual nor the history of society can be understood without understanding both’ (C. W. Mills, 2000, p. 3).

1.3 Study Rationale

This study examines early career English teachers' experiences and agency within the context of standards-based initiatives briefly outlined above. Specifically, the study aims to understand how these experiences shape participants' learning and development or their 'becoming' as early career English teachers. This is partially in response to the high attrition rates for early career teachers (J. Buchanan, Prescott, Schuck, Aubusson, & Burke, 2013), which raises questions about early career teachers' wellbeing and satisfaction in the profession. It is hoped that this research will contribute to the framing of institutional structures and supports, so that they are better tailored to the individual and collective professional needs of early career English teachers during their transition into the teaching profession and throughout their first 5 years of teaching.

Research Questions

To achieve these aims, the following research questions have guided this study:

1. What is the nature of early career English teachers' everyday professional experience within the context of standards-based reforms?
2. What processes of becoming are evident/possible within these contexts?

Two supporting questions address the specific dimensions of early career English teachers' everyday experience and becoming:

1. How do institutional practices and discourses shape early career English teachers' work?
2. How do early career English teachers negotiate professional and related relationships within and beyond schools, and how do these shape their becoming?

Central to these questions is the concept of the everyday work of becoming. In this study I use the term *becoming* to refer to the process of negotiation and development in which teachers engage as they consider their views, values, beliefs and goals in relation to education and their careers (see section 4.2).

1.4 Inquiring into Early Career English Teachers' Experience

In developing a framework for inquiring into the experience of early career English teachers, I have drawn on three key discursive theoretical fields: 1) the ethics of practice and English teaching, 2) dialogic theory and 3) the sociology of the 'everyday'. These three theoretical fields were interwoven

throughout the research process and provided both epistemological and ethical orientations for the study. In this section I briefly introduce each of these fields.

The first discursive theoretical field is the ethics of practice and English teaching. This field encompasses research focused on the relational, affective and ethical work of teachers, specifically English teachers. A relational, affective and ethical approach to teachers' work enables a consideration of the localised and social experience of teachers and teaching (Doecke, Mirhosseini, Al-Issa, & Yandell, 2019; Doecke & Parr, 2011; Kostogriz, 2012; Kostogriz & Doecke, 2007; Parr, 2010; Yandell, 2017). In arguing for such an approach, Kostogriz (2012) has found that the bureaucratic structures arising from the standards-based discourse in Australia and elsewhere have reduced teachers' work to that which can be measured in terms of its ability to add value. He notes,

Test scores, performance indicators, attributes, and standards objectify or reify teachers' work. Everyday teaching experiences are turned into, and reduced to, a bureaucratic spectacle and an object of measurement, surveillance, and control. In this way, the social and professional complexity of teachers' work becomes both diminished and objectified by the system. What they are obliged to be accountable for is not theirs but the summary of their activity. As a product of bureaucratic rationalization, teachers' labour is dissected, analysed, and manipulated to extract its surplus value, or rather its value-addedness. (p. 401)

As Kostogriz (2012) identifies, this standardised approach to understanding teachers can develop a narrative about the work undertaken by teachers, but it has limited ability for the development of narratives about the experience of teaching, including the actions and meaning-making of teachers. The affective labours of teachers and their developing and changing views, values, beliefs and goals are effectively silenced. Through focusing on the experiences of teachers, Kostogriz (2012) and others (e.g. Allard & Doecke, 2014; Bulfin & Mathews, 2003; Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011, 2013; Owen, 2019; Parr, 2010; Parr et al., 2020; Pereira & Doecke, 2016) argue for the development of counternarratives that resist the reduction of teachers' work to actions and measurable outcomes. These are the relational and affective labours of teachers, with consideration for the complex ethical dimensions of their work, which is undertaken socially with others in schools rather than being performed by individual teacher 'units' with little or no connection to colleagues or students. Parr et al. (2020) argue that these counternarratives are 'the combination of writing, reflection and dialogue' between teachers and teacher educators and can function as a resistive force against the 'de-professionalising certainties of standards-based reforms' (p. 250). Influenced by the positioning of the relational, affective and ethical work of teachers in the standardisation imperatives of governments and education systems, my intention in this study is to make space for other narratives and

counternarratives and develop opportunities for early career English teachers to collaboratively engage in such affective work and critical reflections on that work.

The second discursive theoretical field is dialogic theory. Bakhtin's identity and dialogic theories (Bakhtin, 1981; Bakhtin, 1993) have been useful in developing an overarching framework for the study. In understanding the ethics of practice and English teaching, I utilise Bakhtin's understanding of the social and nuanced experience of individuals and the dialogic process of meaning-making. Bakhtin highlights the socially and linguistically mediated reality of human experience and brings into question the absolute truth of a past that does not incorporate 'diversity of speech and voice' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 25). Bakhtin notes,

As our starting point we have contemporary reality, the living people who occupy it together with their opinions. From this vantage point, from this contemporary reality with its diversity of speech and voice, there comes about a new orientation in the world and in time (including the 'absolute past' of tradition) through personal experience and investigation. (p. 25)

This perspective frames how I understand the experience of early career English teachers. Their experience is not absolute but is a subjective and changing truth, as experienced by individuals within their particular social realities, including their workplaces and working relationships. The diversity of speech and voice is not restricted to that which occurs between individuals but also those that occur within the individual. Bakhtin's concept of ideological becoming developed my understanding of the diverse and sometimes contrasting ideologies (views, values and beliefs) an individual can hold—and may well be working through—in becoming an English teacher. Ideology is not fixed, but rather, due to dialogic engagement in society (and with other individuals' institutions and their discourses), ideology is changing as individuals encounter and negotiate difference and tensions. Bakhtin (1981) argues for an understanding of society from the experience of individuals rather than from the perspective of institutions. In relation to schooling, these would be the experience of teachers within the institutions of schools and the education environment as a whole.

The sociological concept of the 'everyday' develops an understanding of contemporary reality from the perspectives of those living in it. This is the third discursive theoretical field that informs this study. The sociological concept of 'the everyday' is a way to understand the experience of individuals living and working within institutions (de Certeau, 1984; C. W. Mills, 2000). The concept is based on the recognition that institutions are made up of people rather than being abstract and isolated structures. From this perspective, inquiring into schooling should occur through inquiring into school-as-its-people, rather than only school-as-institution. Part of understanding institutions through the experience of those working within them is considering how individuals use the products of

institutions during the course of their everyday experience. In relation to schools, these products could be curricula or government initiatives such as HITS (see section 1.2). Here I draw on de Certeau's (1984) concept of 'making do' (p. xv) and his related concept of 'ways of using' (p. xiii), which focus on how individuals 'make do' with what is available to them. In the process of making do, de Certeau develops an understanding of the social and dialogic experience of individuals interacting with others.

In the thesis, I develop the ideas introduced here (see Chapters 2 and 4) through inquiring into the daily routines, activities and meaning-making of a small group of early career English teachers (nine participants) and the professional communities that they develop, form and enter. One of these communities was formed through the PhD study, where the participants and I engage dialogically and reflexively with one another (see section 4.4).

1.5 Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is presented in nine chapters. Chapter 1 provides a contextual framing of the study, including the biographical context and the education climate in Victoria, Australia. In addition, I offer a rationale for the study and a preliminary overview of the main conceptual ideas adopted.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 provide an analysis of the research and theories that have informed this study. Chapter 2 explains the sociological concept of the everyday and its applicability to a study of the experience of early career English teachers. Chapter 3 is an examination of the research literature, mostly from Australia and the United Kingdom (UK) since the late 1990s, on teachers' everyday work and becoming, with a particular focus on studies that consider the relational, affective and ethical work of teachers. Chapter 4 develops a central conceptual dimension of the thesis through an inquiry into Bakhtin's dialogic theory, in particular the concepts of heteroglossia and ideological becoming. Drawing on Bakhtin and a dialogical approach to ethics, this chapter also includes a discussion on the ethical dimensions of the study.

Chapter 5 details the study's design, methodology, data generation process and analytical framework. It also introduces the research participants and research sites. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 present the data analysis. Chapter 6 includes contrasting portraits of two participants who work in state schools, with an analysis of their negotiation of various relationships, discourses and agendas in their 'becoming'. Chapter 7 examines how three of the participants developed and maintained their sense of professionalism in contexts that often challenged it. Chapter 8 focuses on the professional relationships (in and outside of schools) developed and maintained by the nine participants and their importance for participants' becoming.

Chapter 9 begins with a reflexive consideration of the role of the PhD study in the participants' becoming. The chapter concludes the thesis by considering the key themes and implications of the study and offers recommendations for institutions about how early career English teachers may be better supported as they transition from university to schools and in their first 5 years in the profession.

2 Theoretical and Sociological Perspectives on the Everyday

Observation notes from Day 3 with Theodore

The class has just finished *Romeo and Juliet*. Today is a bit of a trial lesson because the school is considering introducing English Language, a VCE subject, in Year 9, and because Theodore is one of the English Language teachers, he put his hand up for the trial. It is also the day that his VIT mentor, a teacher from his school, comes to witness and critique his ‘passion project’ (which is a small research project of the graduate teacher’s choice) for his VIT registration. Theodore’s VIT mentor sits at the front, taking notes. His VIT project is on reflection and so, rather than the usual school-mandated low-stakes writing that should happen at the beginning of every lesson, his class is undertaking a reflection activity. They have been doing these reflections instead of homework.

Theodore gives verbal instructions to the class to get out a piece of paper, write down the questions and answer them. There is a lot of chatter, and a couple of students ask if they have finished *Romeo and Juliet*. Theodore pulls the class together, repeats instructions. Students struggle to engage—they appear confused about why they are doing the task, which differs from how lessons usually begin in the school. Once Theodore has written the guiding reflective questions on the whiteboard, he provides more verbal information about the purpose of this task: ‘Now we have finished *Romeo and Juliet*, we can spend some time reflecting on it’. There is a bit of chatter, but this slowly settles as students begin work.

The learning intention and success criteria are left blank. One student has headphones in. Another is on their iPad. Once students have completed their reflections and Theodore has collected their sheets, he introduces the next activity. He addresses the class, ‘They could just move on with poetry, but instead they are going to do a taster of English Language as the school is considering introducing the subject next year. English Language’ he explains, ‘is one of the three English units you can select in VCE.’ Students are asked to answer the question, ‘What is language?’

Early career teachers are not autonomous free agents. Their work and, crucially, their everyday experiences of that work, are highly mediated and shaped by multiple education discourses, systems and structures. Working inside a highly institutionalised context such as a school means that early career teachers must navigate a range of organisational structures, including faculties, schools, leadership and state and federal governments. Moreover, teaching occurs in rich and highly complex

socially shaped and situated contexts, thus teachers are also influenced by their colleagues and students, the local community and professional networks.

The extract that opened this chapter is from my written observation notes while sitting in Theodore's Year 9 English class on my third day of school observation at Stirling Secondary College. Within the first 10 minutes, Theodore's teaching had been shaped by a number of factors. These included: the HITS state government initiative, which requires the implementation of learning intentions and success criteria and opportunities for students to engage in low-stakes writing; the VCE curriculum through the trial lesson of an English Language-style class; and the VIT statutory body requirements for registration through the reflection activity and the presence of his colleague and VIT mentor. Theodore also negotiates social interactions with his students in the presence of a researcher and a colleague, his VIT mentor, both of whom are examining his work. To understand this complexity requires an approach to studying teachers' everyday work that starts from their perspectives of working within the institution of the school (Kostogriz, 2012).

In this chapter I argue that the sociological concept of the everyday (de Certeau, 1984) is generative in enabling me to make sense of the diverse influences shaping the professional becoming of new teachers and the richness of their experience. To introduce the chapter, I briefly consider the types of knowledge that can be developed through different research approaches to situate the approach of this study in terms of knowledge claims. The remainder of the chapter is divided into three main sections. In section 2.1, I adopt a historical approach by examining the social turn that occurred in the mid-twentieth century in the social sciences. Particular attention is paid to the conditions that led social scientists, specifically Benjamin (2007), Lefebvre (1971) and de Certeau (1984), to argue for a different understanding of society and experience. These conditions and arguments are then related to the contemporary education context, with a specific focus on their relevance to the conditions of teachers. While acknowledging that society, people and institutions have changed since the mid-twentieth century, the need for an everyday perspective is as necessary now as it was then for a thorough understanding of contemporary society. Authorities continue to assert control and management over much of the public narrative on professionals' lives and work (I. Buchanan, 2000; Kalekin-Fishman, 2013).

In section 2.2, I discuss the relevant aspects of the work of Michel de Certeau, in particular those that relate to the structure and nature of human interactions and development espoused in his book *The Practice of Everyday Life* (de Certeau, 1984). The purpose of this discussion is to explain the understanding of the everyday as used in this study. Following the discussion of de Certeau's ideas, I outline and justify the use of the everyday as an appropriate theoretical perspective for a study about understanding early career English teachers' work and becoming.

Section 2.3 concludes the chapter by examining how multiple discourses and narratives shape the experience of individuals in ways that are complex and socially situated. An argument is presented for developing alternate understandings of teachers that move beyond the managed public narratives of institutions and individuals in authority at those institutions.

The purpose of studying the work of teachers from their perspectives is to generate knowledge about the affective and intellectual work they undertake through the situated, complex and nuanced narratives of themselves and their work (Kostogriz, 2012). This is not the purpose of all studies of teachers, and in considering the use of the everyday as a theoretical frame, I examine what it can and cannot highlight. Reductive empirical studies that examine teachers' work from an institutional perspective, with less focus on teachers' lives and work, provide knowledge that may appear to be more generalisable but, in general, remove the situated experience of teaching in the process. The focus of many of these studies (e.g. Harris, Grandgenett, & Hofer, 2012; Hattie, 2009; Mishra & Koehler, 2006) is to examine teaching as a skill and knowledge set that is applicable across contexts. Studies designed to generate less context-dependent data are useful for some purposes, such as developing policy. However, they provide little understanding about the situated and relational experience of teaching and the effects of teaching on teachers themselves.

Studies that begin from the position of teachers' contextual and situated experience provide a different form of knowledge, which arises from taking an interest in teachers' daily routines, actions, negotiations, sense-making and dialogic interactions. Understanding teachers' work from their perspectives recognises the significance of the interpretive nature of teachers' experience. Studies focusing on the affective, ethical and relational work of teaching provide information on the needs of individuals and small groups of teachers and their knowledge, skills and experience. Such studies can also provide insights into the meaning-making processes of teachers as they negotiate various discourses and narratives about their work. The concept of the everyday provides an orientation towards research in which the purpose is to examine individuals' experience within institutional structures.

2.1 The Relevance of the Social Turn and the Everyday in the Contemporary Education Context

The everyday lives of most people may appear mundane, commonplace and seemingly insignificant. Yet, they have remained an absorbing and enduring focus for sociologists (Crow & Pope, 2008; Kalekin-Fishman, 2013). The reason for this enduring focus is that the everyday is understood to be

where meaning and societal structures are created and maintained (Crow & Pope, 2008). The shift of focus to the everyday is part of a broader social turn, which began in the mid-twentieth century and resulted in a paradigm shift within the social sciences. Rather than considering the macro of institutions and the micro of individuals separately, the social turn led to them being considered an ‘undivided phenomenon’ (Sztompka, 2008, p. 25).

In this section, I situate the concept of the everyday within the wider historical context to assist in understanding where and how this concept arose and its continued relevance for studying education. This section is divided into three subsections, which trace the evolving notion of the everyday from the 1930s prior to World War II, when Walter Benjamin and the Frankfurt School were writing and thinking from a Marxist perspective, through to the 1970s and 1980s, when Lefebvre (1971) and de Certeau (1984) were writing about the rise of the Foucauldian perspective and questioning the validity of Marxism. The final subsection considers the concept of the everyday in contemporary scholarship and education.

1930s and the Lead Up to World War II

A distinct and far-reaching change for intellectuals, which gained momentum across Europe following World War I, was the shift of the socialist centre towards Marxist notions and structures (Jay, 1974), resulting in an increasing distrust of public institutions and the political ideologies perceived to shape institutions. Driven by the political ideologies of totalitarianism, institutions tended to be viewed by the socialist left as tools of ideological state control by governments. Institutions enabled the classification, separation and ‘othering’ of various groups within society and were used by capitalist governments to increase capital rather than focus on the improvement of individuals’ experience in society.

Intellectuals on the socialist left began to consider a ‘world governed by the exhaustive protocols of bureaucracy and the administrative rigour of “official life”’ (Highmore, 2002, p. 9). They argue that years of capitalism, and the notion of mass society more generally, had produced a life for individuals that was continually shaped by governments, despite the rhetoric of individual freedoms. Thinking and writing in the 1930s, at the beginning of what has been dubbed the *social turn*, intellectuals began to consider the macro and the micro and the indivisible experience of the two, in which the everyday experience of individuals were ‘plagued’ by a ‘maze of bureaucratic officialdom’ (Highmore, 2002, p. 9).

Much of the resistive work that actively challenged capitalist models of governance emerged from German intellectuals linked to the Frankfurt School (Institute of Social Research). Founded in the

Weimar Republic, the Frankfurt School comprised intellectuals, academics and political dissidents who critiqued and opposed the capitalist social order that was well established in Western Europe by World War I (Jay, 1974; Löwy, 2005). In an attempt to grapple with the ‘monstrousness’ (Highmore, 2002, p. 32) of the changing society, members of the Frankfurt School engaged in analysing the relationship between theory and practice, which they referred to as *praxis*. Jay (1974) in examining the history of the Frankfurt School discusses the use of *praxis* in the early formative years and the new hope that it would be the tool to overthrow capitalist models:

Loosely defined, *praxis* was used to designate a kind of self-creating action, which differed from the externally motivated behavior produced by forces outside man’s control . . . one of the earmarks of *praxis* as opposed to mere action was its being informed by theoretical considerations. The goal of revolutionary activity was understood as the unifying of theory and *praxis*, which would be in direct contrast to the situation prevailing under capitalism. (p. 4)

The belief was that *praxis* could empower the masses and lead to a revolution that would overthrow capitalism and replace it with a more socialist government grounded in Marxist philosophy.

Within the Frankfurt School, Walter Benjamin in particular focused on *praxis* and the experience of individual’s in society, through his intense and exclusive focus on class struggle (Löwy, 2005). It was class struggle that drew Benjamin to the work of Karl Marx; ‘the life and death struggle between oppressors and oppressed, exploiters and exploited, dominators and dominated’ (p. 38). Working at the crossroads of Marxist philosophy and literary culture and drawing from various sources, including ‘German Romanticism, Jewish messianism and Marxism’ (Löwy, p. 4), Benjamin spent much of his time inquiring into and representing the lives of individuals and the ways in which they could lead full lives. For Benjamin, a full life consisted of social dialogue and sense-making and a focus on family, relationships and self. He believed in the importance of the everyday experience of individuals and the power of the individual to evoke change through their everyday lives. He did not argue for the ‘inevitable’ revolution that many of the other members of the Frankfurt School argued for. Rather, he raised the notion of revolutionary pessimism that focuses on the ‘service of the oppressed classes’ (Löwy, 2005, p. 9) and the threat that capitalist technical and economic discourses and progress pose for humanity.

While Benjamin (2007) upheld hope for the power of individuals—and individuals banding together as collectives—to change the superstructures of capitalism and resist and revolutionise the ‘capitalistic mode of production’ (p. 217), there is also an awareness in his writing of their limited actual ability to do so. Benjamin recognises that despite the creative power of individuals, they were

unlikely to be able to overthrow or even live outside of the dominating power of capitalism because they existed and relied on structures of capitalist society. For example, in his essay *The Storyteller*, Benjamin recognises storytelling as a uniquely important human endeavour and laments its loss, due to the unimaginable scale of destruction that occurred during the First World War. However, even in the face of the aftermath of the war there is hope in this essay, where Benjamin believes that through storytelling the proletariat will be able to resist the technocratic features of capitalism. Pereira and Doecke (2016) discuss the contemporary relevance of Benjamin's essay in relation to his belief in the power of storytelling to enable individuals to 'refocus on moments that offer glimpses of other alternatives, other ways of engaging in the world as it presents itself to us than what conventional expectations and practices demand' (p. 538). Benjamin (2007) positions the everyday as a way to refocus attention away from capitalist society, arguing that by turning attention to the everyday, one can live a different life that is not wholly dictated by capitalist structures, despite existing within these structures. Resistance, he argues, does not come from apathy nor outward war but from individual and collective meaning-making in which individuals consider their positions within capitalist structures. This meaning-making has the ability to pull individuals from the mundane, repetitive and depersonalising way of life within capitalist society. Ultimately, Benjamin's focus in his writing is on the way in which individuals live and make meaning of their lives rather than the need for individuals to overthrow the social order. He argues for a life lived well.

In an attempt to grapple with the 'monstrousness' (Highmore, 2002, p. 32) of capitalist institutions, which were viewed with suspicion and distrust leading up to World War II, Benjamin and others associated with the Frankfurt School engaged in and promoted praxis and inquiring into and representing the everyday creative experiences of individuals. In particular, Benjamin (2007) argues in his work for the power of individual stories and creativity to live within the gaps and interstices of the dominant culture. Many of those in the Frankfurt School leading up to World War II appreciated the power of individuals to make choices and act according to their motivations and values, but they also recognised that, ultimately, their agency is constrained by the domination of capitalist structures. Thus, individuals need to negotiate their views, values and beliefs in relation to those of institutions and work to find ways to live with meaning.

Post-World War II and the Rise of the Foucauldian Tradition

During World War II, members and associates of the Frankfurt School came together in solidarity for one particular mission—the overthrow of fascist Germany. By the end of the war, however, Walter Benjamin had committed suicide after fleeing the Nazi threat, and many of the Frankfurt School had left for America. It was during this time that the remaining members of the Frankfurt School focused

their attention on analysing Nazism, which led to a subtle change in their theoretical direction (Jay, 1974). They became more heavily focused on the critique of culture. This was partially due to their experiences of oppression and persecution during World War II but also to the confusion they witnessed in America, where people appeared, to a certain extent, to want to be controlled by institutional structures.

The tension between the desire for the apparent certainties offered by institutional structures and the problems associated with their dominating influence was also occurring across Europe. The aftermath of World War II saw increased control by governments and institutions in response to economic, social and political instability (I. Buchanan, 2000; Jay, 1974; White, 1995). Governments introduced mass bureaucratic systems to manage and rationalise human behaviours in an attempt to bring order to society. This was partially made possible by the conditions of the war, which saw a blending of social classes across Europe and the rise of the middle class, resulting in a new social solidarity (Matthews, 2017). Broadly, governments perceived these institutional systems as necessary to heal and rebuild society, and many resulted in an improved quality of life for many citizens. For example, there was cooperation between the West and East in the face of the severe polio epidemic and heavy investment in the evaluation and implementation of the polio vaccine by communist regimes (Vargha, 2014). This was made possible by the Cold War rhetoric and the unprecedented open cooperation between governments and the scientific community on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The structures that enabled this cooperation ultimately led to the eradication of polio. Another example of an improvement in quality of life was the establishment of the National Health Service in the UK in 1948 under the guise of pursuing the socialist ideals of ‘universalism, collectivism, and social solidarity’ (Matthews, 2017, p. 26). In terms of education, the emergence of institutional systems led to mass schooling—the post-war ‘education explosion’ (Benavot & Riddle, 1988, p. 194)—which resulted in significant increases in high-quality education and educational opportunities for a wider cross-section of society. Moreover, the establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation in 1946 resulted in the first cross-national comprehensive and reliable collection of educational data. This highlighted the conditions of schooling and progress of nations in providing modern education systems for their citizens (Benavot & Riddle, 1988, p. 194).

While there were clear advantages to many of these systems fuelled by pre-World War II thinking, they were problematised by many who saw institutions filtering into all parts of individuals’ lives (Highmore, 2002). Alongside the necessity and benefits of institutional systems was a concern for the voices, experience and agency of ordinary people. Social scientists observed Europe becoming ‘a world governed by the exhaustive protocols of bureaucracy and the administrative rigour of “official life”’, resulting in people’s everyday lives being ‘continually plagued by government’ (Highmore, 2002, p. 9). They drew attention to the intertwined experiences of individuals living and working

within social and political systems (Jay, 1974), particularly from the perspective of individuals through an integrated understanding of individual and society. In his work, C. W. Mills (2000) focuses on this integrated experience and discusses the 'interplay of man and society, of biography and history, of self and world' (p. 4).

Building on the concerns raised prior to World War II by those in the Frankfurt School, Lefebvre (1971) and others have shown how bureaucratic systems can lead to individuals' lives becoming predictable, monotonous and consumed by boredom (Lefebvre, 1971, p. 85) as they increasingly integrate their behaviours into the rules and procedures of institutions (Sheringham, 2006). This form of integration poses a threat to the agency, creativity and inventiveness of individuals. In response to this perceived threat to the interpretive and creative experience of everyday life, social scientists have attempted to draw attention to and examine the 'strangeness at the heart of the everyday' (Highmore, 2002, p. 12). They argue that by examining the 'strangeness' of everyday life, an understanding of the possibilities of how individuals can act with agency may be developed.

Thinking and writing in the mid-twentieth century, de Certeau and Lefebvre were part of and contributed to this broader social turn (Crow & Pope, 2008). Lefebvre wrote partly in response to the sense of euphoria that occurred following the liberation of Paris in 1944, when there was a sense of enthusiasm and optimism for transformation (Trebitsch, 1991). He was optimistic that accompanying liberation would be a change in life, where flexibility and thinking replaced depersonalising systems. De Certeau's work achieved greater prominence during the 1968 student protests in Paris, when he experienced a 'shattering' of his understanding of the world as he became 'alert to the potentiality of the events but wise to the reality' (I. Buchanan, 2000, p. 1). This 'potentiality of events' referred to the power of individuals, but he was 'wise to the reality' of the power of institutions and authority. Delving beyond the routines of bureaucratic systems, Lefebvre (1991) and de Certeau (1984) were interested in understanding the experience of individuals, which they conceived to be social, relational and interpretative. They focused on the 'life of people amongst people, together with them, side by side with them, in cooperation, competition, conflict, or struggle with them, in love or hatred, but never alone, in isolation' (Sztompka, 2008, p. 24).

Lefebvre (1991) was interested, in particular, in the balance of discourses, arguing that accounts from institutions were selective and based on 'some unconvincing revelations' (p. 1), the purpose of which was to propagandise public consumption. The aim of the dominant discourses from institutions, he observes, was to shape the way individuals live their lives by positioning them as a homogenised mass of consumers. Lefebvre made the argument that it is through individuals' everyday experiences that people can resist and escape the depersonalisation of institutional discourses and the monopolisation

of capitalism (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 37). Following World War II, Lefebvre was a pioneer in arguing for the importance of the everyday.

While de Certeau was influenced by World War II and its aftermath, it was not until the 1960s and 1970s that he began to focus in detail on the experience of the everyday. Influenced by the political context as well as the work of Foucault, de Certeau considers the structure of society and the power that was part of those structures. The notion of power did not only rest with institutions but wherever people interacted and exchanged narratives. For de Certeau and Lefebvre, highlighting the everyday lives and stories of ordinary people became a way of to value the people living and working in society and to resist the effects of bureaucratic systems and structures that attempted to remove people's agency (Crow & Pope, 2008; Jay, 1974). Both express an increasing belief that each person could be an agent of domination or social change. The power to dominate or change is not restricted to a single entity such as an institution because power exists not only in people but in discourses and narratives. This highlights the importance of stories and their influence on discourse creation and change.

Contemporary Society and the Education Context

The need to consider and understand the lives of ordinary people is still relevant in contemporary society (Crow & Pope, 2008; May & Powell, 2008). Through the use of systems and structures, institutions continue to attempt to silence the voices of ordinary people, restrict their agency and dictate how their lives should be conducted. Benjamin and members of the Frankfurt School raise and discuss issues with which contemporary society continues to grapple (May & Powell, 2008).

There is a common thread linking Lefebvre's, de Certeau's and Benjamin's observations of the stifling and oppressive influence of institutions and systems on individuals and the more recent critiques of contemporary education, which is driven by standards-based reform agendas (Ball, 2016; Biesta et al., 2015; Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011; Lingard et al., 2017). These theorists and researchers are all responding to the institutional systems and structures that ignore, remove or attenuate personal agency and experience. In the contemporary education context, there is a similar tension between simultaneously valuing institutions and recognising the threat they pose to individuals. There is a recognition of the permanency of institutional structures alongside a concern about the space for individuals to act according to their views, values and goals. And there is an interplay between the institution and the individual, including individuals' work in institutions and structures, in which individuals can be agents in developing institutional agendas. However, a concern arises when the balance of power shifts too far in favour of the institution, the institutional discourse is the dominant narrative for understanding society and individuals are only considered in relation to their role in meeting the institutional agenda (de Certeau, 1984; Lefebvre, 1971).

Government policymakers, for instance, claim to know what ‘good’ teaching is and hold teachers to account in terms of teacher standards (Kostogriz & Doecke, 2013). Their policies can leave little space for teachers to have any choice in their professional development. When there is a balance between the individual and the institution, teachers have a voice and hold a position of power alongside the institutional discourse to create opportunities within institutional structures to enact their approach to teaching and development. Such opportunities and power enable teachers to not only undertake the technical work of schooling as dictated by state and federal governments, statutory bodies and school authorities but to engage in a creative, social and dialogic experience (Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011, 2013).

The world may have changed since the writings of de Certeau, Lefebvre and Benjamin, yet their concerns and the ‘thrust’ (I. Buchanan, 2000, p. 88) of their arguments, social critique and debates are still relevant in the contemporary context, including in schools. Having presented my rationale for adopting the everyday as a framework and discourse because of its suitability for inquiring into the contemporary education environment, the following section expands on the ideas of de Certeau in developing the everyday as a framework for the study.

2.2 de Certeau on the Everyday

Writing in the 1970s and 1980s, de Certeau was interested in understanding the daily mundane social experience of ordinary people, which he referred to as ‘the everyday’ (Highmore, 2002). In his book, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau (1984) examines the various spaces, such as homes and factories, in which ordinary people interact as a way to understand the experience of the individual with others and within institutions. Part of this experience is considering the room for individuals to act with agency—their capacity to make choices and act according to their motivations, views and values. In this section, I examine de Certeau’s work and consider how the everyday can be used in research. In particular, I consider the use of the everyday for focusing attention on the narratives of individuals alongside those of institutions in an attempt to develop a multidimensional understanding of society. I also consider how de Certeau uses the everyday to understand the power and empowerment of individuals. Following this discussion, I examine de Certeau’s work as a framework for exploring contemporary schooling to illustrate how an everyday approach is useful for developing knowledge about teachers’ work and experience.

Understanding Power, Individuals and the Everyday

In formulating his view of society as a complex combination of institutions, systems and individuals, de Certeau (1984) drew heavily on the work of Foucault, specifically *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Foucault, 1995). This work is influential, as it was for many of de Certeau's generation, not only for its penetrating depiction of society but also for Foucault's theorisation of power. Influenced by this theory of power, de Certeau (1984) was primarily interested in the struggle between those in privileged positions in institutions and the practices of ordinary people. He argued that because of the effects of power, attention is often given to the 'foregrounded practices' of the privileged and institutions rather than the 'innumerable other practices' of individuals and small groups (pp. 48–49). Given the authority of those that control institutions, there is a self-fulfilling loop in which those in power can use their privileged positions to increase and entrench their power. In society, it is these 'foregrounded practices' that are hegemonic.

Historical records such as newspapers, books and governmental and institutional policy documents often silence or omit the voices of marginal individuals and groups, which, although large in number, have limited power. By limiting historical records to a few privileged perspectives, institutions can select the public story that is told and use this story to maintain their hold on power. When historical records are limited to one dominant voice, this voice tends to convey a narrow narrative told from an authority's perspective. Recognising the need for multiple perspectives in accounts of society to balance the power between institutions and individuals, de Certeau (1984) argues for a positioning of the narratives of individuals alongside, rather than within, those of institutions. It is a similar position to those who argue for the development of the 'people's history' or 'history from below' (Samuel, 1981, p. xvi). This is a recording of history that has long been used in an effort to bring history 'closer to people's lives' (p. xv). It is an 'attempt to broaden the basis of history, to enlarge its subject matter ... and offer new maps of knowledge' (p. xvi) through the perspective of individuals living and working in society.

In promoting the notion of the everyday, de Certeau (1984) is not merely calling for its recognition and understanding but, more importantly, its inclusion in the narrative of society. Located firmly in the critical tradition, the notion of the everyday is an attempt to empower individuals to act with agency, speak back to institutions that attempt to constrain them and create their own alternate (or counter-hegemonic) narratives and products. As stated in the opening pages of *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau's goal is to no longer have ordinary people viewed as 'passive and guided by established rules' (p. xi) or 'appear as merely the obscure background of social activity' (p. xi). Rather, their power and influence to create and alter processes and systems should be recognised, understood and encouraged.

Focusing on the nuances of the everyday experience, de Certeau discusses the ‘murmuring voice of societies’ (de Certeau, Giard, & Mayol, 1998, p. i), and investigates the subtle ways in which individuals operate as they live and work. The use of the term ‘murmuring’ is deliberate—it is a response to the ways in which ordinary people were typically constructed by research and media at the time, generally in terms of one of two archetypal modes—resistance or apathy. Rather than allocating actions to these two binaries, de Certeau was interested in the ‘inventiveness’ (Giard, 1998, p. xx) of individuals and their ‘ways of using’ (de Certeau, 1984, p. 30) institutional structures and systems. Giard (1998) discusses de Certeau’s optimism in that he never viewed the individual’s experience within ‘the massive reality of powers and institutions’ (p. xxi) as hopeless or fixed. Rather, he was engaged by the ways in which individuals were able to find ‘microfreedoms’ (p. xxi) through mobilising unsuspecting resources that were hidden from social and political powers.

For de Certeau (1984), the purpose of examining the everyday was to consider the structures, rules and conventions of institutions and develop an understanding of how people make do and make sense of them, how their experiences are mediated by them and the ways in which ordinary people use the systems and structures of institutions to develop their personal or professional agency.

The purpose of an everyday perspective, therefore, is to resist the hegemonic power of institutions and those in authority by drawing attention to individuals and groups of individuals within institutions. A study of the everyday enables an examination of how the other procedures, practices and products that are not privileged can be recognised, considered, understood and empowered (de Certeau, 1984, p. 49). My purpose in using an everyday perspective to examine early career English teachers’ work is to resist the potentially delimiting effects of the dominant education narrative that attempts to measure teachers’ work in terms of high-quality teaching and HITS (see sections 1.2 and 3.2). In contrast, it is to recognise, consider, understand and empower the voice of teachers.

Use of the Everyday in Understanding the Contemporary Education Context

The work of de Certeau has a clear connection to the contemporary education context in which governments and schools are increasingly introducing new structures and systems of governance, such as standards-based initiatives and mandated testing regimes, to frame and exert control over teachers’ work. The result of these impositions on teachers is the emergence of a dominant narrative, authored by institutions, about teachers’ work. Drawing on de Certeau (1984), it is possible to disrupt this single narrative with other narratives or counternarratives by shifting the focus from school-as-institution to school-as-its-people. By examining individuals, a multitude of understandings about schools can be developed. In this study, from a position of school-as-its-people, I was able to engage

with the ways in which teachers were using and making meaning of the encroaching policies and initiatives of governments and systems in their work.

While institutional products such as government policies, professional standards and initiatives are arguably encroaching on, ignoring and quashing teachers' practices (Allard & Doecke, 2014; Ball, 2003, 2016), teachers are mobilising the resources of schools in novel and unexpected ways to comply with or even subvert these reforms. A number of studies have shown that teachers are capable of productively making use of the systems and structures imposed on them in the development of their practices (Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011, 2013; Parr, Doecke, & Bulfin, 2015). Teachers exercise their agency in multiple ways by using, reappropriating and creating space within the constraints of institutions. However, there are caveats and limitations to the extent of this personal agency. De Certeau (1984) explains that individuals' actions are 'dependent on the possibilities offered by circumstances' (p. 29). Teachers do not have the ability to enact their own wishes unhindered—rather, they must continually negotiate with the 'constraining order' (de Certeau, 1984, p. 30) of institutions. An everyday perspective helps shine a light on these acts of negotiation and the ways in which teachers consider, reflect, debate, reject, accept and modify the curricula, assessment procedures and narratives of schooling and education.

One purpose of an everyday perspective is to provide an alternative to the way in which society is researched and understood—to consider the 'ways in which users—commonly assumed to be passive and guided by established rules—operate' (de Certeau, 1984, p. xi). Understanding the everyday of schooling can position the narratives of teachers alongside those of institutions, producing a fuller, multidimensional understanding of schooling and education as well as encouraging teachers to recognise and develop their agency within institutional structures and systems. Benjamin (2007) and de Certeau (1984), in particular, make the argument for the importance of stories in understanding the interplay between people and institutions and the lived experience of ordinary people. They identify stories as an essential part of human interaction and development and show how through storying, people can consider, reflect, debate and understand others' experience and compare them with their own.

An understanding of the everyday experience of early career English teachers not only gives voice to a missing element of history and promotes teacher agency, it also provides an opportunity for teachers to reflect, engage and develop, form a collective experience and seek 'real life wisdom' (Benjamin, 2007, p. 87). Stories of the everyday 'prompt us to be aware of the multiple ways in which stories constitute the fabric of our lives' while also enabling us 'to be more fully aware of what we might learn through sharing stories of our workplace experience' (Pereira & Doecke, 2016, p. 539).

The extract that opened this chapter regarding Theodore's Year 9 English class is a story about his workplace experience, one that enabled me to understand the numerous policy influences on his work as well as how he is negotiating them. For example, rather than ignoring the school-imposed low-stakes writing task at the beginning of the lesson, he replaces it with a reflective task, which is required for his VIT registration. He did not simply resist the imposition of all initiatives in his classroom; rather, he is negotiating how to meet the requirements that are imposed on him, such as those for VIT registration, in ways that justify his removal of other initiative requirements. By engaging in his classroom story, I am able to begin to develop an understanding of his process of meaning-making in his teaching and the interplay between his teaching and the institutional requirements of the school.

This chapter has examined the sociological framing of the everyday and the use of the everyday for understanding individuals' experience and as a place where people engage in development. In positioning the concept historically, I have provided an understanding of the circumstances to which philosophical and sociological thinkers were responding and have pointed out the differences from and continuities with contemporary society. I have examined how the everyday has been framed as a way to understand the negotiation in which individuals engage with each other as well as with institutions. I have made the argument for using the sociological concept of the everyday in developing an understanding of early career English teachers' work and experience.

The following chapter extends these arguments as I develop an approach to researching early career English teachers' work and experience by examining education literature from the discursive theoretical field of ethics of practice and English teaching.

3 Teachers' Everyday Work and Becoming

Extract from my research journal: Reflections on school observations

What I am witnessing is one day in the life of these students and Charlotte. It is a slice of their relationship with one another. It represents this moment in time and no other. Through conversations with Charlotte (many recorded), I have been able to gain some understanding of the work that Charlotte has done up until this point with these students; from students not being able to put together a sentence to being able to write coherent, well-structured sentences that critically engage with a text on the board. Her approach to students and classes is thought out. It may not be what I would do, but that doesn't mean it is deficient. In fact, it is making me consider what a productive and engaged classroom is. There are still things that I would not let go in my class, students speaking when I am, some of the inappropriate comments, but it is working for her and, it appears, for her students. The benefit of working with Charlotte is that I am able to talk to her about this, we can talk through these issues: the difference between our approaches, what drives those differences and who we are as teachers. I am gaining insight into Charlotte's work as well as my own.

As shown in this extract from my research journal, recorded during my first 2 days of observing Charlotte at work in her school and engaging with her in her everyday work as an English teacher, I am using this writing to help me develop an understanding of her experience. It clearly cannot be reduced to a measurement of her skills and knowledge as a teacher nor her ability to align with a generic set of standards. Rather, I am developing an understanding of the relational, affective and ethical work in which Charlotte engages every day with her students in the classroom. Moreover, as we dialogically discussed her experience, we engaged in co-constructed meaning-making and reflective consideration of each other's actions and experiences (see section 4.4). In this chapter, I discuss the dimensions of teachers' work and development that are identified in this extract—the everydayness of teacher development and the dialogic interactions that are part of teachers' development. Through examining the education literature from the discursive theoretical field of ethics of practice and English teaching, I argue for the relevance of, and present a case for, an 'everyday framework' by which to understand the experience of early career English teachers in contemporary schooling in which standards-based reforms and technical-economic discourses mediate teachers' work and development (Ball, 2003; Ball & Bowe, 1992; Biesta et al., 2015; Gillborn, 1994; Kostogriz, 2012). Using an everyday framework enables a broader understanding of teachers' work that includes the relational, ethical and contextual experience of teaching.

In doing this, I have focused predominantly on studies and commentaries from the UK and Australia because of the substantial similarities between their systems of government and education. Both have centrally controlled and government-run education systems and subscribe to a standards-based reform approach to education policy and governance (Peel, Patterson & Gerlach, 2000). Much of the research from Australia and the UK over the last three decades has critically focused on the practices of teachers in the increasingly bureaucratic context of schools and schooling (Allard & Doecke, 2014; Ball & Bowe, 1992; Biesta et al., 2015; Gillborn, 1994; Troman, 1996). Ball and Bowe (1992), for instance, examines the effects of the implementation of the national curriculum on teachers in the UK. Some 20 years later in Australia, Kostogriz (2012) examines a similar phenomenon. Both studies are concerned with the colonising effects of standardising curricula and policies on teachers' everyday work. Across much of the research from the UK and Australia there is a consensus that teachers' work involves a struggle as government policies attempt to increase control over teachers and their work (Allard & Doecke, 2014; Ball & Bowe, 1992; Biesta et al., 2015; Bulfin & Mathews, 2003; R. Connell, 2009; Gillborn, 1994; Troman, 1996). The research suggests that teachers attempt to negotiate their work via their own ethical and ideological understandings of education. My study continues on from this research by considering the effects on early career English teachers of increasingly bureaucratic structures and systems, such as standardised curricula, mandated testing and increased accountability measures.

This chapter is divided into two main sections that link to the two primary research questions (see section 1.3). The focus of these sections, respectively, is on (1) the everyday work of early career English teachers and (2) their becoming. First, using the everyday as a perspective, I examine the education literature that considers the work of teachers as relational, affective and ethical to understand the ways in which teachers negotiate their practices in institutional structures from the everyday perspective. There is a particular focus on the narratives of teachers and their opportunities to 'make do' (de Certeau, 1984, p. 62) within institutions. Second, in considering teachers' becoming, I inquire into how the education literature has illustrated teachers' development. I focus on the different discourses about teachers' development embedded in policy and research and consider these from a relational, affective and ethical approach to teachers' work. Both of these sections assist in the development of a framework for inquiring into the work, experience and becoming of early career English teachers.

3.1 Learning from the Everyday in Studies of Teachers and Education

While education researchers have long shown an interest in documenting the experiences of teachers and students in schools, there has been an increased focus on the daily lives and practices of teachers

since the 1980s (R. W. Connell, 1985; Hargreaves & Tucker, 1991; Heath, 1983; Illesca, 2003), often in relation to standards-based reforms (Ball, 1982; Breen, 2014; Bulfin & Mathews, 2003; R. Connell, 2009; Goodson, 2014). These researchers have highlighted the interrelationships between individuals and their working contexts in institutions. In examining these interrelationships, researchers have used a range of perspectives, including psychological, sociological and critical. In Chapter 2, I discussed a sociological approach to the everyday and its suitability for my study on early career English teachers' work and becoming. This chapter predominantly focuses on studies that have drawn on sociological traditions and the sociology of education to examine teachers' work. These include studies from the discursive theoretical field of ethics of practice and English teaching.

Interplay Between Teachers and Institutions

Throughout the literature is the sentiment that while teachers' work may be influenced by institutional discourses, policies and initiatives, teachers' ideologies and the 'social practice' (Kostogriz, 2012, p. 402) of teaching are managing to withstand the onslaught from these discourses (also see Allard & Doecke, 2014; Ball & Bowe, 1992; Biesta et al., 2015; R. Connell, 2009; Gillborn, 1994; Troman, 1996). The research suggests that, to differing degrees, teachers are resisting the attempt by institutions to reduce their work to best-practice and measurable outcomes as developed in technical-economic discourses (Biesta, 2015; Kostogriz, 2012).

In recognising teachers' work and approaching education and schooling from the perspective of teachers, critical education researchers are sceptical of standards-based reforms and other technical-economic discourses that seek to impose managerial accountability on teachers (Ball, 2016; Biesta et al., 2015; Bulfin & Mathews, 2003; Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011; Lingard et al., 2017; Parr, Bellis, & Bulfin, 2013). In the literature, there is an ongoing and significant critique of managerial professional standards in education policy (Parr et al., 2013). While this critique follows many paths, it often focuses on the effects of managerial approaches on teachers and their practices as well as the policy-based claims that managerial approaches will 'raise the quality of teaching and the status of the profession' (Department of Education and Training Victoria, 2019, para. 9). Many researchers have expressed concern about the potential of these managerial approaches to deprofessionalise teachers (Ball, 2016; Biesta et al., 2015; Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011). They argue that as education policy increasingly takes a prescriptive approach to teaching—what teachers should know and be able to do (AITSL, 2011)—there are fewer opportunities available for teachers to develop a situated understanding of teaching. For example, Breen (2014) in her ethnographic study on teachers' everyday work comments that her understanding of the ethics of teaching comes from within, "a sense of my relationships to those about me" rather than being "something measurable" (p. 241). A context-specific understanding of teaching practice takes account of how the views, values and beliefs of

teachers inform their practices in meeting the needs of their students. It is not assumed in the literature that teachers disagree with standards-based reforms, but it is argued that they are not given the opportunity to critically engage with reform agendas. This approach reduces the opportunity for teachers to act from a place of expertise. Rather than mounting an argument for the complete removal of all institutional oversight and accountability, the critique underpinning this body of work questions the extent to which institutions are attempting to impose on and dictate to teachers about the nature of their work.

Kostogriz and Doecke (2013) capture this sentiment by stating that it is ‘difficult, and probably unproductive, to argue against accountability [because] accountability has been always central to teachers’ work’ (p. 91). They recognise the place of policy and accountability in the structuring of mass schooling. Brass (2016) points out that mass schooling was ‘conceived as a solution to perceived social, moral, economic and political problems’ (p 22). It is through the institution of the school that the majority of people in society are able to access academic knowledge as well as build their social awareness and understanding. Yet, the current approach to accountability limits teachers’ agency by removing opportunities for critical engagement with the measures that determine the quality of their work or how quality is understood. Kostogriz and Doecke (2013) argue that accountability should link to teachers’ ‘liability to be called to account’ (p. 92). This relates to individual teachers and the profession as a whole. It involves a social and moral accountability between the state (and other regulatory bodies such as those in relation to Catholic and independent schools) and teachers and between teachers and the public. The accountability that Kostogriz and Doecke (2013) oppose is the reduction of teachers’ liability to how closely their work complies with externally determined standards.

In relation to moral and social accountability to the state and the public, many researchers recognise the need for teachers to develop an understanding of various approaches to education and appreciate the importance of teacher agency in making independent decisions in the classroom. Britzman (2003) and others (Bullough, 2008; Doecke, 2004; Moore, 2004; Parr, Bulfin, Castaldi, Griffiths & Manuel, 2015) argue that the process of learning to teach involves negotiating ‘conflicting visions, disparaging considerations, and contesting interpretations’ (Britzman, 2003, p. 26). These negotiations arise from various points: the teacher’s subjective experience and already developed views and values; the institutions of schooling in which teachers engage as students, preservice teachers and practising teachers; and institutional authorities such as government education departments that promote a particular discourse about education. Alongside this negotiation, Britzman (2003) includes the presence of social tropes around teaching and teachers; for example, ‘the “good” teacher is positioned as self-sacrificing, kind, overworked, underpaid, and holding an unlimited reservoir of patience’ (p. 28). Moore (2004) also explores these tropes in examining the dominant discourses about teachers.

He describes this social perception of the “good” teacher as the “charismatic subject”, where the focus is on “inherent or intrinsic qualities of character or personality” which is often coupled with “a deeply ‘caring’ orientation” (p. 4), rather than the focus being on the teacher’s education or training. The social construction of what it is to be a teacher is an added element that beginning teachers must negotiate. Britzman (2003) suggests the need for a broader approach to understand the institutional influences on teachers, stating that the dominant discourses of what it is to be a teacher often have no connection with the social dimensions of teaching, which include links to government, individual schools and elements of society. Teacher development occurs in the negotiation of their “classroom perceptions and practices” (Moore, 2004) and the wider social contexts in which their classrooms are located, both institutional and social. It is in the interplay between social dimensions that teachers negotiate their everyday work, and these are crucial in understanding the process of teachers’ identity development and its relationship to their sense of professionalism.

The consensus in the literature is that in seeking to understand the nature of teachers’ work, it is essential to understand the interplay between the institution of the school and teachers. There is also a recognition that the school as an institution is influenced by other institutions such as state and federal governments. Teachers are required to negotiate with the school in their everyday work as well as with other discourses such as societal narratives and tropes about what it means to be a good teacher. This is the messy context that early career English teachers face when they start in the profession. By focusing on teachers’ voices alongside pedagogical practices and institutions, we are provided with a range of valuable insights into the changing processes of education, the interplay between institutions and teachers and how institutions and institutional discourses, policies and initiatives are experienced and negotiated in the everyday by teachers (Goodson, 2014).

Teachers Making Do In Schools

The rationale for the many studies that have examined teachers’ work from the perspective of teachers is to position teachers’ voices and narratives alongside and equal in importance to the discourse of institutions; that is, the voices of the ‘other’ are brought alongside the voices of the ‘privileged’ (de Certeau, 1984, p. 49) (also see Allard & Doekke, 2014; Ball & Bowe, 1992; Biesta, 2015; Kostogriz, 2012; Parr et al., 2020). However, as well as advocating for the status of teachers’ voices, these studies have the potential to empower teachers. For example, Ball and Bowe (1992) recognise the ‘chaos’ that came with the implementation of the National Curriculum for England in the early 1990s, commenting on the ‘stress, resentment, illness and absenteeism’ (p. 98) that occurred for many teachers and the drastic decision by some to leave the profession. However, alongside this dire report, the authors also argue for the ability of teachers to manoeuvre through policy, emphasising the

‘peculiarities and particularities’ (p. 100) of teachers’ behaviours as these policies were introduced into their specific contexts.

In Australia, Kostogriz’s (2012) study into the effects of curriculum and policy initiatives on teachers’ work and experience is another example of research that focuses on how teachers negotiate with top-down policies and initiatives. He reports on a major regulatory institution in Australia that seeks to colonise teachers’ everyday work through standards-based reforms, accountability and performativity measures. The result for teachers is that their work has been ‘turned into, and reduced to, a bureaucratic spectacle and an object of measurement, surveillance, and control’ (p. 401). Yet, by attending to the ‘human contact and relational ethics’ (p. 402) of teaching, Kostogriz finds that although teachers’ work has been affected, teachers’ ideologies and the ‘social practice’ (p. 402) of teaching are withstanding the onslaught from institutional practices that attempt to reduce their work to ‘technical-economic discourses’ (p. 398). By focusing on the social and affective dimensions of their work, some teachers feel empowered to negotiate or, to some degree, ignore institutional demands. Kostogriz (2012) concludes his article by focusing on the importance of paying attention to the social experience of teaching: ‘There is hope in [teachers’] commitment to preserve the “habits of the heart”, as well as in their sheer determination to persist, no matter what obstacles they face’ (p. 410). This sentiment of determination is expressed throughout the many studies that focus on teacher experience (Allard & Doecke, 2014; Ball & Bowe, 1992; Biesta et al., 2015; Bulfin & Mathews, 2003; R. Connell, 2009; Gillborn, 1994; Troman, 1996).

Overall, the literature on teachers and institutions provides examples of how teachers are finding ways to interpret, negotiate and work with the discourses imposed on them. To what degree this is possible or desirable depends on the school context and the needs of individual teachers (Breen, 2014). Despite the findings that teachers identify ways of negotiating with top-down reforms, in recent times it has been argued that there are decreasing opportunities for individuals to negotiate and interpret the accountability and standardising measures in schools (Kostogriz & Doecke, 2013; Biesta, 2016; Carter & Stevenson, 2012). Given the intensification of standardisation and accountability pressures, there is an ongoing need to understand teachers’ agency and promote different discourses about education than those evident in government policy.

3.2 Social and Critical Perspectives on Teachers’ Development

This section develops a critical perspective on the development and learning of early career English teachers. I examine what is already known from the literature about the development and learning of teachers, specifically early career English teachers. The first aim of this section is to develop an

understanding of what is perceived to be significant in the recent literature on the professional development of teachers. The second aim is to argue for a multidimensional approach to examining teachers' development that considers various spaces and opportunities for learning that teachers encounter throughout their careers. The third aim is to examine how the literature portrays teachers' continually developing ethical, intellectual and political investments alongside their knowledge and skills, which is the focus of standards-based reforms. From this multidimensional approach to development, the fourth aim is to problematise the use of the term *development*. I argue that given its use in education policy and education discourse, this term potentially limits the understanding of teachers' growth. I make the case that the term *becoming* is more adequate and appropriate for understanding teachers' dynamic process of development because it allows for the incorporation of pedagogy, practice and ideology.

Perspectives on Teachers' Development

Over the last two decades, researchers have increasingly examined the professional development of teachers (Darling-Hammond, Wei, Andree, Richardson, & Orphanos, 2009; Doecke et al., 2008). This is due, in part, to the standards-based approach to education, which attempts to narrow the understanding of teacher development to a linear, observable process (Parr, 2010). In Chapter 1, I positioned the study within the context of the standards-based reform agenda, which approaches teacher development in terms of imposed accountability measures from regulatory authorities such as VIT and AITSL. This section briefly outlines the managerial approach of these regulatory authorities to teacher development. I then examine different perspectives for understanding teacher development by considering studies and discussions from the education research on the social, dialogic and affective development of teachers.

The language of regulatory bodies in relation to teacher development often emphasises the visible and behavioural dimensions of teaching skills and knowledge. A typical rationale offered for AITSL's (2011) teacher standards is that the development of teachers will lead to an improvement in teacher quality, thus school performance (p. 2). To achieve this, AITSL has produced a list of generic, predetermined and measurable outcomes, which have arisen from a narrow notion of teacher professional development based on skills and knowledge, potentially neglecting inquiry and reflection (Parr, Bulfin, et al., 2015). This list reflects a professional accountability model that teachers and schools can use to measure teacher performance. The standards reduce teacher development to a continuum of developmental stages through which all teachers progress (AITSL, 2011). The use of standards to manage teacher professional development is part of the 'well-documented trend . . . to ensure that teachers are learning in the same way, irrespective of context or school setting' (Parr, Bulfin, et al., 2015, p. 134). Alongside the lack of recognition of context and school setting is the lack

of a focus on disciplines—development is not being recognised as potentially idiosyncratic depending on discipline. English teacher development, for instance, is not being acknowledged as different from the development of science or maths teachers, even though the classroom experiences, imposed curricula and traditions of these disciplines vary significantly.

Many researchers have problematised the generic understanding of teacher development, arguing that it occurs over their careers, involves struggle and negotiation and is difficult to track and measure (Allard & Doecke, 2014; R. Connell, 2009; Dawson, 2017; Doecke, 2015; Illesca, 2003; Mifsud, 2018; Parr, Doecke, & Bulfin, 2015). Fundamentally, the criticism of the standards-based approach is that it limits teachers' abilities to inquire into their practices and identities and discourages them from taking responsibility for their ongoing development. Further, the emphasis on meeting generic standards that are not specific to teachers' needs restricts their motivation and capacity to be critical of their practices (Parr et al., 2013). The knowledge embedded in generic development standards, for instance, is often 'neatly bounded' (p. 15) and unchanging and, as such, is not open for interpretation or challenge. Parr et al. argue that the framework of generic professional standards often fails to appreciate the dialogic experience of teaching and learning, which involves interpretation, reinterpretation and challenge, and exists contextually within schools rather than only in a reified body of thought. Such frameworks often neglect the role of communication, engagement and interpretation in the development of knowledge and the influence of culture and history in the related process of meaning-making.

The argument and concerns raised by Parr et al. (2013) are applicable to the HITS initiative and other initiatives arising from Hattie's (2009) visible learning framework. They are symptomatic of an epistemological position in which knowledge is known and stable prior to learning events, and it is the teacher's job to enact evidence-based practices that have been shown to be effective. The idea that new meanings and understandings may be generated by teachers and students in dialogic interaction seems foreign to the assumptions about knowing, meaning and learning embedded in many standards-based constructions of teaching and learning. Hence, situated knowledge and practices constructed by teachers as they undertake their daily work and engage with students, colleagues and professional communities (Allard & Doecke, 2014; Yandell, 2017) are not prioritised in pedagogical approaches and teacher professional development frameworks found in standards-based reforms.

Focusing on early career English teachers, Allard and Doecke (2014) discuss the inappropriate nature of a standards-based approach for professional development. They write about Marie, a graduate teacher:

The generic character of the AITSL standards means that they can hardly serve as a framework to represent the complexity of Marie's professional learning as an English teacher stepping outside the institutional space of her initial teacher education program into the institutional space of the school in which she is teaching. The notion of diversity, for example, is rendered absurd when conceptualised as discrete performance indicators within a representation of teachers' professional knowledge, practice and engagement that supposedly applies to all teachers everywhere. (p. 49)

Allard and Doecke (2014) highlight the limitations of a standards-based approach for English teachers' professional learning because standards are unable to account for the complexity and diversity of English teaching or teachers' professional identities. Similar to Allard and Doecke (2014), Parr, Bulfin, et al. (2015) highlight the limitations of a standardised conception of teachers' work, focusing specifically on how such an understanding may limit professional identity development:

One reading of the standardisation [agenda] suggests a vision of the teaching profession where there will be little that is distinctive about an individual teacher's practice, except insofar as one individual teacher (whose practice is neatly aligned with the state's standards) is doing essentially the same thing as other teachers, only better or worse. Needless to say, such understandings of teaching do not, and cannot, account for cultural and contextual differences; they do not account for variations in the professional identity or the cultural, linguistic and educational background of the teacher. (p. 135)

This explanation captures much of the concern that researchers—and teachers—have regarding standardisation, which restricts teachers' development in relation to both their work and their identities (Allard & Doecke, 2014; Kostogriz & Doecke, 2013; Parr et al., 2013; Parr & Bulfin, 2015; Parr, Bulfin et al., 2015). Rather than developing culturally, socially and contextually appropriate teaching practices, English teachers are expected to enact that which institutions have determined to be effective. A standards-based reform approach to teacher development is 'at odds' with teachers' 'burgeoning sense of their identities as teachers' (Allard & Doecke, 2014, p. 39). Rather, the standards-based approach offers a particular kind of identity—that of the 'effective' or 'good' teacher (Biesta, 2015; Holloway & Brass, 2018).

Researchers who have undertaken studies in teacher professional development from the perspective of teachers generally agree that development is as much about teacher identity as it is about practice and knowledge (Collin, Karsenti, & Komis, 2013; Gomez, Black, & Allen, 2007; Parr, Bulfin, et al., 2015; Thompson, Hallwood, Clements, & Rivron, 2009). This line of research understands teachers' identity development as contextual, affective and complex. Such alternative accounts portray that

‘professional identity formation, that is, of *becoming* and *being* a teacher, often involves both the personal and the professional, resulting in struggles and dilemmas’ (Mifsud, 2018, p. 88). The complexities of teachers’ professional identities require a focus on the ways in which teachers develop ‘collaboratively within culturally specific settings’ (p. 49), not only their attainment of predetermined skills and knowledge. It requires a focus on the personal experiences of teachers (Goodson, 2014).

Researchers who have examined teacher development with respect to their identities, which includes their views, values, ethics and goals, recognise that the process is never complete (Allard & Doecke, 2014; Bulfin & Mathews, 2003; Mifsud, 2018; Parr, Bulfin, et al., 2015; Thompson et al., 2009). Expertise may be approached but can never be completed because identity development and the complex socially situated nature of English teachers’ work makes development ‘unfinalizable’ (Parr & Bulfin, 2015, p. 157). Within these accounts of teacher development is an acknowledgement of the incompleteness of the knowledge, skills and values in the context of schools and educational discourses. Yandell (2017) discusses the ‘contested’ nature of knowledge, which is subject to ‘uncertainty, border disputes, paradigm shifts, claims and counter-claims’ (p. 584). The process of development requires a negotiation of these evolving knowledges and a sense of agency in contributing to them. As this occurs, there is a development of one’s own understanding and knowledge. Thus, the process occurs within a diffused knowledge space. It is social and specific to each teacher. Development involves reflection, both individually and collaboratively, as teachers engage in changing educational discourses and contexts (Parr & Bulfin, 2015; Pulvermacher & Lefstein, 2016). The other focus of this body of research is the mediating influence of personal and professional experiences on teachers’ identity development. Given that teachers develop collaboratively with others rather than in isolation, the present study also examines the role of communities in supporting and encouraging critical reflection (Parr & Bulfin, 2015; Parr, Doecke, & Bulfin, 2015).

The literature reflects the increased focus of research on the identity work of professional development and how teachers negotiate with numerous education discourses in the context of schools. The work in which teachers engage when they undertake this identity development is reflective because it involves an understanding of themselves in the context of schools and their views and values about education. The focus is on the affective and intellectual dimensions of their development (Kostogriz, 2012). Thus, many argue that the ‘fetish’ (Doecke, 2015, p. 142) of measurements in standards-based reforms may undermine the professional development undertaken by teachers.

The Struggle of Becoming

The literature highlights the subjective nature of becoming in which teachers engage in a process of ‘struggle’ that is individualised but takes place through dialogic engagement with others. For example, Goodwyn (2003) argues that teachers in the UK have been ‘struggling to maintain their professional identities in the face of a succession of policy initiatives that have been designed, at least in part, to reshape their identities’ (p. 127). This struggle is the shaping of teacher identity by policy as well as by the removal of teachers’ control over their professional identities. Goodwyn (2003) describes the difficulty for teachers as they attempt to exercise agency in their development while institutions enact policies that deprofessionalise their work. Also responding to the standards-based reform environment, Ball (2016) describes the struggles of a small group of teachers with respect to the effects of performativity on their practices and developing identities as ‘a practice of agonism, an attempt to wrest’ (p. 1135) their self-development from government control to make themselves ‘intelligible in different terms’ (p. 1135). Expanding beyond curricula and policy, R. Connell (2009) describes teachers’ work as a ‘site of struggle’ because of the inherent nature of teaching, which is ‘always transformative labour’ (p. 9). She discusses the contextual and subjective transformative process, which implies teachers’ social classes, ethnic backgrounds and genders. In Connell’s account, teachers’ work is not removed from social movements but deeply embedded within them. Yet, curriculum and policy have ‘no coherent view of the nature of teaching’ (p. 11), resulting in processes of labour and becoming that are a struggle because teachers must continually negotiate the shifting political and social landscape in which they work.

A number of researchers use the term *tension* as a synonym for struggle when describing teachers’ work and becoming (Allard & Doecke, 2014; Goodwyn, 2003; Sefton-Green & Nixon, 2003). For example, Illesca (2003) discusses the tensions she faced in her work. Similar to R. Connell (2009), she refers to practices, policies and discourses that include not only the political dimension but also the cultural and social dimensions of teaching and working in schools. Reflecting on her own becoming, Illesca (2003) comments on the ‘tensions between [her] vision of education and the reality of the discriminatory practices that [she is] obliged to implement’ (p. 12) as an English teacher. She relates these discriminatory practices to the school’s assumption that all students and their families have high levels of spoken and written English. The discriminatory practices occurring in Illesca’s school did not deal with the ‘lived, textured, intricate’ (p. 13) stories of the lives of her students and their families. I relate this tension to Goodwyn’s (2003) discussion on the difficulty of teachers to maintain their professional identities in the face of policy initiatives that do not align with their beliefs (also see Parr, 2010). Illesca (2003) objects to not only the discriminatory practices but also the attempt to remove her professionalism and compel her to align with school policies, even those that

do not align with her ideology. She experiences a tension in the misalignment between her obligations to the school, her students and her own ideology.

Illesca's (2003) account also discusses the process of development—she describes how the 'social forces have intersected over the years has shaped [her] personal and professional identity' (p. 9). Locke (2003) describes these social forces as part of the sociopolitical milieu in which teachers undertake their work. This milieu includes 'multiple and often competing discourses' (p. 230) that teachers encounter and must navigate in their everyday work. Locke argues that the ways in which teachers navigate the sociopolitical milieu will depend on their 'angle of vision' (p. 230), which Illesca (2003) also illustrates in her discussion. Illesca was aware of the difficulties of her students and their families, partially because of her own experience, specifically her migrant background and the challenges her parents faced as non-English speakers in an English-speaking country. Her views and approach—her 'angle of vision'—is embedded in her beliefs and values about education or, in other words, her education ideology. Drawing on the work of Bakhtin, and as discussed in the following chapter, Doecke, Homer and Nixon (2003) describe this milieu as the 'heteroglossic nature of communities' (p. 3). The authors describe the coming together of these communities within schools as a 'rich professional field' that is 'always . . . subject to competing claims' and within which teachers often feel a strong desire to engage in 'ongoing critical inquiry' (Doecke et al., 2003, p. 4).

The literature on teachers' becoming—especially those studies that represent and inquire into teachers' voices, experience and stories—is littered with terms synonymous with tension or struggle. The process is not merely about the acquisition of a discrete set of skills or knowledge, as suggested by the AITSL standards; rather, it is as much about ideology as it is about practice. Accordingly, the literature discusses the context of schools, which inherently comprise a range of perspectives, experiences, cultures, ideologies and practices that teachers are required to navigate in their daily work. This process of navigation results in teachers having to compare their perspectives with those of others, which, to varying extents, results in a process of becoming.

Dimensions of Becoming

Much literature suggests that understanding teachers' becoming is key to understanding the work of teachers. It is within their everyday routines and activities that teachers encounter differing perspectives and practices. Thus, becoming is an ongoing process that occurs in teachers' everyday lives and is embedded in their social contexts (Bullough, 2008; R. W. Connell, 1985).

Goodson (2014) notes that research on teachers' lives and work has grown exponentially in the last 50 years in response to the social, economic and political restructuring of schools. He argues that

through a focus on teachers' lives and work we 'are able to concentrate on some of the complexities and contradictions' (p. 28) within the school system and their effects on teachers. Dominant in the literature is the complex influence of official curricula and curricula design on teachers' work, sense of professionalism and identity formation (Allard & Doecke, 2014; Biesta, 2015; Doecke, 2004; Duarte & Brewer, 2018; Howells, 2003; Kostogriz, 2012; Yandell, 2017).

Another area of focus in response to standards-based reforms is institutional accountability measures (Ball, 2016; Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011; Parr & Bulfin, 2015). Some research argues that increases in accountability and oversight have resulted in less room for teachers to engage in the process of becoming and the narrowing of the concept of becoming to a linear process based on the acquisition of a discrete set of skills and knowledge. Research that is specifically attuned to the social, relational and ethical aspects of teachers' everyday lives has taken a substantially different perspective on teachers' work and becoming. It emphasises relationships with students and colleagues as well as teachers' ideologies and ethics (Ball, 2003; Biesta, 2015; Kostogriz, 2012; Mifsud, 2018; Pereira & Doecke, 2016). One of the central aims of this research is to have the social and ethical dimensions of becoming recognised as a legitimate space of development for teachers.

Notably, the mediating influence of curricula is extensively addressed in sociological research on teachers' work and becoming (Ball, 2003, 2016; Duarte & Brewer, 2018; Howells, 2003; Yates & Collins, 2010). Often this is due to the recognition that the curriculum is a dominant part of teachers' everyday work—it mediates all that teachers plan and do in and around classrooms. The present research focuses on both the official curriculum outlined by governments and schools as well as the enacted curriculum and how teachers interpret and use curriculum documents (e.g. Barnes, 1976). In relation to English teaching, there is often a tension between the profession and the curriculum because the discipline of English is often understood by the profession as social, relational and contextual (Ball & Bowe, 1992; Biesta, 2015; Doecke, 2004; Kostogriz & Doecke, 2013; Yandell, 2017). This does not fit with the ethos contained in centralised, prescribed and standardised curricula. The contention in much of this research is that many English teachers struggle with negotiating the various discourses about education, which may be in conflict with their own views on the English subject in particular.

The official curriculum is viewed by many scholars as the dominant mechanism used by authorities, governments and, historically, other institutions such as universities (Beavis, 1996). Prescribed curricula can direct and control the activity of schools (Doecke, 2004; Goodson, 2007; Howells, 2003; Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011). Howells (2003) identifies that the increase of institutional control over the curriculum has marginalised the role of teachers in curriculum development. The result of such marginalisation is a 'weakening of the status of teachers' (p. 28). Howells' contention is that English

teachers' involvement in curriculum development is an essential part of their work and professionalism. Similarly, Allard and Doecke (2014) concludes that teachers' knowledge is being reduced because they are required to align their teaching with the curriculum rather than actively engage in its development. Allard and Doecke (2014) specifically focus on early career teachers, arguing that, like all teachers, early career teachers experience a tension between their ideologies and the standardisation of the curricula imposed on them. Additionally, they argue that this is particularly pivotal for early career teachers, who are in the early stages of developing a sense of identity as teachers. Unlike those at any other time in educational history, today's graduates are faced with forming an identity based solely in an era of standards-based reforms. Allard and Doecke (2014) contend that the curriculum-writing dimension of teachers' work is highly influential in their development and that standardised curricula not only introduce a tension into teachers' developing sense of identity but potentially damages their professionalism. Teachers are not only curriculum implementers but curriculum makers. When they are removed from the process of curriculum development, they lose a key opportunity for growth and critical engagement, which, as argued above, is an important aspect of their becoming.

Much of the research on curricula and accountability raises concerns about the negative effects of these institutionally controlled and implemented dimensions of teachers' work. Part of this concern focuses on increasing oversight measures, which are limiting the space for identity formation and negotiation (Bulfin & Mathews, 2003; Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011). However, alongside this concern is the recognition that in engaging with curriculum and education initiatives, teachers develop a sense of their views, values, beliefs and goals. As Bulfin and Mathews (2003) comment,

We began to change, learn and grow as professionals when we understood that there are different ways of understanding these issues, that there are ways of working around them, and forming or building networks that pushed us to learn or to understand further. (p. 54)

In this statement, Bulfin and Mathews (2003), both early career English teachers, are discussing the negotiation in which they engaged as they considered the imposed curriculum and policy. By considering themselves in relation to institutional positions, they developed a sense of themselves as professionals.

Through investigating the struggles of teachers, researchers are recognising the influences of curricula and accountability on teachers. One such influence is that teachers are having to negotiate their work and critically consider how their ideologies align with or diverge from institutional discourses and policies. This is a significant observation—the struggle is an important factor in teacher development. The process in which Bulfin and Mathews (2003) engaged is an example of praxis. van de Ven and

Doecke (2011) discuss praxis as a process of co-constructing meaning with others, who may be colleagues, professional development networks or authors who publish education literature or generate theories. In giving an example of praxis, van de Ven and Doecke (2011) discuss the interactions between English educators:

Through engaging in conversations with each other, [individuals are] obliged to grapple with a sense of difference as much as sameness as they [seek] to appreciate how they each understand and enact their identities as teachers of literature. And this sense of difference [throws] their . . . values and beliefs into relief, prompting them to identify the intellectual and pedagogical traditions that mediate their professional practice, as well as to scrutinise the institutional structures that shape their work as teachers of literature. (p. 221)

As highlighted in this quotation, the three dimensions of praxis are: co-constructing meaning with others through focusing on sameness and difference; inquiring into intellectual and pedagogical traditions, which is often through engagement with education literature; and scrutinising institutional structures that shape teachers' work. Through the process of critically reflecting on themselves and others (individuals, literature and institutional structures), teachers develop an understanding of their work, practices, pedagogical positions and philosophy about education (Doecke & Parr, 2011; Gill & Illesca, 2011; Parr et al., 2020; van de Ven & Doecke, 2011). From the position of praxis, standards-based reforms become a place of negotiation and reflection rather than simply a means of restriction. The final dimension that is increasingly being discussed in the literature but is perhaps currently underdeveloped is the mediating influence of social settings, spaces and arrangements in teachers' becoming. Despite the few sociological studies explicitly discussing the roles of resource allocation, school architecture and financial distributions, some notable studies have addressed these dimensions (R. Connell, 2009; R. W. Connell, 1985; Goodson, 2007; Kemmis et al., 2014). These studies consider the mediating influence of institutional structures on teachers' work. Social interactions and relations 'shape, influence and bound individual action' (Selwyn, Nemorin, Bulfin, & Johnson, 2018, p. 13) and mediate ideology and identity development (Kostogriz, 2012).

Material spaces are the '*physical space-time . . . that enable and constrain how we can do things in the medium of work and activity*' (Kemmis et al., 2014, p. 4). These include distinct spaces, such as classrooms and staffrooms, in which there is a shared language, shared practices and shared and interlocking spaces, such as teachers' individual desks within a staffroom. These physical spaces, the physical space-time, shape how work and socially co-constructed meaning-making are conducted. These social settings, spaces and arrangements provide a context for the affective labours of teachers—the 'deeply relational, affective and social' (Kostogriz, 2012, p. 399) experience of teachers. Affective labour is the emotional and intellectual work in which teachers engage throughout

their everyday, including their social interactions with students, colleagues, parents/guardians and others. Space, therefore, can enable or restrict development—for example, it may encourage dialogic interaction in a staffroom in which social engagement is encouraged or it may hinder it when quiet work is expected. Alternatively, a staffroom that is less focused on teaching and more focused on socialising may hinder development, while a quiet staffroom may be conducive to inquiry. This relates to the shared language and practices that occur within the physical space–time of schools.

As discussed above, teacher professional learning is a much more complex process than that which is understood as teacher development in standards-based reforms. It is not merely a process of gaining skills and knowledge—rather, as Kostogriz (2012) identifies, it is a process mediated by ethical, social and cultural perspectives and interactions.

3.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, two central dimensions of this study were examined in relation to education research, with a specific focus on research conducted in the field of English education and teachers’ identities and work. The first section examined the use of the everyday in education studies. The points discussed in this section are that the everyday enables

- an understanding of both the practices of teachers and their voices
- an understanding of teachers’ experience from the perspectives of teachers
- a way of examining and providing opportunities for teachers to work with professionalism
- a place for reflection and development for teachers.

The everyday includes the multiple mediating discourses that influence teachers’ daily work. These discourses include institutional discourses, such as those that dominate schools and governments, as well as the discourses of colleagues, students and associates external to the immediate school context. The everyday for understanding the experience of teachers has been used in education research as a way to represent and understand the contextual, subjective and interpretative experiences of teachers. Alongside developing an understanding of teachers’ experiences, the discourse of the everyday provides teachers with a space to act with professionalism and develop their practices, ideologies and identities.

The second section examined the nature of teacher development as discussed in a range of education literature. In contrast with the narrow view of development as linear and based on the acquisition of a discrete set of skills and knowledge, the literature on the everyday experience of becoming explains that development includes ideology, knowledge and skills. It recognises some of the more

indeterminate phases in teacher development such as the early career phase but argues that professional identity formation is an ongoing process, which is reflective, social and dialogic. Given its nature, development is not easily measured by behavioural standards, and many researchers argue that it should not be. The stigma associated with the use of the word *development*, because of its continual use in policy documents, makes it problematic. Some authors refer to *becoming* instead of *development* to avoid confusion with standards-based reform approaches to teachers' professional learning and identity formation and position it as an ongoing process with no conclusive end point (Gomez et al., 2007; Parr, Bulfin, et al., 2015; Parr et al., 2020).

Through the frame of the everyday, an understanding of the mediating influences on teachers' practices, views, values and beliefs can be formed from the perspectives of teachers working within institutions. This understanding brings teachers' experience and narratives alongside otherwise dominant discourses and speaks to constructions of teachers' work that arise from government-derived discourses, narratives, policies and initiatives.

Chapter 4 builds from this position, advocating the use of Bakhtinian theories for investigating teacher becoming. I argue that Bakhtin's theories provide a rich framework for understanding the interconnected, ideological, multidimensional and social experience of becoming that have been presented in Chapter 3.

4 Early Career English Teachers' Becoming: A Bakhtinian Lens

This chapter develops the central theoretical dimension of the thesis based on Bakhtin's concepts of events and eventness, heteroglossia and ideological becoming. Elaborating on the discussion in Chapter 3, in which teacher development was recognised as an ongoing dialogic process of becoming, the main aim of this chapter is to use Bakhtin's concepts and language to develop a theoretical lens for understanding early career English teachers' everyday work, experience and becoming.

To address this aim, the chapter is divided into four sections. First, I discuss Bakhtin's concepts of the *chronotope* and *being-as-event*. These concepts were developed in his early work and were fundamental in his later work on ideological becoming. As related concepts, they highlight the importance of individual moments in the ongoing process of becoming. In the second section, I examine Bakhtin's concept of ideological becoming and the associated concepts of heteroglossia and centripetal and centrifugal forces (Bakhtin, 1981). These Bakhtinian concepts form the central framework and provide a language for the study because they furnish a conceptual understanding of the individual experience in the everyday. In the third section, I examine how Bakhtin's theories have been used in education research. I explore examples of studies that have used the concepts of heteroglossia, the chronotope and ideological becoming with the aim of inquiring into how researchers have utilised these concepts for understanding the context of the school and the experience of individuals within the school. In the final section, I discuss the ethical implications of adopting a Bakhtinian approach to understanding early career English teachers' work. I outline the ethical implications of my use of his concepts as an analytical tool and an approach for understanding people, their contexts and experiences. This includes my ethical relationship to the study participants.

4.1 The Everyday Experience of Individuals: Event and Chronotope

Bakhtin's early writings (1919–1921) on the human experience and construction of self as being-as-event laid the foundation for much of his later work on ideological becoming. In his early work, Bakhtin proposes that the development of self occurs through the lived experience of continually performing acts. This lived experience is the combination of actions performed by individuals as well as their process of meaning-making, which occurs within and is related to the social context. From this perspective, the human experience of an act is recognised as unique and unrepeatable (Bakhtin, 1993).

Bakhtin recognises that not all actions performed by individuals involve meaning-making. In his early work, he considers two different perspectives for understanding the human experience of everyday life. He distinguishes between these perspectives by using the terms *act* and *event*. An *act* is an abstract construction or aesthetic understanding of an individual's actions and interactions and is situated '*outside the bounds of individuality*' (Bakhtin, 1993, p. 15). An aesthetic understanding is a surface understanding in which actions are viewed externally and are, therefore, the same for all people. An act results in a universal consciousness that can provide an example of a '*living life . . . in its . . . principle*' (p. 15) because it is located in the '*theoretical world*' (p. 9). Bakhtin argues that it is impossible to live in this theoretical world because it is a world that is '*obtained through an essential and fundamental abstraction from the fact*' (p. 9) of the unique individuals living in it. It is a philosophical construction that accounts for the homogenous components of human life. In his later writings (1934–1941), Bakhtin contends that the act is limited and cannot provide an understanding of the unique and individual experiences of '*a living human being moving through space*' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 105).

It is through '*once-occurrent events*' (Bakhtin, 1993, p. 13) that the unique experience of living can be understood. Bakhtin describes the '*once-occurrent uniqueness or singularity*' of an event that '*cannot be thought of, it can only be participatively experienced or lived through*' (p. 13). An event is not a philosophical construction but that which occurs when people engage in the world. Bakhtin is representing the human experience that occurs as people act, interact and make meaning with each other within a social and cultural context in a specific moment in time and space.

Bakhtin focuses on the interrelationships between people and the experience of living. It should be noted that he did not dismiss the value of an aesthetic understanding of being but rather recognises the limitations of that perspective. Bakhtin considers that the act and the event are both justifiable approaches to understanding human actions, depending on the purpose of the consideration. An act provides a theoretical perspective of human experience. Bakhtin refers to Kantian ethics, for example, where the rules of the social and biological world can be considered, developed and understood. He asserts that in the experience of living, individuals consider the philosophical/theoretical in relation to themselves and others (Bakhtin, 1993). An abstract understanding, therefore, has an important place in the lived experience of individuals, but an account of human experience that only includes the aesthetic can only take one so far in understanding the negotiated, situated and unique experience of living (Morson, 2010). The purpose of understanding the event is to inquire into this negotiated, situated and unique experience.

Applying Bakhtin's delineation of the abstract and the lived experience to the context of this study assists in understanding the different knowledges that can be formed about teachers' work and

development. The knowledge that has been generated from reductive empirical studies limits the work of teachers to a generalisable set of actions. In general, these studies are undertaken from an institutional perspective and have developed an aesthetic understanding that is concerned with the ideal and objective rather than the uniqueness of individuals. The purpose of these studies, and this perspective on teachers' work, is often to develop generalisable claims that are applicable across contexts. The Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (AITSL, 2011) is an example of the use of these generalisable claims, where a set of skills and knowledge outlines what all teachers should know and be able to do. These standards are intended to be applicable across contexts and teachers. The limitation of these standards is they cannot fully account for the subjective experience of individual teachers. Studies that focus on the individual experiences of teachers, those that address the affective, relational and ethical dimensions of teachers' work, are about developing an understanding of the subjective experiences of individuals. Their purpose is to inquire into the individual experiences of teachers within social and cultural contexts to develop knowledge about their everyday experiences, actions, negotiations, interactions with others and processes of sense-making and becoming. The present study focuses on understanding the *events* of early career English teachers' work rather than only understanding their work as a collection of *acts*.

An event is unique because that particular moment in time and location in space can never be repeated, and an individual's understanding of the event incorporates both time and space rather than dividing them into separate dimensions. There is an 'intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 84). Given the human experience of the event, Bakhtin views time and space as interconnected but also biographically and historically situated. Biography, history, time and space are linked in his use of the term *chronotope*. While Bakhtin establishes an experienced understanding of time and space through the concept of the chronotope, he did not provide a definition of this concept (Bemong & Borghart, 2010; Holquist, 2010), and throughout his work there are 'clashes in meaning' (Holquist, 2010, p. 20). By examining the chronology of Bakhtin's work, Holquist (2010) accounts for these clashes, arguing that the differences are 'not irreconcilable' but require 'exquisite philological as well as theoretical sensitivity' (p. 20). It is beyond the scope of this study to delve into the nuanced differences in the meaning of chronotope in Bakhtin's work. Rather, here I signal an awareness and appreciation of these differences and a recognition that my understanding has developed from a selection of his writings and theoretical works on his writings (Bazerman, 2004; Bemong & Borghart, 2010; Bialostosky, 1999; Holquist, 2010; Kostogriz & Doecke, 2007). I make particular reference to Bakhtin's (1981) development of the concepts of chronotope and event in his works 'Forms of time and of the chronotope in the novel' and 'Toward a philosophy of the act' (Bakhtin, 1993) as well as associated critical commentaries (Brandist, 2002; Holquist, 2002, 2010).

Chronotope (literally translatable as *time-space*) is the human perception and understanding of the world in which spatiotemporal configurations are inseparable. Each element takes on the characteristics of the other to make a concrete whole (Bemong & Borghart, 2010). Bakhtin (1981) describes this as the way in which time ‘thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible’, while ‘space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history’ (p. 84). Time and space experienced as a chronotope are ‘filled with real, living meaning’ (p. 120) rather than being merely ‘technical . . . a distribution of days, hours, moments’ (p. 119). From this experienced understanding, the organising principle of Bakhtin’s chronotope is biography: time-space is perceived through the individual. The use of biography as an organising principle locates Bakhtin’s understanding of the world at the level of an ‘event’. Bakhtin (1981) argues that

Characteristically it is not private life that is subjected to and interpreted in light of social and political events, but rather the other way around—social and political events gain meaning . . . only thanks to their connection with private life. (p. 109)

The focus on the individual to bring meaning to social and political events links to C. W. Mills’ (2000) sociological imagination and the sociological concept of the everyday (see section 2.1). Mills (2000) positions institutions and individuals as integrated, where ‘neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both’ (p. 3). World history is connected with the kind of people that ordinary people become, while history-making is connected to the part individuals play in it. The implications for this study of Bakhtin’s work and the work arising from sociology about the role of the individual within society is the focus on school-as-its-people rather than solely on school-as-institution. The aim is to recognise and develop an understanding of the interplay between people and institutions.

Given his biographical approach to time-space, Bakhtin advocates for an understanding of time-space that is distinct from the abstract constructions of the clock and the physical space. Rather, time-space is understood as experienced by individuals; thus, each moment includes memories of the past and predictions for the future as well as memories of past experiences in space and other spaces in their context. Experienced time-space is not linear; rather, it is more like ‘a line with “knots” in it’ (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 113). These ‘knots’ are the events of individuals’ lives, which include time, space and biography. Thus, it is problematic to take events out of their relationship to past and future because doing so would remove the history of biography. The integrity of the event would be broken down into ‘isolated phenomena and objects, making of them a mere abstract conglomeration’ (p. 146). Bakhtin’s concept of the chronotope, therefore, is about ‘time’s fullness’ (p. 146).

In understanding the human experience there needs to be a focus on the situated event, a ‘weaving of historical and socio-political events together with the personal’ (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 247). Time, space and biography cohere to make sense of a person’s experience. Bakhtin supplements the theoretical/objective/aesthetic understanding of human experience with the understanding that through living, individuals alter the abstract meaning of a moment as they experience it. Time, for example, through experience, is no longer a technical division of days, hours and seconds but is measured through the lived moments and memories of human interactions and relationships.

Each ‘knot’ in an individual’s experience represents an event in their life. Bakhtin (1981) brings an understanding to these events by considering different experiences through chronotopes. In his writing, Bakhtin discusses a number of chronotopes, including adventure, romance, meeting and travel. These chronotopes provide a frame for understanding not only the uniqueness of human experience but also the commonality across human experience as we socially engage with one another. The chronotope of meeting, for example, refers to the inseparable nature of the ‘temporal marker’ and the ‘spatial marker’ (p. 97). It is only in the connectedness of time and space that a meeting occurs ‘at one and the same time . . . in one and the same place’ (p. 97). In discussing the novel as a literary form, Bakhtin argues for the significance of the chronotope of meeting because meeting events enable the progression of the plot; in literature, the chronotope of meeting ‘fulfils architectonic functions’ (p. 98). The chronotope of meeting is used to open something or it may function as the finale of the plot. It is an important device in storytelling. Yet, it is not just the links to plot that are significant—the chronotope of meeting also requires the ‘emotional evaluation of meetings’ (p. 97), where characters engage in meaning-making and ideological becoming. This is due, Bakhtin asserts, to the link between the chronotope of meeting and other motifs ‘such as *parting, escape, acquisition, loss, marriage* and so forth’ (p. 98).

In relation to teachers, the chronotope of meeting is useful for considering the various spaces of schools in which individuals interact with others—staffrooms, classrooms, meeting rooms, offices, hallways, the school yard and so on. Each of these can be considered chronotopes because of the specifics of these spaces and the times in which individuals inhabit each space. Each of these also relates to other motifs in teachers’ everyday work, such as identity, belonging, becoming and support, and, as such, are useful ways of considering the meaning-making and ideological becoming of teachers in terms of their work in schools. As Bakhtin (1981) comments, ‘the motif of meeting is one of the most universal motifs, not only in literature . . . but also in other areas of culture and in various spheres of public and everyday life’ (p. 98).

Developing knowledge about the individual experience does not, however, require studying an individual’s every interaction. Bakhtin (1993) argues for the ‘eventness’ (p. 17) of a ‘once-occurrent

event' (p. 2). Eventness considers the process of engagement of an individual when more than just an automatic response is required. It is when the moment requires the individual to engage in creative meaning-making. Creative meaning-making is when there is the possibility of more than one outcome, and individuals are required to consider their understandings and ideologies (views, values, beliefs) in relation to their answerability as well as others' ideologies and abstract theoretical understandings. It is in this process that the individual engages in being-as-event or what Bakhtin describes in his later work as 'ideological becoming' (Bakhtin, 1981). In the following section, I develop this discussion further by exploring the particulars of individuals' becoming through Bakhtin's concepts of heteroglossia and ideological becoming.

4.2 Individuals' Interconnected Experiences: Heteroglossia and Ideological Becoming

For the purpose of this study, I interpret heteroglossia as the social context in which events occur, while ideological becoming is the creative meaning-making in which individuals engage with others in that context. For teachers, the heteroglossic context of schools includes the various voices of colleagues, students, authorities and society at large (see section 3.1). The process of ideological becoming for early career English teachers is to consider their world views, or ideologies, in relation to those in their schools. This occurs dialogically as they discuss their work with colleagues or engage reflexively with government policies, education discourses and their everyday interactions with students.

Heteroglossia

Bakhtin (1981) asserts that the meaning of speech occurs in the social, historical and physiological context in which it is uttered. Language is internally stratified by:

social dialects, characteristic group behaviour, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious languages, languages of authorities, of various circles and of passing fashions, languages that serve the specific socio-political purposes of the day, even of the hour. (p. 263)

This internal stratification of language at any given time and in any given space is where meaning arises. Meaning is formed dialogically between the speaker and the listener, who both bring their experiences to the process, as well as arising from the meaning of language accumulated over its history of use in the social context. Hence, the meaning of language occurs at the level of the

everyday—in the ‘once-occurrent event’ (Bakhtin, 1993, p. 2). The meaning that is formed is ‘half-ours and half-someone else’s’ (Bakhtin, p. 345). This includes the interactions between those directly present in the dialogic conversation, where *ours* and *someone else’s* refer to the speaker and listener, respectively. However, it also refers to the context, where *ours* refers to the joint meaning of those in the conversation and *someone else’s* refers to the various discourses drawn from social and historical use that influence the meaning-making process.

Bakhtin (1981) asserts that through this use of language a new meaning ‘awakens’ (p. 345). The meanings of words, and the words themselves, do not remain in an ‘isolated and static condition’ (p. 345) but develop as they are ‘applied to new material, new conditions . . . new contexts’ (pp. 345–346). The development of meaning relates to the ‘available verbal and ideological points of view, approaches, directions and values’ (p. 356) of the individuals in their context. It is through engagement with ‘different speechness’ (Landay, 2004, p. 110) that individuals find ‘ever newer ways to mean’ (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 346) and discourses in society continually develop.

In understanding the socially situated meaning and development of language, Bakhtin (1981) discerns a difference between ‘*neutral signification*’ and ‘*actual meaning*’ (Bakhtin & Holquist, 1981, p. 281). *Neutral signification* is abstract—it is removed from the everydayness of dialogic interaction. Similar to an act, the abstract meaning of a word is separated from time’s fullness and, as such, is untouched by experience—consequently, the meaning appears fixed. Neutral signification is reserved for ‘linguistics and the philosophy of language’ (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 281), the denotative meaning of language as defined in a dictionary. The focus in this case is on ‘a passive understanding of discourse’ (p. 281). Through their use, words become part of the lived experience of meaning-making, which occurs in a social heteroglossic context. *Actual meaning* is the utterance as voiced by one and received by another, a connotative meaning that accrues with context and use. It is located in the fullness of time. In comparing neutral signification and actual meaning, Bakhtin (1981) comments that neutral signification is when a ‘given utterance is understood against the background of language, while its actual meaning is understood against the background of other concrete utterances’ (p. 281). The background of others is made up of ‘contradictory opinions, points of view and value judgements’ (p. 281).

When engaging in dialogic interaction, there is tension in meaning because of the multivoiced meaning-making process as well as a tension between the abstract and actual meaning of words. This tension is caused by two predominant opposing forces, which Bakhtin (1981) refers to as centripetal and centrifugal forces. Centripetal forces work towards ‘unifying and stabilizing’ (Shumway, 1994, p. 263) the meaning of words. The aim is for neutral signification. There is an attempt to stifle the effects of dialogic interaction on the meaning-making process through centralising, formalising,

fixing, privileging and normalising meaning (Landay, 2004). The aim of centripetal forces is to develop ‘a prior language’ that is ‘monolithic and seamless’ (Shumway, 1994, p. 166). These centripetal forces are opposed by centrifugal forces, which tend towards invention, innovation, expansion and variety (Landay, 2004). Centrifugal forces disrupt the centripetal forces and carry on the ‘uninterrupted work . . . of decentralization and disunification’ (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 272). Centrifugal and centripetal forces occur simultaneously and are ‘united in a single word’ (p. 342). The result is simultaneous ‘centralization and decentralization . . . unification and disunification’ (p. 272). The tension between centrifugal and centripetal forces means that the meaning of a word cannot be fixed indefinitely.

When considering Bakhtin’s understanding of the role of centripetal and centrifugal forces, a parallel can be drawn between the unifying attempts of institutions and the inventive practices of individuals as they attempt to maintain their individuality. Crudely applying these contradictory forces to authorities/institutions and individuals, centripetal forces can be identified as those used most often by individuals and institutions with power. Through prioritising sameness and uniformity, they seek to control the masses (Benjamin, 2007; de Certeau, 1984). In their works, Benjamin (2007) and de Certeau (1984) discuss the attempt by those with power to centralise and normalise language and experience. In contrast, centrifugal forces are used by the masses, those with limited power, to disrupt the unifying attempts of institutions because their language and experiences do not align with those of authorities. Centrifugal forces can be understood as the creative ways of using institutional structures and systems for individual purposes in which individuals bring their meanings and experiences to the discourses of authorities.

Authorities and institutions can be seen to attempt to unify language and denote the official line. However, given the dialogic social nature of interaction and discourse, centrifugal forces and changes in meaning and language take place, challenging the discourses of authority. As Morson (2004) explains:

Authoritative words . . . purport to . . . speak the truth and you need not question, only obey . . . Yet, every authoritative word is spoken or heard in a milieu of difference. It may try to insulate itself from dialogue with reverential tones, a special script, and all the other signs of the authority to it, but at the margins dialogue waits with a challenge: you may be right, but you have to *convince* me. (pp. 318–319)

Once the authoritative discourse comes into contact with the self, it enters into dialogue. It no longer has neutral signification. Categorisation of the institution/authority and the individual is more complex and unstable than a simple binary division in which authorities attempt to assimilate and

individuals attempt to diversify. The authoritative voice's intrinsic presumptive quality of infallibility is stripped from it as it becomes internalised by individuals; thus, it becomes 'testable' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 320). Bakhtin describes this as the 'creative development' (p. 346) of language, a process that arises from the dialogic engagement of individuals with authoritative discourses, resulting in a 'play of boundaries' (p. 346) between authorities and individuals.

This blurring of boundaries suggests that centripetal and centrifugal forces are intimately related and relate to questions of power. De Certeau's (1984) work and Bakhtin's (1981) understanding of centripetal and centrifugal forces demonstrate that human experience complicates this simple binary. Binaries only work in principle through an aesthetic understanding because the lived experience of individuals is a negotiation and is filled with a multiplicity of meanings. In terms of power, there is often no clear distinction between those with power and those with limited power. Individuals, for example, through dialogically engaging, can disrupt the power of institutions. The examples that de Certeau (1984) provides support this position (see section 2.2). He argues that individuals can have power within institutions in various ways—they use the products of institutions and change them. This is further complicated at the level of individuals because the power shifts and changes between those in positions of authority and those who are not. The binary also does not account for the presence of centrifugal and centripetal forces within institutions and individuals. Individuals do not always engage in disunification. Alongside disunification is the pull towards finding an equilibrium (see below on ideological becoming). Meaning-making, therefore, is about the difference that the individual brings to the dialogue. It is about the tension between centrifugal and centripetal forces. It is also about power differentials and the negotiations that take place between individuals and between individuals and institutions.

The overlap and interrelationship between centrifugal and centripetal forces and the positioning of power is recognised in both Bakhtin's work and the work of the theorists drawn upon in this study (see Chapter 2). In considering the interactions of power between institutions and individuals, for example, Bakhtin and de Certeau both conjure images of textiles. De Certeau (1984) discusses the relationship between institutions and individuals as being 'woven tight like a fabric' (p. i), while Bakhtin (1981), in discussing heteroglossia, notes:

The living utterance, having taken meaning and shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment, cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness around the given object of an utterance. (p. 276)

Both authors point to the inherent connections among systems and individuals, experiences, utterances and meaning-making. In these processes, individuals cannot be wholly separate because they are intertwined to make the whole. Bakhtin and de Certeau break down the binary approach and the abstract perspective by considering the everyday interactions of individuals within institutions in which each requires the other. They are both interested, therefore, in the nature of this interaction. Moreover, from different perspectives, using different lenses and located in different time–spaces, they both argue that institutions and individuals relate to one another within the ‘dynamic landscape of competing and interrelated voices’ (Bulfin, 2009, p. 261).

Ideological Becoming

In dialogically engaging within the heteroglossic context of schools and with educational discourses outside of the school context, teachers consider their perspectives and actions in relation to others. According to Bakhtin (1981), this consideration occurs in everyday interactions and at the level of teachers’ ideologies. In this context, ideologies refer to the ‘bodies of ideas’ (Holquist, 2002, p. 19) that an individual holds—their views, values and beliefs. The use of the plural *bodies* is a recognition of the multiple ideologies that an individual can hold simultaneously. Another way to understand these multiple ideologies is through the concept of the heteroglossic self, which is the multiple, fragmented and co-existing identities that form the ‘ever-shifting and emergent identity of individuals’ (Mockler, 2011, p. 125). Rather than considering an individual’s identity as singular, Bakhtin’s (1981) concept of the heteroglossic self enables the consideration of multiple roles, characters and positions of individuals.

A simple example that demonstrates the point is the multifaceted role of the teacher. Teachers are supervisors, coordinators, counsellors and organisers (R. Connell, 2009; R. W. Connell, 1985). They are subject, year level and cohort teachers. Each of these roles has a potentially different set of ideologies that may be in tension with the others. It is in this tension, both within the heteroglossic self and with discourses external to the self, that individuals engage in a process of ideological becoming. Their ideologies, therefore, are not static or universal. Rather, they can be as varied as their numerous roles. C. Emerson (1983) explains that unlike the common English-language understanding of ideology, which is ‘something inflexible and propagandistic’, Bakhtin and his contemporaries ‘meant simply an “idea system” determined socially, something that *means*’ (p. 247).

Developing an idea system involves considering the various ideas that are present in the self and others through various discourses. In the dynamic heteroglossic perspective of everyday life, individuals have opportunities to reflect on and develop their ideologies. These opportunities result in a struggle as the individual attempts to find an equilibrium between their various ideologies as well as

those of others with whom they encounter and engage. It is a struggle that is ‘*not finite*’; rather, it is ‘*open*’ because each discourse dialogically encountered reveals ‘ever newer *ways to mean*’ (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 346). However, within the struggle for equilibrium is an opposite force that inclines individuals to seek out destabilising discourses. In the process of ideological becoming, there is a desire both to create a centeredness and to disrupt—centrifugal and centripetal forces. It is in disruption that individuals change—they become something new or different. Ideological becoming is, therefore, ongoing and almost infinite in its possibilities. The potential for engaging in the process of ideological becoming arises whenever discourses come into a ‘zone of contact’ (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 346). The zone of direct contact is where meanings are contested, assimilated and constructed. It is the moment of negotiation between one’s words, views, values and beliefs and those of others.

In relation to my study, considering teachers’ experiences and development from the perspective of the everyday involves understanding the things that mean something. It involves understanding what teachers’ value, why they value these things and how these change over time and across space because of dialogic interactions with others and their own ideologies. My focus is on teachers’ processes of ideological becoming that occur in the heteroglossic context of schools and related chronotopes such as the chronotope of meeting (see section 4.1).

4.3 Bakhtinian Theories in Relation to Schooling: Language, Literacy and Education

Bakhtin’s work can be used as an explanatory framework for understanding the individual’s experience within the context of the institution. In this section, I examine two dimensions of the use of Bakhtin’s theories in education research to develop a framework with which to examine individual teachers’ experience within the institutional structure of the school. The first dimension is how using a Bakhtinian lens has changed the approach researchers have taken in understanding language and literacy in the education context. This includes changing how researchers have considered the development of teachers and the creation of a counternarrative that resists the narrow and standardised approaches to language and learning. I discuss how the use of Bakhtinian theories in two studies assisted in my understanding of teachers’ experiences and becoming from the position of the researcher. Second, through examining three studies on the development of teachers, I explore how Bakhtin’s concepts have been used to further understand teachers and their experiences in schools. These studies were selected because they provide a framework and an approach that I have used and developed in this study on early career English teachers’ everyday work and becoming. I begin by examining how the concepts of heteroglossia and ideological becoming in the school context have been used to further develop an understanding of individual within the institution (Bulfin, 2009).

Next, I analyse how applying Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope to an educational setting, in particular the classroom context (Mahiri, 2004), allowed me to examine the lived experience of early career English teachers as they undertake their everyday work. Finally, I explore how the concept of ideological becoming in the study of teacher development can enable a nuanced and rigorous inquiry into the dialogic nature of becoming (Sperling, 2004).

The Influence of Bakhtin's Theories on Education Research

Bakhtin's theories of identity, literature, language and intertextuality have been broadly applied and extended in works on language, literacy and education (e.g. Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Brass, 2014; Gee, 1998; Landay, 2004; Maybin, 1999; Miano, 2004; Street, 1997). In the field of language development, Bakhtin's work has highlighted the local and situated dimensions of literacy and literacy education. Gee (1998) discusses the way in which Bakhtin's work on literary theory, criticism and philosophy of language, alongside other post-structuralist and postmodernist works, has influenced the development of a social understanding of discourses, which are 'socially and culturally formed, but historically changing' (p. 5). Through a Bakhtinian perspective, literacies are understood to be situated and located in a particular time and place, while also being 'indicative of broader social practices' (Barton, Hamilton & Ivanič, 2000, p. 1). Street (1997) identifies the influence of Bakhtin's theories on the recognition of the social experience of literacy practices: 'Language, even when employed silently by single individuals, is always part of a social interaction, whether with imagined others or with the meanings and uses of words that others have employed at other times and places' (p. 51). Here, Street refers to the heteroglossic context in which discourses interact and develop—individuals draw on these discourses, which have developed over time, in developing their use of language.

Bakhtin's (1981, 1993) theories of social construction and dialogic meaning-making of language may be broadly applied to the development of society's languages and discourses. His theories can also be applied to individual language development and ideological becoming. Education scholars have used Bakhtin's theories in developing a dialogic and ongoing understanding of the human experience and process of becoming, particularly for educators (Diamond, Parr, & Bulfin, 2017; Doecke, 2004; Kostogriz & Doecke, 2013; Parr & Bulfin, 2015; Parr et al., 2020). Bakhtin's theories of identity and identity development have provided a framework for these scholars to inquire into the reflective space in which becoming occurs. Doecke (2004), for example, discusses how Bakhtin's theories modified his lens for understanding teachers' work and the space he provided for himself and preservice teachers to reflect. He discusses how this further altered his discussions with preservice teachers, particularly when placing emphasis on their discussions:

What they say is less interesting as a reflection of what actually happened during their teaching rounds than as an attempt to voice their own ‘opinions’, ‘points of view’ and ‘value judgements’ within a noisy discursive field that is filled with conflicting voices. (p. 208)

This ‘noisy discursive field’ is where becoming takes place. As Doecke (2004) notes, the importance lies not in just what occurs but in the preservice teachers’ processes of meaning-making. Using Bakhtin’s concepts as an interpretive lens for understanding preservice teachers’ experiences, Doecke (2004) considers *why* and *how* things occurred rather than merely addressing *what* occurred on teaching rounds. He also uses this perspective to provide opportunities for his students to engage in dialogic meaning-making. Bakhtin’s writings, therefore, can be adapted into a conceptual framework for research as well as being a framework and inspiration for dialogic meaning-making.

In my study, the focus is on the lived experiences of early career English teachers in which I consider the questions of *why* and *how* rather than merely recording an account of *what* took place. Similar to Doecke (2004), I use Bakhtin’s concepts of ideological becoming, heteroglossia and event/eventness to provide a conceptual frame for inquiring into the experience of participants as well as challenging my understandings about the social world and human experience. Prior to engaging with Bakhtin’s identity theories, I had not explicitly considered the dialogic process of meaning-making. Bakhtin’s dialogic theories have informed my research design, including my approach to data generation.

Bakhtin’s identity theories have also been useful in building a counternarrative about what teacher development is in the standards-based reform context. In the context of teacher education, Britzman (2003), for example, uses Bakhtin’s concepts of ideological becoming to disrupt the authoritative narrative that positions teaching as a game of success or failure. She argues that institutional discourses and societal tropes about what a good teacher is can set preservice teachers up for difficulty as they are confronted with the realities of teaching, which do not align with the rigid notions of education in which teachers ‘control the class’ (p. 3). Opposing this social trope, Britzman (2003) discusses how Bakhtin’s theories enable us ‘to move beyond dualistic perspectives and to focus, instead, on the polyphony of forces that interact, challenge, beckon, and rearrange our practices and the positions we take’ (p. 237) in teaching and teacher education. In so doing, ‘we are invited to resign ourselves from the imperatives of finality and conformity, and view our practice as process and becoming’ (p. 237). Here, for example, she discusses the experience of teachers as they bring their own biographies into the classroom while negotiating the biographies of their students:

Teachers bring to their work their own idiomatic school biography, the conflicted history of their own deep investments in and ambivalence about what a teacher is and does, and likewise they anticipate their dreams of students, their hopes for colleagues, and their fantasies for

recognition and learning. With each new teacher a student meets, the student also encounters her or his own history of learning. The teacher's work brings new and conflictive demands that well exceed the resources of her or his school biography. If the original pulls of judging learning from the confines of success and failure become frayed by the contingencies of educating others, an unexpected pressure emerges: figuring the significance of the contradictory realities of and competing perspectives on learning to teach and becoming a teacher. (p. 2)

Teaching and learning, therefore, is not merely an economic transaction in which students acquire skills and knowledge from teachers. It is relational, biographical and negotiated. Rather than an approach to development based on skills and knowledge that claims the professional development space for teachers and teacher educators (see sections 1.2 and 3.2), Bakhtin's concepts enabled Britzman to focus on the ongoing, biographical and dialogic process of becoming. Through engaging with Britzman's work, I have developed a practical understanding of how Bakhtin's theories can be applied to research on the experience of teachers engaging in ideological becoming. Her work has assisted in developing my approach to considering the participants' experiences in which I was able to look for 'investments', 'ambivalence' and the interactions between 'new and conflictive demands' and biography.

In this section, I briefly considered how Bakhtin's theories have broadly influenced the work of researchers in language and literacy education. I have also provided two examples to show how this research has influenced my understanding—they illustrated to me how a Bakhtinian approach can influence an understanding of teachers' work, experiences and becoming.

I will now highlight three dimensions of Bakhtin's work that assisted in the development and conduct of my study. In highlighting these dimensions, I provide three studies—Bulfin (2009), Mahiri (2004) and Sperling (2004)—as examples to illustrate how Bakhtin's concepts and theories have been used in education research. These studies were selected because of their relevance to the different dimensions of the present study on early career English teacher development. Bulfin's (2009) study was set in a similar education context in Victoria, Australia, and he used the works of both Bakhtin and de Certeau as a conceptual approach. His work provides a model of how to integrate these two theoretical approaches in examining the everyday experiences of individuals in schools. Mahiri (2004) uses the chronotope to understand the classroom space, which is also an important dimension of my study, and provided a frame for considering education spaces. Sperling (2004) focuses on the development of a similar group of people as those in this study—English teachers. She focuses explicitly on the contradictions and consistencies of beliefs, attitudes and values of English teachers. Each study

incorporates a number of concepts from Bakhtin's work; however, in these examples I focus on the dimensions relevant to the current study.

In discussing the influence of Bakhtin's theory of heteroglossia on his study, Bulfin (2009) found it enabled him to more clearly 'see young people as engaged in navigating a dynamic landscape of competing and interrelated voices as they move through social space' (p. 261). This lens enables Bulfin to consider the role of the individual as active rather than passive in the process of meaning-making. Bakhtin's concepts enable Bulfin to consider the everyday experiences of meaning-making in schools—the dialogic and social interactions between people, the heteroglossic environment and self. In examining the work and experiences of teachers, a consideration of heteroglossia enables attention to be drawn to the various discourses with which teachers negotiate in and around schools. These include discourses from governments, school leadership teams, colleagues and students as well as written discourses in curriculum and policy.

External to schools are the discourses of society and each individual's networks. Intertwined through these discourses are the occasionally opposing and contradictory discourses of the teacher's own views, values and experiences. Bulfin (2009) describes this as an '*identity dialogue* between competing selves' (p. 47), which is the process of considering, reflecting and debating a different perspective and modifying, mediating and adapting one's own discourse. A key dimension of ideological becoming is that it is positioned within the everyday and experiences of individuals, which is where Bulfin brings in de Certeau's concept of the everyday use of discourses and systems of society. He considers how students find ways to use technology systems in schools and the discourses around these systems. Bulfin's use of Bakhtin's theories assisted in my understanding of discourses in schools as being persuasive or not to the individual. It is about the relationships between individuals, groups, institutions, texts and oneself in the everyday. Bulfin's (2009) integration of the works of Bakhtin and de Certeau assisted me in drawing together these two theorists and others from a sociological perspective (Benjamin, 2007; Lefebvre, 1991).

Mahiri's (2004) study focuses on the key concepts of the chronotope and dialogic meaning-making within the context of the school. Using Bakhtin's understanding of the dialogic meaning-making process, he examined electronic teaching and learning. He writes, 'Bakhtin's dialogical principle informs and extends our understanding of possibilities of teaching and learning electronically' (p. 213). He justifies the use of a Bakhtinian lens in understanding educational spaces because these spaces are examples of broader society: 'The play of tensions in our classrooms surrounding [teaching and learning electronically] were fluid models of ways . . . tensions and forces play in the larger society' (p. 219). The tensions to which Mahiri (2004) refers relate to social interactions and meaning-making in which community and meaning-making are interlinked:

All language activities of teaching and learning are inherently dialogic. However, as new teachers work to develop dispositions, knowledge, and skills needed in twenty-first-century schools, I believe conscious considerations of dialogic qualities of meaning-making benefit this process. Because meaning implies community, our attention was toward particular processes of meaning-making available in the specific discourse community of the class. (p. 223)

Mahiri (2004) argues that meaning-making is part of the process of developing ‘dispositions, knowledge, and skills’ (p. 215) and that the ‘conscious consideration’ (p. 223) of the dialogic process benefits the process. In applying a chronotope, Mahiri (2004) is able to analyse the space/time dimension and cultural/political interactions in relation to classrooms (p. 218). Through the chronotope, he was able to understand the local within the broader social context:

Classrooms are embedded within society, but they can also represent or constitute some of the movement between societal spaces (its structures, meanings, and forces) in ways that could be seen as models for how the fixed places themselves might be changed or changing. As a chronotopic space, our classroom provided many opportunities to see the inner workings of forces in the larger culture system in terms of how they were partially revealed in the daily dynamics of doing class. (Mahiri, 2004, p. 218)

In this consideration, Mahiri understands and explicitly discusses his involvement and influence on the classroom. His approach to the local experiences of individuals within the global context, as well as his explicit discussion on his effect on the research site, offered an example of how I could understand the context of schools. I needed to be aware of both localised settings and the localised context that was situated within a larger context. I also needed to explicitly consider my role in influencing the experiences of the early career English teachers in my study.

Sperling’s (2004) study was also a helpful example of the use of ideological becoming because of her similar focus on English teachers’ experiences. Sperling (2004) examines the process of becoming of 14 English teachers from middle and high schools in southern California. She examines their processes of negotiating different beliefs, values and attitudes as they discussed their students’ achievements and engagement in literacy:

In the way that Bakhtin sees the creative force of the novel as centrifugal or decentering, I believe that we can think of such forces at work in teachers’ discussions of engagement and achievement, and in the sometimes contradictory notions that teachers hold as these

decentering forces come up against the more homogenizing or unifying ones that also comprise their experience. (p. 234)

Here, Sperling is discussing the relevance of Bakhtin's literary theories to everyday lives in which individuals come into contact with various discourses that decentre their pre-existing ideological views. Her comment that this process is 'the way things are' demonstrates that Bakhtin's theories can provide a means with which to understand the everyday educational experiences of English teachers, rather than attempting to have the experience fit a predetermined model or framework.

Sperling (2004) alludes to the link between the literary world of the novel and that of English teachers. She discusses the similarities between the 14 English teachers with whom she worked and the role of the author, whose job it is to 'filter' the 'mismatched perspectives or contradictions through the contentious voices of their novels' characters' (p. 250). Although it is not explicit, there appears to be a recognition of the unique positioning of English teachers to engage in this filtering process because of the commonality between their 'worlds' and that of the author or even of characters in a novel. She suggests that the use of Bakhtin's work enabled her to consider the contradictory English and literacy education discourses with which English teachers must contend and to which they must develop a cohesive response in their practice. The standardised emphasis on skills versus other approaches to literacy education, such as personal growth, cultural heritage and critical literacy (Locke, 2005), is a negotiation of the 'mismatched perspectives or contradictions' (Sperling, 2004, p. 250) that characters in novels encounter and negotiate. This does not suggest that other teachers cannot engage in this process, rather that there are explicit tensions for English teachers between the various discourses of literacy education.

Although each of these studies focuses on different concepts from Bakhtin's work, they all discuss and use the concept of ideological becoming, which moves away from the narrow goal-oriented notions of teacher development (see Chapters 1 and 3). Unlike the dominant discourses of development that almost invariably focus on the observable and measurable acquisition of skills, ideological becoming is concerned with the process of making sense of one's views, values, beliefs and agendas in relation to others. The discourses of standards-based reforms tend to focus on discrete skills that may be learned and demonstrated in short periods, whereas ideological becoming is a different way of thinking about development, which takes place over the longer term and in a non-linear, often more generative way. This process may result in observable and measurable changes and the development of skills as teachers become more aware of themselves and others within the institution of schooling. Nonetheless, ideological becoming as a way of thinking about teacher learning removes the 'binary split of success and failure' (Britzman, 2003, p. 2). Ideological becoming enables a recognition of the diverse ways that people, including English teachers, learn

through the development of skills and knowledge, affective understandings and philosophical considerations. It enables us to focus on the ‘mistakes, misrepresentations, confusion, conflicts, and little gifts of error [that] are all crucial to the stuff of understanding and constructing knowledge’ (Britzman, 2003, p. 2).

Bakhtin’s theories and perspectives focus attention on and provide an understanding of the contextual and localised experience of becoming. As the examples provided here illustrate, researchers who have taken up Bakhtin’s work have done so as a way to understand the social experience of individuals and the formation of identity in social and profoundly language-mediated contexts. This approach to understanding the highly mediated experience of becoming informed how I understood the experiences of the early career English teachers in this study as well as my ethical position in relation to them. In the final section of this chapter, I discuss how Bakhtin’s work informed and influenced my ethical approach to this study and my work with participants.

4.4 Ethics in the Study of Early Career English Teachers’ Becoming

This section discusses some of the most salient ethical dimensions of the project from a Bakhtinian perspective. The conceptual framework I used—Bakhtin’s theory of identity, the heteroglossic context, event/eventness and the sociological concepts of the everyday—shaped the design of the study. These concepts also informed the process of generating and analysing the data as well as influencing my understanding of my position in the research.

Alongside the theoretical framework of this study, my ethical responsibility towards the participants was also situated within a broader discussion occurring in the social sciences about ethics in qualitative research (Cannella & Lincoln, 2007; Finlay, 2002; Guba, 1981; Morrow, 2005). These discussions have drawn attention to the importance of reflexivity in the conduct and communication of research that is ‘explicit, self-aware reflection and analysis’ (Finlay, 2012, p. 317) (also see Morrow, 2005). This kind of reflexivity can lead to a ‘richness and integrity of understanding’ (Finlay, 2012, p. 317) for researchers. Haverkamp (2005) describes this consideration as the ‘thoughtful, and sometimes courageous, commitment to creating trustworthy human relationships’ (p. 146). An understanding of Bakhtin’s concept of answerability and the dialogic nature of meaning-making builds on this view of ethics. It enabled me to critically consider not only my role vis-a-vis the participants but also the role of the participants in the study as we worked together.

A Dialogic Approach to Ethics

Regulatory ethics is an objective form of ethics based on apparently stable social norms, and thus has limited usefulness when applied to the unique experience of individuals. It shifts and changes when applied to individual research projects because individuals (the researcher and participants) make sense of ethical moments in the everyday events of the research process. Of course, I do not wish to make an argument for the removal of regulatory ethics because, as Bakhtin explains, social, moral and ethical norms are an essential part of human experience (Bakhtin, 1993). Rather, this is a discussion of the approach to ethics that I took in this study, which obliged me to align with regulatory ethics but also extended beyond the institutional ethical requirements imposed on my research.

To develop this idea, I present an example of the ethical conundrums I faced during the study in terms of my interactions and relationships with participants. Below is a text message exchange between one of the participants, Charlotte, and me. The exchange took place near the end of the 2-year data-generating phase of the study:

Charlotte: I lost a student yesterday. Someone I worked closely with, and adored, for three years. He chose to end his life. Third male student in 12 months. I feel like the curriculum is failing these rural kids somehow.

Ceridwen: Oh Charlotte. That's devastating. I lost a past student once, a student from before I was a teacher, I taught him Distance Ed once a week through Berry Street Victoria (out in Yea). I remember taking him to the National Gallery, it was the last thing we did together, as he had moved to Melbourne to live with his aunt so away from Berry Street. He couldn't believe he was there, didn't think it was possible for him. I showed him my favourite paintings, we talked about the stories of paintings. He was thrilled to tell his aunt. He was 16. I remember him chattering away on the tram. I hadn't seen him for 6 months when he took his own life. Over 15 years later I still think of him. Yes, the curriculum as it restricts our ability to build relationships. But also schools and teachers. The system of schooling where we each play a role. There are those, like you, that still find the place for relationships. But, it's also broader, our communities, his family, friends, himself. Everyone is to blame, and no-one is to blame. Rather than blame, I like to think of the possibilities and what was possible while they were with us. That's why I remember the gallery with Devon rather than the times he would go off for lunch and then I would wander the streets of Yea because he hadn't come back. Or how the system failed him. You provided him opportunities. All my love Charlotte.

Charlotte: Your words bring tears back to my eyes. I did everything I could for him, you're right. I think I feel like I wish (that was grammatically okay) I was there on Thursday

to speak with him. To explain that this would pass and to try and convince him to stay. Drugs really stuff these kids—especially those with special needs.

Ceridwen: I often think about that with Devon. If only I had kept seeing him, I could have spoken to him, shown him another way. But I have reconciled over the years that I was just one person in his life, and it was his life that he couldn't deal with. There is little we, as teachers, can do to help those kids once they reach that point. They can't see a way through, even when we tell them it will change. It is unfortunately a part of many teachers experience and one that is probably not discussed enough (if at all).

Responding to Charlotte's initial text message was not straightforward for me. I spent time considering our relationship and her intent in sharing her news with me—the need to be supportive and provide comfort and possibly guidance. But from what position? Was Charlotte contacting me as a friend, a researcher or a mentor? Although it was a school-based event, it was clearly affecting her personally. Over the 2 years in which we had generated data together, my participants and I, particularly the small group involved in ongoing school observation, had developed deep relationships. The result was that our relationships were heteroglossic.

The message from Charlotte, however, was not just ethically difficult due to our relationship but also due to the memories it generated. Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope helped me to understand the historical and biographical influences of each event, which are situated not only in present time and space but also in the past and the prospective future. My biography, my experience of losing a student to suicide, made her text message difficult for me. When I received it, I was once again awash with all the thoughts and feelings I had experienced over the years since Devon's suicide and was also reminded of a colleague's similar loss of a student in 2019.

My biography and my response to Charlotte's experience were also influenced by my consideration of the experiences of many teachers, a general understanding of the difficulties that teachers face regularly in their careers, perhaps not suicide, but the many other events that may occur on any given day in schools with young people. During the project, another participant, Ally, had a student who had struggled with an eating disorder and was possibly self-harming. Ally spent her lunchtimes monitoring the student to ensure that she would eat. Ally often discussed her anxiety about not doing enough to help and her fear of this student losing her battle.

Taking a Bakhtinian approach to ethics assisted in understanding my ethical responsibilities in these instances. It did not provide a straightforward answer, as regulatory ethics may attempt to, but Bakhtinian concepts and my role as a researcher helped me to navigate my ethical considerations.

In my study, ethics was about human relationships. As Roth (2013) identifies, ethics is broader than ‘a system of values in the mind’—it includes ‘thought and action, body and mind, universal and practical thought and affect’ (p. 103). As Weigand (2018) notes, there is a need to balance individual self-interests and social concerns (p. 1). Weigand places ethical considerations firmly in the level of the everyday, rather than as an abstraction, and within a dialogic understanding of human interactions and development.

The concept of answerability, which draws from Bakhtin’s earlier work (Bazerman, 2004; Bialostosky, 1999), raises questions about our responsibilities to others. As Kostogriz and Doecke (2007) write, engaging in answerability is ‘to listen and to be open to the Other; it is to be immersed in the discursive space where the self becomes responsive and answerable when face to face with alterity’ (p. 13). Individuals have a responsibility to recognise and be answerable to those with whom we share an existence. The concept of answerability helps to explain my positionality and ethical responsibility in the research, in particular in relation to participants. It is the idea of being ‘responsive’ and ‘answerable’ (Kostogriz & Doecke, 2007, p. 13) to them, society and myself.

This dialogic understanding and approach to ethics broadly arose through the recognition that while the other is not like the self, the self recognises and responds to the ‘other’s uniqueness and singularity’ (Nealon, 1997, p. 129). Nealon (1997) explains that while Bakhtin was not an ethicist, his dialogics have become ‘recontextualized as a powerful *ethical* discourse’ (p. 132). Bakhtin had a ‘consuming interest in ethical action and response, or “answerability”’ (Ewald, 1993, p. 331).

In responding to Charlotte, I was acutely aware of my position. I recognised the unique experience of Charlotte and her meaning-making process in terms of grappling with the suicide of her student, and I wished to respond to and support her needs. However, I was also dealing with my own memories of Devon’s suicide and of our shared experiences. I took a moment to reflect before responding to Charlotte because of these considerations—my responsive and answerable responsibility towards both Charlotte and Devon.

Specifically, in relation to research, Roth (2013) discusses the effect the researcher and participants have on each other. He describes the act of praxis, which occurs through each utterance made by researchers, who ‘solicit answers’ but are also ‘answerable for the solicitation’ (p. 117). Each utterance, or act, changes those with whom we interact and the conditions in which we live, although these are not always discernible or noticeable. Roth (2013) highlights that the ‘world is not abstract’ but is an ‘inhabited world that conditions us and that we condition’ (p. 117). The conditions of the inhabited world on which we draw are altered through actions and interactions. Therefore, discourses, events and conditions are diachronic. From this perspective, my research could never simply be about

objectively observing the experiences of participants—I was always going to influence their becoming and their everyday work in the process of that observation. Taking this into consideration, I decided to not merely be an observer but to be part of the participants' becoming. By working with and alongside the participants, I could gain a somewhat more embedded understanding of their experience. In terms of their becoming, I also felt a responsibility towards them because they voluntarily gave up their time to participate in the study. These were teachers who wanted to engage reflectively in the process of becoming—they were inquisitive and enthusiastic, and this PhD study provided an opportunity for them to engage in the process with others.

My understanding of the role I could have in my participants' experience and becoming also arose from Benjamin's (2007) *The Storyteller* in which he explains the roles of the storyteller and the listener: 'The storyteller takes what he tells from experience—his own or that reported by others. And he in turn makes it the experience of those who are listening to his tale' (p. 87). Both the listener and storyteller are part of the process; both are changed through the telling of the story, and the meaning of the story is changed. The text message conversation between Charlotte and me is an example of this. We not only told each other our stories—we shared the experience, and the meanings of our individual stories changed. For Charlotte, our interaction brought 'tears back to [her] eyes' as she remembered, shared and heard a different voice. For me, I spent time considering her experience, my own and that of other teachers. Tears also came to me as I reflected on her story because it blended with my own and those of others. In the process of sharing, Charlotte and I made meaning together—our understandings were half our own and half the other person's. The interaction was not easy; it was a struggle as I negotiated my emotions and my role in terms of my relationship with Charlotte and the study.

Therefore, an approach to ethics grounded in answerability is an attempt to understand the dialogic development of self and other. Alongside this understanding comes a responsibility—an ethical consideration of and responsibility for the effect one has on others and that they have on oneself. Given the ethnographic approach of this study in which I worked alongside and with the participants, I was also part of the dialogic process. I affected the participants, and they affected me. Linking directly to the theoretical concepts central to this study, this effect occurred in the everyday and was part of both their and my ideological becoming. Their process of becoming English teachers and my process of becoming a researcher were undertaken dialogically together. The process of making sense of the participants' practices, views, values and beliefs about education and English education and their experiences as early career English teachers was a process of co-constructing meaning. I worked side by side with them 'in cooperation, competition, conflict [and] struggle' (Sztompka, 2008, p. 24).

4.5 Conclusion

Bakhtin's theories assisted me to understand the context in which teachers work as well as their experience of that context. In particular, Bakhtin's concepts of heteroglossia (and associated concepts of centripetal and centrifugal forces) and ideological becoming were used in this study as a theoretical lens but also as a language for approaching, unpacking and making sense of the data. Alongside the sociological concepts of everyday experiences and ways of using (see Chapter 2), these concepts permeated the study. They framed the study outline and construction in the early design stages, they were the lens through which to consider and analyse the data, they informed the language in discussing the data, and they were used in the development and articulation of an ethical approach and understanding.

The following chapter continues to develop the structures of the study, outlining the methodological approach I used in the study as well as the methods and information on the participants.

5 Methodology, Methods and Analysis

This chapter discusses the methodology used to enable a rigorous, theory-based and reflexive research process and project. The chapter is divided into five sections. Section 5.1 is a brief summary of key aspects of the study. Section 5.2 provides an overview of participants and their school sites. Section 5.3 develops the rationale for the use of ethnography-in-education methodology and shows how it enabled me to inquire into the daily lives and experiences of the participating early career English teachers. Sections 5.4 outlines the methods of data generation used in the study, and Section 5.5 illustrates the framework for data analysis.

5.1 Study Overview

The study examined two broad questions about the experience of teachers within the institution of the school. The first question addressed the nature of early career English teachers' everyday professional experiences within a context shaped by standards-based reforms. The second question considered the becoming that is evident or possible for early career English teachers within this context. An ethnographic sensibility and methodology were used for this study, specifically ethnography-in-education (J. Green & Bloome, 2005). This particular approach enabled me to develop an understanding of the daily routines and events of individuals' working lives and communities from the perspective of those individuals. Using ethnography, I was able to understand the relational experience of early career English teachers within and outside of the school. This relational experience included the stories of becoming in participants' daily actions and interactions as they negotiated complex and multivoiced understandings of their work.

The research questions were investigated through a sustained engagement with nine early career English teachers working in Victorian secondary schools. Data generation was conducted over 2 years. During this time there were periods of intense contact between the participants and myself, such as during school observations or when participants sought out communication to work through difficulties they were facing. There were also periods with less contact, particularly near the end of school term or during report-writing periods, when participants were overworked or tired. The participants worked in schools located in Victoria, Australia, in a range of social, cultural and economic communities and across all educational sectors (state, Catholic and independent). Eight schools were located within greater metropolitan Melbourne, and one was located in rural eastern Victoria, about an hour's drive from Melbourne.

To enable an overview of the experiences of the nine participants, participants were divided into two groups: central and peripheral (see Table 5.1). All participants were involved in semi-structured interviews and focus groups. I also collected various artefacts and documents, ranging from policy statements to curriculum documents (national and local) to teaching and learning materials generated by the participants. The five participants in the central group were the focus of observations, which took place across the middle 12 months of data generation after the initial semi-structured interviews and focus groups had been conducted. The length of observation varied from 3–10 days, depending on participant and researcher availability.

5.2 Participants and Research Sites

As noted above, nine early career English teachers working in Victorian secondary schools participated in the study. The schools represented a range of social, cultural and economic contexts and represented all three Australian education sectors (state, Catholic and independent). I grouped participants into two categories—central participants and peripheral participants. Those in the central group were involved in observation and featured more prominently in other aspects of data generation (i.e. ongoing and sustained online correspondence). Those in the peripheral group were less involved but still significant to the analysis and findings. The designation into central and peripheral participants was through negotiation with participants—following the initial interviews and focus groups, I invited the participants to take part in more in-depth ethnographic observations. Five participants accepted the invitation. For participants in the central group, data generation consisted of ongoing communications, mostly online but also by telephone and in person. Table 5.1 provides an overview of the participants and their school sites.

My use of the term ‘data generation’ is due to the consideration that I am not an objective observer who is able to collect data that exists independent of me. Rather, I am generating data alongside and with participants as we engage in collaborative and co-constructed meaning making. I recognise that in using this term I am, at times, appearing to flatten the complicated nature of becoming and the relationships I had with participants, yet throughout this study I recognise that my work with participants was never solely about data generation. These relationships were partially due to the research but were not limited to the generation of data. I was working with and alongside them in their becoming and my own. The use of the term ‘data generation’ is an attempt to signal my awareness of the generative interactions that occurred between the participants and myself and also amongst the participants.

Table 5.1

Participants and Schools

Pseudonym^a	Group	School^a	Sector	ICSEA	Region
Theodore	Central	Stirling SC	State	1,062	Outer East Melbourne
Hunter	Central	McKay SC	State	982	South Melbourne
Ally	Central	Feathertop SC	State	1,057	Inner East Melbourne
Charlotte	Central	Reynard College	Catholic	1,019	Inner Gippsland
Tiffany	Central	Matlock SC	State	940	South Melbourne
Kitty	Peripheral	Howitt College	Independent	1,181/	Inner East Melbourne/
		Beenak SC	State	1,115	Inner East Melbourne
Rebecca	Peripheral	Wills SC	State	1,055	Bayside Peninsula
Cordelia	Peripheral	Selma Grammar	Independent	1,130	Inner East Melbourne
Lily	Peripheral	Loch SC	State	1,062	Outer East Melbourne

Note. ICSEA: Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage (ACARA, 2016). ICSEA relates the educational performance of students to family characteristics such as parental education and occupation. The scale has a median value of 1,000, ranging from 500 (students with extremely educationally disadvantaged backgrounds) to 1,300 (students with highly educationally advantaged backgrounds). SC: Secondary College.

^a All names of participants and schools are pseudonyms.

The study participants were all alumni of one university in Melbourne and all undertook the English teaching specialist units (English A and English B) during their teaching degrees. Therefore, the participants had similar experiences of learning to teach English because they undertook similar course requirements. Seven of the participants completed their degrees at the end of 2017 and were in the same student cohort. I was their tutor for English A during the first part of the year (see section 1.1). I continued to engage with my tutorial group for the remainder of the year through chance encounters on campus and my continued presence at English B lectures. Two participants, Charlotte and Tiffany, completed their degrees earlier, 2016 and 2014, respectively. Chapters 6 and 7 include vignettes and portraits of each central participant, providing a sense of their contexts, everyday lives in schools and beliefs. Chapter 8 refers to the central participants as well as the four peripheral participants.

The following section examines the use of ethnography-in-education as a methodological approach for examining early career English teachers' work, experience and becoming.

5.3 Ethnography-in-Education: Studying Early Career English Teachers' Experiences

Ethnography is a methodological approach used widely across the social sciences to develop accounts of human experience within social, cultural and structural patterns and regularities (Delamont, 2014; J. Green & Bloome, 2005; Hammersley, 2006; Selwyn et al., 2018; Troman & Jeffrey, 2004). The approach enables 'people to see more deeply into one another's ways of behaving and believing' (Heath, 2011, p. 399). Woods (1996), an ethnographer of education, notes that ethnography enables him to examine 'teachers' practice and the issues of everyday life in classrooms from the perspective of teachers' (p. 10). Similarly, my study attempts to develop an understanding of early career English teachers' everyday work from those same teachers.

In focusing on early career English teachers' work, experiences and becoming, ethnography is one of the three tenets of this study. The other two tenets—the everyday and Bakhtin's theory of identity—are complemented by the ethnographic approach. Bulfin's (2009) doctoral thesis is an example of a combination of these three tenets in a study examining individuals in schools. In his study, Bulfin worked with and alongside students as they made sense of technology in and outside of school. Bringing together similar conceptual and methodological elements, Bulfin's study offers an example of how ethnography can be used in conjunction with a sociological perspective and in relation to Bakhtin's identity theories. Similar to Bulfin's study, the intent of my study is to understand the experience of the individual within the structure of schools. Another advantage of taking Bulfin's study as an example is that he undertook his study in similar conditions—within the constraints of a doctoral study and in the context of Victorian secondary schools. Bulfin comments that using ethnography enabled him to 'focus the research on particular aspects of social life and culture within and across domains and sites' mainly located 'in and around classrooms and schools' (p. 116) and also extended to young people's use of digital media outside of schools. While he was also interested in the relationship between home and school, his study mainly focused on schools.

In my study, sites of interest similarly included those in and around classrooms and schools. I also had an interest in settings outside of schools, such as participants' social and professional networks. Within each of these domains and settings, I focused on the different voices and the ways in which participants engaged in negotiation with others. These voices included myself as the researcher as I worked closely with participants, 'talking with them, and writing about them, and sharing emerging understandings with them' (Campbell & Lassiter, 2015, p. 2). Hammersley (1992) describes the data generated through these interactions as 'a product of [the researcher's] participation in the field rather than a mere reflection of the phenomenon studied' (p. 2). An ethnographic account includes the

participants' and ethnographer's 'sensitivities, meanings, and understandings' (p. 13), which are constructed through the interactions between the ethnographer, participants and the social and contextual environments. They are further constructed, or reconstructed, during the iterations of analysis and writing as an ethnographic text is produced, read by others and amended. R. M. Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2011) argue that by using this co-construction approach to ethnography, the subtle, implicit and underlying assumptions of participants, which are not readily available to those who are simply observing rather than actively engaging, may be accessible. It is difficult for ethnographers to become members of the group being studied—when this is desirable—because they hold the role of researcher, amongst other roles; however, through immersion and actively interpreting and interacting with participants, they can acquire 'empathy for local ways of acting and feeling' (R. M. Emerson et al., p. 5).

My approach to research in this study, in which the ethnographer and participants construct meaning together, has resulted in a co-constructed and multivoiced account of early career English teachers and their everyday experience. This co-construction contributed to the participants' becoming as we interacted with each other. This close relationship also contributed to my own becoming as a researcher, teacher and teacher educator (see section 4.4). This supports the epistemological understanding embedded in the study and the definition and use of the everyday, in which social reality is a subjective experience of dialogic interaction and meaning-making with others.

In terms of data generation, ethnographic studies have been increasingly shifting from in-depth long-term studies to shorter studies, particularly in relation to fieldwork (Delamont, 2014; Hammersley, 2006; D. Mills & Morton, 2013). Such an approach is in response to the intensification of work and increasing pressure on academics for productivity. Increasingly, there are fewer resources available for researchers to spend longer periods in the field. However, as Hammersley (2006) identifies, shorter fieldwork also relates to changes in technology in which 'audio- and video-recording devices . . . can produce very large amounts of data quite rapidly' (p. 5). Bulfin (2009) additionally comments on the time and resource constraints of doctoral studies in contemporary universities, where there is increased pressure and an expectation that studies will be finished in less than 4 years. In this context, ethnography typically focuses on a particular work locale or social institution and does not necessarily involve lengthy periods of fieldwork (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007; J. Green & Bloome, 2005). There are issues that arise from these changes in the length of fieldwork, including the possibility of a 'rather ahistorical perspective' and an assumption by ethnographers that what they observe in a particular situation is 'typical of what *always* happens there' (Hammersley, 2006, p. 6). These issues, however, are not necessarily limitations but rather require a sensibility by the researcher to appreciate that 'any situation changes over time' (p. 6).

To help overcome these issues, LeCompte and Schensul (1999) argue that familiarity with the social and cultural context allows for an ethnographic approach when sufficient resources are not available for a ‘full-fledged ethnography’ (p. 87). Compressed ethnographic research involves focusing the study on particular aspects of a culture. It also requires the ethnographer to be ‘somewhat familiar’ (p. 88) with the field setting or to draw on the experience of an expert. From this perspective, the researcher has experience in the temporality of the situation, thus can potentially understand the ‘shorter- and/or longer-term patterns’ (Hammersley, 2006, p. 6) that may occur within or beyond the data generation period. Despite the restrictions of a doctoral study, I was able to draw on my experience as a secondary school English teacher and teacher educator for the required expertise in the school context, enabling me to enact a form of compressed ethnography through an ethnography-in-education framework.

Ethnography-in-Education

Within the broad field of ethnographic studies about education, it is useful to distinguish between ethnography-*of*-education and ethnography-*in*-education (J. Green & Bloome, 2005). Ethnography-*of*-education refers to researchers who are external to the field, such as sociologists and anthropologists, who use ethnography to study education. Ethnography-*in*-education refers to research undertaken by education researchers, teacher educators, teachers and students.

Ethnography-in-education enables researchers to participate in the daily routines and work of teachers in schools because they have experience, knowledge and expertise in these workplaces. For example, Selwyn et al. (2018) explain that they could participate in lessons, meetings and other school activities across the 25-month period in which they were engaged in data generation. They were able ‘wherever possible . . . to participate in the life of the schools’ (p. 26). This approach was possible because of the educational knowledge and experience of the researchers—they could participate, to some extent, with teachers as colleagues and engage with students as teachers. This provided them with opportunities to immerse themselves in the field in ways that are not possible, or are more challenging, for those external to the field of education (R. M. Emerson et al., 2011).

While ethnography-in-education enables researchers to explore familiar contexts and to do so succinctly, there are additional considerations for examining communities that are similar to but are not one’s own. Gordon, Holland and Lahelma (2007) stress the importance of making the familiar strange, particularly in an environment such as schools, which are ‘familiar for all of us’ (p. 188) in some way, either as a student and/or teacher. The role for the researcher is in recording that which is ‘beyond what “everyone” already knows’ (Delamont, 2014, p. 11).

As an educational researcher with a background as a secondary school English teacher, I brought my understandings, experiences and values about education, specifically the teaching and learning of English, as I entered schools and classrooms. This enabled me to access more subtle and underlying aspects of participants' work because I could undertake some of their work, such as teaching, alongside them, which encouraged empathy and understanding (R. M. Emerson et al., 2011). An example of a subtlety I was able to understand was the negotiation needed when entering a school as a new staff member because I had undertaken this process when I began as an early career teacher in a suburban secondary school in Victoria. Yet, given my background and the potential of a shared experience with my participants, I had to attempt to make the familiar strange—I needed to be reflexive in my observations, interactions and recordings. This required a dialogic approach to ethics (see section 4.4) and a process of 'explicit, self-aware reflection and analysis' (Finlay, 2012, p. 317).

This reflexive approach was useful, particularly during my time in schools working with participants. It helped me work towards a 'richness and integrity of understanding' (Finlay, 2012, p. 317) as I questioned my assumptions, critiqued my biases and sought clarity from participants about my understandings of their work and becoming. Below is an example from my research journal of the reflexive work I undertook during data generation. It is a reflective text, written after my second day of observation with one of the central participants, Charlotte. The extract demonstrates how I grappled with my desire to intervene in some of the classroom practices I observed and the assumptions and perspectives I brought to my observations:

Entering a school as a teacher is full of assumptions, stereotyping and expectation. I approach every class through my understanding of classrooms, teaching and learning. Today has confronted many of these assumptions. There have been moments when I wanted to stand up and take control of the class, as students talked when Charlotte was speaking, got out of their chairs, chatted for just a little too long with others, made inappropriate comments, threw something across the room . . . Each of these times I tried to resist these thoughts, to consider from Charlotte's perspective and to consider my role today, my purpose. My place today was not to correct Charlotte but to understand her and her work. I was reminded of a comment in a text on ethnography about empowering rather than disempowering participants. This helped me to resist and critically consider my position. Instead of allowing my assumptions and judgements to tell the story, I examined the data, and I talked to Charlotte to develop a deeper understanding . . . Today was powerful for me as it forced me to confront my experience as a teacher and the assumption that I have that my approach is always the correct one.

The extract shows how I confront the views, values and beliefs I brought to my work with Charlotte and other participants. I recognise some of the experiences and the values I brought to my

observations and attempt to make sense of and navigate the tension that arose from my dual identity as education researcher and teacher. Confronting these views and values was an ongoing process for me across the project as I sat in classrooms and talked with participants and their colleagues and students. Keeping a research journal allowed me to recognise the challenges my professional experiences were presenting, often after the fact, as in the case above with Charlotte. I continually questioned my purpose for being in classrooms and schools as a researcher, the assumptions I brought to such moments and how these assumptions influenced my views and judgements about participants' development as early career English teachers.

Approaching the study of early career English teachers' experience and becoming from an ethnography-in-education perspective enabled me to develop accounts of participants' experience that were partly co-constructed and immersive within the time and resource constraints of a doctoral study. Adopting an ethnographic methodology and a reflexive assisted in my ability to consider my influence on the study and my observations while enabling me to consider the subtleties of participants' work.

5.4 Data Generation Design

A researcher's choice of methods often reflects 'deeper assumptions about social life and how to understand it' (R. M. Emerson et al., 2011, p. 14). Using the theoretical lenses of the everyday and ideological becoming and an ethnography-in-education methodology, the choice of methods for data generation were driven by a view that social life is continuously created through people's actions, interactions and understandings. I did not select the methods with the intent to realise an 'objective mirroring' (p. 14) of reality. Rather, my intent was to use methods that enabled a nuanced account of insights and understandings, the meanings people make and the contingencies and constraints that people encounter in the everyday.

While I, as the researcher, was crucial in constructing and influencing the generation, selection and interpretation of data, the participants and contexts of study were central to this process (Finlay, 2002). Through the social practice of conducting research with others, I had the opportunity to engage in a process of co-construction of knowledge with the participants. In this study, I storied with participants in the development of a representation of their work.

Data Generation Methods

Three questions guided the selection of the data generation methods: (1) What methods are commonly used within ethnographic research? (2) What methods would enable a focus on the everyday? (3) What methods would be appropriate given the time, resource and expertise constraints of a doctoral study? Thus, the following data generation methods were used in this study:

- semi-structured interviews and focus groups (see Appendix A & B)
- observations and fieldnotes (see Appendix C & D)
- reflective writing with and apart from participants (see Appendix E)
- artefact and document collection (see Appendix F).

All participants were involved in semi-structured interviews, focus groups and artefact and document collection. Of the nine participants, five (the central participants) were also involved in observations, which occurred at the participants' schools (see Table 5.2).

All interviews and focus groups were audio recorded and transcribed in full (see Appendix B). During observations, to generate visual data, I took photographs of participants' workspaces, including their classrooms, staffrooms and school grounds (see Appendix F). I observed and followed the daily routines of the central participants in and around their classrooms, including a range of lessons, staffroom interactions, yard duty and staff meetings. This extended to participants' engagement in professional networks outside of schools, such as those organised by their previous teacher educators at university (see section 8.3). I gathered relevant artefacts and documents from all participants, including school policy and curriculum documents and teachers' planning, assessment and activity documents. These were stored digitally.

These methods enabled me to generate data that provided multiple perspectives on participants' everyday experiences and ideological becoming. The approach to data generation in the project was based on the notion that research is an exploratory process and, as such, I adapted to the participants' needs and interests across the data generation stage (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007). In this exploratory process, each participant was treated separately; hence, the exact details of data generation were negotiated with each participant depending on their interests and time. I refined the use of these methods as I worked with participants both individually and in groups. Table 5.2 shows the data generation methods with an explanation of why and how each method was used in the study.

Table 5.2

Summary of the Data Set

Tool	Details	Purpose
Semi-structured interviews	12 x 30–90 minutes = 14 hours (digitally recorded)	To develop a shared understanding with participants of their daily work and experience and education ideologies
Focus groups	3 x 90 minutes = 4.5 hours (digitally recorded)	To gain a sense of the shared cultures/subcultures of participants and to provide an opportunity for dialogic reflection with colleagues
Observations and fieldnotes	3–8 days for each central participant = 23 days in total Fieldnotes and researcher journal used throughout	To develop an understanding and stories of participants' everyday experience and work
Reflective writing with participants	5 x 1 pieces. Each central participant wrote one reflective piece collaboratively with me during observation. Reflective writing also occurred via email.	To develop an understanding of the process of reflectively storying with others and the part this process plays in becoming
Artefacts and documents	Emails, text messages and social media posts (> 1,000) School documents, teaching materials and photographs.	To develop a sense of the social, historical and institutional context of participants' work

Semi-structured interviews and focus groups

My approach to generating data through semi-structured interviews and focus groups aligns with the underlying principle of this study—Bakhtin's understanding of meaning-making that occurs dialogically between individuals and groups (see section 4.2). From the perspective of co-constructed meaning-making, I considered how meaning was jointly constructed by those involved—the interactions between researcher and participants in which 'both questions and responses are formulated in, developed through, and shaped by the discourse' (Mishler, 1986, p. 53).

In terms of developing a better understanding of early career English teachers' experiences, interviews and focus groups were important to this study for what they 'may be able to tell us about the people . . . and the intellectual and discursive resources on which they draw' (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 98). This refers not only to teachers' perspectives and processes of meaning-

making but also to the larger cultures and subcultures, both intellectual and discursive, to which they belong and from which they draw. In other words, through interviews and focus groups, I was able to develop insight into the schools and cultures in which participants worked and their understanding of those cultures. These insights arose alongside the development of my understanding of participants' daily routines, actions, interactions and meaning-making as they spoke with me (in formal interviews and informal conversations) and each other (in focus groups).

I used a slightly different process for interviews and focus groups. During the focus groups, participants engaged in a particular discursive culture; that is, they engaged and storied with their fellow early career English teachers. This differed from the experience of the one-to-one semi-structured interviews. Below, for example, is an extract from a semi-structured interview I conducted with Tiffany, one of the central participants, followed by an extract from a focus group in which Tiffany was speaking with Cordelia, Kitty and Hunter. The semi-structured interview took place 2 weeks before the focus group, during Term 1 in the first year of data generation. In both extracts, Tiffany speaks about her head of department, Vanessa, but in different ways. In the semi-structured interview, she commented:

Vanessa means well. And she really does want to improve the literacy of the school. And she is constantly looking at this functional grammar stuff—and I'm sure it's not that difficult to get your head around. But I can't get my head around it because it's come from Vanessa, so I ignore it. And I know that that's on me.

In contrast, Tiffany's comments about Vanessa during the focus group were different:

I hate my Head of English. She's terrible, and she's one of the Year 12 teachers and I've had students that I taught last year in Year 11 come back to me and go, 'I don't understand it', and I was like... doing the whole, 'I'm a professional, but I know what you mean' kind of thing.

During the semi-structured interview, Tiffany expressed her feelings towards Vanessa, her head of department, but also recognised that these feelings affected her judgement and that on reflection Vanessa was likely doing what she believed was best. This consideration of her relationship with Vanessa may also have been influenced by my presence—she may not have considered her responsibility for her perception of Vanessa without having had the opportunity to dialogically engage with me. During the focus group, her comments concentrated on her dislike of Vanessa and what she believed was Vanessa's incompetence. There was no evidence of Tiffany's reflective understanding of Vanessa as demonstrated in the semi-structured interview. This does not raise a question about the validity of one extract over the other, rather it demonstrates the co-constructed nature of meaning-

making. In each situation, Tiffany constructed a story with and for others, and each occasion provided an opportunity for her to consider different nuances in her relationship with Vanessa and how she might represent it to others. In the semi-structured interview, there was consideration for me, her sole audience, and what she believed was the story in which we were engaged, informed by what she imagined I might have wanted to hear. In the focus group, there was consideration for her audience and her understanding of the stories colleagues often develop together about their heads of department. In relation to focus groups, Atkinson and Hammersley (2007) point out:

Group discussions may provide considerable insight into participant culture: in other words, what is lost in terms of information may be compensated for by the illumination that the accounts provide into the perspectives, discursive repertoires, and the rhetorical strategies of those being interviewed. (p. 113)

Thus, with the intent to understand individual teachers' experience and gain a sense of the cultures and subcultures in which they participated and worked and the discursive repertoires, such as narrative tropes, that occur when storying together, it was important to conduct both interviews and focus groups. Because of the co-constructed process of meaning-making, I made the choice to conduct focus groups because, even in the early stages of data generation, I was part of the participants' dialogic meaning-making process. Coming from an ethnography-in-education position, my expertise and familiarity with the work of early career English teachers assisted me in developing opportunities for participants to comfortably discuss their work without the need to acquaint an unknown person with the subjective nature of their work. The focus groups were also an opportunity to develop a 'dialogic professional community' (Parr & Bulfin, 2015, p. 157) in which I was a member. This professional community would continue across the data generation.

I conducted the semi-structured interviews prior to the focus groups, which enabled the participants and I to develop trust and an understanding of the research and the process in which we would be involved. The focus groups were conducted prior to the observations because it was from the focus groups that I invited participants to be involved in observations. At the end of the first year of data generation, I conducted a second round of focus groups—one group of participants who were not involved in observations and the other for participants who were involved in observations. This decision arose from the different approaches I took with each group. Those with whom I had worked in schools—participants in the central group—were asked to reflect with each other on the experience of having me in their workplace and discuss their experiences of teaching more generally. For those not involved in observations—participants in the peripheral group—the focus group was an opportunity to discuss and reflect on their everyday experiences with others.

Observations and fieldnotes

My study is premised on the understanding that the experiences of early career English teachers are located in specific times and places. While teachers' work is not bounded by the physical space of the school (R. W. Connell, 1985; Selwyn et al., 2018), in participating with teachers at school I was able to gain insights into their social worlds, cultures and subcultures as well as the physical context of their schools and workplaces. This allowed me to gain a depth of understanding—I was able to witness, uncover and document 'the motion and fluidity of life' (Gullion, 2016, p. 7), or at least a small part of it. R. M. Emerson et al. (2011) argue that the purpose of undertaking observation is to immerse in 'others' worlds in order to grasp what they experience as meaningful and important' (p. 3). Thus, fieldwork does not simply involve passive observations and the writing of fieldnotes but is an interactive process with participants as well as others who occupy the research site, such as colleagues and students. This interactive approach to fieldwork enabled me to join with the participants in their experience of daily routines and conditions as well as the constraints and pressures of their work as teachers.

Particular attention was given to the writing of fieldnotes and writing in my research journal shortly after each experience in the schools. Both of these were an opportunity for me to practise a kind of storytelling (Gullion, 2016). As Madden (2010) explains, 'an ethnography is ultimately a story that is backed up by reliable ethnographic data and the authority that comes from active ethnographic engagement' (p. 6). Thus, the focus through this stage of data generation was to form rich, descriptive fieldnotes (R. M. Emerson et al., 2011). This is not necessarily a 'correct' recording of events but rather an attempt to create an account of the event and its value and the participants' and researchers' physical settings, objects, actions, interactions, beliefs, emotions and meanings. This was an interpretative/constructive process in which I made decisions about what I selected and emphasised and what I ignored. In other words, through the writing of fieldnotes and the research journal, I created a story of the participants' experiences and my own experience of doing the research.

Because storying is an interactive dialogic process (Parr, Doecke & Bulfin, 2015), to enhance this process, at times I invited the participants to engage in reflective writing with me (see Table 5.2). The purpose of this reflective writing was to provide an opportunity to engage in the writing of 'big' stories that focus on presenting an 'integrated perspective on past events such as life stories or critical, transformational moments' (Pulvermacher & Lefstein, 2016, p. 257). In writing together, we created an additional space and opportunity for making meaning (Duarte & Brewer, 2018; Parr, Doecke & Bulfin, 2015). This often resulted in the generation of two perspectives of an experience—the respective participant's and mine. These experiences may have related to those that took place in the classroom or to those that arose from a reading that one of us was undertaking. For example, the

extract below is from an email exchange between Charlotte and me. Charlotte had shared some work from one of her students, and I replied:

I am currently reading Walter Benjamin's *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* . . . He writes that there is one element missing when art is mechanically reproduced: an artwork's 'presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be' (p. 220). It made me think about your students' work . . . In relation to education, this uniqueness of time and space is where learning happens. It happens in a moment; it cannot be recorded or captured. The examples of students' work only have relevance to your class, to that activity, to that moment . . . It is the everydayness of these discussions that show the engagement and learning (the products) of teaching. These moments can only exist in the present; they cannot be shared with parents over student management systems, they cannot be reduced to a grade/data. And, the moment will pass, products of teaching and learning are momentary. This doesn't mean they no longer exist after the class but that only 'the traces' remain, and these cannot be captured.

In response to my email, Charlotte replied:

I think of this quite often, actually . . . in that I muse on the differences between marking a math test as opposed to an English paper. I think we touched on that when we caught up (you probably have that recorded somewhere!), but there is so much in an English class that we must 'brush aside' . . . we have a mechanical question and that teacher will mark it in a mechanical way... perhaps... brushing aside all the development, the ideas, the inspiration, the history, the life of the student... I'm not sure what I'm saying here... babbling.

Here, Charlotte and I are engaging in dialogic meaning-making from a conversation we had and the sharing of students' work. We are both unsure of our own views, seeking reassurance and engagement from the other, as illustrated in Charlotte's comment that she is 'babbling' and my invitation for her to reflect with me as I developed my understanding of her work. In the shared reflective writing, the participants and I worked on the same document (see Appendix E). Sometimes this involved writing separately and then discussing and creating one document, while other times we worked on the same document throughout the process. The co-construction of meaning came from the recognition of the fluidity of ideas and the ability for us both to share and engage with ideas that were in the process of being formed. Our writing sought to represent the participant's experiences, my experience and the meaning-making we constructed together. This process of meaning-making following a shared experience did not always involve a written reflection. Often this occurred through informal interviews and conversations, where the central participants and I found a quiet space to talk through

an experience, often a classroom experience. With participants' permission, these were often audio recorded using my mobile phone to capture some of the process of storying together. This shared storying was made possible because I was immersed in participants' work and the space and time in which they worked. While the physical research sites were the schools and classrooms, data generation extended into a variety of non-physical spaces—the digital space for example—where discussions of classrooms and experience spilled over.

I wrote fieldnotes in notebooks while I was visiting the schools. These were often short summaries, which were used as reminders for writing detailed notes at the end of each observation day (see Appendices C & D). Sometimes the notes were more detailed as I took the opportunity to sit and observe, either in classrooms or in quiet moments around the school. Below is an extract from one of these musings, written in the middle of my observation with Charlotte:

The school is situated on the top of a hill. Sitting near the old wooden chapel, I can see the rolling hills, the brown earth of paddocks, the lines of trees acting as wind-breaks. This is juxtaposed with the blazers, shirts and ties worn by students. The traditions and expectations of a Catholic school, drawing from British college wear from days gone by. These robes cloak the students, force expectations on them—who they are, who they should be, what is expected of them. The aura presents a different story, farmers and a community whose very livelihood is dependent on the elements.

As evident in this example, these more detailed notes often consisted of me attempting to make sense of the experiences I was having with participants. Through the process of observation, I was constantly engaging in storying on my own or with participants.

Artefacts and documents

The choice of artefacts and documents I collected varied depending on the participant. I gathered emails, text messages, social media posts, school documents, teaching materials and photographs. These artefacts represented the '*documentary constructions of reality*' (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 121). These were the material objects created, used and circulated as part of the everyday experiences of teachers. For this study, artefacts were useful for two reasons: (1) they were part of the participants' experiences, thus were often the products of their meaning-making; and (2) they helped to provide a social, historical and institutional context for participants' work. To some extent, school and policy documents enabled the experience of early career English teachers to be placed in institutional, historical and social contexts (B. Green & Beavis, 2013).

The artefacts included social media posts on Twitter and Facebook, teaching materials created by the participants and social media conversations via Facebook Messenger. The documents included school and government documents and policies, official teaching materials that were approved by the school or faculty heads for use by all English teachers and reports on participants' achievements in relation to annual reviews and their VIT registration process. The VIT process was being undertaken by the five graduate teachers in the study, who had all started the year with provisional registration. Across their first year, each undertook the process of VIT registration to show they were meeting the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers at the proficient level with the purpose of applying for full registration in their second year. Alongside this collection of artefacts were photographs taken during observations. Photographs, which can assist in the reconstruction of events, were originally taken as a way to assist in my memory of experiences and events during observations. Beyond this, photographs became recordings of material objects that were products of participants' experiences as well as the spaces in which they spent time, spaces that gave shape to their relationships and experiences.

Summary of methods

The methods of data generation—semi-structured interviews, focus groups, observations, reflective writing during observation, artefacts and documents—enabled me to develop a multiperspective representation of early career English teachers' experiences that considered the unique experiences of teachers in and outside schools. Each of these methods (except artefacts and documents) provided the opportunity for the participants and me to co-construct meaning through dialogic interaction. The representations produced through these processes included the participants' everyday experiences in schools and the mediating influence of relationships with colleagues, students, fellow educators and institutions. The process of participating in this co-construction of data also provided an understanding of, and contributed to, their process of ideological becoming (Bakhtin, 1981) as early career secondary school English teachers.

5.5 A Framework for Data Analysis

I used thematic and narrative analysis approaches to analyse the data. My selection of these two approaches was based on my aim to develop a broad understanding of the experiences of the nine participants as well as an in-depth understanding of individual stories and becoming. In this section, I describe the process I used to move from data generation to a written account of the analysis.

Outline of Analysis Method

In their ethnographic study of the reading and writing of a community in Lancaster, UK, Barton and Hamilton (1998) comment that while data analysis and writing take more time than data generation, analysis is often missing in qualitative research reports—there is often a ‘leap’ (p. 67) from the data to the finished product. Drawing from their explicit outline of data analysis steps, I outline the broad steps I undertook in analysing the data below, before focusing in more detail on the two approaches of analysis: thematic and narrative.

While the formal data analysis process began once the data collection was complete, I view analysis as taking place as soon as there are data because there is a ‘dialectical interaction between data collection and data analysis’ (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 159) (also see Barton & Hamilton, 1998). I made changes to the data collection as I gathered information. For example, I did not preselect participants for observation; rather, I invited them once the semi-structured interviews and first round of focus groups had been completed. The following outlines the practical strategies I used to analyse the data once they had been generated:

1. The first practical strategy used to analyse data involved getting to know the data (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 162). This involved processing the data through a close reading and rereading of the transcripts, fieldnotes, my research journal and all other communications between the participants and myself (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; R. M. Emerson et al., 2011). Getting to know the data involved a process of articulating and modifying the existing themes based on the research questions and scope of the study and forming new themes as I worked with the data.
2. The second strategy involved the selection of data (Barton & Hamilton, 1998). The selection process was informed by my understanding of the participants that developed over the 2 years of ethnographic work as well as through an appreciation of the ‘eventness’ of certain experiences and the consideration of critical moments that I deemed significant in participants’ experiences, work or becoming. During this process of selecting data, there was a narrowing of the themes, consistent with the thematic analysis approach. Each participant’s data set comprised 17 to 23 themes (see Appendix G). Some of these themes were shared, while others were unique to participants, whose experiences and contexts differed. These themes were divided into five broad categories that were applicable across the individual data sets. These categories brought continuity across the data set and enabled an analysis of individual participants (see Chapters 6 and 7) as well as across participants (see Chapters 8 and 9).
3. The final strategy involved the in-depth analysis of themes within the data using a narrative analysis approach. Focusing on individual participants, I organised the themes into a

‘coherent “story” about life and events’ (R. M. Emerson et al., 2011, p. 202). This involved a process of synthesising the data rather than examining their constituent parts (Polkinghorne, 1995). Using the categories and themes to navigate the data, I was able to focus on questions such as, ‘How did this happen?’ and ‘Why/how did this come about?’ (p. 15). The result was the formation of stories about the participants’ experiences as well as stories that extended across participants, the latter of which suggest broader stories about early career English teaching.

During each stage, I considered the temporal and spatial dimensions of the data and had an awareness of the importance of context for meaning-making, as understood through Bakhtin’s (1981, 1993) work on eventness and chronotopes as well as ethnographic methodology (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; R. M. Emerson et al., 2011). There was a focus throughout the analysis on developing ‘*situated meanings*’ (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 168), which involved understanding the localised experiences of participants within the larger social and institutional contexts. Further, I recognised throughout the analysis process that these experiences and contexts were temporally located in time and space. This recognition and consideration assisted in ensuring I was not making assumptions about the ‘typical’ (Hammersley, 2006, p. 6) experiences of participants. There was a recognition that situations change over time.

Thematic Analysis

The purpose of thematic analysis is to develop an understanding of participants’ reflections and experiences in relation to broad themes that can be used across participants as well as within participants’ data across time (Barkhuizen, 2015; LeCompte & Schensul, 1999; Woods, 1986). In this study, I used thematic analysis to develop an understanding of recurrent themes that arose across the 2 years of data generation for the central group participants and 1 year for the peripheral group participants as well as across the entire data set (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). The coding process was not about removing the social or time–space context but rather ‘saying that different instances [were] all examples of similar phenomenon’ (Barton & Hamilton, 1998, p. 69). The process of considering the phenomena assisted in developing a narrative of the participants’ experiences, both separately and as a group. Using an ethnographic approach to coding, which is different from typical qualitative research (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 153), the assignment of data was not restricted to only one category. Rather, anything that could conceivably relate to a category was included. For example, an interaction with a staff member may have been coded as *Relationships—Staff*, but if the interaction was about text selection, then it was also coded as *Subject English*. Additionally, if the staff member was the English Coordinator, then it may also have been coded as *Bureaucracy*.

The initial themes were developed from the research questions and scope of the study. During the thematic analysis, these themes changed depending on the data items within each participant's data set. Once the data set of each participant was analysed, I then considered the categories into which these themes could be grouped (see Appendix G).

Using an extract from Hunter's data set as an example, Table 5.3 shows how initial themes were situated within broader categories. The themes were specific to his data set, while the categories were consistent across the entire data set for all participants. Thematic analysis enabled me to develop a situated and critical understanding of each participant's everyday work, experience and process of becoming an English teacher by considering the continuities and differences across the data generation stage. I was also able to consider the participants as a group by examining instances across the entire data set.

Table 5.3

Example of Thematic Analysis: Hunter

Category	Themes
Out-of-school relationships and networks	Out-of-school support/networks
	Out-of-school influences—personal life
	Relationships—to me/study

Narrative Analysis

Narrative analysis is an approach to data that recognises individuals 'lead storied lives' (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 2). By examining the stories of people's lives, an understanding of the human experience can be developed. This human experience considers the individual within wider structures because stories are not just individual but also social, economic and political. Souto-Manning (2014), for instance, discusses the use of narrative analysis by researchers as a way to understand the 'relationship of everyday talk to the social construction of cultural norms and institutional discourses' (p. 162). It is this human experience in the world, the biographical experience within social and political events and structures, that formed the theoretical basis for this research, which inquired into the human everyday experiences and becoming of early career English teachers.

Using narrative analysis, I was able to inquire into individual 'events' (Bakhtin et al., 1993, p. 2) that I judged to be 'critical moments' (p. 111) in the participants' experience and becoming. Narrative analysis, therefore, provided an analytical tool for inquiring into the experience of the nine

participants in this study because it enabled a focus on individual events within the biographical history of the participants, their localised school context (school culture, the principal team, colleagues and students) and the wider cultural and political context. In undertaking narrative analysis, I considered two dimensions: analysis of narratives and narrative analysis (Polkinghorne, 1995). The first considers the phenomenon under study—the ‘story’—while the second considers the method of inquiry—the ‘narrative’ (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 2).

Stories

In this thesis, I argue for the importance of stories in understanding human experience and for individuals in their process of sense-making and becoming. Given their importance in becoming, the stories of participants, as well as the co-constructed stories between myself and others, were central to the narrative analysis approach.

Stories are socially located and located in the chronotope of meeting, where an individual interacts with others in time-space (Bakhtin, 1981). They are also historically and biographically located and formed dialogically between the teller and the audience (Bakhtin, 1981; Benjamin, 2007). From this perspective, I had an awareness of the temporality of the stories, meaning that the telling of stories is continuous, and the storyteller is ‘at once, engaged in living, telling, retelling, and reliving stories’ (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 4). This complexity results in a richness in stories as people weave together their present and past perspectives, the perspectives, expectations and experiences of their listeners, the specific moment in time and space and the particular social, historical and cultural milieu. It also assisted in me recognising that the stories of participants were not static or stable but were accounts of their changing experiences and meaning-making.

Perrino (2015) discusses the use of Bakhtin’s chronotope as a tool for understanding the complexity of time-space and the interactional dimension of storytelling—the ‘ongoing construction of the relationship between story and storytelling’ (p. 140). In understanding this ongoing construction, she discusses two chronotopes—the chronotope of the story and that of the storyteller. The chronotope of the story is the plot of the narrative, which is separate from the event of storytelling. In the chronotope of the story, there is a focus on the words, the context and the literary devices used in the story. The chronotope of the storyteller is the experience of telling and receiving the story—it is the event of storytelling. These are separate chronotopes, yet to separate them is only possible in the abstract, for in the act of storytelling there is ‘cross-chronotope alignment’ (Perrino, 2015, p. 141). Perrino (2015) explains that Bakhtin’s chronotope can be used to map the internal structure and configuration of the narrative as well as the links between the story and the social, cultural, political and historical contexts

of the narrating action. There is a layering in storytelling, where numerous past stories converge with the present.

Therefore, in analysis, it is essential to consider not only the story but also the storyteller—the local and broader contexts, the social process of sense-making and the storyteller’s previous learning and experiences, present-situated processes, and proposed goals and purposes (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). A narrative from a participant captures a moment in time, but it is only by considering the participant’s whole life and context that sense-making is understood, particularly the sense-making that occurs in the process of becoming. While becoming takes place in unique and unrepeatable events of everyday life, these events are connected to the past and the future (Bakhtin, 1993). An example of the situated context of a story and the layering of past and future stories came from Theodore, one of the central participants, and a discussion we had about space. I asked him to consider the space of his school, and he wrote a reflective piece (which is examined in terms of its contribution to Theodore’s experience and process of becoming in section 6.4). His piece begins as follows:

Spaces can make people feel successful and accomplished, such as the McMansion you and your wife have just built in a distant, developing suburb. They can make you feel empowered to pursue academic excellence even when there isn’t any real need to, like my university’s library. However, they can also make people feel very small. Melbourne’s St. Patrick’s Cathedral, where as a student I was made to attend my school’s inaugural mass, had me fearing that a single sin would bring the tall church spires crashing on top of us.

Amongst the learning curve of my first year of teaching, there was a recurring experience that took me back to feelings of inferiority and smallness. Our school divides English meetings into year levels, with each having a team leader. Walking into the Year 9 meetings I saw a team that was disparate, unwilling to work with one another, and a lack of energy around the teaching of Year 9 English. The team needed a leader to bring vitality back, but nobody was interested.

In analysing this story, I considered Theodore’s past experiences as a student, his experience in his current school, the fact that he was writing the piece as he sat in the main staffroom and his intentions for the future. He was taking on the role as Head of Year 9 English, which required him to consider his graduate year experiences and the ways that he and his colleagues understood the previous Head of Year 9 English. This piece also arose from a discussion we had; therefore, he was making sense of his space not in isolation but with me, and he wrote the piece with me, as a researcher, mentor and friend, as the intended audience. This event, therefore, cannot be removed and examined through an abstract lens, but is socially situated within multiple time–space arrangements (Bakhtin, 1981). In

considering his new role as Head of Year 9 English, memories of different events were prompted and woven into his storytelling. This example is an illustration of how a story, or our understanding of a story, is layered with various other events or memories. Bakhtin's chronotope helped me understand the layering in such accounts because it offers a frame for understanding and mapping the internal structures of a narrative and the links between the social, cultural and historical contexts of a story (Perrino, 2015). Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope within the narrative analysis approach described here provided a lens through which to inquire into the various stories, timelines and spaces within each narrative.

Narratives

The second dimension of narrative analysis is a focus on method. Connelly and Clandinin (1990) propose that narrative inquiry occurs within the 'relationships among researchers and practitioners' (p. 4). It is through connected and caring communities that an understanding of the lived experience of individuals can be developed. While this is often discussed in relation to ethics (see section 4.4), Connelly and Clandinin (1990) argue that narratives are also a methodological consideration. The process of narrative inquiry is one of mutual construction of meaning. Through narrative analysis, I needed to be aware of the co-construction of meaning to ensure that 'both voices are heard' (Connelly & Clandinin, (1990, p. 4)—both mine and the participants'. Other voices were also heard and represented in the formation of stories by the participants and me. These included allusions to others, who were not necessarily directly referred to or quoted, such as school leaders, colleagues and policymakers through curriculum and policy documents. There were also other researchers and theorists that the participants and I discussed or read about, either together or separately. Narratives involved the weaving together of these various voices as they were understood by the participants and me.

In my narrative analysis approach, there were two dimensions that focused on the co-constructed nature of the stories during the thematic analysis stage. First, I wrote individual narratives for each participant in which I wove together the various themes and their experience across time. I did this following thematic analysis so that I could work across the data set of each participant in relation to themes. Through this process, I brought together the seemingly disparate parts that had been divided into separate events in the previous analysis stage. Through narrative analysis, I analysed the experiences and becoming of participants across the 2-year data generation stage. In this stage, I critically constructed the overarching plot of participants' experiences and becoming while attempting to retain the integrity of each event.

Participants' voices were included in this process wherever possible, resulting in narratives that wove together their voices and my own. During this stage, I was in contact with the participants so that they were part of the analysis. Given the strong relationships we had built across the 2 years of data generation, this often occurred through brief online Messenger chats. However, at times, they were more developed when I communicated with participants via phone or email. I found this a beneficial part of the analytical process because it involved the participants in the interpretation of the data and the checking of ideas and claims. This, in part, assisted with ensuring the validity of the data because participants were able to offer their perspectives (Barton & Hamilton, 1998).

The next stage of my analysis was the writing of the analysis chapters, in which I brought together the individual narratives of participants to understand their experiences in relation to others. During this process, I synthesised the data into a 'coherent developmental account' (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 15). Throughout this final stage of synthesising, similar to the entire process of data analysis, I was aware that the participants' stories were being mediated and reworked by me in a final research account. Referring to Bakhtin's notion of double articulation, Barton and Hamilton (1998) summarise the mediating influence of the researcher on the data:

We are uttering the words of others, and in some sense, they have become *our words*. The distinction between their words and our words exists but their words are always selected by us and contextualised in the text by our words. (p. 72)

To summarise, the analysis processes described above consisted of two main parts. First, I developed knowledge and an understanding of the data by considering the themes across the data sets, both for each participant and for the participants as a group. The themes related to their experience, the theoretical framework and research questions and my observations. Second, I generated narratives about the participants using critical moments in each participant's data set as well as considering these narratives in relation to other participants' experience. These narratives were grounded and critical illustrations of early career English teachers' experience in schools and their processes of becoming English teachers. In the next chapter, I inquire into the ideological becoming of two of the central participants, Theodore and Hunter, within the heteroglossic contexts of their schools.

Interlude: Introducing Hunter and Theodore

Hunter

A U-shaped table configuration houses the small Year 12 English Language class. The students are divided into social groupings—twos, threes and fours. Yet, they happily chat across the room. The class is in a rhythm from the start. Students begin the task—reflection on the metalanguage taught during the previous lesson rather than the school-wide imposed *Do Now* activity (a 10-minute free-writing task designed to engage). Hunter moves calmly around the room, chatting with students, checking their work over their shoulders. ‘Here, in this space’, Hunter remarks as he passes me, ‘I can be the teacher I want to be’. I reflect on observing Hunter in other classroom spaces. All the classrooms are the same: typical 1970s government secondary school classrooms with grungy bluey-grey carpet selected not for aesthetics but its durability and stain-hiding qualities; Venetian blinds stuck askew and halfway between open and closed; and forgotten pieces of work hanging from one pin, reminders of the previous classes to occupy this space. But the students within each classroom, the cohorts, are different and the approach Hunter has in each class is different. Watching him now weave amongst the tables of his Year 12 class, away from the protection of the front desk, I am reminded of a mother duck circling the perimeter of the pond. An example of the kind of teacher Hunter discusses wanting to be.

Hunter had begun his teaching career at McKay Secondary College on short-term contracts prior to being employed as an English Language/English teacher. He had worked as a teacher’s aide, which he believed was the reason he was allocated the Year 7 Empowering Literacy and Year 10 Effective English classes in his graduate year. The Year 10 class was designed for disengaged or disruptive students, who the school had deemed unlikely to go on to VCE English. Many were school refusers or students who had failed to attend classes regularly. Meanwhile, Year 7 Empowering Literacy was for students who had performed poorly in primary school and in their Year 5 NAPLAN test. The Empowering Literacy course was designed so that students could gain support alongside the mainstream English course. Hunter also taught Year 12 English Language, which along with English and Literature, is one of the three English subjects in the VCE. It explores the use of language by individuals and groups and how it develops within societies. The study design for this subject is largely informed by the discipline of linguistics. Hunter identified to me as primarily an English Language teacher. This identification was mediated by his time at university, where he had studied linguistics, his job title and his position as one of only two VCE English Language teachers.

Theodore

Theodore collects a mandarin and a muesli bar from the top drawer of his desk on his way to the communal English staff table. Near the windows, the space is flooded with light, and a breeze shifts the stale air of the large staffroom. Squeezed between desks, filing cabinets and bookshelves, the communal table is mostly hidden from the door, and Theodore's selected spot is out of students' line of sight. As he settles down into a chair, he hears a student ask for a staff member. Turning to me he comments, 'Students shouldn't be allowed to come to the staffroom at recess. Teachers need a break'. As the music marking the end of recess starts, Theodore collects his rubbish and rises to leave but is caught by Valerie, precariously carrying a large pile of marking. She asks Theodore about cross-marking. Her question is met with unexpected curttness. Theodore returns to his desk. Out of earshot of Valerie by way of explanation to me, he comments, 'I don't like her approach. Always looking at ways to take marks off students, not support them'.

Theodore presented as the model of a self-assured graduate teacher. Early in the study (which was his first year of teaching), he confidently discussed his teaching, his relationships with colleagues and students and the positive views the Principal and Deputy Principals at Stirling Secondary College had of him. Central to these discussions was his understanding of teaching: he believed that providing a supportive, encouraging and challenging environment for students was essential for successful learning and teaching. His self-assured attitude was disrupted in his second year. During Term 2 of his second year, Theodore experienced immense difficulty in what he described as a 'breakdown'. Early in the term, across a 2-week period, Theodore had confronted a series of challenging personal events, including illness in the family and himself. He had been admitted to hospital via the emergency department for a number of days. Alongside these challenges, he was diagnosed with generalised anxiety disorder, and his work was identified as a large contributing factor to this. After taking 3 weeks' sick leave, he returned to work for 4 days a week. The school was supportive in allowing this and altered his timetable, where possible, to give him afternoons off. Theodore's breakdown had significant immediate effects on his understanding of himself and his journey to becoming an English teacher. Over several months, the personal struggles seemed to resolve, but work remained a large contributing factor to his depression. The effects continued across his second year, and many were unresolved or ongoing at the end of our conversations together for this study.

6 Becoming Through Negotiating Self and Others

This chapter explores two early career English teachers' experience of working in different secondary schools in Melbourne during their first years in the profession. Underpinning the chapter is the recognition that schools are productive and active sites of teachers' becoming (see Chapter 3). In the pages that follow, I present a critical account of the struggles of two teachers—Hunter and Theodore—as they negotiated the heteroglossic contexts of their schools in the process of developing their professional identities. The purpose is to develop a localised, relational and nuanced understanding of two early career English teachers' becoming, which illustrates the link between their everyday experience and professional identities and their ideologies.

In this approach, I use Bakhtin's theory of identity (see section 4.2) to show that becoming for Hunter and Theodore was the process of considering and negotiating their heteroglossic identities within their heteroglossic contexts. Mockler (2011) describes this experience as the 'ever-shifting and emergent identity' of teachers that comprises 'multiple . . . coexisting . . . and fragmented' (p. 125) identities. Because these identities have different, sometimes contradictory, ideologies (views, values and beliefs) and agendas about education, there can be an 'unresolved tension' (p. 126) between them.

Rather than attempting to map all the relevant experiences within the research sites, in this analysis I consider select discourses from a 'zone of direct . . . contact' (Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 22–23). These discourses were those that I discerned had a continual presence in Hunter's and Theodore's everyday work because they repeatedly invoked them in our discussions and when I visited their schools for the fieldwork. Within this analysis, there is a specific focus on 'critical moments' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 111) (also see Gomez et al., 2007, and section 4.4). The critical moments I have selected for analysis are those that punctuated the teachers' regular everyday routines and interactions. They appear as moments of tension, conflict or validation that altered or strengthened the way in which Hunter or Theodore considered themselves, their contexts and their views and values with respect to English education. The critical moments discussed are not necessarily significant to the participants; they were found to be critical by the analysis process (Gomez et al., 2007). They are moments that are representative of the issues with which the participants were preoccupied or grappling. They exemplify Hunter's and Theodore's ongoing concerns about their work, professionalism or developing professional identity. I draw mainly from the data generated from interviews, fieldnotes and observations as well as those from formal and less formal communications such as emails and social media conversations.

My rationale for focusing on Hunter and Theodore to explore the links between professional identity and ideology in this chapter is that both English teachers had begun their careers at the beginning of the study. This enabled me to focus on their first 2 years in the profession, which is a unique time in a teacher's career because they transition from being a preservice teacher to a professional teacher. Both Hunter and Theodore experienced significant challenges in their first 2 years of teaching. Hunter made the difficult decision to leave his first (state) school part way through his second year and resigned at the end of that year after accepting a position in the independent sector. In his second year, Theodore experienced his self-described breakdown.

For both Hunter and Theodore, the central tension in these challenging periods was about the heteroglossic context in which they worked. Both negotiated the various discourses, views, values and agendas of their contexts in deciding where they aligned with each of these. They considered to what extent they held similar ideas about education as those held by the principal team, their colleagues and their students, and this consideration led to questions about how willing they were to actively participate in the professional communities of their schools. These communities included the staff as a whole and smaller communities within faculties and staffrooms.

The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section briefly provides my overall impressions of Hunter and Theodore within their school contexts. The next three sections examine different groups with whom Hunter and Theodore interacted in their schools—the principal team, their colleagues and their students—and the negotiations in which they engaged with each group. The fifth and concluding section considers Hunter's and Theodore's identity dialogues with and across these groups. I argue that this dialogue is fundamental in becoming, in which there is a negotiation of 'competing selves' (Bulfin, 2009, p. 47) that occurs when engaging with the narratives of others such as colleagues, the principal team and students.

6.1 The Heteroglossic Self and Context

Hunter

My overall impression from the 2 years I spent observing, interviewing and working with Hunter was that he was acutely aware of the prominent discourses mediating his everyday practices as a teacher at McKay Secondary College. Hunter engaged in a process of becoming by confronting the tensions in his work and struggling to make sense of them both on his own and in discussions with me and trusted colleagues outside of school. Common topics in our communications were his school, colleagues and students and his attempts to navigate these alongside his burgeoning sense of his professional identity

(Allard & Doecke, 2014). Central to Hunter's sense of identity was his grappling with what Biesta (2016) argues are the most significant questions about education: 'What is education for?' and 'What is the purpose in education?'. In considering the principal team's agenda, for example, Hunter commented, 'I think the things the school values isn't [sic] necessarily what I value'.

Across Hunter's data set, the main point of tension was with respect to what I have previously referred to as technical-economic discourses (see section 1.2), which relate to narratives broadly linked to the standards-based reform agenda but do not necessarily derive from government directives and policies. Examples include narratives about accountability, standardisation and measurable achievement for both students and teachers. Hunter did not believe that education should be without accountability; rather, his concern was about the types of accountability dominating his school. This is reflective of broader discussions in the literature regarding different concepts of accountability in terms of professionalism and managerial oversight (Biesta, 2016; Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011).

Theodore

Despite his confident start, across his first year and into his second, Theodore often struggled to negotiate the space of the school and develop his English teacher identity. His initial beliefs and attitudes about English education and his view of himself as a teacher were challenged and disrupted by other discourses. Some of these originated from the narrative he shaped around his aspirations about teaching and the kind of teacher he wanted to be, while others were derived from the school leadership team and his colleagues and students.

For Theodore, the process of negotiation and engagement with various discourses was punctuated by a particularly significant critical moment that occurred in his second year of teaching. Theodore described the experience as a 'breakdown'. This critical moment mediated his experience and becoming throughout his second year of teaching and will likely continue to influence his becoming across his career.

6.2 Self and Institution

In this section, I discuss Hunter's and Theodores' experiences in terms of the institutions (i.e. schools) in which they taught. Much of the focus is on each teacher's interactions with the principal teams in their schools as well as the government- and school-imposed education policies and initiatives. Kostogriz and Doecke (2011) discuss the ways in which the introduction of standards-based reforms has reconfigured the relationships between those in authority, such as the principal team, and teachers.

They argue that school leaders and teachers no longer work alongside each other with a common educational agenda; rather, that school leaders have become top-down managers. Considering the contextual experience of teachers, Hunter and Theodore exemplify how this reconfiguration has similarities across contexts as well as characteristics specific to local schools.

Authority in Schools

Hunter typically described the institutional presence in his work as ‘the school’. When referring directly to ‘the school’, he was usually alluding to the Principal and Assistant Principals at McKay Secondary College. For Hunter, the notion of the school also encompassed education department policy and directives that were implemented at McKay as well as policies or initiatives that came from other figures of authority, including student and faculty coordinators.

Within the first few months of commencing full-time work at McKay Secondary College, Hunter had formed the view that the role of the principal team was to implement external policies and initiatives as well as design their own within government-endorsed structures. These policies and initiatives were primarily managerial, often with a focus on standardisation and accountability. The managerial accountability dimension of these policies resulted in him feeling that he was always being ‘observed’ to ensure he was doing as instructed. Hunter’s sense of being under surveillance arose from observational measures implemented by the school, such as random inspections of classrooms to ensure that learning intentions and success criteria (see section 1.2) had been written on the whiteboards. His sensitivity to being observed by the principal team aligned with his critique of government policy. I interpreted Hunter’s understanding of accountability as it being about holding teachers to account for a narrow range of directives rather than developing their sense of ethical responsibility and professionalism (Biesta, 2016; Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011).

Towards the end of his first year at McKay Secondary College, Hunter expressed his belief that, from the principal team’s perspective, teachers were only important in terms of their ability to align with the predetermined accountability structures at the school. Hunter felt his role was to ensure that each ‘new box’ the principal team introduced was ‘ticked’. This included ensuring his everyday classroom practices aligned with the Victorian Government HITS (see section 1.2). He felt he had no choice but to align his classroom practices with school and government policies. As he commented, he has ‘just got to do it’. This suggests he felt a sense of powerlessness in terms of the accountability measures at the school because he perceived that the principal team did not consider his or his colleagues’ experiences—they ‘only focus on results’. He believed his and his colleagues’ work was restricted by many of the initiatives and policies implemented by the school’s leadership. This is similar to what Oolbakkink-Marchand, Hadar, Smith, Helleve and Ulvik (2017) describe as ‘constrained

professionalism' (p. 37) in which teachers believe their autonomy is 'constrained by contextual factors' (p. 37). The contextual factors that Hunter sensed as being the most constraining were the accountability measures because they caused him to alter his classroom practices and restricted his sense of professionalism.

Early in his first year at Stirling Secondary College, Theodore developed a different understanding of the principal team at his school. He tended to draw a clear distinction between policy and bureaucratic imperatives and the people tasked with implementing them. He reserved his strongest critique of bureaucracy for the rigidity of the curriculum and the various standards-based reforms such as NAPLAN and the VIT registration process as well as the technological infrastructure in his school. He frequently discussed the way the 'so-called reforms' were imposed on his school and how the school and teachers were 'locked' into these systems. For Theodore, members of the principal team were the gatekeepers of the school as an institution, but they had limited ability to control the structures and systems of that institution. He felt some allegiance to his principal team because, unlike Hunter, he viewed bureaucratic policies that narrowly focused on standardisation and measurable data as being driven by state and federal governments. This position enabled Theodore to consider his principal team as colleagues, who were under similar pressures and demands as classroom teachers. He felt that both the principal team and classroom teachers were having to negotiate opportunities to work with agency within imposed policies and initiatives.

Education Agendas of Schools and the Education Community

Both Hunter and Theodore perceived that their principal teams had a 'reputation and results' agenda. While Theodore tended to separate the principal team from his criticism of many of the bureaucratic structures at Stirling Secondary College, he did not deny that the principal team was interested, and indeed preoccupied, with improving measurable educational outcomes. Stirling Secondary College promoted itself as a high-achieving public school, and the principal team regularly compared it to local high-achieving independent schools. Promoting and maintaining the reputation of the school was a priority, and this was achieved through the school's public, outward-facing discourse with the community as well as their in-school discourses with staff and students. Theodore acknowledged, for example, that information evenings were largely focused on informing the school community of the school's high expectations of students and its commitment to academic excellence.

Throughout his time at Stirling Secondary College, Theodore appeared to endorse the high expectations of the principal team. He considered student achievement as core to his work, and their achievements were linked to his idea of a caring and professional teacher. At the end of his second year (2019), for example, I received the following text message: 'I've been meaning to message you.

Got results today: had a 42 and a 41 in my class'. He was reporting on his students' end-of-school VCE grades in English Language, in which the highest possible score was 50. In a difficult year in which his breakdown had negatively affected his practice and his confidence, these results were reassuring and rewarding for him. For Theodore, the high results of his students were a clear demonstration of his ability as a teacher.

Theodore extended his belief that student achievement was a sign of professionalism to the professional standards of teachers. Unlike many of the claims in the literature about the deprofessionalising potential of standards (Gannon, 2012; Hungerford-Kresser & Vetter, 2017; Manuel et al., 2018), Theodore did not view them in this way. Rather than being a threat to his everyday work and practice, the standards were a way for him to demonstrate, and the principal team to recognise, his professionalism. This view, however, was limited to the standards that were internally articulated and enforced in the school—those imposed by the government he viewed as 'irrelevant'. For instance, Theodore viewed the VIT registration process, in which graduate teachers must demonstrate their competency against a set of generic professional standards, as bureaucratic and 'disconnected' from the everyday work of teachers.

Theodore's acceptance of school-implemented procedures and policies appeared to arise partially from his respect for the principal team and his desire to please and be recognised by them. He felt that the principal team cared about and supported his professional development needs through many of the school-based initiatives. Theodore's view of the principal team was partially attributable to the support systems in place at the school and the approach the team took with staff, particularly graduates and those new to the school. He discussed their approachability in recalling his first meeting with them:

They were like, 'Look, you know, don't obviously come to us for where can I go to the bathroom. You can ask another staff member. But, if there's a question that you generally can't find the answer to, just come and ask us, open the door'.

This open-the-door approach filtered through many of the interactions between staff and the leadership team and was actively promoted by the Principal and Deputy Principals. Principal team members also regularly attended after-work drinks and social get-togethers for staff members on Fridays and at social events. While they did not attend these social functions for long, their presence had an effect on how Theodore understood their role and motivations in the school. He recognised them as part of his everyday experience and part of the education community at Stirling Secondary College, in which he felt he was an active and valued member.

In contrast, Hunter rarely felt that he was part of the same education community as that of the principal team at McKay Secondary College. His feelings of separation were partially attributable to feeling ‘observed’ but also to his understanding that ‘the school’s education agenda was different’, indeed contrary to his own. Hunter speculated that the intent of the initiatives in the school was to maintain and advance McKay Secondary College’s reputation in the local community by presenting it as a ‘model school’. He often felt that this reputation and results agenda was more important than other agendas, such as supporting teachers or students. When he started at McKay Secondary College, he had noted the presence of programs to assist new teachers at the school, but these were not run by the principal team and were mainly about how to use the digital systems, in particular the school management system, Compass. Hunter discussed having little contact with the principal team ‘outside of staff meetings’. He felt they took the position of managers rather than that of colleagues within the school.

Hunter perceived that the principal team’s role was to implement surveillance initiatives. He was sceptical of the staff performance initiatives at McKay. Whenever he used ‘buzzwords’ such as ‘differentiation’ or ‘twenty-first century learning’, he accompanied them with scare quotes (a hand gesture to indicate sarcasm). My discussions with Hunter often related to the school’s annual improvement plan and teachers’ professional development plans. His scepticism emerged because he felt these initiatives were ‘sort of just empty’. He saw them as a way for the school to align with government initiatives but did not believe they had practical applicability to his work in classrooms and with students. Kostogriz (2012) discusses the negative implications of the shift within schools to managerial approaches to accountability. He argues that the affective labours of teachers are no longer recognised as valuable. This was Hunter’s understanding of the principal team, which focused little on staff wellbeing, experience and development or the relational work in which they engaged with their students.

While both schools had a ‘reputation and results’ agenda, Theodore’s and Hunter’s understandings of this agenda differed significantly. Theodore viewed students’ results as a reflection of his professionalism, while Hunter did not emphasise this in our discussions. Moreover, while Theodore stated that he understood the agenda of the principal team at Stirling Secondary College, unlike Hunter at McKay Secondary College, he did not view this agenda as displacing concerns about staff and student wellbeing.

Hunter’s and Theodore’s Heteroglossic Discourses of Their Principal Teams

In the above discussion, I have attempted to convey the prevailing concerns of Hunter and Theodore about their schools across the 2 years of data generation. However, these were not the only narratives

that emerged during our interactions across the data generation phase, and even within these narratives there were subtle shifts and tensions across time. In this subsection, I unpack examples from both Theodore and Hunter to illustrate their complex and multivoiced understandings of and relationships with the principal team.

Despite perceiving the principal team as part of his education community, Theodore was acutely aware of its position of authority. For example, he discussed the meeting rooms in the administrative wing, which were different from others scattered around the school. He described one in particular, a ‘windowless room’ favoured by the principal that felt like an ‘interrogation’ as you entered. The physical structure of the school was not just a context but a set of conditions (Kemmis et al., 2014) that influenced Theodore’s assessment of the principal team. That windowless room stood as a stark reminder of the tension between the explicit open-the-door discourse of the leadership team and the sometimes more implicit discourses of authority and control.

Hunter’s tensions related to his understandings of the initiatives at McKay and the agenda of the principal team. For example, alongside his criticism of school initiatives, he was able to perceive some merit in the school’s professional development plans, which addressed both whole-school and individual teacher improvements. This particularly emerged in his first year, when he discussed with me the potential of these initiatives to assist him in becoming a ‘better teacher’. The ‘merit’ he spoke of related to his developing professionalism. He identified that the initiatives may be about more than just accountability and managerial oversight (Biesta, 2016). This aligns with Kostogriz and Doecke’s (2013) observation that teachers are not looking for the removal of accountability, which has ‘always been central to teachers’ work’ (p. 91); rather, they are interested in a change in accountability measures that can assist the development of teachers’ professionalism. Hunter was open to initiatives that would assist him in his development.

This initial tension Hunter experienced between opposing the standards-based reform initiatives at McKay and seeing the potential for development had dissipated by his second year. This was possibly because he had found the tension difficult to manage and had worked to resolve it and find an equilibrium (Gomez et al., 2007). However, it is also possible that, with further experience, he started to see evidence of a distance between the principal team and teachers. He began to develop an ‘us and them’ discourse. Below is an example of his position, as he explained it to me:

I think it feels like there’s a lot of things passed down from principal class to teachers without the principal class thinking about the realities of classrooms. It’s like, ‘Here’s this new initiative that we’ve got to do, here’s this new box we’ve got to tick, here’s this new this, here’s this new that. Let’s throw away the thing we were doing before or let’s not think about

how it will actually work'. We've just got to do it because it's like a buzz word and it's cool . . . It's not like, 'Let's pick one thing and take as long as we need to be really good at it'. It's a new year, so we've got to have a new [annual improvement plan].

In this quote there is no longer uncritical acceptance of the school initiatives; he can no longer recognise the potential merit of school initiatives. Rather, Hunter was critical of the principal team's position, expressing his frustration with school initiatives 'passed down from the principal class to teachers', which he perceived to be related more to compliance with departmental edicts than to improving teaching and learning in the 'reality of classrooms'. He felt that new ideas swept through the school so quickly there was little time for consolidation, using this as an example of how the principal team was removed from the everyday experiences of teachers.

In his second year, Hunter no longer saw the potential benefit of standards-based reform initiatives. In his first year, although he had viewed these initiatives as an inconvenience, similar to Theodore, he felt they did not affect his everyday practice or professionalism. Hunter's early negotiation in positioning them as an inevitable part of his job, however, was no longer sufficient by his second year. He felt that these initiatives were beginning to colonise his everyday work in a way that he could no longer work around or in—he was finding it difficult to teach with agency. This is recognised in the literature as teachers struggling to find opportunities to work as professionals in schools that are being infiltrated by standards-based reforms (Kostogriz, 2012; Parr et al., 2014). Hunter found it impossible to continue dismissing these initiatives as harmless. This is partially because in his second year he realised that these initiatives were 'permanent', which was reflected in the intensifying of the 'us and them' language he increasingly used. He commented at the end of his second year that 'they're so out of touch' and he could no longer 'trust' the school.

Both Hunter and Theodore experienced tensions in how they understood the principal teams at their schools. Theodore, however, appeared to be more comfortable with the tension. He understood the different roles and agendas of his principal team and did not consider there to be any incongruity between them. Hunter worked to resolve his tension and, in doing so, strengthened his view that the principal team was separate from him and his colleagues, thus did not understand the work and needs of classroom teachers.

Individual Teachers Within System-Wide Education Initiatives

Overall, Hunter believed the focus of the principal team was outward facing. It was about shoring up McKay Secondary College's reputation in the community at the expense of engaging with the experiences and needs of teachers and students within the school. This outward-facing and managerial

view, as Kostogriz (2012) suggests, is embedded within a standards and accountability vision of school and schooling (also see Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011, 2013). As such, Hunter's observations of the performance and compliance imperatives at McKay may not have been entirely because of the principal team. Rather, they may be understood, at least partially, as attributable to the larger education policy reform context. That is, the managerial conditions Hunter described were perhaps systemic rather than limited to his school. Hunter was aware of the possibility that these approaches were systemic in suggesting that he would experience the same no matter where he worked—it may be a 'broad blanket thing'. Similar to his perception of the principal team, Hunter believed that the government did not have 'trust in us [teachers] to be good at what we do'. This view of the systemic effects of standards-based reforms on teachers' work is widely supported in the literature (Allard & Doecke, 2014; Breen et al., 2018; J. Buchanan, 2017).

Although they were both subject to similar system-wide structures, Hunter and Theodore had significantly different understandings of their schools and principal teams, suggesting that even within similar systems, individual experiences are not uniform. Theodore, for example, viewed the principal team as part of his education community—although they were in positions of responsibility and authority, Theodore felt supported by them and understood that they promoted an open-the-door approach. In contrast, Hunter believed the principal team was 'out of touch' with the 'realities' of the classroom and was solely focused on the school's results and implementing standards-based initiatives. The standards-based initiatives to which Hunter was referring were the managerial approaches and external assessment procedures such as NAPLAN and HITS. He was not referring to other government initiatives such as the Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians (MCEETYA, 2008), which describes the principal team as playing a 'critical role in supporting and fostering quality teaching through coaching and mentoring' (p. 10). Hunter did not feel the school was engaged in supporting or fostering teachers' development. In contrast, Theodore perceived that although his school principal's agenda was to align with standards-based managerial reforms, this was not incongruous with providing a caring and supportive environment.

These different understandings were partially attributable to Hunter's and Theodore's distinct approaches, perspectives, views, values and beliefs. Again, while there were similarities between them, there were also differences. Theodore, for instance, agreed with the reputation and results agenda, while Hunter was ideologically opposed to it. However, alongside the nuances of individual experience were distinctive site-based factors, including the school culture, approachability of the principal team and perceived levels of surveillance. Theodore never felt that he was being assessed or monitored at Stirling Secondary College, while Hunter felt that he and his colleagues were under constant surveillance at McKay. For example, members of the leadership team would conduct spot checks to ensure that teachers were aligning with school procedures. These occurred regularly enough

for the formation of a Messenger chat group in which classroom teachers would alert colleagues about when the checks were taking place. This collegial solidarity against the principal team supported Hunter's 'us and them' narrative.

Common to their experiences, however, were the tensions and struggles that both experienced in terms of understanding the discourses of their schools and principal teams in relation to their own. Theodore felt a tension between the principal team's supportive yet managerial approach—the open-the-door discourse existing alongside the windowless interrogation meeting room. Hunter felt a tension between his us and them understanding, in which he felt the principal team was out of touch with the realities of teachers' work, but could, at times, see potential merit in the school's initiatives. Both Hunter and Theodore recognised the influence of standards-based reforms on their everyday practices and within their schools. Yet, they understood these in different ways because of their respective relationships with the principal teams, their developing ideologies and the culture of their schools.

6.3 Self and Colleagues

There is a consensus in the literature and across education policy about the role and importance of collegial relationships in teachers' work and becoming (e.g. AITSL, 2011; Hayes, 2007; Hayes, Howie, Bulfin, & Moni, 2014; MCEETYA, 2008; van de Ven & Doecke, 2011). Hayes et al. (2014), for example, observed the way an English teachers' professional identity is 'built through partnerships and communities', where teachers are 'encouraged to continue their learning in deep and rich ways' (p. 75). However, while the advantages of collaboration are well known, Hunter's and Theodore's experiences show the complex relationships they had with colleagues and the negotiations in which they had to engage. While formative in their becoming, these relationships were not always positive or places of deep and rich learning. In this section, I discuss the interactions and negotiations in which Hunter and Theodore engaged with their colleagues, particularly those in their staffrooms. The purpose is to develop an understanding of the influence of their colleagues on their everyday experiences and processes of becoming English teachers.

Across their first 2 years of teaching, Hunter and Theodore were required to understand the various education communities formed among colleagues and make decisions about the extent to which they were willing and able to belong to those communities. There were two dominant dimensions to this process. The first involved considering the extent to which they aligned with their colleagues' ideologies (views, values, agendas and beliefs) about English education, education more broadly and

the practice of teaching. The second was their willingness to be an active part of these communities, which related to their individual needs and professional identities.

In the following discussion about Hunter's and Theodore's relationships with colleagues, I consider the similarities between their experiences and the negotiations they undertook as well as contextual and individual dimensions. I show the different ways in which they and their colleagues brought their understandings, histories, professional personalities, needs and expectations to each interaction.

The Space of Staffrooms

Kemmis et al. (2014) remind us that schools are not only physical spaces in which people undertake their work but that they mediate individual and group understandings and behaviours. They discuss the shared experience of space, where there develops a 'shared *culture*' in which one orientates oneself and others in the 'salient features of the *material space-time*' and the '*social and political arrangements*' that are contained and controlled by 'human social *practices*' (p. 2). On starting at their respective schools, Hunter and Theodore entered pre-existing communities with established shared cultures. They were required to negotiate these communities and cultures in the process of establishing a place in their respective staffrooms and schools. In doing so, they both considered with whom they interacted and the nature of those interactions, their level of engagement in various communities and their professional behaviours. These considerations were undertaken through self-reflective practices and social dialogic interactions with others as well as being shaped by the material space-time of their staffrooms (Bakhtin, 1981). Their experiences were the 'combined effect of social practices' (Kemmis et al., 2014, p. 2).

McKay and Stirling had broad similarities in the way the staffroom spaces were constructed, both in terms of the physical and material spaces and the staff groupings. Hunter's and Theodore's schools both grouped the teachers according to discipline areas; for example, English and Humanities teachers were grouped together, unless they were in positions of responsibility. This accounts for Theodore and Hunter being in the largest staffrooms in their schools. Hunter described his staffroom as the 'English/Humanities bubble', while Theodore's included English, Humanities and Languages Other Than English (LOTE) teachers. However, while these staffrooms were the largest in each school, because of the shelves atop desks and large filing cabinets, each staffroom was divided into smaller groups of teachers. In Hunter's, there were three groups of six to ten teachers, while in Theodore's, the groups ranged from the smallest group of four teachers to the largest group, which comprised LOTE teachers. Theodore was part of a group of seven. Both staffrooms had a communal table, where the English teachers predominantly gathered at recess and lunchtime. When not teaching, both Theodore and Hunter spent the majority of their time in their staffroom spaces, thus turning to their

colleagues when seeking educational communities in which to take part. Their understandings of their colleagues as a collective were generally formed by the individuals and communities in these staffrooms.

In both staffrooms there was a clear divide between work and socialising. During class time, the space of the staffroom was for work, while at recess and lunchtime it was for socialising (for many teachers). This suggests that the priority in the staffrooms was towards work, possibly because of the joint feeling among staff of workload pressures. Increases in teacher workload and the associated feelings of pressure are widely recognised in the literature as related to standards-based reforms. This pressure is particularly common for graduate teachers as they undergo the VIT registration process.

Collaboration and Education Communities

While Hunter and Theodore tended to accept the professional protocols in their staffrooms, there were distinct differences in how they understood the staffroom space, their colleagues and the interactions they experienced in those spaces. Doecke (2004) discusses the importance of a ‘professional community that involves dialogue and debate as its members collectively endeavour to understand the complexities of their professional lives’ (p. 207). Both Hunter and Theodore understood the importance of such a community, and both felt there was a culture of collaboration in their staffrooms. However, while Theodore embraced this dimension, Hunter was more reluctant. The differences in their experiences can be explained as personal but also contextual—Theodore felt welcomed by his colleagues and part of a collaborative team, while Hunter felt separated from them.

When observing Hunter in his staffroom, I noticed he would often choose to sit at his desk at recess and lunchtime and prepare for classes rather than socialise around the communal table. While he occasionally joined colleagues around the table, this was done on his own terms. For example, during one recess it was a colleague’s birthday, and the sounds of ‘Happy birthday to you...’ drifted to where Hunter and I stood by his desk. However, he did not voluntarily join the celebrations nor take the opportunity when I encouraged him. Even when a colleague suggested he ‘join them for cake’, he declined, saying he ‘would get some later’. He was not the only staff member to remain distant from the celebrations. Decisions to work rather than socialise seemed common among many of the teachers, except for those who regularly met around the communal table at lunchtime. Despite this, Hunter believed that there was a culture of collaboration among his colleagues, who seemed to be ‘always sharing resources’ or discussing what ‘worked really well’.

Generally, Hunter did not engage in the sharing of resources. He commented that this was because of subject allotment—he did not teach Years 7 to 10 mainstream English, and in his senior classes he

taught English Language. I perceived this was also partially due to his personal choices. For instance, there were two other teachers for senior English Language, and while collaboration was difficult because they were not in the same staffroom, Hunter was reluctant to collaborate beyond the joint development of assessment tasks and cross-marking. I observed that Hunter often worked in isolation in developing resources for his classes and dealing with his concerns. The only person with whom he regularly collaborated was Shaun, the other Year 7 Empowering Literacy teacher. However, even this collaboration took place increasingly less regularly across Hunter's first year because they mutually decided to design tasks more specific to the needs of their individual classes. For Hunter, there was a tension between the desire to work collaboratively or to work independently.

Unlike Hunter, Theodore felt that he was part of the collaborative environment in his staffroom. Theodore taught many of the same subjects as his colleagues and discussed the value of this community: 'We have morning tea every week in the staffroom. Just our English/[humanities] staffroom. So, that's really good. [We] talk about English, talk about what we're doing'. This was essential for Theodore because he did not feel he could talk to those outside of work about teaching. He commented, 'They don't want to reflect with you'. Theodore felt comfortable turning to and asking for support from those in his staffroom and did so regularly. They became an essential part of his reflective practice. Theodore had found a community in which he felt there was 'dialogue and debate' (Doecke, 2004, p. 207). However, alongside the supportive dimensions of this community was a less constructive discourse about overwork and stress.

In his first year, Theodore discussed with me the strategies he used to manage his work and stay in control. These included never taking work home 'except during report-writing time' and leaving by 5:00 pm each day. Over time, his narrative changed, culminating in his breakdown towards the middle of his second year. He then spoke of there being too much to do and the emotional strain he was under trying to stay on top of it all. Theodore's talk about managing his workload was reflected by others in his staffroom. He explained that his colleagues felt the same as him and were experiencing the same difficulties. He felt that his awareness of his colleagues' stress and worries about workload contributed to his own stress and worries.

There were tensions in Theodore's understandings of his colleagues—although he saw their attitudes as supportive, they were unable to support him because they were struggling as much as he was. These tensions contributed to his difficulties in the first half of his second year but also to his improving situation and experience in the second half of that year. Through his breakdown, he identified the teachers to whom he could turn for support and those who, while valued colleagues, were fuelling his stress.

Common across Hunter's and Theodore's experiences was the tension they felt in understanding their colleagues, though their staffroom experiences and approaches were different. Both were considering whom they wished to interact and for what purpose. These considerations involved their understandings of themselves and others.

The Professional Teacher

Another significant issue that I identified in my discussions with Hunter and Theodore was how they understood and defined a professional teacher in relation to their colleagues. Both aligned with what Britzman (2003) describes as the societal trope of the 'good teacher', who is perceived as 'self-sacrificing, kind, overworked . . . [and] holding an unlimited reservoir of patience' (p. 28). However, Hunter's and Theodore's understandings of a good teacher was not limited to this trope, and in their relationships with colleagues, their understandings were challenged and shifted over time.

Hunter often distinguished between professional and unprofessional characteristics or actions in understanding or evaluating his colleagues. In broad terms, he began his first year of teaching considering the professional teachers were those who were uncomplainingly compliant.

Unprofessional teachers were those who complained about workload, bureaucratic policies and students. They offered critical views on school policy, workload and students rather than just 'getting on with it'. Hunter described these teachers as the 'blah' teachers because their complaints were incessant: 'blah, blah, blah'. In more generous moments of reflection, Hunter recognised the validity of these 'blah' teachers' positions because their reasoning appeared similar to his judgement of the school.

Over time, this distinction between professional and unprofessional became complicated as Hunter grew frustrated with the school's approach to teaching and learning. He became not only sympathetic towards the 'blah' teachers but began to align with their positions. While Hunter continued to view them as unprofessional, he also began to view them more positively, as non-conformers who were 'so frustrated with the people in leadership'. They were those who, increasingly similar to him, were unwilling to prioritise the school's agenda over their own, particularly when it came to their own sense of what was best for students or their own sense of professionalism. Early in his second year, he lamented, 'I think that the school values are not necessarily what I value'. Hunter struggled to understand what being professional entailed because he believed he did not fit into the earlier categories he had created. He did not feel comfortable with being a 'blah' teacher but was increasingly unable to find an alternative. His understanding of his colleagues was complicated by his personal judgements and assessments of his own professionalism.

Similarly, across his first year, Theodore drew on various discourses about professional and unprofessional teachers when trying to make sense of his colleagues. Theodore categorised the teaching staff into two groups: those who built positive relationships with students and those who took a punitive approach. He was critical towards the latter group, arguing that the ‘don’t smile until Easter’ mentality of these teachers was focused on control rather than relationships, hindering the students’ ability to learn. What he saw as a punitive approach extended to assessment, where he believed teachers looked for places to ‘take marks off’. The other group with which Theodore aligned himself were those who focused on relationship building with students. Theodore believed that by being ‘approachable’, these teachers had students who were ‘largely very friendly and wanting to give everything a shot’.

Theodore believed that the ‘don’t smile until Easter’ approach was ‘bullshit’. He argued that such a ‘mantra tells teachers to be a certain way when in fact that’s not who that teacher is as a person’. Theodore pushed back against any narratives that attempted to tell him how to teach or standardise his practice. He did not resist initiatives that he believed were implemented to support and assist him in developing his practices, such as those often implemented by the principal team. I interpreted his resistance as arising from the misalignment of these discourses with his feelings, passions and ethics of care about education (Kostogriz, 2012). He did not identify with teachers who used a punitive approach in their classrooms, and he outwardly limited and resisted his interactions with them. I watched as he conversed with one such teacher, Valerie, at the end of one lunchtime, as discussed in the Interlude before this chapter. I noticed his demeanour shift: he became reserved, his answers were short, and he removed himself from the conversation at the earliest opportunity. As we walked to class, he explained that he did not like Valerie’s approach to students, particularly in assessments. He would collaborate with her and others like her when required, although reluctantly.

Both Theodore and Hunter had grouped their colleagues into professional or unprofessional categories. These categories were based on their understandings of English teaching, professional conduct and the ethics of teaching and learning. Theodore’s understanding did not shift significantly over time, while Hunter, because of his reassessment of himself as a professional within his context, did shift his perceptions, which became a point of significant tension and struggle. His unease in aligning with the ‘blah’ teachers was a contributing factor in his decision to leave McKay Secondary College because he did not feel comfortable with the teacher he was becoming. This tension and struggle were the result of engaging in becoming, which is a questioning of one’s ideologies and those in relation to others (Bakhtin, 1981; Parr et al., 2020).

Underlying Hunter’s and Theodore’s understandings of the professional teacher were their notions of what education is for (Biesta, 2016, p. 5) and what a ‘good teacher’ (Britzman, 2003, p. 28) is and

how these aligned with or differed from those of their colleagues. Alongside this was also the tension between being part of the group and remaining independent. Theodore wished to fully engage because he saw his colleagues as his education community, while Hunter remained somewhat separate. This was partially attributable to his development of an education community external to his school (see Chapter 8). Their different choices about their engagement with colleagues influenced their becoming and experiences in their first 2 years. During Theodore's self-described breakdown, he found that he could not necessarily turn to his colleagues for support because they were experiencing many of the same difficulties as he was. I sensed that Hunter was possibly protected to some extent from his colleagues' discourses by his extended networks outside of school. Rather than being part of the collegial discourse, which for Theodore included stress and overwork, Hunter was able to remove himself from it. This may be an indication of the importance of external networks to help with teachers' reflections and perspectives (see Chapter 8). However, Hunter's isolation from colleagues may also have been a contributing factor in his willingness to leave the school, where he did not feel part of an education community.

Hunter and Theodore took different approaches to interacting with colleagues, and both experienced difficulties from their choices. This, perhaps, suggests the importance of professional communities both within and outside of schools so that the developing sense of identity as English teachers is not limited to one context.

6.4 Self and Students

In this section, I consider the experiences of Hunter and Theodore in their respective classrooms. I pay particular attention to Theodore because, throughout our discussions, he identified moments from his past that influenced his developing classroom practices. He did not simply negotiate his current understandings and those of his students but also his past understandings and experiences and how they fitted with his current context and professional identity. His experience highlights the historic dimensions of sense-making, where individuals consider the present but also all that has come before and with a view to the future. To put it another way the stories we tell about ourselves and our experiences are intertwined with other stories (Perrino, 2015).

Theodore encountered a range of views and voices in his classes and used a variety of narratives to make sense of them. The dominant narrative from Theodore about his students was that he wanted them to 'do well', and he saw them as *his*, referring to them as 'my kids'. He was invested in their progress academically as well as emotionally and socially. He described that he was 'really about developing productive relationships with students so [he] can get the most out of them'. The tension

he encountered was when a divergence between his students' views and intentions and his own complicated this goal and complicated his dominant narrative.

From Theodore's first day at Stirling Secondary College, his approach to his students was relational. During the first lesson in each class, he invited all of his students to sit in a circle on the floor. He explained to me later what he said to them:

I was like, 'I am 100% here for you at all times. No student of mine should think they're unloved or not wanted in this classroom'. So, I make it really serious to them, like, 'I care about you and your education. You've just got to care about it just as much as I do for this to work'.

Theodore did not wish to present as an authoritative figure standing at the front of the room who would 'get students to achieve' using a punitive approach. Rather, given his views about English education, his aim was for students to be willing to work because they cared about their education and knew that he did too. While this was his intent, he was under no illusion that his students would automatically comply with such a request from their teacher. Rather, he believed that by stating this at the beginning of the year, he could help them understand his position so that they could decide on how to approach their studies.

Theodore's belief in the importance of a safe space and the relational work he did in his classes related significantly to his own experience as a student in secondary school. He struggled with how the traditions and ethos of his reasonably strict religious school positioned his homosexuality. This arose throughout our discussions, although often not explicitly. Reflecting on the power of space (see Appendix E), for example, he recalled:

[Space] can make you feel empowered to pursue academic excellence, even when there isn't any real need to, like my university's library. However, it can also make people feel very small. Melbourne's St. Patrick's Cathedral, where as a student I was made to attend my school's inaugural mass, had me fearing that a single sin would bring the tall church spires crashing on top of us.

Although Theodore does not directly refer to his sexuality in this reflection, it is suggestive of the work in which he had engaged since his schooling to feel comfortable with who he was in the broader world. This also had a significant influence on his approach to teaching English. Fostering acceptance and belonging was an important part of his education ideology. This was not only because of the difficulties he had experienced as a school student but also because of the caring approach of a select

group of his teachers. One in particular, his English teacher and debating coach, had taught him the importance of relationships with students. He said of the experience:

I got very close to one teacher in particular—I think she was the first person I came out to. She was my debating coach. We went through everything, plus having her as a classroom teacher, and to me it was very much, like, having that relationship with her taught me where the boundaries are and what's acceptable.

His relationship with that English teacher had a profound influence on what Theodore brought to his teaching practice. It helped him to develop insights into the importance of supportive teachers for struggling students. He was aware that the struggle may not be outwardly known; thus, he focused on all of his students feeling loved: 'No student of mine should think they're unloved or not wanted in this classroom'. He understood what it was to feel 'unloved' by teachers and was determined his students would not feel the same way. Within this understanding was a tension between support and boundaries—part of his negotiation of what a teacher can and should offer.

Embedded within this talk about support in the classroom was another tension. Theodore felt responsibility for the wellbeing of his students and also for their academic achievements. Kostogriz and Doecke (2013) discuss the effects of standards-based reforms on the professional ethics of teaching. They argue that 'focusing on professional ethics means explicating the effects of external accountability measures on fundamental aspects of teaching practice, most notably the relationships between teachers and their pupils' (p. 91). As with the participants in Kostogriz and Doecke's study, there was a contradiction in Theodore's experience and sense-making of achievement and his ethical responsibility towards students. Although he wanted his students to 'do well', this was often in tension with ensuring that students always felt 'loved' and caring for '[his] kids'. Such contradictions are typically embedded in ideological becoming because the heteroglossic self experiences tensions between ideologies. Theodore was negotiating various identities in his everyday work with students, and this tension remained unresolved, as it does for many teachers (Kostogriz & Doecke, 2013).

Another tension in Theodore's understanding of his relational work with students and his role in the classroom was around the concept of the ideal teacher. He had formed an understanding of what it was to be a 'good' teacher from his experience at high school as well as during his studies at Monash University and on his teaching rounds. Theodore identified two defining relationships that shaped his understanding of the ideal teacher: first, his relationship with his English and debating teacher at high school, and second, his History method teacher at university: 'She's everything I want to be as a teacher'. His understanding of these two individuals framed how he structured his initial lessons at Stirling and his education philosophy but also set the bar extremely high in terms of his professional

sense of self. There was a tension between what he ideally wished to be and the reality of his everyday practices and developing professional identity. Theodore was not just becoming an English teacher; he was also attempting to become his ideal teacher. He wanted to be ‘100%’ there for his students, and he judged his everyday practices against the image he had formed of the qualities of a professional English teacher. Churchward and Willis (2019) discuss the different discourses of teacher quality and the difficulty for teachers, particularly early career teachers, in navigating these discourses. Theodore experienced this difficulty. At times, he was able to match the ideal, but with his aim of what he wished to become came judgement and disappointment. His ideal did not always match the reality of his everyday work. Sometimes, the students were just ‘freaking annoying’.

This tension between the ideal and reality was also part of Hunter’s experience. In Hunter’s senior English Language classes, he was able to enact teaching practices and develop relationships with students that aligned with his approach of the teacher as ‘guide’. Observing one of these classes at the end of his first year, I noted the following:

Hunter is relaxed and conversational in class, and the students respond to this. His approach to the class, I suspect, is a combination of the content but also the students. They respect him, they like him, and they want to learn. He moves around the class, rarely standing up the front or at his desk. This enables him to include the whole class in the discussion, even if not all contribute.

My observation of several senior English Language classes showed me that Hunter had built respectful relationships with his students. There was a mutual understanding of the purpose of the class and the responsibility of all in the class—teacher and students—to ensure a positive and productive work environment. I had the impression that in these classes he felt he could be the teacher he wanted to be.

Hunter’s Year 10 Effective English class challenged this notion of teacher as guide. Hunter never knew who would be present: he could have five students or a full class of 15. The small class size was a directive from the school because of the perceived ‘difficult’ nature of the students. Hunter regularly felt he needed to take disciplinary action with them, be the ‘boss’, enforce a punitive approach. This appeared to be neither natural for him nor something he enjoyed. After one class, for example, in which he had felt the need to ‘kick out’ a student who had ‘just kept pushing back’, he commented that it was the first time he had resorted to such an action. Hunter struggled in moments when he felt pushed to take on the role of an authoritarian teacher because he believed students were unable to learn under the threat of punitive measures. He blamed his practice rather than his students in these

moments. However, he also ascribed some blame to the school, where students deemed ‘difficult’ by his colleagues were separated from the main cohort.

For Hunter, there was a tension between his understanding of what he wanted to be and what he was able to be, which had much to do with context. It was a reminder for me that the milieu is a substantive part of teachers’ everyday work (Benjamin, 2007; Kemmis et al., 2014). Hunter recognised that he was still developing an understanding of what kind of teacher he wanted to be as well as the skills and ability to be that teacher, but he struggled whenever he felt he had become something he did not like, as illustrated by his removal of the student from his Effective English class. Hunter’s experience is an example of ongoing becoming that is a struggle (Bakhtin, 1981; Parr et al., 2020) as he negotiates different discourses, in this case the discourse of the ideal teacher (Biesta, 2015) and the reality of working in a school.

Aspiring to be a certain teacher came with expectations and stress for Hunter and Theodore. The everyday experience of early career English teaching often challenged their ideals. However, alongside their varying experiences in the classroom was a commitment by both that was unwavering across the 2 years during which I worked with them. They both felt committed to being supportive teachers, challenging their students and continuing to become in the profession. Hunter’s Year 10 Effective English class, for example, challenged his understanding of his ability—he felt he could not be the teacher he thought he was and could be. However, despite this difficulty, he maintained his belief that he ‘cared about them’ more than other staff did. While Theodore’s self-described breakdown was a critical moment that affected his understanding of what he could be, it did not affect his desire to teach. He still ‘just want[ed] to do teaching’. Kostogriz (2012) describes the difficult context in which teachers work, particularly within standards-based reforms and the determination of teachers in that context: ‘There is hope in [teachers’] commitment to preserve the “habits of the heart”, as well as in their sheer determination to persist, no matter what obstacles they face’ (p. 410).

Kostogriz (2012) and others (see section 3.2) argue that affective labours have been neglected by institutions through standards-based reforms and other technical-economic discourses but not by teachers. For Hunter and Theodore, development of their classroom practices was based on them placing value on these affective labours. While standards-based reforms may have undervalued them, they did not determine Hunter’s and Theodore’s classroom practices. They are examples of Kostogriz’s (2012) argument that affective labour has an ‘important position . . . both outside and beyond accountability’ (p. 397).

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I focused on the various critical moments in Hunter's and Theodore's becoming, moments that were both distinctive and related. Both teachers experienced an ongoing struggle between their sense of themselves, their professional identities and the various discourses of education and school. Their everyday engagement and becoming were suggestive of de Certeau's (1984) description that individuals and institutions are 'woven tight like a fabric' (p. i) and Bakhtin's (1981) understanding of the 'living dialogic threads' that are 'woven by socio-ideological consciousness' (p. 276). Their becoming was not separate from context or people; rather, it was deeply intertwined—they engaged in the process independently but also alongside and with others.

Drawing from Bakhtin's theories of ideological becoming, Bulfin (2009) discusses '*identity dialogue*' (p. 47), which is the process of negotiating between 'competing selves' (p. 47). He explains that the institution of the school may seek to organise people into particular roles, but that individuals and groups do not always 'take up' (p. 47) these roles. Rather, they may be actively negotiating their place and purpose. Hunter and Theodore are examples of this active negotiation. Neither simply accepted the roles to which they were assigned by the school, preferring to consider, reflect upon and internally debate who they were within their respective contexts.

Towards the end of their first year and into their second, Hunter and Theodore found they increasingly struggled with their understanding of English education as they began to realise the permanency of the accountability structures under which they were required to work and align. Both had moments of feeling overwhelmed, when their desires to identify as 'good' teachers were challenged and disrupted. These moments contributed to their re-evaluating their ideas and practices. The struggle, which is part of ideological becoming (Parr et al., 2020), involved in these moments was acute in the short term and did not quickly resolve. For example, 6 months after his return to full-time work following his breakdown, Theodore still responded to inquiries with uncertainty and disquiet. For example, in response to my query, 'How's it going?', Theodore replied, 'Up and down at the moment. Had a good day today, moodwise'.

Throughout their process of becoming—in classrooms, with colleagues and in relation to the principal team and the institution of schools—Hunter and Theodore continually re-evaluated and considered their views, values, beliefs and agendas relative to those of others. Broadly, these considerations were based on the following questions: What is education for? What does it mean to be a professional or 'good' teacher? How much do I need and want to be part of the education community of my classrooms, staffrooms and schools? These questions caused tensions within their ideologies but also

in relation to their colleagues, students and schools. They were socially situated questions and experiences.

Hunter's and Theodore's becoming, therefore, did not necessarily occur through formal means, such as targeted professional development sessions for building knowledge and skills. Largely, it occurred as they undertook their daily routines, interacted with people and actively engaged in forming their identities as English teachers. At times, the process of becoming involved engaging with various issues and discourses, while at others, it involved remaining aloof from external discourses. Part of Hunter's becoming, for example, included choosing to disengage. This was particularly apparent in his interactions with the school and his colleagues. While its consequences cannot be determined, Hunter's disengagement, to some degree, suggests that he was undergoing a process of becoming independent to those at his school. He was making sense of his context on his own and in collaboration with friends and colleagues who were external to the school—teachers from other schools, his fellow participants in this PhD study and myself as a researcher (see Chapters 8 and 9). This selective isolation did not occur in the classroom, however, because Hunter continued to engage with various discourses with his students and was forced to confront his own, sometimes contradictory, understandings of achievement and what it is to be a good teacher (Britzman, 2003). Hunter's and Theodore's experiences show that they were actively engaging in the profession and were developing their sense of what it is to be a good teacher.

This chapter examined two early career English teachers' everyday work. In this examination I discussed the following key points:

- Ideological becoming was individual but occurred within the heteroglossic context of schools through social interactions with others, including members of the principal team, colleagues and students.
- Ideological becoming was a struggle as Hunter and Theodore negotiated tensions within their own ideologies.
- Ideological becoming was ongoing and involved critical moments.
- The everyday experiences of Hunter and Theodore were influenced equally by the school culture as developed by the principal team and the standards-based reform agenda.

Chapter 7 further develops this line of inquiry by closely examining the ways in which three other participants—Charlotte, Ally and Tiffany—found ways of working with some degree of integrity and agency within the various structures within their schools.

Interlude: Introducing Charlotte, Ally and Tiffany

Charlotte

Paper plates in hand, Charlotte and I manoeuvre between groups of her colleagues as we make our way to the professional development catering spread. Motioning towards the spread, Charlotte says, ‘Catholic hospitality’. We both skirt around the party pies and sausage rolls and the assortment of mini caramel and peppermint slices to the scones. As we reach for the jam and cream, we sense a presence behind us and turn together. Towering above us is John. I recall Charlotte’s words in an earlier interview: ‘He has no connection with the kids’. John informs us that he wasn’t an expert teacher until he had taught for 10 years, that new teachers don’t have anything to offer, and that academics don’t know about real teaching. Charlotte takes a step closer to me. Diplomatically, I suggest to John that he might consider early career teachers as critical reflective educators. Charlotte takes up John’s challenge. Succinctly, she describes my work and the experience of working with me, ‘someone from university’. She also explains to John her understanding of expertise that is not at all related to the number of years a teacher has been in the profession. John retreats, mumbling about needing coffee. Charlotte and I smile at one another. ‘Old school chalk and talk’, she comments.

Teaching was not Charlotte’s first career; rather, she came to it after years of working on a dairy farm, a career in publishing and the birth of two children. She felt fortunate to come as a local to Reynard College, a rural Catholic school in the local main town, which helped her in developing relationships with her students. Her parents ran the local newspaper when she was growing up, and the local dairy farm where she had worked was owned by her neighbours. She felt there was a similarity between her lifestyle and that of many of her students. For example, during one classroom conversation, I heard her discussing the castrating of a bull with a student. Afterwards, she explained that she believed her ability to understand and share in her students’ out-of-school lives helped them feel more connected in the classroom and more willing to engage with their school work, much of which felt ‘separate from their everyday lives’. Many of her colleagues were from ‘town’ or, even worse in Charlotte’s opinion, ‘the city’. Charlotte dubbed anywhere within 50 kilometres of central Melbourne ‘the city’. The principal was one of those ‘city folk’. She believed that he brought an outsider’s perspective to the school, a perspective focused on increasing student enrolments and bringing consistency across classes through standardising student learning, neither of which Charlotte had much time for. The ‘city agenda’, as Charlotte put it, seemed incongruent with her views about education, which were based on the localised needs of students because she felt education was most authentic when socially situated and relational. This incongruence often led to a tension for Charlotte between aligning with and enacting school initiatives and teaching in the way she wanted.

Ally

The staffroom fills with the voices of students and returning colleagues. Among the babble there is the soft voice of a student from the doorway: 'Excuse me, we are here to see Miss Kaya'. Ally turns from her discussion with me and smiles. It's Rebecca, a slight Year 9 girl, with her hair pulled into a messy bun, her summer dress hanging loosely from her shoulders. Behind her stand three other girls, smiling and chatting. Ally leaves with only keys in hand. I watch her as she leads the girls past bustling tables of students settling into lunch to a small meeting room, enclosed except for a glass door. Through the door, I observe the four girls settle themselves on tables and chairs and unpack their lunches as Ally leans against the nearest table. She laughs and talks with the girls, but her eyes, watchful, surreptitiously focus on Rebecca. Her food, her mouth. As Rebecca folds her emptied paper bag, Ally opens the door and waves goodbye to the girls. The four friends scatter into the sunshine. Ally returns to the staffroom, stares at her own lunch and then turns to me: 'I'm only a grad', she mumbles; 'I don't know how to look after a kid with an eating disorder. What if she ends up back in hospital? What if she dies?'

Ally was a graduate teacher at the beginning of the study. She finished her teaching degree confident in her ability to teach, partially because of the supportive tutors and friends she had at university as well as her experience on her final teaching round, where she felt her mentor treated her as a colleague rather than a preservice teacher. Ally's everyday work at Feathertop Secondary College can be characterised in three words: organisation, focus and determination. She ran to a schedule every morning and planned her day according to the needs of her classes and the requirements of the school and principal team. Working in a high-achieving public school, Ally was influenced by a school culture focused on students achieving high academic results. In many ways she was a model graduate teacher and was viewed that way by the principal team. At the end of her first term, for instance, the Principal spoke to her briefly, commenting on her 'dedication to her job', and when school tours for prospective families were made, Ally's classroom was a regular visiting point. This was because of her impressive classroom management, her alignment with the formal curriculum and the priorities of the school on growth in student achievement. While her classes aligned with the curriculum and were meticulously planned at the unit, lesson and activity levels, she also made time and adjusted the curriculum to assist individual students to focus on what was important to them. Thus, alongside her highly organised approach to work, Ally spent a significant amount of time and mental energy on developing relationships with students and colleagues. Throughout the 2 years of data generation, the majority of our conversations were about these professional relationships, which had a significant influence on Ally's experience of becoming an English teacher.

Tiffany

‘Next, reviewing ethos, logos and pathos for persuasive writing’. The post-it note that is stuck on top of the rainbow sticker on Tiffany’s laptop acts as a reminder. She makes a quick check of definitions while students rearrange the tables into a massive irregular rectangle. As the students are in motion, Tiffany positions herself next to me, acting as my guide to the dynamics of the space: ‘Usually, each group of tables represents an ethnicity. There are six ethnic groups in this class. They will not sit together’. Yet, as I watch Tiffany supervise the final arrangement of tables, I see students working together, and then sitting next to each other, shoulder to shoulder. Tiffany sits with them, the missing piece that acts as the joining agent. A class is built around the cluster of tables—interethnic and intracommunity.

Working in a multicultural school in a lower socioeconomic area of Melbourne, Tiffany felt she continually had to deal with a tension between her understanding of the multiple and varied needs of her students, many of whom were from migrant backgrounds, and the managerial and accountability requirements of the school. She valued the work she did with students, such as learning about their cultures, languages and educational needs. She felt that this positioned her to provide them with an engaging educational experience in class because she was able to develop the curriculum to suit their needs. However, she found it difficult to find the space (both mental and organisational) during the school day to give this relational work the attention she believed it required. She viewed the formal curriculum as ‘too full’, noting that ‘nothing [could] be taught in depth’. In fact, she often felt the imperative to ‘keep on moving’ through the curriculum and to meet the school expectation to advance students to the next benchmark. These expectations related to the formal Victorian Curriculum but also to the local goals of the school, Matlock Secondary College. These goals were focused on improving student achievement and teacher performance because there was an imperative to increase student enrolment numbers through improving NAPLAN results, which was believed would improve the school’s reputation in the community. Tiffany believed that it was in slowing down and going more deeply into texts that she would be able to learn more about the students and provide a learning environment that catered more specifically to their needs.

7 Becoming Through Making Do

In Chapter 6, I inquired into the becoming of Hunter and Theodore as early career English teachers within the heteroglossic contexts of their schools. The focus in that chapter was on schools as productive and active sites of teachers' becoming as they encounter and engage with different ideologies. In this chapter, I continue the inquiry into early career English teachers' becoming through the experiences of three other central participants—Charlotte, Ally and Tiffany. The focus of this chapter is on the school as an institution that produces products to be used at the school. These products are used in systems imposed by state and federal government education institutions such as ACARA and VCAA (see section 1.2). Systems imposed on schools include curriculum and education initiatives such as HITS. I inquired into how these three participants made sense of these systems and products and found ways to work within and with them. In so doing, this chapter brings together two theoretical ideas: de Certeau's (1984) concept of making do (p. 29) and Bakhtin's (1981) concept of ideological becoming.

By using de Certeau's concept of making do, I could consider the meaning-making in which participants engaged as well as the various ways they found to use the products of institutions, such as curricula, in their teaching. De Certeau (1984) discusses the 'products' and 'systems of production' (p. xii) that exist in society and are 'imposed by a dominant social order' (p. xiii) (see section 2.2). From the perspective of the participants, the dominant social order in relation to schools does not arise from a single entity. There is the government order, which includes state and federal government departments of education, and regulatory bodies that impose systems of production on schools. These include various curriculum systems, such as the Australian and Victorian curricula and the VCE and VCAL curricula. There are also systems of reporting, such as NAPLAN, and standards embedded in the curricula that outline the skills and knowledge that students should achieve across their schooling. These systems of reporting also address teachers' skills and knowledge through VIT registration and the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (see section 1.2).

The school is another order that brings its own products to these imposed systems of production. Schools, for instance, determine the school management system and the teaching and learning systems used by staff and students. Schools also have some control over the procedures used in the imposed systems of production. For instance, they can determine the process by which the curriculum is aligned at the faculty and classroom levels. As shown in Chapter 6, through Hunter's perspective, there can be a tendency to conflate school and government orders. This highlights the interactions between organisations but also, from the perspective of teachers working within these systems of production, the difficulties for early career teachers to distinguish between the products of one

organisation and another. This may be because they are not privy to the discussions that occur at the school level, such as between the principal and assistant principals or between the principal team and faculty coordinators. Within schools there are other organisational groups, such as the principal team, year coordinators, faculty coordinators and faculty groups. From the perspective of students, teachers may also be viewed as an organisation.

On entering schools, early career English teachers must learn about and navigate these social organisations and the products that they use, adapt and create. Many imposed products allow little room for teacher choice or deviation because they are part of the job requirement. However, although teachers must use the products imposed on them, there is an opportunity for them to determine how to use and make sense of them. De Certeau (1984) proposes that the dominant social orders can only determine '*what* is used', but they have limited ability to impose the '*ways*' (p. 35) in which individuals choose to use the products. They also have limited ability to control what individuals make of the products. However, the social process of meaning-making that informs what individuals make of the products is mediated by institutional discourses.

Through the experiences of Charlotte, Ally and Tiffany, I illustrate and inquire into the meaning-making of these teachers and the ways in which they were able to make do in the context of their schools. In the first two examples, I inquire into how Charlotte and Ally, respectively, attempted to work with the products of the dominant social order in ways that were meaningful for them. In the third example, I inquire into Tiffany's experience of being confronted with a discourse about education that she struggled to understand and align with. In this example, I consider her process of making sense of the discourses she faced and how, through this process of making sense, she formed a counternarrative and found ways to work '*alongside*' (de Certeau, 1984, p. 17) the official narrative of her school.

7.1 Ways of Using

The purpose of this section is to consider the participants' experience of making do through tinkering and trickery. De Certeau (1984) argues that through the use of 'the materials at hand' (p. 174), individuals tinker with the products of institutions to make 'innumerable and infinitesimal transformations' so that they align more with 'their own interests and their own rules' (p. xiv). This involves elements of 'trickery', which is the use of 'ruse [and] deception' in relation to the 'social contracts' (p. 18) imposed by dominant social orders.

Charlotte: Tinkering with Rubrics

There are two aspects to my inquiry into Charlotte's experience presented in this chapter. The first considers the conditions in which Charlotte worked as a way of understanding why she engaged in making do. I discuss an event in which Charlotte spoke up and presented a different opinion to that of her principal at a school staff meeting. This example shows that she felt she had no or limited ability to make changes to the narratives of her school. In the second aspect of the inquiry, I describe an example of Charlotte in the process of making do using a different and perhaps more successful tactic. I inquire into ways she was attempting to 'tinker' with the products of her school, in this instance a Year 7 assessment rubric, to embed her agenda into the product.

Finding a critical voice

Given the 'dialectical interaction between data collection and data analysis' (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007, p. 159), I was in regular contact with participants throughout the analysis process (see section 5.4). While analysing Charlotte's data, I contacted her via email to discuss my reflection of a staff meeting in which she had openly expressed her criticism of the HITS initiative, which the school had keenly adopted. I was seeking feedback on my understanding of the event and my developing understanding of her beliefs. It took 15 days to receive a reply, which was highly unusual given that Charlotte typically replied within 24 hours. She explained that her delayed response was because of an incident involving the school principal.

Initially, Charlotte relayed this incident by email and then continued to discuss it with me in person over the next couple of weeks. The incident related to a whole-school staff meeting in which Charlotte had been involved in an unpleasant exchange with the Principal. During the meeting, the Principal had split the staff into subject areas and asked them to define 'literacy'. The English faculty had focused on the role of literacy in preparing students to become engaged and aware citizens. When prompted by the Principal, Charlotte, the spokesperson for the English faculty, talked about the importance of literacy for communication in front of the whole staff cohort. The Principal had openly disagreed with Charlotte's definition and considered her the sole author of her opinion, ignoring the collaborative approach the English faculty group had taken to arrive at the definition. He explained to her and the rest of the staff that, having been to a professional development workshop the previous day, he understood literacy as reading, writing, speaking and listening. His definition was aligned, Charlotte believed, with a narrower view of literacy seen in measures such as NAPLAN, which did not define literacy as the ways in which individuals and groups communicate across a wide range of media. She

believed his definition did not include the relational work of literacy. A couple of days later, the Principal followed up with Charlotte about the issue in a corridor outside the main staffroom. In her initial response to my email, she wrote about this moment and its effect on her:

I read [your] email and cried my little eyes out. I just wanted to let you know that it didn't go unnoticed, but it's been a rather emotional time here at school lately, and your email really hit me in the heart. In a good way, of course.

The principal took me aside and I had a serious dressing down about my 'outspoken' ways in staff meetings. He said that my ideas, particularly on NAPLAN and literacy, were 'offensive' to him. I don't think I need to go back into it all again, but let's just say it was pretty darn upsetting for me.

My department have supported me in a super way, of course . . . but it has left me feeling rather disillusioned about silly leadership stuff. They just aren't interested in anything remotely 'out there'. Distressing.

So—your email reminded me of why I teach and how I teach. And that made me cry.

😊

The whole incident had affected Charlotte deeply. There were at least two dimensions to her distress. The first, as Charlotte described later in an audio-recorded conversation, was 'the unprofessional manner in which the Principal expressed his disapproval' during the 'dressing down'. A meeting had not been organised; rather she was 'pulled aside' with no warning in a public place. The other dimension was her distress with respect to the educational approach and agenda of the school, which she viewed as 'narrow and restrictive'. She expressed her belief that there was less space than in previous times for alternative approaches at the school. She struggled to understand how she would continue to teach at the school in the ways she viewed as valuable.

The Principal and the English faculty had different understandings and definitions of literacy. This may have arisen from the discourses involved in the process of meaning-making. The Principal was drawing on documents such as NAPLAN and the English curriculum, which define English as reading, writing, speaking and listening. While Charlotte and her English teacher colleagues were also referring to these documents and institutional discourses, because of their specialist knowledge, they were also drawing on a wide variety of discourses about English and literacy education encountered in their university and teaching experiences. The disagreement between the Principal and Charlotte arose, at least partially, from the different ideas and understandings they held about English and

literacy education. The tension for Charlotte was that her specialist knowledge as an English teacher was not being recognised by those in positions of authority at her school. The Principal's imperative for English teachers was to improve their students' outcomes on NAPLAN, while the English faculty were focused on broader goals for students, such as developing their communication skills rather than simply preparing them for success in high-stakes tests. According to Charlotte, the Principal was unable to recognise a difference of opinion as valid or show support for her or the staff during the staff meeting.

This was a critical event for Charlotte in which her views had come into a 'zone of contact' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 346) with the Principal's views, forcing her to confront the tensions in her experience at Reynard College. Through this, she compared her values with those presented by the Principal. It was a difficult event in her becoming—she had felt embarrassed by the two public interactions and disheartened as she questioned the influence she had hoped to have in the school. This critical moment is one example among several others in which Charlotte was becoming a different kind of teacher and professional. Because of the distress she felt, understandably, her account and reflections on the experience included little consideration for the Principal's position and how her views and approach may have been perceived by him as inflammatory.

On reflection, Charlotte was also reminded that she had little power to change or challenge the views of the Principal and, therefore, the products of the school—at least in the short term or from outside the school's leadership group. However, through her making sense of the event in dialogue with me, she also experienced hope—she was, as she stated, 'reminded' of 'why . . . and how I teach'. Charlotte's becoming was 'layered' (Parr et al., 2020, p. 249) as she negotiated the tension between her and the Principal's ideas as well as the tension between disillusion and hope. She engaged in this negotiation not on her own but with others—my exchange with her played an important role in her reflections, as did the support she received from her colleague, the Head of English, directly following the incident.

De Certeau (1984) argues that a lack of power is a component of making do because it enables individuals to consider their abilities and fuels their willingness to engage in different ways of using the products of the dominant social order. When individuals recognise that they lack the means to challenge the dominant social order, they can, instead, 'deflect its power' (p. xiii). In recognising their lack of or limited ability to change the products and procedures of use, individuals will begin to consider alternatives and implement ways of diverting products from the agendas of the dominant social order. Although she felt 'rather disillusioned', Charlotte was not completely beaten and was able to find hope; through co-construction and narrative, she was reminded of her purpose as an English teacher. From this and other similar experiences, Charlotte began to shift her attention to the

everyday and the micro-actions she could make in the everyday, the result of which made her work more meaningful for her. One of these micro-actions is described in the following section.

Ways of using rubrics

Spelling was an area of concern for Charlotte in her everyday work with students. She believed that the school's discourse about English, which was narrowed to spelling and other testable skills, was damaging for her students. In our conversations, she regularly discussed wanting to 'change the way [students] look at themselves as English students' because she perceived that they judged their ability according to a standardised summative assessment that compared them with their peers and against externally determined measures such as NAPLAN. She also felt that students' impressions of their overall success in English derived from their results in spelling and other easily measurable English skills (e.g. grammar and syntax) and that they were disregarding the complex nature of the English language, which includes less easily assessable skills such as creativity, collaboration and inquiry. Charlotte felt this positioning by students was unhelpful for their development as they misunderstood the complex nature of English. The result, she believed, was that students were unintentionally hampering their abilities to develop their creativity and take up collaborative and inquiry-based approaches to their learning. Her intent was to find ways for her students to 'just enjoy' English, which she believed would lead to English skills naturally developing. To illustrate her position, she recounted the following incident that took place in a Year 7 class during a recorded conversation:

So, my Year 7s are all terribly worried about their spelling and they actually said, 'Could we practise spelling?', and I said, 'No'. And I wrote on the board something about that quote by Jackie Onassis that is, 'We are only judged by those we allow to judge us'. And we talked about that and I said, 'So, do I allow NAPLAN to judge my students?', and they said, 'No', and I said, 'Well there you go'. So, we sat down, and we talked about it, and I said, 'Well, NAPLAN is worried about your spelling, but I'm not worried about your spelling, and I teach you, and the research says that you guys are going to be just as good at spelling by the time you're in Year 9 as anyone who has had spelling drilled into them their entire life. So, let's take an intelligent approach. Who would like to read more *Blue Back* and do some pictures of whales under the sea and stuff? And who'd like to do spelling?' They all chose working on the text and the creative task.

Charlotte held the belief that students did not need to focus on 'drilled' spelling exercises to improve their spelling, which would naturally improve over time through their engagement with language. Upon hearing her students' anxiety about spelling and the school's discourse, which focused on a narrow 'drill and skill' acquisition approach to literacy (Locke, 2005), Charlotte considered what she

could do outside of class to change her students' understanding of English and reduce their anxiety. One approach was to change the Year 7 assessment rubrics, designed to provide feedback on end-of-unit assessments. Because she was tasked with creating the rubrics by the Head of English, she grasped the opportunity to remove the explicit reference to spelling. She explained:

I'll often change a rubric ever so slightly and take out spelling. We're going through a big transition at the moment with rubrics; it's always been tick boxes at school but now there's rules that each term you have to have one rubric and one assessed task. And I design the rubrics, and they have to be based on what's in the curriculum, and spelling is not there. Or if I don't choose it to be there, it is not there. And some teachers were saying, 'Well, can't we have an extra point there about spelling and punctuation?', and I say, 'But this is not on the curriculum; we're only allowed to choose five things, and this is the five focus points for this'.

Through a first surface glance at the micro-actions of Charlotte's response to her Year 7s request for a spelling test and her approach to developing rubrics where she removed spelling, it is possible to consider that Charlotte perceived spelling as unimportant. In this example, she appears to be opposing the 'drill and skill' discourses of the school policies, her principal and high-stakes standardised tests such as NAPLAN. In these two examples, it appears that Charlotte understood the development of spelling as taking place through students' exposure to and engagement with language; that is, through reading, writing and working with language. This understanding of literacy development was informed by Charlotte's education ideology, which was influenced by a personal growth approach to the learning of literacy. Charlotte focused on the 'social situated cultural practice' (B. Green & Beavis, 2013, p. 51) of learning literacy rather than viewing literacy as simply the acquisition of a 'generic set of portable skills' (Wyatt-Smith & Gunn, 2007, p. 6).

By analysing and considering the micro-event within the macro of the school and political context, a more complex understanding was formed, an understanding that was developed through our various discussions about this issue. By working closely with Charlotte, talking with her and observing her teach, I began to understand that her approach to English and literacy was complex and weaved together a variety of understandings about language and literacy development. In her teaching, Charlotte engaged in bringing her individual agency, contextual experience and imagination to her understanding of English (Howie, 2008). For example, Charlotte continued to teach spelling to her Year 7s, despite telling them otherwise, because in that moment she had been responding to their anxiety rather than developing a well-considered strategy. She also continued to correct students' spelling on assessment tasks, even though it was not a specific criterion on the rubric.

Through examining these examples, I have been able to better understand something of Charlotte's experience. In a moment of negotiating a learning space and attempting to find ways to make do, her response was perhaps simplistic, a simple opposition to the 'drill and skill' teaching of spelling to her Year 7s and the refusal to include spelling on a rubric. In pushing back against her students' wish to practise spelling, Charlotte was motivated by a desire to disrupt their narrative about what the English language was about, which she did so by opposing the status quo. This is an example of the imperfect nature of making do as individuals attempt to make sense of their experience, react to their contexts and find opportunities to make do. The examples above were part of Charlotte's becoming, incidents in which she attempted to make do. She was not willing to unquestioningly align herself with her school's approach to English education or the rubrics she was creating with the school's agenda. She was, as de Certeau (1984) describes, attempting to use 'trickery' (p. 18) to subvert the dominant social order. The process of trickery is messy because it is based on 'opportunities' (p. 35), thus is not necessarily well planned or thoroughly devised. As de Certeau (1984) comments, it is 'irreversible'—there is not 'another chance at missed opportunities' (p. 35). Charlotte was learning how to make do and how to recognise and take opportunities.

In the following example, I consider Ally's experience of making do in her school. She also recognised an opportunity and took it, albeit imperfectly.

Ally's 'Trickery' in Using the School Management System

Government policy and reports often position graduates as those who learn from others and have little to offer given their fewer years in the profession (AITSL, 2011; TEMAG, 2014) (see section 1.2). Contrary to the assumptions in the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers that graduate and early career teachers have little to share with their more experienced colleagues and are unable to monitor their own professional learning needs, the nine early career participants in this study showed that they were indeed able to monitor their professional development needs. With reference to Ally's experience described below, I again show how a graduate teacher was able to act with professionalism (Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011) and find ways to navigate the products, procedures and various organised groups in her school. Ally's experience challenges some of the literature on teacher development and capability, which positions graduates as less capable or willing to engage in critical reflection and development in their work compared with their more experienced colleagues (see sections 1.2 and 3.2).

In her particular use of Compass, the school's management system, Ally demonstrated the use of a product for a purpose other than that for which it was intended by an organisational group in her school, in this case the year level coordinators. Ally was able to 'divert' the 'itinerary' of the year

level coordinators by giving meaning to the use of the system in ways that she believed were ‘previously unseen’ (de Certeau, 1984, p. 104). Similar to Charlotte, Ally was learning how to find and use opportunities when they arose. She was learning ways of making do. Ally’s example highlights that even in her graduate year she could understand and navigate the systems of her school and consider and monitor her professional needs.

Feathertop Secondary College adopted the school management system Compass, which is used in over 1,800 schools in Australia (Compass Education, 2020, para. 1). Individual schools determine the particular software features available to staff as well as permissions that allow access to certain functions within the system. Ally’s school used Compass to take class attendance, report student achievements and record behaviour management. The latter included a ‘wellbeing and behaviour’ feature, which was a chronicle of entries and notes from teachers about students’ behaviours, attitudes and adherence with school rules. All staff had access to this feature, the aim of which was to share wellbeing and behaviour information among teachers. Year level coordinators received automated notifications from Compass related to their responsibilities for students in a particular year level. Parents/guardians also received notifications and could access their child’s information, as could the students themselves.

At Feathertop, Compass had been configured to display wellbeing and behaviour entries and notes about students in four colour-coded categories. The first category, colour-coded grey, included general administrative information, such as uniform observations or attendance notes, which were typically posted only by year level coordinators or administrative staff. The other three categories related to student behaviours and/or attitudes. Green entries focused on positive behaviours and achievements of students. Yellow entries were for low-level behavioural or attitudinal concerns, which Ally described as the ‘just need to be aware that this has happened colour’. Unsurprisingly, red entries were more serious and required a follow-up by year level coordinators. As Ally described them, ‘Red is like you need to go and talk to this kid right now! Run, run!’.

Staff were expected to enter any behaviour that needed to be recorded, especially if it required a follow-up by a year level coordinator. This expectation came from the principal team but also other organisational groups within the school such as year level coordinators. In understanding Ally’s experience and use of Compass, there is a need to consider the different organisational groups within her school and their approach to the school management system as understood by Ally. Her use of Compass was informed by her assumptions about the unofficial procedure for its use originating from the year level coordinators, which was supported by her colleagues. Ally commented that in the use of Compass by the year level coordinators and her colleagues, ‘there [was] so much focus on always

using red'. She believed the year level coordinators were only interested in poor behaviours, attitudes and achievements. As a result, what the students did well was often 'ignored'.

To some degree, Ally recognised that the focus on red entries by the year level coordinators arose from their workload and focus on challenging student behaviours. In response to my question about the possibility of her moving into a year level coordinator's position, she commented that 'the job isn't worth it' because there 'aren't enough of them for the number of students', and she believed she would be too busy to focus on teaching. From Ally's comment it appears that year level coordinators were under-resourced and overworked. Their preference for red entries may have been because they only had time to focus on urgent issues. Thus, the year level coordinators' use of Compass may have been an indication of their job rather than a reflection of their education ideologies. The following discussion focuses on Ally's understanding of the coordinator collective and their procedure in using Compass.

In observing the use of Compass by her colleagues, Ally noted the 'sea of red entries'. She believed that the lack of green entries meant that positive behaviours and achievements were not being rewarded or encouraged outside of the immediate classroom space. She felt a particular discomfort with the communication with parents, commenting, 'parents are only ever contacted when students do something wrong. And students feel discouraged because they rarely get an entry on Compass for doing something right'. Ally's tension related to her belief that deficit constructions of students did not provide a supportive learning environment in school and at home. She raised a number of times wanting to have a 'restorative justice approach' with her students. From this position, Ally resisted using red and yellow entries and focused on the use of green. Her aim was to 'flood the coordinators' feeds with green', which she believed would assist her students in viewing themselves as learners and provide a counternarrative for families, who could 'recognise the good things their kids were doing'.

The focus of Ally's green entries was rarely on the big achievements of students. Rather, she focused on the everydayness of students' work and wellbeing. She would comment on a single lesson and often focus on one dimension of that lesson. Figure 7.1 shows an example in which she affirmed a student's ability to meet the learning intentions for the day by focusing on a single behaviour—being an active learner through listening and asking questions.

General Attitude/Behaviour Observation

Overview: Great work in English today! You researched your topic well and achieved the learning intentions for the day. Keep it up.

General Attitude/Behaviour Observation

Overview: Ben worked really well this lesson. He paid attention in class and was an active learner in listening and asking questions. Keep up the amazing work, Ben! Very proud.

Figure 7.1. Compass green entries focusing on single behaviours.

Occasionally, she also included entries of more significant achievements, such as John's ability to demonstrate resilience across an entire week or Rachel obtaining one of the highest scores for her summative assessment task (see Figure 7.2).

General Attitude/Behaviour Observation

Overview: John, you have been an exemplary student this entire week. You have demonstrated the college's value of resilience to one of the highest standards by not giving up on writing an essay for Macbeth. Keep up this fantastic work!

General Attitude/Behaviour Observation

Overview: Rachel has obtained one of the highest scores for her VCE SAC. She has demonstrated on multiple occasions that she is not only motivated to do work but does so consistently in all classes. Well done, Rachel. Keep up this amazing work.

Figure 7.2. Compass green entries focusing on general approaches to learning.

Ally's selection of everyday moments suggests that her primary approach was to make regular entries. Waiting for big achievements, or moments, would have detracted from her agenda to 'flood' the year level coordinators' feeds with positive entries. Further, regular entries enabled her to provide a counternarrative for students whose feeds primarily consisted of grey, yellow and red entries. She was attempting to encourage positive engagement by students through the production of a positive narrative about their behaviours and achievements.

Ally's choice of language also appears to be quite considered. Ally was using the language of the institution, such as 'learning intentions', 'active learner' and 'college's value of resilience', to provide a counternarrative about her students. De Certeau (1984) discusses the ways in which individuals use

‘established languages’ and ‘remain within the framework of prescribed *syntaxes*’ (p. 34) in enacting ways of using. He explains that through the use of established elements, individuals can remain ‘heterogeneous to the systems they infiltrate’ and can ‘sketch out . . . *different* interests and desires’ (p. 34).

Ally’s entry of only positive observations in Compass was a choice to differ from the way in which her colleagues and year level coordinators were using it. There is a sense of ‘trickery’ to the practice, although she did not use this term. In this approach, Ally focused on her use of Compass rather than considering the possible reasons for the way in which the learning management system was customarily used. As mentioned above, Ally was aware of the pressures on year level coordinators, which may explain their focus on red and yellow entries, but this consideration does not appear to have heavily affected her decision to focus on green entries. In explaining her decision to ‘flood’ the coordinators’ feeds, she commented that she wanted to show them another way of using Compass. By rarely including yellow or red entries and by managing issues in her class, pressure was taken off the year level coordinators; however, it may have also led to coordinators not being made aware of ongoing issues. Her approach to trickery was also a process of learning. She was learning about how the school system worked, the various organisational groups within the school and how she could make do in that system by using the products in ways that she valued. Her engagement in making do was part of her ideological becoming as she considered her values and perceptions of others and negotiated the various organisational groups in the school and how she aligned with them. It was a process that would inevitably change over time as she learned and considered further. For example, by the end of the data collection period, Ally had accepted a role as a leader of Year 9 English. Being in a leadership position will no doubt alter her understanding of the school and its products and procedures of use.

Ally’s process of making do, ways of using and ideological becoming were not fixed—they were ever changing and evolving as she experienced her everyday work within the institution and alongside others. Ally’s and Charlotte’s examples both demonstrate their processes of learning about the institutions in which they worked and the people within those institutions as they were attempting to find ways to work with meaning. They were both learning how to recognise and take opportunities and find space for meaningful work in their everyday.

In the following section, I present an example from Tiffany’s work and consider another approach to making do. While Tiffany also used trickery at times, her example shows how early career English teachers can appear to comply with the products and agendas of schools while pursuing other agendas.

7.2 Resisting the Discursive Space of the School

Drawing on the work of Foucault, de Certeau (1984) argues that society is ‘composed of certain foregrounded practices’ that organise their institutions and ‘of innumerable other practices that remain “minor”, always there but not organizing’ (p. 48) (see section 2.2). These ‘minor’ practices are marginal in that they are limited in power but not necessarily in number. In the example of Tiffany’s experience below, I consider the minor practices in which she engaged to develop a counternarrative to the official narrative about education circulating at the school.

In understanding the use of narrative as a tool for resistance, I draw on the work of Benjamin (2007) (see section 2.1). Benjamin discusses the use of creativity and ‘genius’ by individuals as a means to resist the narratives of institutions. When individuals live and work within institutional structures, they risk aligning themselves with the structures and narratives imposed on them, which can result in a loss of individuality. Benjamin discusses the power of stories in resisting the reduction of individuals to their actions and behaviours. Pereira and Doecke (2016), drawing from the work of Benjamin, explain that individual teachers can engage in the professional world in a way that differs from what the institution of the school expects or demands by refocusing on alternative stories to those narrated by schools, policies or governments.

These alternative stories are reminiscent of Bakhtin’s discussion of the difference between an event and an act (see section 4.1). An *act* refers to the actions and interactions of an individual that are situated ‘*outside* the bounds of individuality’ (Bakhtin, 1993, p. 15), while an *event* involves the uniqueness of an individual participatively experiencing and living through an act (p. 13). This occurs when individuals do not simply align with the narratives imposed on them but rather develop an alternative story. Bakhtin did not assume that this always occurs, recognising that individuals can merely act, routinely and seemingly unthinkingly. He is arguing for individuals to act and interact with thoughtfulness, consider their experiences and negotiate how and why they interact with others and their place within institutions. Bakhtin advocated for individuals to form their own stories that consider the ‘*living human being* moving through space’ (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 105).

Bakhtin (1981; 1993) and Benjamin (2007) did not make assumptions about stories, which may either share the perspectives of those in power or offer a counternarrative. In summary, they argued for an understanding of individuals beyond their behaviours, one that considers individuals in institutions as unique and having the ability to consider the interrelationships between the self and others/institutions.

In the example below, I explore how Tiffany found the space and a way to develop her story within the institution of her school. To understand and interpret Tiffany's experience, I was informed by the work of education researchers who have drawn on the theoretical works of de Certeau, Benjamin and Bakhtin in exploring the stories of teachers. Britzman (2003), Parr and Bulfin (2015), Doecke (2004) and Pulvermacher and Lefstein (2016) were particularly influential in my understanding of Tiffany's experience.

Of particular salience is how these writers discuss the use of narratives and stories to disrupt or break through the 'noisy discursive field that is filled with conflicting voices' (Doecke, 2004, p. 208). For example, Britzman (2003) uses Bakhtin's identity theory to understand how teachers can build a counternarrative to the institutional narrative, which in the current context relates to the narrative of standards-based reforms and datafication. Parr and Bulfin (2015) draw from the works of Bakhtin and Cavarero to consider the 'what' and 'who' stories of teachers. In their study, a 'what' story seeks to "capture" and articulate a definitive and unarguable truth, such as "what a teacher needs to know and be able to do" (p. 165). By contrast, a 'who' story 'invites dialogue and reflection about that story, about the identity of the storyteller . . . and about the relevance of that story to others' stories' (p. 166). 'Who' stories are about individuals within 'particular contexts, settings or social groups' (p. 166). Stories almost always include the 'what' and 'who' story, but often there is an emphasis on the 'what'. This example from Tiffany is primarily a 'who' story that contests the explanatory power of 'what' stories about learning to teach.

The focus is on Tiffany's storytelling, in which she developed a narrative that ran parallel to the official narrative of her school, one of datafication and standardisation. Through the formation of a 'who' story, Tiffany developed a counternarrative that problematised the narrative of standardisation and datafication told at Matlock Secondary College. This official narrative was communicated through policy and the school's focus on predefined professional development structures and student data according to external assessments such as NAPLAN.

Vent, Reflect, Refocus, Repeat

Pulvermacher and Lefstein (2016) discuss the use of 'small stories' (p. 256) in teachers' developing understandings of their practices. These stories tend to be small in both length and subject matter. Although the example of a small story from Tiffany relates specifically to a staff meeting, it also relates to and is intertwined with other stories, such as those of her students and her role as teacher. Therefore, her story is not polished or finished; rather, it meanders as she attempts to make sense of her experience. This is another dimension of the small story highlighted by Pulvermacher and Lefstein (2016): 'They do not necessarily represent a coherent and stable perspective' (p. 256). Part of

Tiffany's storytelling was that it was a way for her to 'build resistance against the de-professionalising certainties of standards-based reforms' (Parr et al., 2020, p. 250). In this example, Tiffany grappled with her own understanding of teaching and that presented by her school. She used storying to work through her discomfort and return to her values about education.

During Tiffany's fourth year of teaching and her second year at Matlock, we discussed the professional development approach of the school, which she described as a 'school-endorsed professional development process'. Her use of the term 'school-endorsed' suggests that she did not feel she had ownership of or agency within the process. She noted:

I'm really struggling with . . . all of the admin and [professional development plans] and other, just, crap that we have to do as teachers. So, I'm personally this year really struggling to reconcile with it because I feel like there's such a big disconnect between what I'm required to do for my [professional development plan]—I can't even think about gathering evidence for this stupid process—and how I can then prove that I'm improving my practice.

Here, Tiffany describes having to produce 'evidence' of her worth. Her use of the phrases 'required', 'big disconnect' and 'stupid process' signals her strong disapproval of the professional development process of the school. She felt disillusioned by the school's approach to professional development, leading to her questioning the school's agenda and her place within that agenda. Her focus, I deemed, then shifted to finding and developing ways to undertake work that met her agenda and needs. Below is an example of a way that Tiffany attempted to find space within the institutional systems of her school.

In the final 2 months of the 2-year data generation process, I received a text message from Tiffany asking if we could 'chat' about a professional development session she had attended that day. As we spoke, I became aware that our conversation was similar to many others that had taken place between us during my observations of her at work, on the phone and during interviews and focus groups. I also considered conversations I had observed between Tiffany and her colleagues. Towards the end of the conversation, I asked Tiffany if I could share my insights with her, explaining that I had observed a pattern in her discussing issues about her school. This pattern involved her first venting her frustration, during which she would ask for little input from her interlocutor but simply needed space and a supportive ear to express her frustration. Second, she would begin to reflect by unpacking the situation and discussing possible reasons for her response. During this reflection stage, she would begin to seek advice and ideas from the other person or group. Third, she would refocus on the areas of teaching and English teaching she valued. The process of refocusing involved moving her attention away from the initial incident that caused frustration and often included the telling of stories.

After sharing this insight with Tiffany, I gave her some space to reflect and comment. We spoke at length about the stages I had identified—Tiffany took the opportunity I had offered to consider how she understood and made sense of her practices. As she explained, she had developed a process to ensure that she would not become ‘stuck’ in a ‘negative headspace’. Her process of storying did not come from a stable position but was a process of working through ideas and perspectives (Pulvermacher & Lefstein, 2016).

My insight into Tiffany’s experience and our subsequent discussion also provided her with an opportunity to continue her reflective process. She commented, ‘This is something I wanted to write about; this may give me the impetus that I need to stop putting it off’. Two weeks later, I received an email from Tiffany. She had taken the labels I had used in our discussion, ‘vent’, ‘reflection’ and ‘refocus’, and structured her email using these headings as a guide. The following are excerpts from her email:

The vent

I loathe data. Truly. Madly. And very, very deeply. Partly because, and here’s another term I am loath to employ, my data ‘literacy’ is not actually that great. I guess I can actually read a lot of data, but then I start to get lost and confused when those analysing and extrapolating seem to come to conclusions way outside the bounds of what a particular chart or graph is telling me, and expounding on how this somehow demonstrates that our reading comprehension results are much lower than the state average, and how that’s terribly bad because poor results are leading us to the fall of humanity as we know it, and that’s why we’re now going to implement this wonderful new program (why are they always from America?!) that will magically transform our students into the lawyers and doctors their parents think they want their children to be.

The reflection

What all these numbers don’t show is the stories. The realities of the real people in the real classrooms we all teach in. Like how that student who was infuriating at the beginning of the year is now merely mildly annoying and occasionally does the work that he needs to . . . Or the student who lost her mother in Year 8 and now, along with having to be a mother to her two younger sisters, managed to get through Year 12 in one much-sticky-taped-back-together piece. Something I like to think my influence played at least a small part in. Or the year-long journey of getting my Year 12 Literature class to be comfortable and confident enough to have a discussion with each other instead of waiting for the smart kid to answer all the questions. Or all of the countless, as a colleague called them when we were ranting about this

data expert, great unmeasurables. Those things that you can't quantify and show off to the world as evidence of some sort of nationwide intelligence or 'growth' increase.

The refocus

Because what really matters here is what we do every day. Those moments that are frequently fleeting, and sometimes feel so hard to reach, are where we truly have a chance—just a chance—of maybe, just maybe, making a difference to a student's life. It might be temporary, but if we—and they—are lucky, it's not. Because what we're really here to do is to make better people. To send decent human beings out into the world who can think for themselves and generally improve whatever communities they are a part of.

The stages Tiffany worked through were complex and not always as clearly delineated as they are in this piece of writing. In this example, she had taken the language I had used in our earlier conversation to structure her writing. From our discussion on the phone, Tiffany had considered my language and, to some extent, felt that my construction of her professional development was closer to her understanding of her process than other constructions available in her school environment, such as the AITSL teacher standards. Therefore, she had adopted and developed this language and structure in her process of development and writing. This is an example of reflecting with others—she had worked with me to develop an understanding of her practice, and through this co-construction, her process had changed.

Using this extract as an example of Tiffany's developing practice there are a various ways to understand what may have been taking place as Tiffany progressed through the vent, reflection and refocus stages and moves between them. It may be argued that she was in a process of acquiescence in which she had accepted that which she could not change so that she could 'just get on with her job'. Another interpretation draws on de Certeau's (1984) concept of ways of using and Benjamin's (2007) notion that stories can be used as an act of resistance to the authoritative order. In this narrative, Tiffany is not wholly resigned to her fate of having to enact the school procedures and accept the products imposed on her, such as the VCE and NAPLAN requirements, or her school's focus on the datafication of students' and teachers' learning and development. Rather, this is an example of Tiffany negotiating her position and developing a counternarrative in association with a trusted colleague.

In de Certeau's (1984) terms, Tiffany was one of the marginality. She did not have power to directly oppose the products and procedures for use, but with support she could tell a different story that opened up a small space for thinking differently about her experience. While her actions aligned with the imposed procedures, her resistance was in the creation of a counternarrative. She was able to use

the procedures and products of the institution (her school and the education department's professional development processes) without having her professional identity and practice wholly defined by these authoritative discourses and practices. She remained the 'other' within the opposing order (de Certeau, 1984). She was working at finding ways to 'exist *alongside*' (p. 17) the operational systems of the school and the school's agenda. By focusing on Tiffany's 'who' story, I could consider her experience and the meanings she was making with me about her experience (Parr & Bulfin, 2015).

7.3 Ideological Becoming in the Process of Making Do

In this chapter, I inquired into the experiences of Charlotte, Ally and Tiffany and how they found ways of using the products of their schools to undertake meaningful work that aligned with their developing ideologies about their identities as early career English teachers. Each of these experiences involved ideological becoming because they were confronted with products and agendas linked to educational ideologies they did not entirely share. In the process of becoming, Parr et al. (2020) discuss the process of 'losing and gaining' (p. 248). They identify three examples of loss: 'confidence, agency and identity' (p. 248). Each of these could apply to the experiences of Charlotte, Ally and Tiffany. Charlotte, for example, found her experience with the principal 'pretty darn upsetting'. Ally faced the difficulty of realising that she did not align with the way her colleagues and year level coordinators were using the wellbeing and behaviour feature of Compass. She had the feeling of being the other within the organisational groups of her school. Meanwhile, Tiffany experienced frustration and isolation because of the school's approach to standardisation and datafication of students' and teachers' achievements.

As Parr et al. (2020) identify, these losses were 'often paired with some form of gain' (p. 248). Charlotte was reminded of 'why [she] teaches and how [she] teaches'. Charlotte and Ally used trickery to find ways of using the imposed products that differed from the agenda and procedures of the institution. Meanwhile, Tiffany was able to find ways to resist the dominant narrative of the school. Each of these examples involved the formation of a counternarrative that worked against the official narratives of the school. Their experiences illustrate that ideological becoming is a dynamic process of losses and gains. It is a process that can be embarrassing, difficult and seemingly unrewarding. As these examples show, developing as an English teacher is not as simple as developing skills—it is not linear but is messy and challenging. It is also social and interactive; it is done with others. Each participant shared her experience with me; for instance, Charlotte and Tiffany worked with me in the process of making sense of their experiences and co-constructing meaning. I was not directly involved in the trickery; rather, I was involved in discussions about goals, ideologies and products. During the research I did not just record their understandings and actions, I co-

constructed with them. I influenced their developing understanding as they influenced mine (see section 9.2). Ideological becoming and making do were simultaneously occurring and overlapping. As Parr et al. (2020) conclude, becoming is ‘multidimensional and layered’ and is a ‘struggle between these dimensions and layers’ (p. 249). It is ‘deeply mediated by institutional contexts, relationships and identities’ (p. 249) and involves reflection and dialogue.

7.4 Conclusion

In examining the tinkering and trickery of Charlotte, Ally and Tiffany, I am cognisant that these were simply moments in time—as Charlotte, Ally and Tiffany continue to engage in trickery and ideological becoming, their choices and actions may change. I also recognise that in making do, similar to ideological becoming, there is a process of trialling ideas to see how they fit in the context. This means that there are moments of success, but there are also moments where they will err (losses and gains). My role as the researcher was partly to understand these moments from the perspective of the teacher but also to take a broader perspective, to consider them in relation to the individual’s ongoing becoming as well as the broader school and education context. I interpreted their actions and made meaning of their work but resisted the inclination to judge their actions based on what I would do in a similar situation. Through reflexivity and by bringing a dialogic approach to ethics (see section 4.4), I focused on my role and purpose as a researcher and co-constructor of meaning with my participants in these moments; thus, I attempted to reserve judgement about the rightness or wrongness of their actions. Rather, I sought to exercise ‘empathy for local ways of acting and feeling’ (R. M. Emerson et al., 2011, p. 5). This approach was always part of my work, but when examining the micro-events presented in this chapter, the messy process of making sense of the participants’ contexts and selves was more prominent for me. The mistakes and moments of embarrassment or regret were brought to the surface alongside the moments of success.

In each of these examples, the teachers engaged in a process of making do in which they attempted to make sense of the products and procedures of their schools and how these aligned or clashed with their developing and ever-changing ideologies. As de Certeau (1984) highlights, in exploring the ‘ways of using’ (p. 20) the products of the dominant social order, the focus is not only on individuals’ behaviours but on their purposes, motivations and meaning-making. Purpose relates to individuals’ ideologies, which are their thoughts, goals, motivations and ideas (Bakhtin, 1981).

The distinction in this chapter between ways of using (Charlotte and Ally) and the formation of a counternarrative (Tiffany) was implemented to highlight these different ways of responding to and making do with conditions in schools and show the clear interrelationships between these strategies.

Tiffany, for example, also used the products of her school and the state and federal governments through her appropriation of education discourses, while Charlotte and Ally formed counternarratives about education through their use of the schools' products. None of the three participants wished to be wholly defined by the products, procedures and narratives of their schools or the organisational groups operating within them. Each was looking for a way to remain distinct within the systems of their schools.

While the focus of this chapter was on individual teachers, the examples are filled with interactions these participants had with others. They did not operate in isolation, even if for them it may have felt that way. They engaged in ideological work with others as they considered their views, values and agendas and how these aligned or were in conflict with those of their schools. These three early career English teachers did not blindly align with the products and procedures of their schools or with the professional development imperatives to seek advice from their more experienced colleagues (AITSL, 2011). Rather, they selectively engaged with others to co-construct meanings about their work and their understandings of their experiences. In Chapter 8, I inquire further into the role of others in participants' co-construction of meaning and becoming.

8 **Becoming Through Networks Within and Outside of Schools**

In this chapter I inquire into the experience of the nine participants when developing professional relationships within and outside of their individual schools. The purpose is to understand the role that professional relationships and networks play in early career English teachers' becoming. The chapter is premised on the argument that teachers do not develop in isolation but alongside others as they engage in dialogic discourse (see section 3.2). The previous two chapters have provided some examples and insights on this important point. This argument is addressed in the study's second research question, which seeks to understand the possibilities for becoming in various contexts (see section 1.3). This involves but is not limited to the organisational structures of schools, the cultures of schools and school staff, the professional development systems and practices within schools and the communities external to schools. The lens through which to understand the experience of participants within these structures and systems is informed by theory of the everyday (see Chapter 2).

Given the situated and social nature of teaching and learning, scholars and policymakers generally agree that collaboration is an essential part of teacher development. For example, Hargreaves and O'Connor (2018) note that the evidence for the benefits of collaborative professional learning for teachers and students is 'almost irrefutable' (p. 3). In policy documents such as the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (AITSL, 2017) and the Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians (MCEETYA, 2008), there is a recognition of the importance of collaboration by teachers in the process of developing high-quality teaching and learning. In a recent literature review on professional learning, Netolicky (2020) notes that collaboration is 'one of the best ways to develop teaching, learning, and leading, and grow individual and organisational capacity' (p. 47). However, while there is a general consensus on the importance of collaboration, there is little agreement about what constitutes collaborative work for professional learning or development.

Current policy documents frame professional learning as a discourse of performativity in which teachers demonstrate their ability to be high-quality teachers through the development of knowledge with others (Australian Government, 2016; Churchward & Willis, 2019). This performative approach to professional development is contrary to the body of research that considers professional development as career long and formed with others through the co-construction of knowledge, views, values and beliefs (Darling-Hammond et al., 2009; Doecke et al., 2008) (see section 3.2). The focus in this body of research is on the process of meaning-making (Doecke, 2015, p. 142) that occurs when teachers work collaboratively with others. The outcomes of professional development from this perspective may be performative in that there is a measurable result, but the significance of teachers'

development is in the process of meaning-making or becoming rather than in testable knowledge and skills.

Drawing from sociological and critical theories of the everyday and a Bakhtinian approach to ideological becoming, I understand collaboration as the social construction of meaning between individuals and groups. The product of this collaboration relates to teachers' wellbeing and ideological becoming. This does not exclude products that align with a performative approach to professional development, such as curriculum planning or the demonstration of teachers' ability to align with a set of professional standards; however, the difference is in the focus. In the relational, affective and ethical approach to teachers' work, the focus is on the meaning-making process for teachers' professionalism, work and wellbeing (Doecke, 2004; Doecke, Locke, & Petrosky, 2004; Doecke & Parr, 2011; Parr, Bulfin, et al., 2015; Parr et al., 2020). With concerns about attrition and the need to maintain a 'quality' (J. Buchanan et al., 2013, p. 112) teaching workforce, teachers' wellbeing is of the utmost importance for local school communities and governments as well as for teachers and their students.

This chapter analyses both in-school professional relationships as well as those outside of each participant's school. The chapter is divided into four sections. First, I consider the needs and agendas of participants in terms of their professional relationships: Why did they seek professional relationships? What did they look for in forming them? Where were they located? Second, I examine the participants' in-school networks and relationships, how they understood these relationships and their contribution to co-constructed meaning-making in participants' becoming. Third, I examine the relationships, groups and networks in which participants engaged outside of their schools, with a particular focus on their reasons for engaging in these relationships and their contributions to participants' development. Finally, I consider the implications of these networks and relationships for the participants' becoming.

8.1 The Need for Networks, Professional Relationships and Mentors

In this section, I inquire into the reasons for participants seeking out social interactions, relationships and networks as part of their professional practice. While, at times, participants explicitly mentioned their need for professional relationships, in most cases I interpreted the data as being about professional relationships and then checked that interpretation with participants. Benjamin's (2007) approach to storytelling was particularly useful for this aspect of analysis because it assisted in my development of a lens that could see beyond the actions of participants to consider the layering of

stories that were at play throughout and the affective and relational dimensions of these stories—participants' needs, wishes, desires and disappointments.

Common to all the participants' stories, albeit to varying degrees and in different ways, was a sense that they were aware of their need for professional connections in undertaking their everyday work and engaging in the process of becoming English teachers. For example, early in his first year, Theodore commented on his need for people with whom to 'reflect'. He elaborated by explaining, 'It's hard to talk to non-teacher people about [teaching]. People are interested in what you do, but they don't want to reflect on it with you'. Another example is when Cordelia, early in her graduate year, discussed the importance of the relationships she was building with those in her staffroom. She commented that her colleagues offered her 'different strategies to deal with stuff', including not only practical strategies for classroom management or organising work but also pedagogical and emotional strategies and support in dealing and interacting with students and parents. Both Theodore and Cordelia identified that reflection with others was an important part of their development as teachers. Without explicitly referring to becoming, they both described an ongoing social and dialogic process of development.

While Theodore's and Cordelia's particular experiences were unique to them, their desire to reflect with others was representative of the views of the other seven participants. They recognised the need for social interactions in the process of meaning-making: 'the everyday life of people amongst other people, together with them, side by side with them, in cooperation, competition, conflict, or struggle with them, in love or hatred, but never alone, in isolation' (Sztompka, 2008, p. 24). The participants sought professional relationships and networks from a need to reflect with others, to make sense side by side. It was through others and with others that they felt they could reflectively engage in understanding their practices. Focusing specifically on teachers' experiences, Kostogriz (2012) highlights the importance of the affective and relational dimensions of interactions: 'Attending to affect in education is consistent with the recognition of teaching as social practice and, in turn, of the vital role of human contact and relational ethics in it' (p. 402). Here, the focus for Kostogriz is the social dimension of teaching—the process of making sense of one's experience and development by being part of a social group. This demonstrates the social experience of teaching and learning that is often hidden in a performative understanding of teacher professional development.

Most of the participants expressed that they needed a community, a sense of belonging, which provided a sense of place and security (Hobson, 2009). Without it, they felt disconnected from their schools. Hunter (see Chapter 6) and Kitty, for example, found their graduate year more complicated than others in the participant group as they struggled to find a professional community. Kitty commented that while the teachers were 'nice', she did not feel a sense of 'friendship' or community;

rather, the staff members felt ‘distant’ from each other. Her perception of a lack of community was among the reasons she left her school at the end of her first year. It was in her second school, at Beenak Secondary College, that she found a group of people with whom she could connect, those who shared her views on education. She felt she had found her ‘work family’ in which she felt safe and supported and with whom she could engage in the process of reflection.

It seemed to me that the participants had identified the presence or absence of supportive communities in their workplaces because they were aware of their need for these communities. When their needs were not met, the participants were inclined to seek communities elsewhere (see section 8.2). As Hobson (2009) concludes in his large-scale longitudinal study on the needs of preservice and early career teachers, early career teachers are looking for people who are ‘willing and able to listen’ (p. 306). This was evident in this study through the examples of participants. Extending from this, the participants in this study showed that they wanted more than just those who would listen—they were also looking for people with whom they could reflect, those with similar values and approaches to education.

Alongside an awareness of the need for these communities, even for participants who were engaged in them, there was an understanding of specific issues that kept the participants distant from these communities or caused ‘conflicts’ (Sztompka, 2008, p. 24) within them. For all participants, being a graduate teacher added a complexity to their experience. For example, Rebecca discussed the difficulty of finding a place in the school in her first year. Her perception was that everyone else was more experienced and settled in the school environment and, by contrast, she struggled. Theodore, Hunter, Ally and Kitty all discussed the difficulty of being graduates because some of their colleagues did not recognise the valuable knowledge or experience they had to offer. As graduate teachers, they felt positioned as less knowledgeable in relation to their more experienced peers. Theodore and Ally were in supportive environments in which resources and support were offered. However, they were not in a position to provide these for others because they felt their more experienced colleagues did not think they had anything to offer. Being part of a professional community was not just about having people on their side but, for the participants, it was also about feeling empowered in the community.

As well as being graduate teachers, some of the younger participants, who were aged in their twenties (Theodore, Ally, Hunter, Kitty, Lily and Cordelia), sensed that their age was a hindrance in developing relationships. Theodore, Ally and Kitty, in particular, explicitly spoke of the difficulty of being young in their school settings. Ally mentioned several occasions in which she was judged as inferior because of her age. She speculated that her colleagues believed that she did not have the required life experience to offer an opinion. Kitty commented that her colleagues at Howitt College

made her 'so aware of [her] age'. She elaborated that while they were 'not much older 29/30', the 'gap' was 'very clear' in that 'all the things [she understood] about the world [were] so different to them'. The result was that she felt a 'lot of condescension and patronising . . . from other teachers' when they engaged with her. Theodore also often discussed this challenge. He believed that some of his colleagues did not see him as an equal, 'not because [he was] a graduate but because [he was] young'. He was acutely aware of being the youngest in the English faculty. Within their school settings, the participants' felt that their youth limited their ability to build professional relationships with certain teachers or participate in faculty networks.

A year after our first interview, I once again raised with Theodore his belief that his age was a difficulty when he began his teaching career. He emphatically agreed that it had been and was still an ongoing issue. However, he was able to take a different perspective and examine the effect beyond his relationships with colleagues. He commented, 'I almost feel like we get the double whammy of working out our career identity as well as still negotiating our personal identities outside of work'. Here, Theodore was referring to his understanding of becoming, although he did not explicitly use the language of 'becoming' as defined by Bakhtin (1981). He recognised the different identities he was negotiating and the complex and intertwined experience of becoming an adult and a teacher at the same time.

Theodore's experience, which extended beyond his first year, suggests that the process of negotiation is difficult and ongoing rather than something that can be accomplished by the end of the graduate year. Therefore, support networks and processes are important for graduates beyond their first year because teachers experience tensions in their becoming that may be supported by members of like-minded communities who may be undergoing a similar process.

Another area of tension in relationships and networks, one that limited participating teachers' abilities to form relationships or join networks, was their particular beliefs and education ideologies. All participants were developing a story about the kind of teacher they wanted to be. In this process they were looking for those with similar stories and with whom they could relate and dialogically engage. For example, in Tiffany's story about how her idea of English education differed from that of her colleagues, particularly her Head of English, Vanessa (see section 5.4), she explained that Vanessa's perception of assessment and measurement was on the structure of writing and the standardisation of work across the student cohort. She discussed her opposition to this approach to English education, commenting, 'I don't want to . . . I would much prefer to build relationships with students and focus on getting them engaged with English rather than—here's the structure of an essay'. In this way, Tiffany felt that she was 'just not a team player' because she could not align with the approach adopted by her Head of English and other colleagues. The story that Tiffany formed about English

education and the teacher she was working towards becoming did not easily align with what she saw as the discourse of standardisation espoused by Vanessa, from whom she was expected to take direction. Tiffany's story is an example of the tension that can arise when there is incongruence between an early career English teacher's ideology and that of their colleagues or the school.

Yandell (2017) discusses the formative process in which teachers engage in their everyday work as they develop disciplinary knowledge in relation to and with their colleagues. Disciplinary knowledge is not static, he argues, but rather 'born from social engagement' (p. 583). Yandell's observation aligns with the experience of the participants, who needed to find colleagues and a team in which there was a shared starting point in terms of disciplinary knowledge and ideologies. Having a shared starting point makes it possible to engage in dialogic meaning-making with others, where differences can be openly discussed and understood in the formation of knowledge (Bakhtin, 1981).

Hobson's (2009) work identifies the various needs of early career and preservice teachers similar to those expressed by the nine participants. These professional development needs include the need for emotional, practical and instructional support, a place to belong and the need for the collaborative development of disciplinary knowledge (see also McIntyre & Hobson, 2016; Netolicky, 2020). The nine participants discussed many of these needs as well as what hindered them from being met. In the next section, I consider the spaces of schools and how they may be either hospitable or inhospitable for early career English teachers in finding the collaborative and supportive relationships and networks that they seek.

8.2 In-School Relationships and Networks

In considering the roles and effectiveness of in-school relationships and networks, I have divided this section into two subsections. First, I consider the schools of the nine participants, with a focus on the organisation and management of teaching staff and how the participants understood their schools in terms of learning communities. My purpose is to create a picture and an understanding of the experiences across the group. Second, I focus on one participant, Kitty, and the specifics of her experiences at two schools. The rationale for exploring Kitty's experience is that she worked at two schools during her participation in the study. Her reasons for moving schools at the end of her first year were primarily because she did not feel supported or connected to colleagues at the school. While Kitty's experience is unique to her, dimensions of that experience resonate with the other participants because some felt a sense of belonging and support in their schools, while others felt a disconnect and a sense of isolation. This resonance with the experiences of the other participants is an example of the relevance of the stories of early career English teachers for other teachers. It is also an example of

how narrative studies of teachers' lives can be used by institutions and individuals in positions of authority to develop an understanding of the experience of early career English teachers.

School Sites and Experiences of Participants

All nine participants recognised their need for a space at school that was social and collaborative (Netolicky, 2020, p. 48). In analysing participants' development of and desire for this social and collaborative experience within their schools, it became apparent that the participants specifically focused on their staffrooms. While the principal team and collegial group as a whole influenced participants' experiences, it was their daily interactions with those with whom they shared a space that was often, and unsurprisingly, the focus of their attention. This included their ability to form relationships in their staffrooms and the possibilities or limitations of the space. Their interactions with colleagues framed their workdays and interactions with students in classrooms because their experiences of each day were partially shaped by their initial interactions with colleagues.

In considering this specific space in schools and the time and types of activities that participants pursued in these spaces, Bakhtin's (1981) concept of the chronotope is useful—in this case, the chronotope of the staffroom. Similar to the chronotope of meeting, the chronotope of the staffroom enables an understanding of the experienced time–space of the staffroom. My understanding of the chronotope of the staffroom is informed by Mahiri's (2004) study (see section 4.3). Mahiri illustrates how the chronotope can be an effective means to understand the spaces of schools and the different relationships and experiences that are possible within them. In this study, the chronotope of the staffroom enabled a consideration of the uniqueness of the staffroom space from the perspective of the individual within the larger structure of the school. In discussing the experiences of participants, I have divided the group into graduate teachers and early career teachers. There are two reasons for this distinction. The first is that the graduate teachers—seven of the participants—had just commenced their teaching careers at the beginning of the data generation stage of the research, while two participants had already been teaching for 3–4 years. There were distinct differences between the experiences of the two groups relating to their years in the profession. The second reason is that the early career teachers were also mature-aged students at university (Charlotte was in her forties and Tiffany in her thirties), while the graduates were all in their early twenties when they began their careers. Age was a clear mediator in the experiences of participants, as highlighted by the graduate teachers themselves when discussing how their colleagues responded to them because of their age.

Across the seven early career participants, there was a sense of them wanting to be part of a team, to belong in their workplaces. Broadly, Hunter, Rebecca and Kitty (at her first school) all struggled to find support networks in their staffrooms, leaving them feeling isolated within their schools and

seriously considering how long they might stay. Hunter and Kitty both decided to leave their schools—Kitty at the end of her first year and Hunter at the end of his second year. At the end of her second year, Rebecca made the decision to leave the school context altogether, taking a position in the Department of Education. While the disconnect that these three teachers felt in their staffrooms was not the only factor in their decisions to leave, it was a strong contributor. Cordelia, Theodore, Lily and Ally all found people with whom they felt connected in their staffrooms and remained in their schools across the 2 years of data generation. A feeling of belonging and being part of a community was an essential factor in their desire to remain at their schools, while a disconnect and sense of isolation led to feelings of impermanency for the others.

For those who felt they worked in a supportive school environment, there was a sense that their place of work enabled them to engage in reflection. Cordelia, Theodore and Lily each felt that their staffrooms were supportive places and that they were part of a community. Cordelia described her staffroom as ‘the best’, and Lauren described hers as having a ‘team’ feeling. Their colleagues were the first people to whom they turned for advice and support about their work. Generally, Theodore also felt supported within his staffroom; however, perhaps because of its size, he did not connect with everyone; rather, he felt he had developed and was part of a smaller group within the staffroom. Ally’s experience was more complex—although she had some difficulty with a particular staff member in the staffroom, she felt she had the support of the rest of her colleagues, in particular her ‘squad’ of Jay and Sarah. While the staffroom experiences were unique to each participant, common to them all was finding a group of people that made them feel secure and contributed to their sense of belonging.

The negotiation of staffroom relationships was less pronounced for Charlotte and Tiffany. While the time and space of the staffroom still occupied a large proportion of their experiences at school, they spoke less regularly about their staffroom space and relationships with colleagues. This was possibly due to several factors, including their years in the profession (Charlotte was in her third year and Tiffany in her fourth at the beginning of data generation) and their age and life experiences prior to entering the profession. In Charlotte’s and Tiffany’s accounts, colleagues were people with whom they needed to work, but neither seemed to need the support sought by the younger participants. Charlotte explained that she ‘didn’t need friends’ because she ‘already ha[d] them outside of school’. Tiffany saw her job as located in the classroom, which was the main focus of our discussions rather than her relationships with her colleagues. While both Charlotte and Tiffany had colleagues they trusted and to whom they could turn—Charlotte had her ‘awesome mentor’ and Tiffany had a small group of teachers with whom she would spend most lunchtimes—neither discussed or appeared to feel that building social and collegial relationships was a priority, at least to the same extent as the graduate group. In addition to their age and life experience in comparison with the graduate group,

they both spoke about the connections they had with teachers outside of their schools through professional networks. They had both spent a number of years developing these connections and had formed friendships and mentoring relationships with a number of teachers and academic colleagues. These relationships and networks were supportive and provided a place for reflection and active engagement in the process of becoming. These are discussed further in the following section, but these networks perhaps suggest that when there are out-of-school connections, there is less reliance on the school to be a place of support and belonging. Nevertheless, both Tiffany and Charlotte valued the support and the connections with colleagues they had and were developing.

The ability to form close alliances with colleagues in schools is also shaped by the conditions of employment, particularly those based on short-term contracts (J. Buchanan et al., 2013). For example, an additional dimension for Tiffany was that she had taught at 3 schools in 4 years. Her work conditions and realities influenced how she understood collegial relationships and her ability to feel like she belonged in a school. Tiffany was on contract for her first 2 years as a graduate teacher. In the extract below, she describes her experience of being in permanent employment compared with being on contract:

I spoke up—because I feel like—I walked into Matlock and I got an ongoing job straightaway, like my contract was ongoing. So, I was like, well, I can actually say things now. Whereas previously on contract, just a 12-month contract, I can't say anything, because oh, this could be another mark against my name, kind of thing.

Being on a contract brought an insecurity that restricted her from forming authentic relationships and openly discussing her practices at work. When her employment became permanent this shifted her approach to relationships and networks. She felt she was able to speak up in meetings and began to develop relationships with individual teachers. By the end of her second year at Matlock, she felt more secure in her position and subsequently allowed herself to begin taking colleagues into her confidence. She commented that she felt 'ready' to form friendships with colleagues. This resulted in her socially engaging with colleagues out of school, and she began to share her views and values about English education more openly. Nevertheless, this process took 2 years. I suspect that it took this long because she had to learn to feel part of the school after having spent her first 2 years in the profession in a state of insecurity. Tiffany's experience reflects the observations in the literature about the importance of trust and security in teachers being able to engage in development (J. Buchanan et al., 2013; Hobson, 2009; Netolicky, 2020). Casual employment contracts do not provide teachers with a sense of security (Mayer et al., 2017). While the example here is of the experience of an English teacher, it broadly relates to the insecure contract-based employment for graduate teachers in general.

The experiences of the nine participants not only illustrate the differences between individuals and at different school settings, they also indicate the importance of strong collegial networks in staffrooms, particularly for younger teachers. The examples from the nine participants, especially the seven younger graduates, point to the importance of staffroom groups in their sense of connection to schools and developing collegial relationships. Tiffany's experience also illustrates how employment conditions can shape the potential for forming collegial connections at schools. None of the participants were particularly active in developing networks outside of their staffrooms, and for those who did not find connections in their staffrooms—Hunter, Kitty and Rebecca—the sense of isolation contributed to them leaving their schools. The participants' experiences demonstrate the importance of the chronotope of the staffroom for developing a sense of connection with the place of work. To varying extents, this sense of connection enabled or constrained their becoming (Bakhtin, 1981).

Building on the premise that early career teachers need a collegial network at their schools, particularly in staffrooms, in the next subsection I focus on and inquire into the experience of one participant, Kitty, who moved schools at the end of her first year of teaching.

Kitty

Kitty began her teaching career at Howitt College, an independent Jewish school. At the end of her graduate year she moved to Beenak Secondary College, a state school. Among the reasons for her leaving Howitt College was that she was unable to find individuals and networks to meet her need for what she described as 'human contact' and shared disciplinary knowledge, support and affirmation. It was in her second school, Beenak Secondary College, that she was able to find the networks and communities she sought.

In considering Kitty's work and practice, I observed a distinct shift in her discourse on her experiences at the two schools. Although I did not observe her classroom practices because she was a member of the peripheral group, I discerned through our discussions that she taught differently at the two schools. In fact, she described feeling like a 'different teacher' after moving to her second school. Her view that there were differences in her teaching at the two sites is supported by the literature, which highlights that collegial discussions and supportive environments are important dimensions of teachers' work and have the potential to contribute positively to the process of teaching and learning (AITSL, 2017; Doecke, 2004; Hargreaves & O'Connor, 2018). From the Bakhtinian perspective that an individual is not a single identity but is made up of various and often conflicting identities, the difference Kitty felt in her teaching may have related to the influence of contextual factors rather than her assumption that she was, in fact, a different teacher, even though she felt at times that she was.

Kitty discussed the difference between her views and values about education and those espoused by her first school, which took a results-driven approach to schooling. The extract below gives an example in which Kitty discusses the focus on the VCE results of students in their final year of schooling (see section 1.2):

They want to be taught in the, like, didactic sense. They don't want any, like, innovative, innovation in the classroom. And I can't, I hate it, like I can't adapt to it at all. Because they teach to VCE, so everything they do has to, like, fit in with the mould somehow. And, like, all of them have tutors, like, when they get to the higher up years. So, all of them just want to get the information and memorise it at home.

The sense of having to be a teacher that fits a particular mould was difficult for Kitty. She discussed her struggle in terms of her values of English education as not being underpinned by results: 'I have this internal conflict of, like, we've spent 4 years being taught to do this [in teacher education], and then I come into this environment and they are like "No, don't do that"'. Here, she is discussing her experience at university, where, for the most part, the values embedded in her degree course were similar to her own or those she developed over the duration of her course, which emphasised constructivist pedagogy and student-centred learning. At Howitt, she felt that that she was 'play-acting teacher', meaning she could not be authentic. Kitty disliked the fact that the moments in which she 'got to know the kids' were 'so rare' and lamented the results-driven culture and the cultural and religious separation between herself and other staff members. She discussed the difficulty of being a non-Jew working in a Jewish school, which meant that she struggled to build relationships with staff. At the end of her first year, as she left to work at Beenak Secondary College, she commented that she felt 'sad' to leave some of the students. Despite the challenges, she had been able to form positive relationships with the majority of students in her classes, leaving her with 'some doubt' about leaving the school. However, ultimately, she seemed settled about her decision because she had not developed 'work friends'. She had found it 'really hard . . . to relate' to them and felt this was an obstacle to her development as a teacher. Reflecting on leaving, she commented, 'Unless I'm being accepted, I can't flourish'.

It was at Beenak Secondary College that Kitty finally found her 'work family'. Within weeks of beginning her job at Beenak, she tweeted, 'Genuinely shocked that people from work have accepted me with open arms so quickly :-)''. Her gratitude did not subside over the year. As the year concluded, she posted the following on Facebook, along with a 2-minute video:

A little Christmas appreciation montage: To my amazing workplace this year, I got very lucky to work with so many beautiful teachers & students after almost wanting to quit the

profession altogether last year. I put this little video together to send out the love to all my work family.

Because Kitty was not part of the participant group that involved school observations (see section 5.2), I did not have the opportunity to work closely with her across this transitional stage, but we spent some time reflecting on her 2 years' experience at the end of her second year. When I asked her to describe her experience with colleagues at Beenak, she responded:

Everyone puts an effort into staff wellbeing. Everyone makes an effort to make sure we do things together as a staff body rather than just doing it for the sake of the work. We plan heaps and we do a lot of work as teams, but we also like to have fun.

Kitty believed that she had found her 'place' and felt energised and focused on developing her practice. She commented that she had found no-one at Howitt with whom she could engage in conversations about pedagogy, but at Beenak there were continual conversations about teaching, not just the everyday work of teachers but people's 'ideas about English'. She felt she had found a place in which becoming an English teacher was congruent with the 'story' about English teaching she was seeking.

Her sense of connection related to the individual relationships she developed in her staffroom but also some important leadership and organisational dimensions. The collegial and social environment was partially due to staff dynamics but was reinforced and encouraged by the principal team. For instance, the focus of the principal team, Kitty observed, was on staff wellbeing:

Our [individual] staffrooms are . . . quiet because everyone is working . . . The law of the school is, make sure you take a break, so all of us come to the [main] staffroom to eat lunch together. All of us sit at most lunches, which is really nice . . . I do value that.

There was a place for work—individual staffrooms—and a place for teachers to relax and socialise—the main staffroom. This appeared to be a construction by the principal team that staff members abided by, at least those with whom Kitty interacted. The main staffroom was not just for classroom teachers; Kitty discussed spending many lunchtimes chatting to the assistant principals. She described being 'really close to both the [assistant principals]'. Kitty believed that the culture of the principal team influenced the interactions between staff. At Howitt, the principal team had been disconnected and there were few support networks for graduates or new staff members and few social interactions. Kitty experienced a contrasting principal team approach at Beenak Secondary College, where the assistant principals regularly joined the staff at lunchtime and were deeply engaged in collegial work.

She commented that they ‘barely use their authority on us; it’s more for the kids’ and that any hierarchy was a ‘hidden hierarchy’. At Beenak, Kitty found a coherence between the views, values and agendas of the school and her own. Because of this, she was able to more actively engage in considering and developing her practice. Netolicky (2020) concludes that there is importance in the wider school culture for professional learning; Kitty could develop because of the focus of the wider school structures and culture, established by the principal team, on staff wellbeing and collegiality.

While Kitty found Beenak to be supportive and ‘loved’ it there, she was also aware of the difficulties or tensions. Rather than simply romanticising the staffroom and school as places of unmitigated positive dialogic reflection, she was also able to discuss the problematic dimensions. For example, there were the ‘politics’ involved in being friends with colleagues—for example, people ‘got offended’ if they were not invited to a social event. Kitty discussed one colleague who was ‘jealous’ of her friendship with another colleague because the friendship meant she ‘didn’t speak to her as much’. She also found she was socialising with her university friends less frequently, partially because she had a network at her school in which she could discuss her work but also because she was often at work until 6:00 pm because she ‘just didn’t want to leave’. She was aware that this was affecting her work–life balance and discussed wanting to stay connected with others, which she believed was valuable for her both professionally and socially.

Kitty’s contrasting experiences at her two schools is supported by studies that have considered the role of the collegial context in teacher development. Doecke (2004) comments on the importance of a dialogic professional community that involves ‘dialogue and debate as its members collectively endeavour to understand the complexities of their professional lives’ (p. 207). Netolicky (2020) describes the need for a shared vision, purpose and practice for teachers to ‘improve their knowledge and practice, and improve student learning and achievement’ (p. 48). Moreover, Hargreaves and O’Connor (2018) concluded that ‘professional collaboration benefits students and teachers alike’ (p. 3). At Howitt College, Kitty was limited in her ability to engage in professional collaboration and, therefore, was unable to improve her practice—she could not ‘flourish’. Her experience at Beenak Secondary College differed significantly. She felt supported and engaged and, as such, she could develop towards the teacher she wanted to be. Her experience in the staffroom with colleagues and the staff as a broader group, including the principal team, was collaborative, giving her a sense of belonging. It was in these conditions that Kitty felt she could more actively engage in becoming. This is an example of the different contexts of schools and the importance for teachers in finding schools and relationships within schools that align with their ideology about education. It also highlights that there is a responsibility for the principal teams in schools to consider the needs of their teachers and provide structures to support these needs. Kitty found like-minded people at Beenak and a collegial

environment where she felt connected and supported. Her experience is her own rather than an objective critique on the supportive or unsupportive context of either school.

Implications of Kitty's Case and the In-School Experiences of Participants

While Kitty's experience was unique to her and the schools in which she worked, it offers some insights that are applicable across all participants' experiences and possibly to contexts beyond the confines of early career English teachers. These insights may be summarised as follows:

- Engaging in collaborative meaning-making requires a supportive working environment and sufficient cohesion and overlap of the education views, values and agendas of individuals, colleagues and principal teams.
- The organisational structure of schools and school cultures, as determined by the principal team, influences the collegial possibilities at the group level, such as in staffrooms.
- The staff culture and environment influence teaching and learning in classrooms and the relationships between teachers, students and the school community.
- The development of a collegial environment is both structural, through the space of the staffroom, and individual, through the decisions of individuals to engage in developing them.

8.3 Out-of-School Networks

McIntyre and Hobson's (2016) work on the role of external mentors for graduate science teachers suggests that external mentoring relationships are an important part of teachers' identity formation that occurs away from the performative measures within schools. McIntyre and Hobson's work demonstrates the importance of identifying as a discipline specialist as part of a community of practice outside of the 'vacuum' (p. 145) of individual schools, in which there can be a culture that assumes professional development needs can be all met within the school.

In this section, I relate McIntyre and Hobson's (2016) findings to the experiences of the nine participants in this study, although I extend beyond formal networks and mentoring. While all the participants engaged in formal networks, such as those linked to Monash University, the seven graduate participants also continued informal relationships with other teachers they had met during their university studies. These informal relationships were at least as important as the formal out-of-school networks in which they participated. I argue that both formal and informal relationships and networks are important dimensions in the becoming of early career teachers.

Informal Relationships and Networks

Much of the research on teachers' becoming and development focuses on formal networks linked to an organised group, either within or outside of schools (J. Buchanan et al., 2013; Netolicky, 2020). An advantage of ethnographic fieldwork and working with a group of teachers that were familiar and often friendly with each other is that I was able to develop an understanding of the relationships they formed with each other and the role these relationships played in their experiences, developing sense of identity and belonging as early career English teachers. The seven graduates in the study had attended university together, and four of them—Ally, Hunter, Lily and Kitty—were members of a wider social group that had maintained regular contact as they transitioned into schools. This group of friends was highly valued by the four participants, who sensed that the friendships provided a bridge from university to the teaching profession.

The network consisted of 15 friends, all of whom had completed their Bachelor of Education degrees together. While the wider peer network was large, they generally met up in smaller groups, with whole group congregations restricted to celebrations such as birthdays. As Hunter explained in his graduate year, 'Outside of school, I talk to a lot of our uni cohort a fair bit . . . there's maybe like five or six that I would talk to probably three or four times a week'. Most of the members of the smaller group with which Hunter engaged were English teachers, and much of their connection was based on a shared experience of teaching English. Hunter explicitly spoke about this network, explaining that he would turn to different people in the group depending on the issue he wished to discuss. Rachel a member of the peer group he connected with regularly, for instance, had a student similar to one of Hunter's more challenging Year 10 students (see section 6.4); therefore, they would share their experiences and seek support from one another. Meanwhile, Hunter would turn to Ally in difficult moments because she would offer friendship and support.

The group remained connected throughout the 2 years of data generation, although the amount of contact tapered in the second year, which appeared to be linked to a lack of time and, for some (in particular Kitty), the development of other networks rather than a perceived loss of value in the network. Kitty found connections in her new school and, as a result, reached out less regularly to her university friends (see section 8.2). At the end of her first year at Beenak Secondary College, she did, however, recognise the loss of her university group. She remarked that 'we have been through so much', expressing a desire to reconnect. There was a recognition of the importance of a shared history. Her insight suggests that she was also aware of the importance of having supportive relationships and networks beyond the school gate. Her remark mirrors a comment Theodore made early in his graduate year when he and I were discussing his connections with others. He lamented that his out-of-school friends did not want to reflect with him because they were not teachers. There

was an awareness among a number of the participants (the four within the same network and Theodore, who did not have such a network) of the importance of having people apart from their school colleagues with whom to reflect.

Participants' recognition of the importance of reflection with people outside of school did not explicitly relate to finding a place away from the performative measures of schools, which was a main motivator for the participants in McIntyre and Hobson's (2016) study. This difference applied more to the formal networks external to their schools. Rather, the four participants who were part of the same network emphasised their awareness of the benefit of sharing with people from different contexts and with different experiences. As Hunter explained:

We have all got that one student or that one teacher that is really rude to us or whatever . . . and having, like, that similar experience, even though we are all at such different schools, is interesting . . . and sometimes hearing about, like, how schools do things differently is good, yeah.

In this extract, Hunter comments that the network was a place of support: he could 'vent' and share stories because the members of the network were 'familiar with the story' or 'particular students'. They were supportive, but there was also a sense of belonging in this support because they all were having a 'similar experience'. Support, therefore, was found with equals rather than with more experienced colleagues or designated school-based mentors. The equality in the group was an important dimension because it enabled Hunter to share the difficulties of his experiences and also allowed him to reflect. For instance, he found it 'interesting' that they were all at different schools: 'Sometimes hearing about, like, how schools do things differently is good'. Support, belonging and trust were important for Hunter and the other network members. Hunter's observation of the benefit of seeing how things are done differently in schools was also important for him, as it was a reminder that what occurs in his school was not the only way. When teachers are focused solely on their school it is possible that the practices of the school become normalised, and therefore, they are no longer questioned. By connecting with others from various school contexts Hunter was able to continue to critically consider his school context.

Moreover, the network was not framed by institutional structures, nor was there any formal obligation for members to continue to be part of it. This distinguished the reflections in which they engaged from the more formal requirements of in-school professional development and performance management processes. They continued as friends because they wished to be there. While it was a network of friends, it was also a place of reflection and becoming. McIntyre and Hobson (2016) comment on the importance of 'non-judgemental support' (p. 133) in a mentoring relationship. The network in which

the participants were members provided this, not through official mentoring but through a shared experience, history and trust. However, the dimensions of becoming that were experienced in the group depended on the individual. For Lily and Kitty, it was more a place to unwind. As Kitty commented in her graduate year, the network provided a way to ‘share with friends that understood’ and ‘relax’. For others, such as Hunter and Ally, there was a focus on the importance of the group for their professional development.

While many of the participants continued to engage regularly with friends from university, Hunter’s and Ally’s determination to actively engage in discussing their practices with each other was different from others in the group. They regularly met to discuss and critically reflect on their practices (see Chapter 9). While others in the group socialised, Kitty and Lily, for example, often spent time together and supported each other; they did not structure their friendship in a way that enabled the active critical engagement enacted by Ally and Hunter. There was a sharing of experience, as there was with Ally and Hunter, but for Kitty and Lily, their discussions focused on support and empathy.

Informal relationships and networks outside of school were important for all the participants, but how these were structured and the purpose of these were based on individual and group needs. Engagement in formal networks outside of school provided a more structured environment.

Formal Networks

There are many examples globally of formal networks in which teachers gather to collaboratively reflect on their practices (Doecke & Parr, 2011; Smith & Wrigley, 2012; Whitney, 2008). In terms of the participants’ involvement in professional networks during the data generation stage, the findings of the Standards for Teachers of English Language and Literacy (STELLA) project, conducted in Australia, are the most relevant. To differing degrees, all participants were involved with professional networks that had developed from or were influenced by the STELLA project (Doecke & Gill, 2001). The major goal of STELLA was to establish a framework for English teachers to collaboratively reflect on their professional practice and engage in continuing inquiry into their own teaching. The result was a set of standards to guide English teachers in considering and understanding their practices. These standards were developed from the perspective of practising teachers and incorporated an understanding of the differences in teaching experiences in each Australian state or territory (Doecke & Gill, 2001).

The influence of the STELLA project extended beyond the development of a set of standards to the work of Parr and Bulfin (2015), who in conjunction with their local professional association (Victorian Association for the Teaching of English) developed a project known as *stella2.0*. The

motivation of this project was to develop a ‘dialogic professional community’ (p. 157) among school-based teachers, university-based teacher educators, English educators from professional associations and retired English teachers. Through a series of workshops conducted across a number of years in Melbourne, a professional learning community developed that focused on the storying of English teaching and the ‘unfinalizable’ (p. 157) work of teachers and their becoming. Two of the study participants, Charlotte and Tiffany, were involved in the second iteration of the *stella2.0* project in 2015 and 2016. Following the *stella2.0* project, the organisers, Graham Parr and Scott Bulfin, continued to engage in the formation of professional learning communities at Monash University. They were integral in the formation of two additional communities—the English Education Praxis group and the English Education in the Secondary Years (EESY) group. As a member and organiser, I was involved in both of these groups across the data generation stage of this study.

As of the middle of 2020, the English Education Praxis group had approximately 30 members, including Tiffany, Charlotte, Ally and Hunter. Tiffany and Charlotte had been involved in this group for a couple of years before their involvement in the current study, while Ally and Hunter joined the group through my suggestion and the encouragement of Scott, their English education lecturer, at the end of their teaching degrees. Although the group aimed to meet four times a year to align with school terms, it only met sporadically over the year. Before each meeting, there would be an article to read to provide a stimulus for writing in the first hour of the meeting. The second hour (which often extended well beyond the allocated time) was used to share writing and reflect dialogically on English education. Ally and Hunter discussed their decision to attend the group with me. They both noted that on leaving their first meeting of the praxis group, what they most enjoyed was the range of ages and experiences in the group and that they had not felt like the ‘newbies’. They enjoyed being able to hear and engage with different perspectives and to feel as though they were among colleagues.

Charlotte and Tiffany felt that the praxis group offered not only a diversity of experience but an equality in which there was no hierarchy based on experience or expertise. Tiffany discussed the importance of the group in her feeling ‘sane’. She commented, ‘The group makes me feel like I am not alone. There are other people out there that think like I do’. She felt that the teachers with whom she interacted in the group were different from those in her school. They supported her critical views and concerns about the effects of standards-based reforms on English teaching. Tiffany recognised the importance of this group for her becoming. At the end of one session, she commented to me, ‘I come, even though I feel tired, because I know it’s good for me’. Similarly, Charlotte discussed the importance of coming together with ‘like-minded teachers’. While she was able to find some teachers with whom to share an understanding of English teaching at her school, she found that having a group outside school was essential in her becoming. For her, the reason was that the discussions in the praxis group had an explicit theoretical dimension. The circulation of research articles and the drawing

together of knowledge from academics and preservice, practising and occasionally retired teachers gave Charlotte a variety of perspectives with which she could engage. The discussions moved beyond the 'immediacy of day-to-day teaching'.

For both Tiffany and Charlotte, the group was an opportunity to build a community outside of their schools. This is congruent with the findings of McIntyre and Hobson (2016), who argue that out-of-school networks are an important dimension in the development of teacher identity because it is no longer bound by a particular school, agenda or perspective.

The EESY group is a much larger network. At the beginning of 2020, there were over 200 members of the EESY Facebook community. The purpose of the group is summarised on its Facebook page as 'A group of reasonably like-minded teachers wanting to engage, challenge and support each other as we go about the work of teaching English'. EESY holds approximately four professional development events per year in which there are a variety of presenters, including academics and practising English teachers. Topics in 2019 and 2020 included Teaching English in a Standards-Based Reform Context; Working on Educational and Professional Problems with Others; Teachers as Writers: Exploring our Writing Histories; and The Possibilities of English. All of the study participants engaged in the EESY network, both on Facebook and attending events. Hunter, Theodore, Ally, Tiffany and Charlotte, at different times, also presented at an EESY event in 2019.

The opportunity to engage with a broader group such as the EESY network was important to all participants, whether they had graduated from university the year before, such as Ally, Hunter, Theodore, Kitty, Cordelia and Lily, or a number of years before, such as Charlotte and Tiffany. The events enabled an ongoing connection between the university and schools. Parr and Bulfin (2015) argue that these collaborations are 'powerful' (p. 161) for teacher inquiry into professional development.

These two more formal networks provided a place for participants to consider their practices and engage with a learning community away from the performative measures or other challenges in their schools (McIntyre & Hobson, 2016). However, these networks offered a different experience for each of the participants. Tiffany, for example, felt that they each encouraged her to reconnect to the profession when she felt disillusioned at her school but in different ways. The EESY events helped her to shift her practices and connect with like-minded educators, which she valued highly because she was able to recognise her value as a teacher through her conversations with others. In contrast, the praxis group events were more challenging because she found herself engaging in discourses that made her consider her practices, views, values and beliefs about English education. Similarly, Charlotte enjoyed both, but she valued the opportunity to discuss articles and theories because she

could engage with others rather than in isolation, which is what she did at home or in spare moments at school. Rather than just reading and reflecting on her own practice, she was able to read and reflect on her own practice with others as well as reflect on the practices of others.

Doecke and Parr (2011) comment on the ‘collective capacity’ of these kinds of communities, where teachers ‘derive genuine satisfaction from feeling that their learning is recognised by those around them and that they are contributing to the greater good’ (p. 14). The participants did not explicitly discuss this dimension of their participation in the networks; however, when interacting with others, there was an offering of ideas and experiences that suggested that they were aware of the building of a discourse and a set of values and ideas among those in the network. This occurred not only in social interactions but also in the more formal discussion elements of the network meetings. Moreover, the willingness of Ally, Hunter, Charlotte, Tiffany and Theodore to present and engage as leaders in group discussions provides clear evidence that they could contribute to the community and, thereby, to the ‘greater good’ (Doecke & Parr, 2011, p. 14). The experiences of the younger participants (Hunter, Ally and Theodore) in feeling as though they were contributing as leaders may have offset some of their experiences in schools, where they were viewed as being less knowledgeable than their older colleagues (see section 8.1).

The formal networks outside of schools, therefore, were important to participants’ experiences and becoming. Each discussed the importance they placed on these networks, and while their participation varied depending on a number of factors, including school commitments, each expressed a desire to continue to attend throughout their careers. Similar to the informal networks discussed, these formal networks were voluntary—participants attended because they wanted to and were motivated to. This enabled them to engage with a sincerity that they did not often experience in contexts such as in schools, which are preoccupied with performative imperatives (Netolicky, 2020).

Out-of-school networks, both formal and informal, provided the participants with the collective capacity of working with others in the development of a shared knowledge in which participants’ knowledge and learning were recognised by others. The networks were based on a shared understanding of the importance of dialogue for the development of knowledge and understanding. They were separate from the performative contexts of schools and enabled participants to feel that they were members of discipline-specific learning communities.

8.4 Conclusion

J. Buchanan et al. (2013) highlight the importance of trust and a ‘supportive and empathic mentor’ (p. 113) in early career teacher development. The extent to which the nine participants felt this trust and support varied depending on the context and the individual. Charlotte, Tiffany and Hunter mostly found this trust in relationships and networks outside of their schools. Ally found it with individuals within her school but not with larger groups and still relied on the trust of her external relationships and networks. Cordelia and Lily found this trust in the individual relationships they formed in their schools and in-school networks, while maintaining some relationships outside of school. At her first school, Kitty relied on her out-of-school informal relationships but was able to find the trust she required to develop relationships in her second school. Their varied experiences illustrate the individual and contextual dimensions of becoming through networks. Opportunities need to be available and appropriate for participants to develop collaborative and mentoring relationships and networks, both in and out of schools.

Among all the participants, even for those with strong in-school relationships and networks, there was a recognition of the importance of out-of-school connections. For all participants who engaged thoughtfully and purposefully in out-of-school networks, there was a sense that these networks challenged their views, values and beliefs about education, especially English education, in positive ways. Being away from their schools and colleagues, even for a short time, enabled participants to consider their practices in different ways. This suggests that both in-school and out-of-school professional relationships and networks were important in the participants’ becoming.

Common across all the networks and relationships was the experience of co-constructing knowledge about participants’ practices and teaching. Meanings and knowledge were socially formed and changing (Yandell, 2017). The social construction of knowledge occurred when there were dialogic interactions between colleagues. Gill and Illesca (2011) cite Bakhtin in reflecting on their collegial/mentoring relationships: ‘Words are split in productive dialogue between themselves and others, between the individual and the social: “I live in a world of others’ words” (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 143)’ (p. 40).

Given the situated and specific nature of early career English teachers’ needs, there are similarities and differences in the relationships and networks each participant formed and joined. The constant across all, however, was their participation in this study. In the next chapter, I examine the influence of this PhD study on the nine participants’ experience and becoming and provide a conclusion to the study.

9 The Becoming of Early Career English Teachers

The primary focus of this PhD study was to develop an account of early career English teachers' work that appreciates the social, distinctive and shared experience of teaching and becoming. The stories I have gathered to develop this account show the formation of the professional self as relational because participants' becoming took place with and alongside others through a process of negotiating numerous education discourses. Participants' becoming included the development of skills and knowledge alongside affective dimensions and ideological changes. The process was unlike the conception of professional development underpinning the key policy documents for the teaching profession in Australia, currently the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers (AITSL, 2011) and *Action Now: Classroom Ready Teachers* (TEMAG, 2014). From the perspective of AITSL and TEMAG, teacher development should be assessed on the basis of only certain types of data, and there is an assumption that teacher development is individual and linear. While the study does not seek to generalise or develop an approach that speaks for all early career English teachers, it nevertheless develops an understanding of the shared experience of the nine participants. Through their sustained engagement with each other and the study, the nine participants came to appreciate that other early career English teachers were experiencing similar difficulties, tensions and achievements, and they developed a sense of professional community.

In this concluding chapter, I first revisit the research questions. Second, I examine the opportunities that arose through the research process for the participants and me to engage in professional communities. Third, I consider the findings and implications of the study for individuals, policies and institutions.

9.1 Revisiting the Research Questions

By generating detailed accounts of participants' meaning-making activities in the process of ideological becoming, the study aimed to further develop an understanding of early career English teachers' becoming and work and the implications of this understanding for schools, education policy and individuals. The following research questions guided the study:

1. What is the nature of early career English teachers' everyday professional experience within the context of standards-based reforms?
2. What processes of becoming are evident/possible within these contexts?

Two supporting questions addressed the specific dimensions of early career English teachers' everyday experiences and becoming:

1. How do institutional practices and discourses shape early career English teachers' work?
2. How do early career English teachers negotiate professional and related relationships within and beyond schools, and how do these shape their becoming?

The understanding of 'experience' in the study is one that involves a combination of teachers' behaviours, views, values, beliefs and interpretations of their experiences. The multifaceted experiences of participating teachers subsequently contributed to their developing ideologies and becoming. My aim in focusing on teachers' experiences was to understand the 'events' of their working lives rather than merely focusing on observable routines or 'acts' (Bakhtin, 1993, p. 2). Using a Bakhtinian framework, I have taken care to situate the teachers' experiences in a heteroglossic context.

Because the research and supporting questions are interrelated and overlap, I have not separated them in my analysis. Rather, the research questions were threads woven into each of the analysis chapters. Similarly, the supporting questions were not isolated to individual chapters, although from time to time I focused on particular supporting questions in different analysis chapters.

The first supporting question, which considers the influence of institutional practices and discourses on early career English teachers' work, was mainly addressed in Chapters 6 and 7 through the exploration of the central participants' experiences of working within the institutional structures and policies of their schools. In inquiring into their experiences, I considered the negotiation that occurred with various groups, such as the principal team, colleagues and students, as well as the participants' work in navigating, understanding and developing an approach to education policy.

The second supporting question, which focused on the shaping role of relationships on early career English teachers' becoming, was primarily considered in Chapters 6 and 8, which paid particular attention to the relationships developed within schools and, in Chapter 8 in particular, the relationships and networks outside of schools. In Chapter 8, I focused on the various reasons for participants seeking out and engaging with different types of professional communities and networks. Finally, in demonstrating how becoming occurs through the everyday work, actions and interactions of early career English teachers, the central concept of becoming is addressed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

9.2 Ordinary, but Not so Ordinary

In this section, I discuss my relationships with the participants. Participating in an extended research project such as a doctoral thesis is perhaps not an ordinary experience for most early career English teachers, but it became ordinary for the participants. For the participants in this study, the experience can be viewed as an example (along with other examples discussed in Chapter 8) of what is possible when opportunities are provided for English teachers to engage in a sustained way with professional communities that focus on building relationships and identities as much as developing professional knowledge. The study shows that the dialogic interactions and ideological becoming in which the participating teachers engaged throughout the 2 years of the research process was greatly appreciated, albeit in different ways.

An example and an inspiration for this study is Doecke's (2004) essay in which he presents a reflexive account of developing a dialogic community with preservice English teachers. Doecke explicitly discusses his development of a focus group of preservice English teachers, which ran alongside his teaching of English method studies. He considers the opportunity provided for preservice English teachers when they were able to be part of a professional community:

As a teacher educator, I see myself as inducting my students into a professional community that involves dialogue and debate, as its members collectively endeavour to understand the complexities of their professional lives. The focus group discussions . . . were conceived as opportunities for the participants to construct professional knowledge through their conversations with one another, in the same way that teachers 'talk shop'. (p. 207)

Here, Doecke (2004) argues that the opportunities he provided for preservice English teachers in his study were similar to those which practising English teachers might engage when they had a chance to 'talk shop'. Yet, he recognises that the opportunity he provided for his students to engage in the everyday process of talking shop was not available to all students. It was his 'modest attempt to create an opportunity for professional learning that might not otherwise be available to them as they negotiated their way through their teaching rounds' (p. 208).

In this PhD study, I wanted to extend Doecke's (2004) observation about preservice teachers to graduate and early career English teachers. I appreciated that there are opportunities for them to engage in various professional communities, and some of these are discussed elsewhere (Breen et al., 2018; Bulfin & Mathews, 2003; Parr & Bulfin, 2015) (see Chapter 8). Nevertheless, I was conscious

that such opportunities were not necessarily available or accessible to all graduates and early career English teachers. In designing my PhD study, I generated such an opportunity, a space where together we could ‘talk shop’ (Doecke, 2004, p. 208) and collaboratively construct professional knowledge and our professional identities.

In summarising the experiences of participants and myself in the dialogic process of the research, I now present four short reflections about how I, as the researcher, have come to understand our experience, drawing from conversations I had with participants and the reflections they shared with me. The first two examples relate to one-to-one interactions, while the second two examples relate to the professional community that developed among the participant group. Together these examples address the second supporting research question: How do early career English teachers negotiate relationships within and beyond schools, and how do these shape their becoming?

Reflections on the Experience

Rebecca

This reflection on a dialogic interaction between Rebecca and me goes some way to illustrate the importance of trust, a common understanding, and agenda and a willingness to learn through co-constructed meaning-making and development.

Rebecca’s initial response to my invitation to be part of the study was that she wanted to be involved to ‘help the study’. However, alongside this altruistic motivation, another motivating factor became apparent during our first interview, to which she arrived with ‘a few things’ she wanted to discuss. Responding to my invitation to treat the interview as an open space for her to reflect, she raised some concerns about teaching at Wills Secondary College and working in a ‘difficult’ school context. She was struggling to navigate the space of her school and her relationships with students because they were in her words ‘so different to what [she] was used to’. Having attended a private school as a student and completed her teaching rounds at high-achieving primary and secondary schools, Rebecca had no experience with disengaged students and was unsure of how to work with them. As we worked through each issue in the interview, I began to realise that Rebecca was turning to me for support and reassurance. Although she was doing a job she was ‘passionate about’, she was struggling, and she saw our conversations as an opportunity to address her struggles in a positive way. At the end of the first interview, she was able to reflect somewhat on our discussion. She commented:

I just like, you know, I'm like—I find it hard! Like, I get really emotional all the time, and I don't like it, I wish I didn't. With you it's fine because I know you're talking to me, but I physically can't stop. I'm not even that sad or anything, it's just like I find everything really overwhelming.

Here, Rebecca identifies the safe space that was created during the interview, in which she felt that the purpose of the space was to work through difficulties and discuss her work because I was 'talking with' her, rather than 'at' her. Rebecca saw me as a mentor rather than a researcher, and the research had provided her the opportunity to access this mentoring. A key dimension of this mentoring relationship was that I was not positioned as superior to her with the objective to teach her more about education and teaching. Rather, we both perceived the space as a place of mutual learning. I was there to learn about her work and experience, and she was there to assist me in that learning and to learn from me. I was someone who she trusted, someone she could share with and gain advice from to help her work through feeling overwhelmed. As indicated in the above quote, 'with you it's fine', it appears that she was not able to find such a mentor in her school. This mutual trust and her agenda to learn allowed Rebecca to be vulnerable to express and work through her difficulties. She was able to consider her past experiences as a student and preservice teacher and how these had prepared her for a different context and experience from what she was currently having at Wills Secondary College. She was able to discuss why her experience at Wills Secondary College was 'weird' compared with her previous experiences. In the dialogic space, Rebecca felt she could express her difficulties to some degree without judgement and with empathy, advice and strategies to deal with her difficulties and move forward.

Ally

This reflection on the experience of team-teaching with Ally examines the various identities that shape our interactions with others and are shaped through these interactions.

Throughout the 2 years of data generation, I would regularly receive Messenger messages from Ally: 'CC, I need your help and expertise'; 'CC, I hate my colleagues right now'; 'You will never guess what happened'. There was an informality and everydayness about the interactions I had with Ally, enabled by the ethnographic approach to data generation in which I worked with and alongside participants for an extended period. Given the length and dialogic approach to data generation, the relationships that developed were not exclusively bound by the PhD study or the participant–researcher relationship. Although, as shown in the extract below, Ally was aware that the opportunity had arisen from the PhD study and that our interactions were generating data.

Similar to Rebecca, Ally positioned me as a mentor in our communications. I did not feel that Ally was seeking sympathy from these messages; rather, she was seeking a different or more experienced ear. During my visits to Ally's school and my observations of her in her classroom, she would often discuss her approach to classes, not to inform my research but to begin a discussion about her approach and ideas. For example, as we walked into the sunshine after the final class of my first observation day at Feathertop Secondary College, Ally remarked on the opportunity provided by me being there because 'no-one else' would constructively discuss her classes with her. Working with Ally in her school was another instance of a dialogic relationship in which we could discuss teaching beyond its everyday mundaneness. An example of this experience was Ally's reflection on a team-teaching experience in which I had joined her in her classroom to teach *Romeo and Juliet* to two Year 9 English classes. Below is an excerpt from a reflective email she sent me in which she discusses the various roles each of us developed and held across the research process:

Ceridwen was my tutor at university. For a very long time, I viewed her through a student–teacher relationship. When she asked me to be a participant in her PhD, I viewed our relationship through a participant–researcher relationship. It wasn't until Wednesday . . . did I realise that . . . our relationship had changed . . . We started teaching and the best way I could describe it is 'natural' . . . Whilst the overall lesson was a success, as a teacher I had a separate accomplishment. After . . . teaching with Ceridwen, I no longer view her with a student–teacher or participant–researcher lens. We are now colleagues.

Interestingly, in this piece of writing Ally refers to me in the third person, demonstrating her awareness that the purpose of the reflections she was writing was to generate data for the study. The writing is structured for an audience outside of us. In this extract, while Ally describes the identities we held across the years—I am represented by Ally as morphing from teacher to researcher to colleague—I understand the relationship between these identities slightly differently. She perceived our relationship and roles as progressing in a linear way across time. My sense is that our separate roles as student and teacher, participant and researcher and colleagues were not fixed in time and that we shuttled back and forth between these over the course of the research. This is consistent with Bakhtin's (1981) idea that individuals have various identities that are often in tension and always dynamic.

Hunter and Ally

Using the example of Hunter and Ally, I show how they drew from the examples of other professional communities based on dialogic interactions to create their own.

A year into the data generation, I received a message through Messenger from Ally and Hunter: ‘We are having our own jam tart story!’ In the follow-up conversation, they fondly recalled a story from their lecturer, Scott, who had taught the unit English Education in the Secondary Years B at Monash University. Scott had frequently recounted a story about his first year of teaching, during which he had met with a colleague from a different school every Friday after work for a jam tart and a catch up. Importantly, the focus of their conversation was on their developing practices. Ally and Hunter used this example to form their own ‘jam tart story’, although instead of jam tarts they ate *bao*, a popular Taiwanese steamed bun filled with meat and vegetables. The point of the story for Ally and Hunter, although they did not use these exact words, was the importance of reflexively and dialogically discussing their practices with each other and developing their sense of becoming English teachers together. They were participating in a set of professional practices—or at least ‘trying them on’ in a knowing way—that signalled their membership in a particular kind of professional community that they felt was valuable. While Ally and Hunter enjoyed catching up with other teachers, they wanted more. Hunter sought discussions beyond ‘complaining about students and work’, while Ally explained that ‘We want to continue to think about who we are as teachers’.

Inspired by Scott’s stories of weekly jam tart get-togethers and influenced by their participation in this PhD—a reflective and dialogic experience—they were creating their own reflexive and dialogic space together through living out their own ‘*bao* story’.

Dialogic focus groups

In this reflection on the focus groups, which were a method of data collection in this study, I examine the willingness of teachers, when provided with an appropriate opportunity, to engage in dialogic discussions with others about their work and their understandings of English as a subject.

I held three focus groups, each comprising three to four participants, in the first year of data generation (see section 5.4). My intent of the focus groups was to provide a space for teachers to connect and reflect as well as to generate data on specific issues about their work and experiences. As I recorded in my research journal after the first focus group, ‘The objective, for me . . . was to remove my agenda from the discussion. I am a co-constructor with them, but I wanted them to set the discussion, to author the moves’. This objective, on reflection, was never completely possible because the focus group was constructed for the purpose of gathering data for the PhD. However, the objective aligned with a research imperative of the study: to bring the voices of teachers alongside that of institutions. The focus group was an opportunity for participants to express their perspectives and engage in co-constructed meaning-making with other participants away from the bureaucratic structures of their schools. In schools, teachers often feel that professional development is linked to

meeting the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers and professional development programs are opportunities for the principal group to undertake surveillance of teachers and their work (Kostogriz, 2012) (see sections 6.2 and 7.2).

The focus groups often ran beyond the allocated 90 minutes because participants were reluctant to end their conversations with colleagues. Their eagerness spoke to their desire to share, build a network and make meaning together, even if it was only for a couple of hours. This is evidenced in my research journal, where I distinguish between my structuring of the first and second halves of the session. In the first half I led much of the discussion:

We sat around a large table sharing jam tarts, and they responded to the questions that I posed. While they responded to one another during this part of the session, there was a focus on responding to my prompts and also, possibly, getting to know one another. The second half of the session involved them getting out of their chairs and responding to two provocations from me on the whiteboard: ‘challenges, issues, problems’ and ‘success, achievements, moments of clarity’. Each had their own whiteboard marker with which to record their ideas.

As the second half of the sessions progressed, they began to build on each other’s comments, and the conversations moved from the whiteboard to gathering in twos or threes to discuss what was written. I stepped back and became an observer at this point, only occasionally making a comment or engaging in the discussion. These conversations were engaged and intense—and tiring. The recording of one of the focus groups captures snippets of conversation, usually short responses such as ‘That’s actually kind of unfair on you’, ‘It’s nice to know that’, ‘I know; it’s very exciting’; however, in general there is much over-talk or inaudible speech. This is because the process of reflection and meaning-making was messy, and the participants engaged in co-construction that did not always require fully formed thoughts. They were bringing their own lived experiences to the interactions (Bakhtin, 1981). My research journal records my experience of the first session as I observed participants:

There was good will amongst the participants. They were able to feed off each other, use someone else’s story to inform their own . . . The whiteboard comments were filled with reflections on classrooms, but even more on relationships. These relationships were often centred around the students. Getting [participants] out of their seats changed the energy in the room. They interacted with one another, they shared ideas and stories. This is going to be impossible to transcribe but was really useful for them and me. It highlighted how social teaching is, that becoming is individual, but it occurs in the social realm.

The whiteboards stretching across the length of one side of the room also reflected this messy process as participants engaged with each other's ideas, some of which were not fully formed (see Figure 9.1).

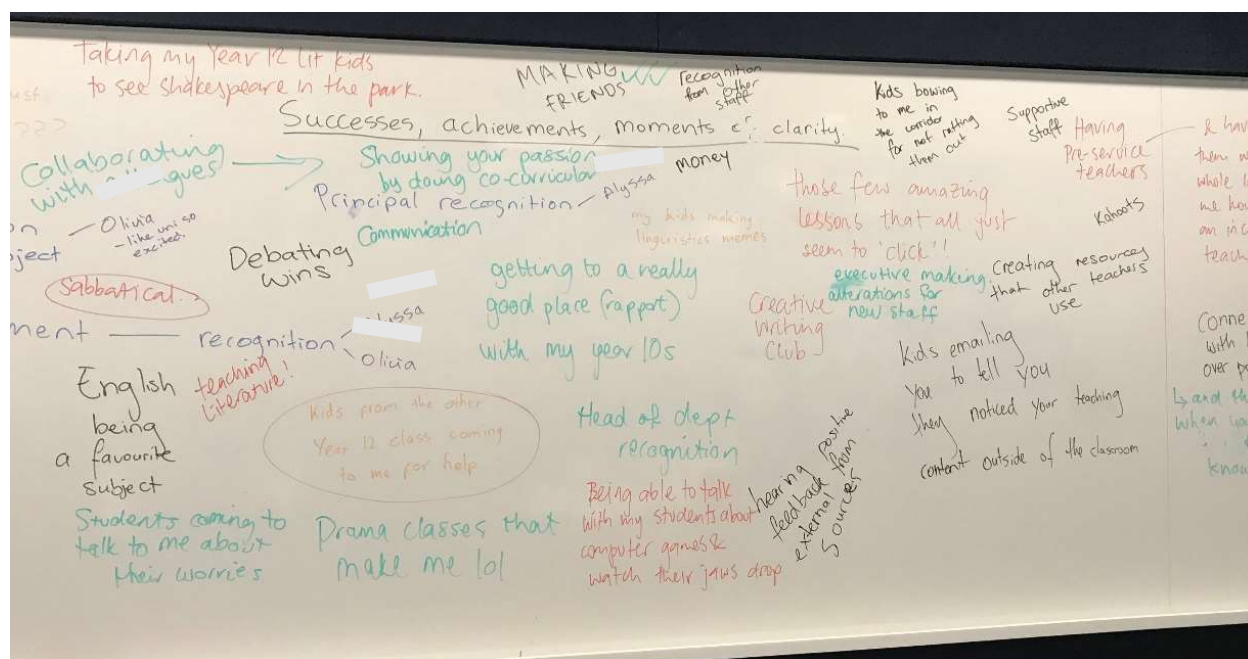


Figure 9.1. Focus group whiteboard.

Participants connected through adding to others' comments or using symbols such as ticks or circling to show agreement and support. For example, Kitty, responding to positive parts of her work, commented, 'connecting with kids over pop culture', while Cordelia ticked the comment and added, 'and their reactions when you let them explain their knowledge'.

The dialogue was not restricted to whiteboard notes, which led to verbal conversations as participants discussed their shared experiences. They shared perspectives on their work, and through this sharing they were able to engage in storying together (Benjamin, 2007). They leaned back against the table, whiteboard markers still in hand, and discussed their work, understandings, views, values and beliefs.

The success of these focus groups arose from the willingness of individual participants but was also due to the shared purpose and perspective of the collective. Participants understood that they were dialogically engaging in their work and the importance of reflecting with others, which had developed in their time at university and was developing through their engagement with me in the research process.

Dialogic Meaning-Making

The interactions outlined above illustrate the relationship between the chronotope of the meeting and dialogic engagement. It is when individuals are ‘at one and the same time . . . in one and the same place’ (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 97) that they are able to dialogically engage with others, both intellectually and emotionally. The chronotope of the meeting did not necessarily mean being in the same physical space, as shown in these examples, but also occurred through phone conversations, such as in the example of Tiffany (see section 7.2), or email, such as in the example of Charlotte (see section 7.1). It is in these meetings, Bulfin (2009) argues, that individuals undertake ‘identity work’ (p. 16) in which they engage with and negotiate others’ ideologies as well as their own. Identity work involves the becoming of the heteroglossic self, the ‘ever-shifting and emergent identity of individuals’ (Mockler, 2011, p. 125) or identities. Through their discussions with others, participants could consider the different identities they formed in their teaching practices in relation to others.

The ability to engage in this dialogic work was not a given. As Hunter and Ally identified in their *baos* story, they had to reconstruct the opportunity, which had not existed among their friendship group of fellow teachers. Their example, as well as the examples of larger groups presented in this thesis such as the focus group above and the EESY and English Education Praxis professional communities (see section 8.3), show that it is the intent of participants in forming the group, not the size or specific structure of the group, that enables the opportunity for dialogic discussions. The examples above and others presented in this thesis show the range of opportunities participants had to engage in identity work and becoming (Bakhtin, 1981) as they participated in various professional communities.

I highlight here three dimensions of these professional communities. First, in these communities there was less focus on what occurred, the particular events, and more focus on the negotiation process undertaken by individuals (Doecke, 2004). This included a consideration of themselves *and* others as well as *in* others (Kostogriz & Doecke, 2007). With respect to the ethics underpinning this study (see section 4.4), in designing and managing these dialogic discussions, I sought to create a process in which participants were both responsive and answerable. This involves the process of listening and being open to the other and responding to the other from a position of both commonality and difference. To listen and be open ‘is to be immersed in the discursive space where the self becomes responsive and answerable when face to face with alterity’ (Kostogriz & Doecke, 2007, p. 13). This approach of being answerable and responsive is part of dialogic ethics, which is a dimension of ideological becoming. Mahiri (2004) highlights this dialogic dimension of becoming in the discussion of a ‘conscious consideration’ (p. 223) of self and others. Answerability and responsiveness forms when professional communities are based on their members’ desires to engage in dialogic discussions and praxis (see section 3.2) by considering their views in relation to those of other members, the

institutions of their schools and government education policies such as curricula, reporting and assessment. There is an openness to share and alter one's ideology as new information is encountered.

Second, with respect to the professional communities discussed in this chapter and across the thesis, the underlying requirements for this conscious consideration and dialogic interaction are trust and equality. Because of the trust that developed between the participants and me and among the participants, they were able to discuss and work through their actions, views, values and ideas. They became members of a professional community and, as such, were willing to engage with and support each other. Part of this trust arose from the power balance among members. Each member held various positions—for example, I was a researcher, teacher educator and more experienced English teacher, while the participants were both research participants and early career English teachers—but these positions were not based on a hierarchy of knowledge, thus did not significantly manifest as a power imbalance. A willingness to come together as individuals and recognise differences rather than superiority or inferiority is important in the professional community. We all came with a desire to learn and engage in co-mentoring, which assisted in our ongoing dialogic discussions.

Third, there was a common ideology and objective across the members of the various professional communities. Netolicky (2020) observes that 'teacher collaborative learning is not a panacea, and scholars warn about collaboration that is forced, insincere, and performative, rather than substantial' (p. 49). She goes on to state that professional networks need to include a shared 'vision, purpose, and practice' (p. 48). Each of the participants voluntarily engaged in the PhD study and joined various networks that were developed especially for the study as well as those to which they were exposed via the study, including the focus groups and the Monash University EESY and English Education Praxis groups (see section 8.3). These communities were all underpinned by a common belief in the importance of developing a 'shared knowledge' (Ponte & Ax, 2011, p. 56). This study illustrates that shared knowledge is formed through the process of making connections between individual and collective knowledge, which is achieved through dialogic interaction and is part of ideological becoming.

The discussion above supports the findings in the education literature on dialogic professional communities (Doecke, 2004; Parr & Bulfin, 2015; Ponte & Ax, 2011; Whitney, 2008). Each of these examples illustrates a way in which these dialogic professional communities can be part of preservice and practising English teachers' work. Central to all of these accounts is the link between practising teachers and universities, either formally or informally, as academics find ways of using the university system to support the development of these communities. This suggests that part of the work with these communities is to continue the practices in which preservice teachers and academics engage during their university studies.

This section has outlined the benefits of professional communities for early career teachers. Leading on from this discussion, the final sections of this chapter demonstrate how the study extends the thinking and understanding about early career English teachers' work, experiences and becoming. I also outline the implications for early career teachers, the schools in which they work, the universities in which they learn and the government bodies that design and implement the policies that shape their learning and work.

9.3 Implications of the Study

Implications for Institutions (Schools and Universities)

Australian policy documents stipulate that graduate teachers must be 'classroom ready' after they finish their teacher education courses (TEMAG, 2014, p. ix). However, while the participants were all eager to begin their careers in teaching, they did not all feel classroom ready. This is a common experience for the majority of graduate teachers across the world (Mayer et al., 2017; Mockler, 2017). Rather, the participants felt that they were moving from the university educational context to learning on the job. They were prepared to continue their process of becoming English teachers when they started working in schools, believing that this was a continuation of the learning and development that had started during their teacher education programs rather than the end point. They felt that they could put into practice what they had learned at university in a way that was different from teaching rounds because they would have their own classrooms and primary responsibility for their students. This is consistent with the findings of a large-scale research project conducted in Australia about teacher education (Mayer et al., 2017). Thus, there is a place for universities to continue to work with and support teachers as they enter the teaching profession because teachers have not completed their learning by the end of their teaching degrees.

In this study, the nine graduate and early career English teachers maintained their engagement with professional communities connected to the university in which they undertook their studies. Once they entered the teaching workforce, they sought ongoing support, mentoring and praxis. They found their first 2 years challenging and were looking for a place in which they could dialogically engage in sustained discussions about their teaching, especially discussions that were grounded in theory. While many participants were provided with an official mentor teacher during their graduate year and found unofficial mentors as they developed relationships within their schools, they often found that the mentoring did not allow for the rich dialogic discussions about their teaching practices that they needed or had experienced during their teacher education. Rather, the focus in the official mentoring

relationships was on the everyday practicalities of the classroom or meeting standardised requirements, such as those in the VIT accreditation process. Participants felt that there were limited opportunities within schools for the type of genuine praxis they needed.

The accounts I have presented of the participants' experiences illustrate that an ongoing relationship with universities and colleagues may be highly beneficial for early career English teachers in developing their notions of English education. Through Monash University networks, the participants in this study found opportunities to continue to engage in praxis with professional colleagues and academics following the completion of their teaching degrees. The benefit of professional communities that bridge the gap between schools and universities was an explicit recommendation of a report examining teacher professional learning in Australia 12 years ago (Doecke et al., 2008). This recommendation highlights that through joint inquiry, academics and teachers are able to engage in 'sustained and systematic inquiry necessary to bring about change' (p. 262). The participants' experiences, and my own, affirmed this recommendation as we engaged in dialogic meaning-making as a professional community.

In schools, a recognition of the ongoing process of becoming an English teacher beyond their first year out of university would also greatly benefit graduate teachers. Many of the participants felt that the mentoring support of the school finished after their graduate year, but they found their second year equally if not more difficult than their first. As Hunter commented, there was 'an inevitability about the second year, a realisation that nothing was going to change'. Increasingly, the participants were looking for a place where they could work through issues and ideas about English teaching and their developing and changing sense of their own identities and practices. By recognising this need, schools and universities could develop additional opportunities for teachers to engage in this work. This would require a professional development approach that differs from the performative discourse of standards-based reforms (AITSL, 2011). With appropriate resourcing and support teacher education, at both the university and school level, has the potential to provide for some of the ongoing needs and support for graduate teachers.

Implications for Policy

Discussions about accountability and what it means for education and teachers are not new and can be found throughout the literature on teachers' experiences and becoming (see section 3.1 & 3.3). The argument is about how teacher development or, using the language of my study, teachers' becoming, is understood.

In Australian education policy, early career teachers must demonstrate that they have the required skills and knowledge to perform in a classroom (see section 1.2). The teaching performance assessment, for example, is a tool to assess preservice teachers' skills and knowledge as being classroom ready (AITSL, 2017). Similarly, in the VIT teacher registration process, graduates are only eligible for provisional registration until they can demonstrate they have met the 'proficient' level of its standards (Victorian Institute of Teaching, 2015). Moreover, AITSL's (2011) Australian Professional Standards for Teachers restricts teacher development to a linear process in which years of experience correlate with ability. The participants' experiences in this study illustrate that becoming is not linear, and development cannot be reduced to a standardised generic model. In a multitude of ways, their experiences as graduate and early career teachers did not align with the generic and linear construct of the Australian Professional Standards for Teachers.

For the participants, these policies and the ways in which they were implemented at their schools only exacerbated their feelings of being under constant surveillance (see sections 6.2 and 8.1). They felt that they had to continually prove themselves as teachers and were positioned as inferior to colleagues who had been teaching longer. Further, they believed that their colleagues and the language of policies positioned them as deficient and inexperienced, with little to offer. Many believed that their colleagues only valued years of experience. Overall, there was a strong sense that standards-based education policy in Australia, particularly AITSL's Australian Professional Standards for Teachers, did not position them as professionals, nor often did their principal teams, which were tasked to implement these policies. Rather, the participants felt there was an inherent distrust from schools and governments in their abilities. For some participants, the professional standards were an inconvenience because they did not view them as being relevant to their everyday work, but they all recognised that standards-based policies as a whole were detrimental to their process of becoming.

The argument here is not to remove accountability for graduate or early career teachers. None of the participants expressed the desire for a completely free rein over their work. Some even expressed the need for oversight measures, such as Hunter in reflecting on teaching Year 7 Empowering Literacy, a subject that did not have a set curriculum. Rather, they desired ways in which they could develop at schools that was different from conforming with generic standards or how well they were implementing the latest list of HITS initiatives (see section 1.2). They desired genuine accountability that enhanced their professionalism rather than accountability as oversight that may even be deprofessionalising (Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011).

To some degree, they were concerned that the AITSL professional standards and the HITS initiative were not appropriate for the English classroom because the success of the HITS initiative related to a growth in student achievement on measures such as tests. All participants discussed English skills that

were readily measurable, such as spelling, sentence structure and vocabulary, but they also discussed those that were less easy to measure, which included critical thinking, creativity and cooperatively engaging with others in the analysis of text and reflecting on self. These dimensions of learning are generally overlooked by the prevailing policy and pedagogical mandates. Participants understood the necessity of building relationships with students for the successful teaching and learning of English, which is not a dimension that can be measured.

Ironically, the frustration that the participants felt towards the high-impact (Department of Education and Training Victoria, 2019, para. 1) approach to measuring teacher development nestled in recent policy and government initiatives was addressed almost two decades ago in the STELLA project (see section 8.3). The development of the STELLA standards for English language and literacy teaching in Australia took place following negotiations between teacher educators, professional associations and teachers across the country. It appreciated the importance of the situated, localised and individual development of English teachers in all their diversity (Doecke & Gill, 2001). The STELLA project was also developed by experts in English education, thus included specifics about English teaching and learning. These discipline-based specifics have remained important in the stories and analyses presented through this thesis. The implication for policy is to affirm the importance of accountability as it relates to diverse teachers within particular subject areas, where the current professional standards seem incapable of reflecting the ongoing, dialogic, reflective and subject-specific development demonstrated by the graduate and early career English teachers in this study.

Implications for Early Career English Teachers

The thesis has shown that the experiences of the nine early career English teacher participants were difficult and confronting but also challenging and rewarding. The experience of becoming varied widely across the participants. It was largely a process that was localised and subjective. The participants' becoming involved negotiating their unique heteroglossic selves within the heteroglossic contexts of their schools and schooling more generally (Bakhtin, 1981). It was deeply mediated by education discourses, school contexts, relationships and identities (Parr et al., 2020). Common across the participants' experiences was a desire and need for reflection and dialogue. Given the collaborative nature of becoming (Bakhtin, 1981), a sense of professional community, both in and outside of the school context, was important for all participants.

Within these various professional communities, the participants sought engagement with like-minded professionals. They were not seeking to 'talk shop' with teachers who held exactly the same views but appreciated that their interlocutors came from a complementary ideological perspective. Outside of schools, these professional communities included casual groups of friends with whom they could

share their everyday experiences as well as more structured communities focused on dialogically engaging in the process of becoming (Doecke, 2004) (see Chapter 8 and section 9.1). These communities were formed by individuals, in the case of Ally and Hunter and their *bao* story, or by participants joining pre-existing networks, such as those at Monash University. The participants' involvement with these communities arose from their connections at university, which suggests the need for preservice teachers to be active in seeking or forming these communities prior to completing their university degrees and reinforces the need for universities to develop and sustain such communities.

Implications for Further Research

The central thread throughout this thesis and my focus in conducting the research is the use of stories in meaning-making and becoming. It was through co-constructed meaning-making that I engaged in becoming with and alongside my participants. My story is embedded in theirs across the thesis. Here, I briefly consider the role of storying in the research process for both the participants and me, where my experience as the researcher is intentionally included in developing an understanding of the experience of participants.

Each of the theorists adopted for this study argue for the importance of storying. De Certeau (1984) argues that through storying, individuals are engaging in a process of meaning-making about their actions, which informs their experiences. He writes, 'The story does not express a practice. It does not limit itself to telling about a movement. It *makes* it' (p. 81). Benjamin (2007) also advocates for the role of stories in meaning-making, determining that stories are an individual's way to limit the narratives of authorities because, through stories, individuals form their own narratives. Bakhtin (1981) discusses the role of storying in becoming—through dialogue and stories, individuals engage with '*actual meaning*' rather than '*neutral signification*' (p. 281). From the Bakhtinian perspective, stories are formed through dialogic discourses in the everyday and, drawing on various other discourses, individuals find '*ever newer ways to mean*' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 346).

The central theme linking these theorists is the importance of listening to individuals' voices as we seek to better understand society, or in this case teaching and learning, and the systems and institutions of schooling. This PhD study was a platform upon which the voices of teachers could be heard in recognition of the need for teachers to take their place in narratives about education. Through their narratives, the participants were able to navigate and negotiate their experiences in schools with a level of agency not available by simply aligning their actions with school and government policies and objectives.

The study illustrates that stories and storying can provide a space for discourse within the cacophony of education discourses imposed on teachers by various systems and authorities about their work and development. It enables them to appreciate and build their agency and take more control of their understandings, work, identity and becoming. The purpose of this process of storying is not simply to oppose the agendas or ideologies of schools and governments, although they might; rather, the aim is to develop a narrative that incorporates teachers' perspectives. The process of storying, therefore, can be seen as a powerful way for early career English teachers to engage in their work and find meaning within a standards-based reform agenda that attempts to dictate how and why to teach and how they should measure their achievements.

In this way, the storying in which the participants and I engaged contributed to our becoming. This was due to the joint agenda in which we came together not only to report on the experience of teaching but to develop our understandings. Doecke (2004) explains that the reporting of 'what actually happened' is the 'less interesting' (p. 208) component of reflection. The interesting part is the discussion and analysis of individuals' "opinions", "points of view" and "value judgements" within a noisy discursive field that is filled with conflicting voices' (p. 208) (see section 4.3). Here, Doecke (2004) is discussing the value of dialogic discussions in understanding experience. He also notes the effect that his discussions with participants had on his becoming. His dialogic interactions with his participants challenged him to 'find new ways of understanding and talking about [his] work' (p. 203).

In undertaking this research, I regularly found myself considering my opinions, points of view and value judgements. I was aware of the value of the research process on my own becoming. Therefore, undertaking research significantly affects the researcher as well as the participants. This should be an explicit dimension of the research process as well as how researchers write and talk about research.

9.4 Final Comments

As I approach the end of this 4-year-long PhD journey, I want to return one last time to Doecke (2004) and his discussion of his role as an English teacher educator in a preservice teacher education program: 'I see myself as inducting my students into a professional community that involves dialogue and debate, as its members collectively endeavour to understand the complexities of their professional lives' (p. 207). Doecke recognises the contribution of professional communities to the education of preservice English teachers in developing a dialogic practice and a complicated understanding of their work.

Throughout this thesis and within the praxis-based literature (Doecke, 2004; Doecke & Parr, 2011; Parr et al., 2020; Pereira & Doecke, 2016; Smith & Wrigley, 2012; Whitney, 2008), there are numerous examples of the success of professional communities in supporting English teachers through dialogic discourse on the process of teaching and learning, what it is to be an English teacher and ideas about English as a subject. The communities to which I have drawn attention in this PhD study were not framed by government policies and initiatives such as the AITSL professional standards for teachers, HITS, the Victorian Teaching and Learning Model or the Framework for Improving Student Outcomes (see section 1.2). They were not about surveillance or reductive deprofessionalising forms of accountability. Rather, the focus was on the relational and ethical work of teachers. These communities were about nurturing and promoting the identity work that informs teachers' becoming. They were about enabling graduate and early career English teachers to develop agency, identity and knowledge in the context of a challenging and constantly changing world of work.

I trust that this study will serve to remind all stakeholders in the field of education, including schools, universities, governments and professional associations, of their responsibility to create and sustain such communities to support the ongoing development and becoming of graduate and early career English teachers. This will help those teachers to richly engage in the relational, affective, difficult and ethical work of becoming. As professionals charged with the responsibility of educating a diverse range of young people, our graduate and early career English teachers deserve nothing less.

Appendix A Interview themes (semi-structured interviews and focus groups)

Semi-structured interview – themes for discussion

Your school experience:

- Classes
- Staffrooms
- Colleagues
- Location of the school

Expectations:

- Before you began
- How these have shifted

Work:

- The routines of the school day
- Communication with colleagues, students, families. What are the processes?

First focus groups

Themes:

- Learn about each other's everyday work. What are the similarities, the differences and the complexities?
- What do you value? What is important in your everyday work? Moments that have made you realise the work you do is important.
- What are the challenges in your work? What are the factors that restrict you doing valuable work? How do they deal with those?

Structure

- Sitting around the table for introductions. Prompts if required:
 - o What is your school context? Classes, staffroom, etc.
 - o Thinking back over term one what were the issues and challenges that were the most difficult, caused most anxiety.
- Provide whiteboard markers have them respond to the following:
 - o Challenges, issues and problems
 - o Successes, moments of confidence

Second focus groups

Central participants:

- Learn about each other's everyday work. What are the similarities, the differences and the complexities?
- Discuss the process of reflection/professional development they have engaged in across the research period – their views, feelings and goals.
- Discuss their experience of working with me in their schools.

Peripheral participants:

- Reflecting on their first year of teaching, using similar questions as first focus group:
 - o Learn about each other's everyday work. What are the similarities, the differences and the complexities?
 - o What do you value? What is important in your everyday work? Moments that have made you realise the work you do is important.
 - o What are the challenges in your work? What are the factors that restrict you doing valuable work? How do they deal with those?

Appendix B Extract from interview transcript

CO: Tell me something about, that describes the school. Just something about the everydayness.	
A: The everydayness. So, demographics wise, what is interesting with this specific school is at my placement in [] High School it was a very aged teacher population. You could tell that most of the teachers are probably about 50, they have been teaching for 40 or 50 years themselves and you know, they have been there for ages, and they have grown up with the school environment essentially.	University – placement
CO: And you struggled with that didn't you.	
A: I did, it was a big culture shock for me because the teachers, I think the best way to describe it, is you know they talk about school culture? Until you see a school that has a completely different one, you don't understand. Being there for two weeks isn't really enough, you need to be there for at least a month. And I think what happened at [] that really got to me was that the teacher culture was so undesirable that it impacted the classroom and the environment.	School culture
CO: Now we've talked about, I've heard you talk about this before.	
A: Yeah.	
CO: Could you try and summarise what you mean by undesirable?	
A: So, what happens essentially was that I lot of teachers that go there do not want to be there. Essentially, you have teachers coming in five minutes before the school bell and they will leave on the dot. There's no kind've, you know staff gatherings. You know, at Feathertop every single Friday they are having after hour drinks where the whole school is essentially there. But, at [] the moment the bell went, everyone was gone.	Teacher identity
CO: So there was a real lack of communication between staff?	School/staff culture
A: There was, and what it kind of appeared to be was that a lot of the kids picked up on this and then a lot of the kids started reflecting their teachers behaviour and the teachers were getting more agitated about it. But, the best way to describe it was that it was a very undesirable culture that when people went in you wanted to leave straight away. And I found out that there were three graduates that got into [] when I started placement and they have all left. All the graduates have gone.	School culture
CO: Now, you have a different experience with your mentor there.	Early-career teacher attrition
A: Yeah, my mentor on the other hand was the exact opposite.	Mentor
CO: Now, what was his name?	
A: Roger	
CO: There it is.	
A: So, Roger was, oh he, I probably learned the most from him essentially. Very old school and what he taught me was, not so much the content. He was like, you will learn the content through uni and the content was fine. It's more relationship building. And I think that was what I got out of the school, that if you don't have a good relationship with your kids it's just going to fall to pieces. And, you know, I could look around me and just see it. And it was a constant reminder of this is not what I want to do, this is not what I want to be at. And, it took a lot of times where I had to question myself, it was like, 'why am I, why am I doing this as a teacher?'. And I think, the moment it changed is when I had two parents of the class that I taught email the school. And saying they were very happy with me teaching their students, to teach their kids and they were very grateful for it. And at parent teacher interviews I was there observing and they came and gave me a hug and they were like, 'thank you so much for everything that you have done.'	University Teaching approach
	Teacher identity Reflection Co-construction

Appendix C Extract from research journal

7 April 2018 – Hunter

Hunter is an interesting case as he is working at a school where he has previously worked in the role of teacher support (he mentioned the correct term in his interview). This means that he already has knowledge of the culture and context. This prior experience has influenced the classes that he is taking this year. While he has VCE English Language his other two classes, Year 7 and 10, are the weak English groups that are not bound to the curriculum. This has presented some unique challenges for Hunter:

- Planning curriculum on his own (though he does team teach in Year 7) and not having a curriculum document to align with (subjects do not link to Vic Curriculum).
- Not having the support network of teachers working and collaborating – only he takes Year 10 and only one other person takes Year 7.
- These classes are very challenging because of the students in the class and the stigma around these classes.

He spent a lot of time speaking about his Year 10 class, his most difficult. He has set up a number of strategies to deal with this class but this is an ongoing struggle. He mentioned how he is questioning some of the approaches he has had with them, and wants to reach out for advice on what to do.

Because of his prior experience the school is treating him as a graduate teacher but also an experienced teacher. For instance, while he has a mentor this is a second-year grad rather than a more experienced teacher that other grads have. He is not concerned by this, however, as he works really well with his mentor.

He believes that the school, due to his unique position of already being known, is giving him agency in the school. An example is giving him two classes that are not monitored. He likes this but also has issues, particularly with not having anyone to check in with or checking him.

24 April 2018 – Charlotte

Today was a completely different interview to anything I have previously done. We storied together, we shared experiences, we constructed meaning and we critically reflected.

How does what happened today impact my study? How does it relate to the others? Is there a way to use Charlotte differently in this work?

Today was not a structured interview, it is what I imagine this work could be, once relationships have developed. Charlotte understands the theory as well as the practice. We weaved through different experiences, readings, people. It is going to be a struggle to figure out how to work with Charlotte in some ways because it is different. I am still the researcher, that was clear today but I am not completely sure how that works. Maybe the way I controlled the conversation even though I shared a lot of me. Maybe, in the foundations of the interview - I spoke of Walter Benjamin and his idea of experience and stories, I spoke of Bakhtin (which is interesting considering I have not written about him in my work yet, I guess I know she understands him). The role of researcher is different. In the other interviews I felt like I was guiding and directing, there was a sense of researcher and participant, as well as friend, past teacher, etc. With Charlotte the role was different. I did not need to direct in the same way because she naturally delved into stories. And I was happy to go with her, rather than pulling back to the interview topics. I felt, conducting this interview, that we were delving into her everyday reality.

Appendix D Extract from fieldnotes (transcribed from handwritten notebooks)

As we arrive to the classroom Sarah is waiting at the door, red headphones on (these will remain on for the entire class). Hunter asks how she is, her response, 'Haven't you heard?'. Hunter is confused, is there something he should know about? There was an earthquake in California and Sarah's grandmother wasn't picking up the phone, she is fine but it gave Sarah a scare. Hunter acts engaged, shows concern, as he opens the classroom door and heads to the front of the room, weaving through the disorganised tables and chairs. Sarah sits at the table near the door, her mobile next to her with the headphones plugged in, her laptop and 'The Cursed Child'.

Three boys enter: John, Hamish and Mario. They sit below the windows, near the front. At first I am surprised that they are willing to be at the front of the room, usually the position of 'good students', but I soon discover this class is different, normal rules of how classrooms run do not apply - and there is a PowerPoint. Hunter speaks to Nick, the need for the blinds to be open, 'You know how I feel about natural light'. Hunter moves around the room, chatting a little to the students, but mostly rearranging the disorganised tables. The tables vary in colour - blue, red, yellow and green - the only colour in an otherwise drab classroom. They are crescent moon shaped. I help to set the room how Hunter prefers, 'I like groups of four' - though, he has to show me how they fit. The chairs, black, are cheap plastic. They are the same that appear across the school (including around the lunch table in Hunter's office), though they vary in colour in this classroom, from the blue I have seen before.

...

Hunter inquires about three students that have not arrived, even though they are here, but then sees them walking to the class through the window. As they enter they are questioned about why they are late - wrong classroom. Hunter's body language is slightly uptight, he is a little tense and his conversations with the students is slightly jolted. My presence?

Opposing the requirements of the 'do now' activity of writing, Hunter directs the class to the prompt - what predictions could they make for their week. He addresses each one, marking their attendance on the role at the same time. The first, Mario - 'I don't like making predictions'. This is a common theme, that, or the misunderstanding of what predictions are. The activity is awkward because of this resistance, but also the presence of me in the classroom, Hunter obviously senses my presence. When Hunter is not directly speaking to a student they continue with their activities - watching a football match, playing on their phone, chatting, listening to music. Hunter does not call them on these activities. I am surprised when I do not question this. Is it the trust I have in Hunter as a teacher? Is it because I have a sense of the students in this class? Is it because it reminds me of my own classes, a Year 9 'Bridging English' class. The need to stay focused on what is important for the students. And that what is important to them can look very different to what is 'expected' of student and teacher behaviour.

Hunter quickly moves the class to an episode of 'Explained', a series that is often viewed in the class, as part of an ongoing activity where the students are creating their own. Horoscopes is the topic. After the bringing down of blinds, and a few minutes settling the class, Hunter begins the video. There is limited attention from the group, and after a few minutes Hunter, who has moved to stand behind Ben, Luca and Christian (possibly the hardest students in the class), turns it off. He has read the room well - these students are disengaged.

As the blinds open Mario is the first to comment - "this was made by people that are really smart ... it's for them".

Terry is right behind his friend - "most boring thing I've ever seen".

Hunter tries to engage them in discussion about this. I can see the way he tries to shift the dialogue so it isn't a question of smart. This is something he confronts regularly.

Appendix E Extract from shared reflective writing

Space Vignette

~~I find the concept of space really interesting, especially when you see how people use it for power.~~

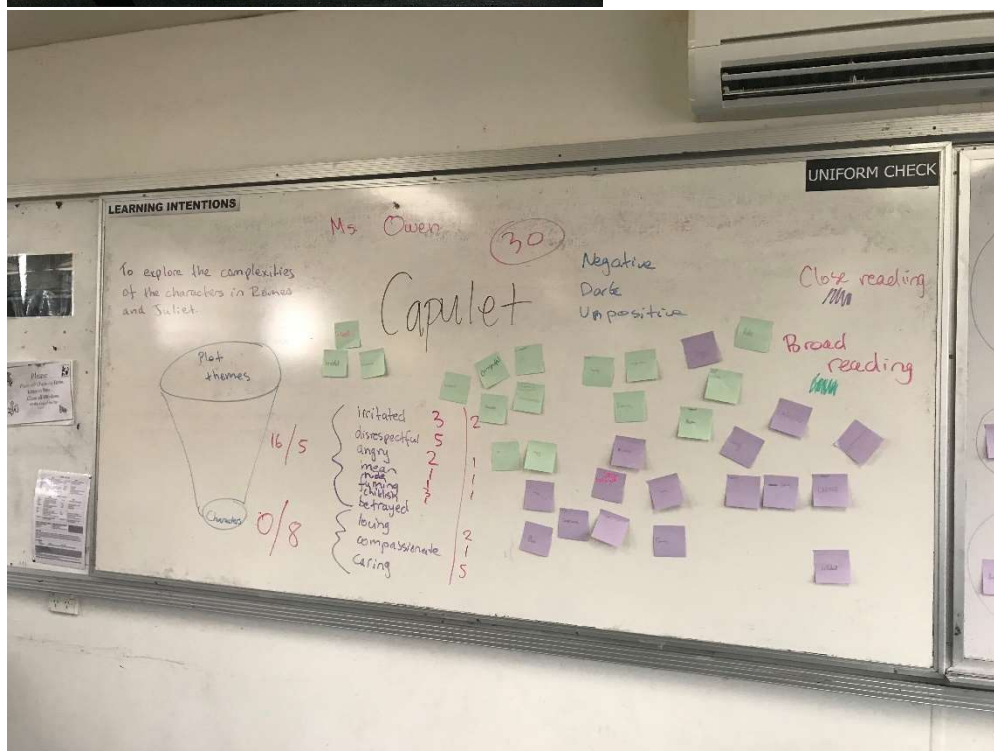
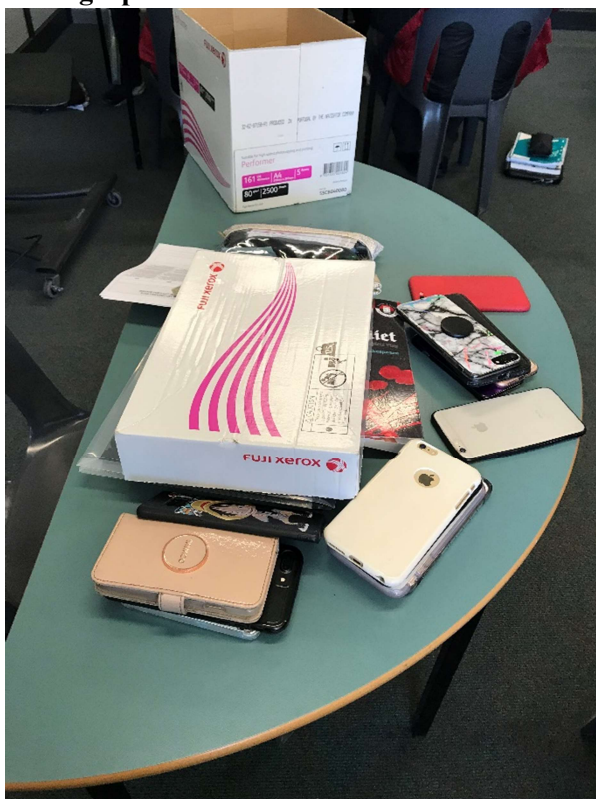
Spaces can make people feel successful and accomplished, such as the McMansion you and your wife have just built in a distant, developing suburb. They can make you feel empowered to pursue academic excellence even when there isn't any real need to, like my university's library. However, they can also make people feel very small. Melbourne's St. Patrick's Cathedral, where, ~~as a student I was made to attend my schools -my schools-my school had their~~ inaugural mass, had me fearing that a single sin would bring the tall church spires crashing on top of us.

~~Amongst the learning curve of my first year of teaching there was a recurring experience that took me back to feelings of inferiority and smallness. Our school divides English meetings into year levels, with each having a team leader. Walking into the Year 9 meetings I saw a team that was disparate, unwilling to work with one another, and a lack of energy around the teaching of Year 9 English. The team needed a leader to bring vitality back, but nobody was interested. And it was this feeling of inferiority and smallness that made a reappearance during my first year of Year 9 English team meetings. Put simply, the team was a mess. No one was interested in leading the Year 9 team and so~~ the responsibility fell to an incompetent member of staff who had no desire to improve the Year 9 English curriculum. The team was very difficult to deal with and reluctant to negotiate. It was comprised of jealous zealots, frustrated stalwarts and silent witnesses. A perfect storm, in many ways. We all shared one large office, but its rabbit warren layout meant there was reprieve from group interactions|

Team meetings were typically held in ~~adjacent rooms connect to~~ the library ~~-in either room-~~ L01 or L02. ~~The main room of the~~ Our library ~~is designed to be~~ ~~should be~~ conducive to productivity and calm. The space has high ceilings, good lighting, nice acoustics and air conditioning, ~~the Cinderella of learning spaces serviced by Goldilocks herself.~~ It has everything going for it. ~~L01 and L02~~ However, L01 and L02 ~~pales in comparison to the main library space. They~~ are the ugly step-sisters ~~of space!~~. ~~For a start,~~ L01, the better of the two spaces, feels like a glass cage devoid of any sound. It is too quiet and too shut off from the outside world, ~~it feels isolated and~~

Appendix F Examples of artefacts and document collection

Photographs from observation



Examples of Lesson Summaries sent to students (Ally)



Good afternoon Eagles,

Right now, I am at Parliament House (the supreme law-making body). I'm here as a fellow Eagle is participating in a mock United Nations Assembly. She's representing Cuba and is currently not saying much as China told her not to.

Also, a student approached me and asked if I was in Year 11 or 12. I Obviously said 10.

As you can see from the image above, what makes Parliament House stunning is the preserved architecture in the building. It's elegant yet very fitting. It's everything that you would find on an Instagram page that prides itself on "elegance"

Friday the 27th of April

In this lesson, we started the new area of study; Civil Liability. In this domain, we will be focusing on the elements of civil law and looking into the reasons as to **why** civil law exists and how it benefits society.

We looked at the purposes of civil law:

- Achieves social cohesion
- Protects the rights of individuals
- Provides an avenue for people to seek compensation
- Provides a means to seek compensation

Appendix G Analysis examples

Thematic analysis

Hunter					Categories			
Interview 10 April 2018					Out of school relationships and networks			
Theme	Location				Identity			
Out of school support/networks	pp. 29-32				Institutions			
Digital technology	p. 32	p. 33	p. 34	p. 36	Relationships in school			
Parents					Ways of using			
Identity - English teacher	p. 19	p. 37						
Identity - youth/grad	p. 38							
Subject English (likes/dislikes)								
Defining/philosophy English/descriptions of English lessons	p. 35	p. 36	p. 37					
Metalanguage								
Becoming/struggle with	p. 1	p. 6, 8	p. 12	p. 38				
Relationships students/education philosophy	p. 8	p. 9	p. 11	p. 13	p. 15	p. 17	p. 18	p. 19
Uni and transition to schools	p. 4	p. 5	p. 13	p. 20 (22)				
Bureaucracy - positives and negatives	pp. 1-3	p. 8-9	p. 10	p. 11	p. 16	p. 18	p. 20	pp. 25-27
Ways of using/agency	p. 1	p. 3	p. 14	p. 16	p. 17	p. 28	p. 33	
Contract								
Out of school influence - personal life								
Motivation								
Storying together	p. 32							
Relationships - staff	p. 9	p. 14	p. 17	p. 19	p. 20	p. 23	pp. 25-28	p. 28
Year level differences/class	p. 17	p. 19						
School culture	p. 2, 3	p. 24	p. 29	p. 31	p. 37			
Space	p. 20	p. 24	p. 29					
VIT	pp. 3-4							
PD	p. 24							

Yellow highlight = Critical moment

Narrative analysis

Narrative analysis involved making sense of the themes from the thematic analysis through the situated stories of participants. This is a section of the narrative analysis for Hunter based on the above themes.

The overall impression that comes from Hunter's data is that he is acutely aware of the heteroglossic context in which he works. The different discourses that he is exposed to are regularly referred to by Hunter, and as he discusses them he also includes how he is thinking about these. Often there is judgement for those discourses that he does not agree with, though that judgement, in relation to people, changed over time, as his experience and outlook changed. Hunter also presents an heteroglossic self. I do not know how aware he is of the tension within his own ideology, though I suspect there is some awareness of the seemingly contradictory notions that he holds. There is a tension between the need for support, but difficulty in the controlling elements of his school and policy. There is tension with his relationships with colleagues between his self-imposed isolation because he does not agree or like their negativity, and his own negativity, which brings understanding towards the staff. The first thing I want to do is map the various discourses that Hunter discusses, as well as his own different-speechness. In doing so, I also want to date when these discourses are discussed to see if there is change over time.

In the April 2018 interview Hunter discusses the continual turnover of initiatives at Wellington with clarity and disinterested. He sees these changes as an inconvenience but not something that will overly impact his teaching or experience. He discusses with a sense of authority, linked to his previous experience as a teacher's aid in the school. He is actively pushing against the image of the naïve graduate that does not understand how things really work – “they come up with these new initiatives, like I have been there for three years so I see how they like to find something that's like the theme for the year or whatever. They work on it a bit and then they find a new thing for the next year” (p. 1). This cynicism is raised throughout our first interview – using scare quotes when referring to the names of initiative, or the latest jargon for improving teaching and learning. He describes the school's focus on the four C's (creativity, collaboration, critical thinking and contemporary learning) as “sort of just empty” (p. 2). He views the discourse of his school as bureaucratic hoop jumping. He does not exclude the possible benefits of the initiatives, but rather considers these benefits hampered by the speed in which the initiatives change, and the accountability measures that go along with the initiatives. The initiatives do not appear to be genuine attempts to improve teaching and learning, but rather the schools attempt to align with the Department of Education guidelines – to be a “model school” (p. 2). Importance for the leadership team is image, reputation and enrolments.

The collective voice of the teachers is often referred to by Hunter in this first interview – “we are all thinking” (p. 3). He is aligning with the collective teacher force and discourse – “I think a lot of teachers, and me to, think of it more like, oh we need more technology things, so instead of writing things we will do it on Google docs and that's 21st Century learning” (p. 3). The collective discourse of teachers, which Hunter sometimes aligns with, is that they will do what is necessary to align with initiatives/policies but no more. They are not taking them and using them in any meaningful way – “their collaborating by all typing on the one document, done! PDP goal ticked” (p. 3).

Another group Hunter aligns with is those undertaking the VIT – “I think we start the VIT process next term” (p. 4), “there's 14 of us doing VIT this year” (p. 4). Not all of these teachers are graduates, some have come from other schools, etc. but all are undertaking the process and this makes them a collective in Hunter's eyes. In terms of being a graduate Hunter does not align with others – “there is me and one other grad” (p. 4) – this is the only time that Hunter mentions the other graduate. He views himself, as a graduate, as singular, not as part of a group.

A point of tension for Hunter is the discourse he hears from the school about him. He feels the school has confidence in him, hence they gave him EL, as well as Year 10 Effective English and Year 7 Empowering English, and enabled him to be the Head of Empowering Literacy, but he also feels a lack of trust and confidence through the accountability measures and the limited use of Compass. Here, he personally responds to school wide policies – mistrust in teachers is a mistrust in him. The following is an example of this tension: “They have like a mentor, I have a mentor. Um, for the really new staff they made sure that it's like a really experienced person but they were like, ‘O, Hunter knows the school, we will give him last year's graduate as a mentor’ (laughs)” (I, p. 4).

Appendix H Human ethics approval



Human Ethics Certificate of Approval

This is to certify that the project below was considered by the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee. The Committee was satisfied that the proposal meets the requirements of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* and has granted approval.

Project Number: CF15/1223 - 2015000571

Project Title: Understanding teachers' professional identity: Mapping the development of secondary school practising teachers' literacy identity.

Chief Investigator: Dr Graham Parr

Approved: From: 29 April 2015 To: 29 April 2020

Terms of approval - Failure to comply with the terms below is in breach of your approval and the Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research.

1. The Chief investigator is responsible for ensuring that permission letters are obtained, if relevant, before any data collection can occur at the specified organisation.
2. Approval is only valid whilst you hold a position at Monash University.
3. It is the responsibility of the Chief Investigator to ensure that all investigators are aware of the terms of approval and to ensure the project is conducted as approved by MUHREC.
4. You should notify MUHREC immediately of any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants or unforeseen events affecting the ethical acceptability of the project.
5. The Explanatory Statement must be on Monash University letterhead and the Monash University complaints clause must include your project number.
6. Amendments to the approved project (including changes in personnel): Require the submission of a Request for Amendment form to MUHREC and must not begin without written approval from MUHREC. Substantial variations may require a new application.
7. Future correspondence: Please quote the project number and project title above in any further correspondence.
8. Annual reports: Continued approval of this project is dependent on the submission of an Annual Report. This is determined by the date of your letter of approval.
9. Final report: A Final Report should be provided at the conclusion of the project. MUHREC should be notified if the project is discontinued before the expected date of completion.
10. Monitoring: Projects may be subject to an audit or any other form of monitoring by MUHREC at any time.
11. Retention and storage of data: The Chief Investigator is responsible for the storage and retention of original data pertaining to a project for a minimum period of five years.

Professor Nip Thomson
Chair, MUHREC

cc: Mrs Ceridwen Owen

Monash University, Room 111, Chancellery Building E
24 Sports Walk, Clayton Campus, Wellington Rd
Clayton VIC 3800, Australia
Telephone: +61 3 9905 5490 Facsimile: +61 3 9905 3831
Email: muhrec@monash.edu <http://intranet.monash.edu.au/researchadmin/human/index.php>
ABN 12 377 614 012 CRICOS Provider #00008C



Department of
Education & Training

2 Treasury Place
East Melbourne Victoria 3002
Telephone: 03 9637 2000
DX210083

2018_003662

Ms Ceridwen Owen
102 Glenvale Road
RINGWOOD NORTH 3134

Dear Ms Owen

Thank you for your application of 13 March 2018 in which you request permission to conduct research in Victorian government schools titled *Early career English teachers at work: Exploring everyday professional practice*.

I am pleased to advise that on the basis of the information you have provided your research proposal is approved in principle subject to the conditions detailed below.

1. Department approved research projects currently undergoing a Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) review are required to provide the Department with evidence of the HREC approval once complete.
2. The research is conducted in accordance with the final documentation you provided to the Department of Education and Training.
3. Separate approval for the research needs to be sought from school principals. This is to be supported by the Department of Education and Training approved documentation and, if applicable, the letter of approval from a relevant and formally constituted Human Research Ethics Committee.
4. The project is commenced within 12 months of this approval letter and any extensions or variations to your study, including those requested by an ethics committee must be submitted to the Department of Education and Training for its consideration before you proceed.
5. As a matter of courtesy, you advise the relevant Regional Director of the schools that you intend to approach. An outline of your research and a copy of this letter should be provided to the Regional Director or governing body.
6. You acknowledge the support of the Department of Education Training in any publications arising from the research.

7. The Research Agreement conditions, which include the reporting requirements at the conclusion of your study, are upheld. A reminder will be sent for reports not submitted by the study's indicative completion date.

I wish you well with your research. Should you have further questions on this matter, please contact Youla Michaels, Project Support Officer, Insights and Evidence Branch, by telephone on (03) 7022 0306 or by email at michaels.youla.y@edumail.vic.gov.au.

Yours sincerely /

Zoran Endekov
A/Strategic Research Manager
Insights and Evidence

4/05/2018

Appendix I Example explanatory statement and consent forms

Explanatory statement for early-career English teachers and schools

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT Early career English secondary school teacher

Project: Early career English teachers at work: Exploring everyday professional practice

Chief Investigator: Dr. Scott Bulfin	Co-Investigator: Dr. Fleur Diamond	Student: Ceridwen Owen
Faculty of Education	Faculty of Education	Doctorate of Philosophy
Phone: +61	Email:	Phone: +61
Email:	fleur.diamond@monash.edu	Email:
scott.bulfin@monash.edu		Ceridwen.owen@monash.edu

You are invited to take part in this study. Please read this Explanatory Statement in full before deciding whether or not to participate in this research. If you would like further information regarding any aspect of this project, you are encouraged to contact the researchers via the phone numbers or email addresses listed above.

My name is Ceridwen Owen and I am conducting a research project with Dr. Scott Bulfin and Dr. Fleur Diamond, lecturers in the Faculty of Education at Monash University, towards a Doctorate of Philosophy. We are conducting a research project which investigates the everyday work of early career English teachers. The aim of the research is to develop an account of how early career English teachers' work is shaped by both current education policies and local school contexts.

What does the research involve?

The study involves participating in interviews, focus groups, the collection of online data and having a researcher visit your school and classroom to understand how you work. This will occur across a one year period. You will be involved in two interviews of approximately one hour each. You will be involved in two focus groups with 2-4 other early career English teachers. The interviews and focus groups will be audio recorded and transcribed. You will also be asked to have a researcher observe your working day. During these workplace visits the researcher will take photographs. These photographs will be non-identifiable. The interviews and focus groups will be conducted at a time and place suitable for you. The observation phases will be conducted at a time suitable for you within your workplace. The research will collect your online data/interactions that relate to your work as a teacher, such as Twitter and Facebook posts and emails.

Why were you chosen for this research?

You have been selected because you responded to a social media or VATE advertisement.

Consenting to participate in the project and withdrawing from the research

By signing and returning the consent form you are agreeing to participate in the study, as outlined in this Explanatory Statement. Due to the voluntary nature of this study you are under no obligation to consent to participate. There is also no payment or reward offered, financial or otherwise, for participating in this research. If you do consent to participate, you may withdraw at any time. Once you have chosen to participate you can withdraw from further participation up until the end of the data collection phase. If you choose to withdraw all data recorded will be deleted, unless agreed otherwise.

Possible benefits and risks to participants

We anticipate that there will be no inconvenience and/or discomfort for you outside of what you might normally expect in everyday life. If you are concerned or worried about anything to do with the research, counselling services can be recommended for you.

Confidentiality

To protect your confidentiality and anonymity the information gathered during the interviews, focus group and observation will be stored securely and only the researchers will have access to it. No publication will use your name or other details that could be used to identify you. A pseudonym, false name, will be used in all publications, including my thesis, research publications and oral presentations at conferences.

Storage of data

If you grant permission the data collected for this study will be kept for future research. Only aggregate de-identified data will be used for other projects. If permission is not granted, the data will be kept for five years in a secure location, before being destroyed (shredded for hard copy, and wiped from hard drives for electronic data).

Results

If you would like to be informed of the aggregate research findings, please contact Ceridwen Owen on ceridwen.owen1@monash.edu.

Complaints

Should you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of the project, you are welcome to contact the Executive Officer, Monash University Human Research Ethics (MUHREC):

Executive Officer

Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC)

Room 111, Chancellery Building D,

26 Sports Walk, Clayton Campus

Research Office

Monash University VIC 3800

Tel: +61 3 9905 2052 Email: muhrec@monash.edu Fax: +61 3 9905 3831

Thank you,

Ceridwen Owen

Consent form for early-career English teachers

CONSENT FORM

Early career English secondary school teacher

Project: Early career English teachers at work: Exploring everyday professional practice

Chief Investigator: Scott Bulfin

Co-Investigator: Fleur Diamond

Student: Ceridwen Owen

I have been asked to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement and I hereby consent to participate in this project.

I consent to the following:	Yes	No
I agree to be interviewed by the researcher	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to allow the interview to be audio-taped	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to take part in focus groups of up to 4 people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to allow the focus groups to be audio-taped	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to have the researcher observe me at work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to have the researcher photograph my workspace	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to have the researcher collect my online/digital interactions e.g. emails, Twitter posts and Facebook posts.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The de-identified data that I provide during this research may be used by the above mentioned researchers in future related research projects.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

I understand that my participation is completely voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project, up until the time when interview data is being processed, without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

and

I understand that any data that the researcher extracts from the interview for use in reports or published findings will not, under any circumstance, contain identifying names or characteristics.

and

I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any report on the project, or to any other party.

and

I understand that data from the interview will be kept in secured storage and will be accessible only to the research team. I also understand that the data will be destroyed after a 5 year period unless I consent to it being used in future research.

Name of Participant _____

Contact email and phone _____

Participant Signature _____ **Date** _____

Consent form for schools

CONSENT FORM

Early career English secondary school teacher

Project: Early career English teachers at work: Exploring everyday professional practice

Chief Investigator: Scott Bulfin

Co-Investigator: Fleur Diamond

Student: Ceridwen Owen

I have been asked that employees at my secondary school take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement and I hereby consent to the following:

I consent to the following:	Yes	No
I agree to allow teachers to be interviewed by the researcher on school grounds	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to allow the interviews to be audio-taped	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to have the researcher observe teachers at work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to have the researcher photograph the school workspaces, including offices and classrooms. These photographs will not include identifiable people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The de-identified data that I provide during this research may be used by the above mentioned researchers in future related research projects.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

I understand that the schools participation is completely voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project, up until the time when interview data is being processed, without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

and

I understand that any data that the researcher extracts from the interview for use in reports or published findings will not, under any circumstance, contain identifying names or characteristics.

and

I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any report on the project, or to any other party.

and

I understand that data from the interview will be kept in secured storage and will be accessible only to the research team. I also understand that the data will be destroyed after a 5 year period unless I consent to it being used in future research.

Name of Principal _____

Name of school _____

Contact email and phone _____

Principal Signature _____ **Date** _____

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