JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN EDUCATION, PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH
619

Sotiria Pappa

# "You've Got the Color, but You Don't Have the Shades"

## Primary Education CLIL Teachers' Identity Negotiation within the Finnish Context

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN EDUCATION, PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH 619

Sotiria Pappa

# "You've Got the Color, but You Don't Have the Shades"

## Primary Education CLIL Teachers' Identity Negotiation within the Finnish Context

Esitetään Jyväskylän yliopiston kasvatustieteiden ja psykologian tiedekunnan suostumuksella
julkisesti tarkastettavaksi yliopiston Ruusupuiston salissa D104 (Helena)
heinäkuun 4. päivänä 2018 kello 12.

Academic dissertation to be publicly discussed, by permission of
the Faculty of Education and Psychology of the University of Jyväskylä,
in building Ruusupuisto, hall D104 (Helena), on June 4, at 12 o'clock noon.

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

JYVÄSKYLÄ 2018

# “You’ve Got the Color, but You Don’t Have the Shades”

## Primary Education CLIL Teachers’ Identity Negotiation within the Finnish Context

JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN EDUCATION, PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH 619

Sotiria Pappa

# "You've Got the Color, but You Don't Have the Shades"

## Primary Education CLIL Teachers' Identity Negotiation within the Finnish Context

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

JYVÄSKYLÄ 2018

Editors
Noona Kiuru
Department of Psychology, University of Jyväskylä
Päivi Vuorio, Sini Tuikka
Publishing Unit, University Library of Jyväskylä

Permanent link to this publication: http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-951-39-7466-4

URN:ISBN:978-951-39-7466-4
ISBN 978-951-39-7466-4 (PDF)

ISBN 978-951-39-7465-7 (nid.)
ISSN 0075-4625

Copyright © 2018, by University of Jyväskylä

Jyväskylä University Printing House, Jyväskylä 2018

## ABSTRACT

Pappa, Sotiria
'You've got the color, but you don't have the shades': Primary education CLIL teachers' identity negotiation within the Finnish context
Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 2018, 123 p.
(Jyväskylä Studies in Education, Psychology and Social Research
ISSN 0075-4625; 619)
ISBN 978-951-39-7465-7 (print)
ISBN 978-951-39-7466-4 (pdf)

This dissertation explores how professional identity is experienced by teachers in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) instruction. In particular, it addresses professional identity in relation to two immediate contexts of teacher activity, i.e. that of the classroom and that of the collegial community. In addition to exploring how these two sides of the professional self give rise to a broader understanding of professional identity, this dissertation also explores aspects of professional agency and the negotiation of emotions in their work. The dissertation is founded on fourteen interviews with Finnish kindergarten and primary education teachers doing CLIL. The data were thematically analyzed in relation to exercising teacher agency and negotiating teacher identity at work.

The dissertation first suggests that when CLIL teachers feel agentic at work, they feel they can work in accordance with how they perceive their professional identity and have strengthened motivation behind their actions in continuing CLIL. However, despite the overall positive attitude the participants had toward CLIL, constraints did exist in their day-to-day practice. In addition to managing present resources and constraints, agency is linked to teachers' negotiation of their professional self as educational professionals and colleagues. This dissertation further suggests that individual and social elements in identity negotiation are interconnected under examination of smaller time frames and that the teacher is the result of both. While not aiming at arguing for the supremacy of individual over social aspects or vice versa, this dissertation does support the central role of the individual in identity negotiation, as it agentically interprets sociocultural aspects in lived contexts and selectively responds to the various social affordances in the professional environment. Nonetheless, it is in such social contexts that spaces can be created, in order to facilitate identity negotiation, professional initiative and transformation of community practices. In relation to emotions, this dissertation argues that the process of (re)defining and shaping one's professional identity is an emotional one. Holding potential for individual as well as professional learning, they become part of professional trajectories and a resource for CLIL teachers. The dissertation concludes with practical and theoretical implications for CLIL teachers' professional identity, agency and emotions.

Keywords: Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), professional identity; identity negotiation; professional agency; teachers' emotions; Thematic Analysis; Finnish primary education; subject-centered socio-cultural approach

**Author's address** Sotiria Pappa
Department of Education
P.O. Box 35
40014 University of Jyväskylä, Finland
sotiria.s.pappa@jyu.fi

**Supervisors** Professor Anneli Eteläpelto
Department of Education
University of Jyväskylä, Finland

Dr. Josephine Moate
Department of Teacher Education
University of Jyväskylä, Finland

Dr. Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty
Department of Languages and Communication Studies
University of Jyväskylä, Finland

**Reviewers** Professor Do Coyle
Institute for Education, Teaching and Leadership
University of Edinburgh, Scotland

Professor Heini-Marja Pakula
Department of Teacher Education
University of Turku, Finland

**Opponents** Professor Heini-Marja Pakula
Department of Teacher Education
University of Turku, Finland

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The title of this dissertation resonates with me. Like the teacher in her own context, for the past three years I have been trying to find the shades to my colors as a doctoral student. In trying to do so, I believe I have been successful, even if painting great pictures with these shades and adding more colors to the existing palette will take more practice. Doing research is an art form and, as with every art form, you are never done with being creative and becoming better. As with every art form, being creative and becoming better can never happen without the support, influence and inspiration of others.

This has been a long learning process in which the university as an institution and a collegial space has played a critical role. First of all, I would like to thank Professor Anneli Eteläpelto, Dr. Josephine Moate and Dr. Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty for their constant support in this endeavor. Your insightful advice and invaluable expertise helped me see my research in a more profound manner and your unwavering belief in me further encouraged me to persist throughout this process. Moreover, your enthusiasm for my research project and your accepting me as one of your own strengthened my commitment. I appreciate all the time you have spent for and with me and the faith you invested in me. Second, I would like to thank Dr. Matti Kuorelahti and Dr. Leena Haltunen, former and present Head of the Department of Education respectively, for financially supporting my research as a doctoral student at the university. My gratitude is extended to everyone in the Research Seminar and other seminars who have commented on my work and initiated inspiring conversations about the conceptualization of identity, agency and emotions.

The studies that comprise this dissertation would not have been possible without the CLIL teachers who participated in the interviews. Therefore, I would like to thank the fourteen CLIL teachers for their willingness and openness in sharing their experiences and perspectives. In addition to the teachers, I would like to thank the unknown reviewers, whose comments helped ameliorate the papers prior to their publication, as well as Professor Do Coyle and Professor Heini-Marja Pakula for reviewing and commenting on my dissertation. Moreover, I would like to thank Professor Heini-Marja Pakula for agreeing to be my opponent.

Last but definitely not least, I would like to express my gratitude to the people who have been indirectly involved in my doctoral studies. My deepest gratitude I owe to my parents who have always been by my side and especially to my mother for helping me hone my academic skills over so many years and encouraging me to see my dissertation to completion. Another person dear to me, Vyron, should also be thanked for lifting me up when I felt I could not make it, for enduring my insecurities and for sharing my joy in small successes. I would also like to thank my friends, particularly Aija, Mailis and Masha, for the wine nights and seemingly endless conversations that helped me brave the long winters. Finally, many thanks are due to my colleagues in Noppa 4D for the warm and uplifting atmosphere I came to every morning.

I dedicate this dissertation to my family.

Jyväskylä 25.4.2018
Sotiria Pappa

# LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

I Pappa, S., Moate, J., Ruohotie-Lyhty, M., & Eteläpelto, A. (2017). Teacher agency within the Finnish CLIL context: Tensions and resources, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, DOI:10.1080/13670050.2017.1286292

II Pappa, S., Moate, J., Ruohotie-Lyhty, M., & Eteläpelto, A. (2017). Teachers' pedagogical and relational identity negotiation in the Finnish CLIL context. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *65*, 61-70. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2017.03.008

III Pappa, S., Moate, J., Ruohotie-Lyhty, M., & Eteläpelto, A. (2017). CLIL teachers in Finland: The role of emotions in professional identity negotiation. *APPLES – Journal of Applied Language Studies*, *11*(4), 79-99. http://dx.doi.org/10.17011/apples/urn.201711144252

Description of the writer's contribution to the individual articles:

Taking into account the instructions given and comments made by the co-authors, the author of the dissertation is the first author of all three individual articles. She has played an active role in the data collection, analysis and interpretation, manuscript preparation, and literature research of the three empirical studies.

## FIGURES

FIGURE 1 Overview of the theoretical framework .... 37
FIGURE 2 Identity as a learning process (Meijers, 2002) .... 50
FIGURE 3 Relationship between main concepts and the overarching research and sub-study questions .... 54
FIGURE 4 Professional agency in identity negotiation .... 71
FIGURE 5 The individual and the collective in professional identity negotiation .... 77
FIGURE 6 Emotions in identity negotiation .... 83

## TABLES

TABLE 1 Comparative summary of different approaches to agency (Eteläpelto et al., 2013) .... 30
TABLE 2 Focus, research questions and methods of the three sub-studies .... 53
TABLE 3 Information on participants .... 58

## CONTENTS

ABSTRACT
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS
FIGURES AND TABLES
CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION .... 13
1.1 Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) .... 14
1.2 CLIL in Finland .... 16
1.3 CLIL and teachers .... 17
1.4 Identity and agency of CLIL teachers .... 22
1.5 Structure of the dissertation .... 24

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .... 26
2.1 Varying theoretical perspectives and traditions on identity and agency .... 27
2.2 A subject-centered socio-cultural approach .... 31
2.3 Professional identity .... 32
2.3.1 Conceptualizing teacher identity .... 35
2.3.1.1 Biographical/idiosyncratic factors .... 35
2.3.1.2 Contextual factors .... 35
2.3.1.3 Socio-cultural factors .... 38
2.4 Professional Agency .... 38
2.4.1 Conceptualizing teacher agency .... 40
2.4.1.1 Sociocultural agency .... 40
2.4.1.2 Relational agency .... 42
2.4.1.3 Pedagogical agency .... 43
2.5 Identity agency .... 44
2.6 Emotions .... 47
2.6.1 What is emotion? .... 47
2.6.2 Identity learning as a cyclical process .... 48

3 RESEARCH TASK AND OVERARCHING RESEARCH QUESTIONS .... 52

4 METHODS .... 55
4.1 Epistemology .... 55
4.2 Data .... 57
4.2.1 Participants .... 57
4.2.2 Participant recruitment .... 59
4.2.3 Interviewing as data collection method .... 60
4.3 Data Analysis .... 61
4.4 Ethical considerations .... 63

5 FINDINGS ... 65
5.1 Sub-study I: Tensions and resources to CLIL teacher agency ... 65
5.2 Sub-study II: CLIL teachers' pedagogical and relational identity negotiation ... 67
5.3 Sub-study III: The role of emotions in shaping CLIL teachers' professional identity ... 68

6 DISCUSSION ... 70
6.1 Professional agency in identity negotiation ... 70
6.1.1 Pedagogical agency ... 71
6.1.2 Relational agency ... 72
6.1.3 Sociocultural agency ... 74
6.1.4 Identity agency ... 75
6.2 The individual and the collective in professional identity negotiation ... 76
6.2.1 Investment and partaking of power ... 77
6.2.2 Discursive resources ... 78
6.2.3 Collegial learning and synergy ... 79
6.2.4 The temporal nature of identity negotiation ... 80
6.2.5 Concluding remarks on individual and collective elements in professional identity negotiation ... 81
6.3 Emotions in professional identity negotiation ... 82
6.3.1 Negatively accented emotions ... 84
6.3.2 Positively accented emotions ... 84
6.3.3 Intrapersonal and interpersonal dialogues ... 85
6.3.3.1 Intrapersonal dialogue ... 85
6.3.3.2 Interpersonal dialogue ... 86
6.3.4 The temporal dimension of emotions ... 87
6.3.5 Concluding remarks on emotions in professional identity negotiation ... 87

7 CONCLUSIONS ... 89
7.1.1 Practical implications ... 89
7.1.1.1 Professional identity ... 89
7.1.1.2 Professional agency ... 90
7.1.1.3 Emotions ... 91
7.1.2 Theoretical implications ... 92
7.1.2.1 Professional identity and professional agency ... 92
7.1.2.2 Professional identity and emotions ... 93
7.1.3 Limitations ... 94
7.1.3.1 Data ... 94
7.1.3.2 Data analysis ... 95
7.1.3.3 Participants' enthusiasm ... 95
7.1.3.4 Participants' gender ... 96
7.1.4 Directions for future research ... 96

SUMMARY ........................................................................................................ 98

YHTEENVETO................................................................................................ 101

REFERENCES................................................................................................ 104

APPENDICES................................................................................................ 117
Appendix 1: Information letter about the study for the teachers.............. 117
Appendix 2: Informed consent form for participants................................ 119
Appendix 3: Interview guide.......................................................................... 121

ORIGINAL PAPERS.................................................................................... 124

# 1 INTRODUCTION

When talking about whether she feels the same teacher when teaching through English, Teacher 10 observed that "you've got the color, but you don't have the shades". Language is an integral part of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), mediating subject knowledge. The more competent or proficient CLIL teachers feel they are in the language used as the teaching medium, the more confident or efficient they might feel in their work. Yet, the influence of language in CLIL extends beyond mere mediation of subject knowledge; it hues teacher-pupil relationships and teacher understandings. CLIL itself adds a dimension to teachers' professional lives that becomes a tool or opportunity to re-evaluate teaching practice from a different perspective. In doing so, teachers re-evaluate themselves as professionals and are encouraged to be more reflective of their teaching and aware of how intrinsic elements to CLIL can serve as a resource for both teaching and learning.

However, the space this creates for potential professional development and re-appraisal of how the professional self is perceived and expressed in teaching through a foreign language might not always be evident to or availed of by teachers. It is, therefore, important that teachers are supported in finding the shades to the colors they have at their disposal. This implies the necessity of not only individual action in negotiating who one is as a teacher in general and a CLIL teacher in particular, but also collective action in shaping the conditions under which this negotiation can fruitfully take place.

This action and negotiation is the focus of this dissertation. Centering on the professional context of CLIL teachers working in primary education in Finland, this dissertation explores how these teachers negotiate their professional identity as teachers and colleagues as well as how this negotiation is shaped by professional agency, individual and collective elements, and emotions at the workplace. The following sub-chapters elaborate on the context, rationale and structure of this dissertation.

## 1.1 Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)

The plethora of spoken languages around the world coupled with immigration, technological advancement and sociopolitical changes has sustained interest in language learning and has yielded ways of language learning that are both formal and informal. Apart from formal foreign-language teaching, for instance, enhancing language learning through schooling is aimed at, amongst others, by means of bilingual education, immersion (e.g., Canada), Content-Based Instruction, and task-based learning (Banegas, 2012; Cenoz, 2015; Graaff, Koopman, Anikina, & Westhoff, 2007). Moreover, language is included in school curricula as an important aspect of one's overall education, with English, recognized as a lingua franca worldwide, being the most popular choice as second language in European schools. This may be the result of identifying a need for being competent in a language other than merely one's mother tongue, especially in light of the union of European countries and contingent freedom in people's mobility. In response to the advent of globalization, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) came to be an innovative form of language learning in Europe, significantly drawing on principles and pedagogical realities underlining other types of bilingual/plurilingual education (Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Dalton-Puffer & Nikula, 2014).

While CLIL theoretical and empirical development draw on and benefit from bi/multilingualism and second language acquisition alike (Cenoz, 2013), CLIL was adopted in 1996 as an alternative umbrella term as opposed to an existing 'label', because previous terminology bore associations with bilingual education, and the varied origins and purposes of bilingual European programs (Coyle, 2007; Dalton-Puffer & Nikula, 2014; Hunt, 2011). CLIL is widely understood as "a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of content and language with the objective of promoting both content and language mastery to pre-defined levels" (Marsh, Mehisto, Wolff, & Martín, 2012, p. 11). More recently, however, it has come to be understood as a methodology that includes "a wide range of educational practices provided that these practices are conducted through the medium of an additional language" (Cenoz, Genesee, & Gorter, 2014, p. 244). As such, CLIL can be understood as an "umbrella" term that has multifarious applications and no cohesive pedagogy, regarded by some as distinct from immersion and others as synonymous with, even identical to, immersion and Content-Based Instruction (Cenoz et al., 2014, pp. 245–254).

CLIL was adopted as a developing, flexible methodology that would enhance pluralism in language and culture within Europe through bilingual experience that combines subject and language knowledge in a mutually beneficial way, thus enhancing student motivation regarding language learning and usage (Coyle, 2013). It has been argued that CLIL is a language teaching approach that uses academic subjects for content to develop higher-order language skills, but also an educational approach with its strength lying in taking into account the

curriculum in its totality, not solely the language aspect (Cenoz, 2013). Notwithstanding, despite the celebratory studies that focused on the language aspect of CLIL during the early years of CLIL research, the content aspect still remains largely unexplored by comparison (Dalton-Puffer & Nikula, 2014). In addition, it is only recently that the consideration of the curricular range through foreign-language mediation or bilingual instruction has been acknowledged in Finnish school policies (see FNBE, 2014).

Despite the variation in which CLIL is implemented and supported across Europe, and nowadays further afield also (e.g., Brazil, Japan), there are shared characteristics that comprise the foundations of CLIL. These include using a foreign language as the medium of instruction, with CLIL being mostly implemented through English; classes being timetabled as content lessons which run parallel to formal language instruction; and classes being taught by class or subject teachers, who are not foreign-language experts and for whom the language of instruction is also a second or foreign language (Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Dalton-Puffer & Nikula, 2014). Moreover, the main tenets of CLIL are the principles that 'every teacher is a language teacher', 'language learning is language use' and 'language learning is a cognitive and social activity' (e.g., Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Moate, 2011), hence drawing on the fields of foreign language teaching, second language acquisition and social-constructivism. Convenient as these may sound concerning more language-enriched learning environments, such characteristics and principles indicate the need for a shift not only in teachers' understanding of their role, but also in how language is used in relation to content. They also call for coordination between representatives of language- and content-related expertise for a more supported or better-orchestrated endeavor. Finally, the fact that CLIL builds on legacy of other foreign language teaching approaches and advocates more dialogic teaching (e.g., Cummins, 2014; Lo & Macaro, 2015), suggests the need for teacher preparation and support both before and during their doing CLIL.

While the highly integrative nature of CLIL (Marsh et al., 2012) may not allow for one specific and unifying theory, Coyle (2007) has advanced a holistic approach to CLIL, the 4Cs, positioned amid learning, language learning, and intercultural theories. According to her framework, four areas of CLIL, i.e. Content, Communication, Culture and Cognition, are connected in a non-hierarchical way. However, Dalton-Puffer (2011) argues for the centrality of the area of communication, and hence language. Although this framework may serve as an analytical tool for research as well as a preparatory tool for teachers, diversity in CLIL implementation raises issues concerning challenges therein (Wewer, 2013). The importance of the proposed holistic approach for successful CLIL programs and successful teachers is highlighted by two things. On the one hand, it is highlighted by the fact that CLIL is a politically significant instrument to further the policy of creating a multilingual Europe (Dalton-Puffer, 2008), albeit almost exclusively through English (Cenoz et al., 2014). On the other hand, and more importantly, it is highlighted by the fact CLIL implementation often resides in indi-

vidual teachers' own initiatives within their own educational context, with regional or national authorities being slow to answer (Dalton-Puffer, 2008). There seems to be a discrepancy between the presence of CLIL in multilingual policies that remain pertinent, indeed are emphasized, nowadays and the persistence of teachers in doing CLIL despite a lack of immediate and organized support at regional and national levels. In the absence of a link between CLIL in policy and CLIL in classrooms translated into practical resources and viable long-term plans, further research on providing teachers with tools and frameworks for their work can only be beneficial, although it is not meant to substitute the national responsibilities popular CLIL policies generate for European educational systems. In the following sub-chapter, CLIL in the Finnish context is discussed.

## 1.2 CLIL in Finland

As in other contexts, teachers in Finland have taken a grassroots approach to CLIL implementation, fueled by individual enthusiasm on the part of teachers and parents. A picture of how CLIL was received in the early 90s, when introduced into Finnish education, and the course it took ten years later is offered by Lehti, Järvinen, & Suomela-Salmi (2006), who compared a survey in 1996 (Nikula & Marsh, 1996) with new data in spring 2005. The authors observed an initial increase in interest by teachers, a trend of English as the medium of instruction being the primary choice, and natural sciences being the most popular subjects in upper secondary school. However, a decade later, it seems that the popularity of CLIL and the enthusiasm it generated subsided considerably. Moreover, the authors' preliminary findings indicate that CLIL provision can be found mostly in big towns and big schools that still use English through which to teach more conceptually-oriented subjects. What their participating teachers viewed as reasons that accounted for such steep decline over the space of these ten years involve teachers' education, recruitment, motivation and cooperation; allocation or a lack of resources (e.g., teaching materials, financial resources, education, administration); and the lack of support and nation-wide guidance or unifying, school-based instructions. Believing these reasons reflected both teachers' enduring motivation and deep concern for current conditions, the authors strongly argue for support within the school community as a means to effect the continuity of CLIL.

Despite the observed decline, CLIL continues to be regarded as an innovative approach to foreign language learning and some teachers in Finland deem it a welcome challenge. Unlike Spain and other European countries, Finland does not follow a top-down policy (Dalton-Puffer & Nikula, 2014), nor is there an accountability regime. This allows teachers a certain degree of autonomy in their work and does not impose strict guidelines. At the same time, the Finnish national curriculum introduced in 2016 promotes the idea that 'every teacher is a language teacher'; it recognizes the importance of language integration, and emphasizes a multilingual and cultural orientation as well as more awareness or

sensitivity toward language and its use in educational settings (Bergroth, 2016; FNBE, 2014). This idea contrasts the former curriculum, which promoted firmer foreign language proficiency through content learning, but in a manner disconnected from other curricular subjects and without paying attention to the discursive and cultural underpinnings of curricular subjects that do not directly concern language learning (FNBE, 2004).

Within the new administrative and pedagogical climate, learning objectives are clarified in the curriculum as an official document, but are then interpreted and strategized toward by teachers and other educational professionals, according to local needs (Bergroth, 2016). Simultaneously, however, the same document avoids a particular definition of bilingual education, while not directing teaching methods, something that connects bilingual to general language education (Bergroth, 2016). Yet, while this may support teacher autonomy and create space for CLIL implementation, it also perpetuates variation as to the extent, degree and quality of CLIL provision across the country. Thus, it could be regarded as a positive thing, but it could also be confusing for teachers and, consequently, a negative thing. Indeed, teachers might not always be aware of what is expected of them, especially when CLIL would benefit or imply cooperation or team teaching, while stakeholders and administrators themselves might lack knowledge or awareness about aims and needs (Banegas, 2012). Therefore, for responsible and sustainable CLIL programs, it would be important to acknowledge the teachers' perspective on CLIL, which, in comparison to research on English language teaching (e.g., Kayi-aydar, 2015; Tsui, 2007), has remained insufficiently explored. In the following sub-chapter, the influence of CLIL teaching on teachers as educational professionals is discussed and the rationale guiding this study is elaborated upon.

## 1.3 CLIL and teachers

Foreign-language mediated instruction renders the regular classroom a varying and more authentic cultural and situational context where students can learn and use language in a more functional and meaningful way as well as become effective users of academic genres and registers faster (Gibbons, 2002). Teachers are instrumental in rendering the regular classroom a language-enriched one by means of effective integration of content and language. Yet, how to achieve this integration is not easily understood by teachers, while certain challenges teachers encounter along the way may cause reasons for concern. For instance, research in immersion teachers' experience with balancing language and content shows that it is a multifaceted struggle involving issues related to and understandings regarding the relationship between language and content, stakeholder expectations, and teacher identity (Cammarata & Tedick, 2012). CLIL may be a means to professional development, but this may be rendered more difficult when concerns are not addressed in light of what constitutes successful CLIL implementation and what is being offered.

Research in the Estonian context argues that a multiple focus on content and language as well as cross-curricular integration might be challenging, due to a lack of awareness as to strategies for CLIL implementation, teachers' beliefs and undeveloped planning at school and governmental level (Mehisto, 2008). Teacher beliefs in particular have been found to affect classroom practices, awareness and informed decision-making, professional development, teacher behavior or attitude, adoption and acceptance of new teaching approaches (Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer, & Smit, 2013). Teachers' beliefs in doing CLIL are, therefore, very important, as they may affect language use in the classroom, the choices they make in material, the aims they set, and the training they choose to undertake. In their study, Hüttner et al. (2013) found that teachers regarded student language learning as 'doing', practice-based and more naturalistic, while language learning and classroom interaction encouraged co-construction without taking technical expertise in content knowledge away from the teachers. Moreover, contrary to students' inability to conceptualize their learning as clearly incidental or explicit, teachers seem to see vocabulary teaching as explicit, despite viewing student language learning as incidental. This might suggest a heightened awareness of their responsibility to teach an additional subject (i.e. foreign language) in a manner that corresponds to a socially embedded and communicative view of language learning (Gibbons, 2002), as well as in a way that matches their pedagogical experience in subject teaching.

As far as beliefs on the aims of CLIL are concerned, Hüttner et al. (2013) mention that teachers viewed CLIL classes as additional instruction and practice to improve language competence, not a replacement of EFL classes, which have a traditional focus on correctness. Additionally, teachers viewed CLIL as a process that resulted in higher language competence in themselves. Pupils becoming confident users of a foreign language is the underpinning aim of CLIL practice, an aim that renders success in the CLIL context relative and determined by the understanding of the participants, especially when there is little incentive for language evaluation or overt language management. Success is rather understood as feeling better at a foreign language and achieving a learner-intrinsic, effective change towards the foreign language used as the medium of instruction. Similarly, in Finnish primary CLIL education, teachers might not formally assess language development, but informally monitor it. What teachers believe about the method itself and its possibilities in their classroom may either encourage or hinder the creation of a motivating context that, in conjunction with relevant content, creates in turn a cognitively demanding environment fostering the development of higher-order thinking skills, language learning and cognition, especially through the students' active participation in interactive, dialogic activities that are completed through the challenging medium of a foreign language (Hunt, 2011).

Aside from teachers' beliefs about CLIL per se and CLIL programs, another concern is the fact that CLIL teachers are primarily class or subject teachers to whom the medium of instruction is a foreign language. This implies a concern for the way teachers use language to contribute to students' subject development.

This does not mean that these teachers would be outperformed by language teachers; rather, CLIL teachers' proficiency in scientific discourse and foreign language teachers' knowledge of foreign language pedagogy can help CLIL teachers perform better at their task. Moreover, while there is a tendency in immersion teaching to focus more on subject matter at the expense of language teaching (Cammarata & Tedick, 2012), the idea of integration in bilingual education entails blurred lines between linguistic and non-linguistic elements; priority is observed to be given to either one or the other, according to the task at hand, with discourse maintained in a central position, giving access to both (Gajo, 2007). Communicative competence goes from linguistic to subject knowledge, while the authentication of the language is primarily inserted in the subject paradigms; the two are interdependent in terms of knowledge acquisition (Gajo, 2007).

Yet, it is often assumed that CLIL teachers know how to academically model or use the foreign language. This might not be the case, because content teachers lack a methodological background in CLIL, do not recognize the benefits of bilingualism or do not feel proficient in the target language (Hillyard, 2011). This knowledge and its utilization coupled with content might not be addressed enough by curricula and educational authorities, especially since the concomitant pedagogy has great influence on the CLIL development trajectory (Marsh et al., 2012). For instance, Meyer, Coyle, Halbach, Schuck and Ting (2015) argue that, in order to realize its potential, CLIL would benefit from attention to secondary discourse, academic language competence, and masterful use of subject-specific or disciplinary literacies. At the same time, teachers need to know the language particular to the subject and accordingly determine what language is necessary for students to participate in learning, while also amending for missed opportunities for language development (Gibbons, 2002; Graaff et al., 2007). Additionally, in a setting where "intentional language development and meaningful content communication are combined" to achieve effective learning, a clear theoretical orientation should govern CLIL and the form-meaning dichotomy should be resolved (Coyle, 2007, p. 547). The suggested 4Cs framework serves as a guide for teachers in joining subject and linguistic literacies (Coyle, 2007; Meyer et al., 2015), thus rendering language a useful tool in opening the pathway to better content comprehension and more profound content knowledge. The absence of a single way of doing CLIL and the various formats CLIL programs take (Cenoz et al., 2014; Wewer, 2013), however, create an ever-expanding map of CLIL provision which may seem rather uncharted to pre- and in-service teachers when considering constructive and effective use of language as part of their classroom repertoires.

Aside from the immediate, practical considerations, teaching through a foreign language also has implications for the expression of one's professional self as well as for social relationships developed at the workplace. For instance, instead of planning subject learning through program objectives, content, activities and use of resources, a CLIL teacher is expected to look at lesson planning as well as assessment through a language prism, by looking *at* language (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010; Gibbons, 2002). Teachers, then, become language teachers to some

extent or at least more language-aware educational professionals. Yet, the inclusion of the aspect of language in their current professional understandings may not be evident to or expected by CLIL teachers, and needs to be problematized further in research. On the one hand, teachers may continue to regard themselves and students more accountable, principally for content learning; on the other hand, teachers may regard themselves as content teachers, despite being on a pedagogical journey in which content and language integration "is an experience lived as a process of *awakening*" (Cammarata & Tedick, 2012, p. 257). Teachers also become material designers (Banegas, 2016; Bovellan, 2014), since the content may be available to teachers, but suitable foreign language mediation material corresponding to specified content may not be. Consequently, CLIL teachers resort to material originally designed for native speakers of the target language, but the need to adjust such material or create it anew entails additional workload for teachers to be completed in already limited time (Coonan, 2007; Mehisto, 2008). Nonetheless, research from middle and secondary education shows that being agentic in this regard makes teachers more aware of high content density of textbooks, while also helping teachers explore more teaching material and learning tasks, map and present content differently, and engage with their discipline from another perspective (Coonan, 2007). While this may not necessarily apply to primary education as well, it does highlight that teachers encounter and actively engage with tensions between language and content.

CLIL teachers may experience their role in the classroom differently. In Finland, the fact that neither teachers nor their students have native-like competence in the target language may put them on equal footing from a language perspective (Nikula, 2007). Doing CLIL can, then, be seen as a collaborative or dialogic process, especially since pupils might be more involved in decision-making and have the opportunity to express their own opinions and sentiments regarding their experience of and in CLIL classes (Coyle, 2013). For their part, teachers contribute to this collaborative process by utilizing their content-based expertise and pedagogical and technical experience in identifying the language and facilitating the classroom interaction that aid pupils in understanding and processing the content (Nikula, 2010). However, this as well as increased teacher orientation may prompt teachers to emphasize preparation (Dalton-Puffer, 2011), further justified by teachers' association of success in CLIL teaching with their own foreign language proficiency and curricular content understanding (Mehisto, 2008). Because CLIL calls for a reconceptualization of one's current work and the ways one fosters learner development, a certain dissonance or disjuncture is experienced (Mehisto, 2008). Nevertheless, this dissonance may turn into an opportunity for teachers' professional development, should this space CLIL opens up is used for collaboration between colleagues, schools, and pupils.

Due to the new setting created by the presence of the foreign language, teacher education and in-service professional development courses should be more sensitive toward these settings, when aiming at teacher accreditation. The role of teacher talk in CLIL classrooms needs to be addressed, as the teacher is

the primary source of linguistic input as well as the initiator and director of intermittent interaction with the students, making the management of foreign language communication in CLIL classes an important focus in teacher training on language (Gibbons, 2002; Moate, 2011a). Escobar Urmeneta (2013) stresses that pre-service teachers need to learn how to effectively manage academic conversations in a foreign language, but this could extend to already practicing teachers as well, especially in light of the principles guiding recent curricular changes in Finland. Questioning language from language paradigms and thematising linguistic knowledge can be difficult for untrained teachers and students (Gajo, 2007). Beside language, teacher education could also address the pedagogical aspect of CLIL, while helping teachers become self-reliant and be aware of their own positions, attitudes, and personal resources. Despite understanding these considerations, ways of organizing teacher education programs for pre-service and in-service teachers alike, in conjunction with making CLIL a viable professional prospect for future teachers, may still be eluding us (Mehisto, 2008; cf. Cammarata & Tedick, 2012; Graaff et al., 2007; Marsh, Nikula, Takala, Rohiola, & Koivisto, 1998; Wewer, 2013).

Like any educational initiative, CLIL needs administrative and parental support, inside and outside of school as an institution respectively. As Hillyard (2011) observes, CLIL implementation may be insisted upon, yet at the same time education ministries fail to acknowledge that teachers are not sufficiently prepared with regard to the three essential areas of target language ability, subject knowledge, and CLIL methodology. Therefore, educational authorities could invest more in teacher training programs that address the particular realities, expectations and goals of CLIL teaching, while combining foreign language pedagogy and subject-related expertise. Furthermore, teachers' timetables should allow for more collaboration between colleagues, especially since this may allow the exchange of effective language-pedagogical approaches on the part of language teachers, and effective CLIL approaches and experiences on the part of CLIL teachers (Graaff et al., 2007). As far as support outside of, yet closer to, the school is concerned, parental interest in CLIL plays a key role. An early start coupled with sufficient significant exposure and an affectively positive environment, as well as parental involvement and positive regard for education can significantly aid foreign language learning (Aro & Mikkilä-Erdmann, 2015; Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra, 2014). It may be the case that parental influence over the development of CLIL programs is reduced to their expectations and enthusiasm for such programs, while their own active involvement at home is not stressed enough in discussions around the provision of CLIL education. Although teachers and their methodological approach to CLIL are vital for success, CLIL implies that stakeholders with administrative and pedagogical power should be more involved as well. It is within such an active interest in bilingual education on an institutional level and the realities this interest entails for the practice of CLIL in schools that CLIL teachers have come to re-visit the notions of education and professionalism. However, these particular realities have not been explored as much as they have been for students (e.g., Coyle, 2013; Doiz et al., 2014; Skinnari,

2014; Sylvén, 2013), while the personal facets of CLIL teachers' work, like identity, agency and emotions, have been addressed by comparatively few (e.g., Koopman, Skeet, & de Graaff, 2014; Moate, 2013; Moate & Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2014).

## 1.4 Identity and agency of CLIL teachers

Despite the decrease in schools providing CLIL in Finland over the years, the persistence of teachers in participating and maintaining CLIL programs indicates a willingness to assume responsibilities that go beyond their current roles as subject or class teachers. Moreover, Finnish teachers' sustained enthusiasm for CLIL as a method to enhance pupils' language and content skills continues despite the tensions or challenges that are common among CLIL teachers. Amidst the novel teaching conditions that CLIL suggests for classroom practices, instructional foci, and teacher behavior, the ways teachers experience their work and see themselves as teaching professionals may undergo changes. For instance, CLIL teachers become their own material designers, employ a more integrative and dialogic approach to their teaching, alter their beliefs about learning, confront their own insecurities, and become more mutually supportive or collaborative. These imply a negotiation of organizational, material, temporal and interpersonal resources toward a resolution of arising difficulties, tensions and expectations within the new work environment. On the one hand, how this negotiation will happen and how it will affect the individual teacher are tied to current understandings of the self as a pedagogue, subject expert and language user. On the other hand, the negotiation of resources and potential hindrances at work is tied to ways of working with others and jointly responding to individual or shared challenges. Therefore, CLIL is an individual as well as a collective enterprise, in which teachers have to apply a sense of agency. An agentic approach to their day-to-day CLIL teaching reality can be seen in repositioning and expressing their teacher self as well as taking actions alongside or with the help of others.

The changes that CLIL brings to the teachers' understanding of themselves as professionals range from language competence and pedagogical expertise to overall professional well-being and understanding. Such changes need to be negotiated and reacted to, in order for CLIL programs to succeed, but also for teachers to feel positive about and competent in their work. Especially when the Finnish professional environment in schools employs a horizontal hierarchy, and promotes professional commitment and innovation (Sahlberg, 2011), it might be assumed that this negotiation more easily or fruitfully takes place on a personal and collective level, while CLIL is regarded as a positive or welcome challenge to one's teaching career. Yet, this may not be the experience of all Finnish teachers, while the little research on Finnish CLIL teachers shows that this challenge is constantly being negotiated, having an impact on how they see themselves as educational professionals and colleagues (e.g., Bovellan, 2014; Moate, 2011b, 2014b). With international research suggesting such a challenge enables variation in teacher action (Nikula, Dalton-Puffer, & Llinares, 2013), when CLIL teachers

in Europe do not found their teaching on a specific theoretical and pedagogical blueprint (Cammarata & Tedick, 2012; Nikula, Dafouz, Moore, & Smit, 2016), exploring the meaning CLIL practice holds for teachers' professional identity and action becomes even more relevant to CLIL research.

Identity is the representation and expression of the individual's understanding of self. This representation happens in a way that reflects the transaction between one's biographical project and particular conditions that immediately or indirectly impact the lived experience of their surrounding contexts (Day, Stobart, Sammons, & Kington, 2006). Individuals create narratives for themselves by taking into account their own personal and professional histories, and the relationships, experiences, goals, beliefs, and values such histories have yielded as resources for the self (Eteläpelto, Vähäsantanen, Hökka, & Paloniemi, 2014). Such narratives are part of one's overall self-perspective and self-perception (Bukor, 2015), yet they are also volatile and fragmented (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011); thus, they are constantly shifting. This shift is negotiated and expressed by means of exercising agency.

Agency concerns the choices, behaviors and actions that individuals decide upon as a means to making sense of who they are or can be, and positioning themselves within a certain environment at the same time as they are being influenced (e.g., supported or constrained) by that particular environment (Edwards, 2007; Eteläpelto et al., 2013; Robinson, 2012). Therefore, identity and agency inform one another in a manner that dynamically connects a multitude of individually held perspectives and perceptions. Such bi-directional influence is subject to the contextual conditions, limitations and resources that envelop and shape the individual. From a conceptual perspective, the importance of professional identity for teachers lies in its simultaneous consideration of many aspects of teachers' inner and professional lives, seen not only as part of a wider whole, but also as holding potential for learning and development in their own right. Professional agency is the aspect of teachers' work that enables one's professional identity to manifest, transform or maintain itself throughout one's teaching career. While conceptually separate, professional identity and agency share many similarities which blur the line between the two; yet, it is these similarities that make these two concepts so compatible with, and indeed necessary for, one another.

The overarching task of this research project is understanding teachers' identity negotiation, with a particular focus on primary school teachers invested in CLIL instruction in Finland. Drawing on three empirical studies, the research project reported in this doctoral thesis discusses the theoretical understandings, methodological frame, and main findings of each sub-study. The main concept underpinning this research project is that of professional identity, the negotiation of which is examined through the lenses of professional agency, individual and social interaction, and emotion. The purpose of this doctoral dissertation is to discuss how teachers' professional identity is negotiated through these lenses by synthesizing the empirical findings, and to address practical and theoretical implications that may be highlighted by such negotiation.

Using the concepts of professional identity and agency as a starting point, the research task of this dissertation aimed at better understanding how teachers in Finland doing CLIL in primary education see, experience and express themselves in their work. For this reason, the first sub-study focused on professional agency, looking at the constraints and resources CLIL teachers in Finland encounter or benefit from respectively at work. This sub-study contributed to drawing a background of CLIL teachers' work-related conditions and to exploring how CLIL teachers employ their agency to avail themselves of resources as well as resolve tensions at work. The second sub-study focused on professional identity, examining how teachers use their agency in negotiating their professional identity in light of its pedagogical and relational sides. This sub-study highlighted how agency is a vital component of identity negotiation, enabling a communication channel between different sides of teachers' professional identity, so as to bring forth a clearer or encompassing sense of professional identity that aligns the individual with the collective. The third sub-study focused on professional identity and emotions, shedding more light onto the emotional experiences at work and how these bear on the importance and meanings teachers attribute to their professional identity. This sub-study underlined how, in incorporating the meaning generated from emotional experience into one's life course and identity, discursive elements may be extensively present in individual meaning-making, while individual elements may be involved in discursive meaning-making. Moreover, it stressed how emotional experiences can be ambivalent, holding both transformative and regressive potential in their positive or negative experience on the part of the teacher and the community. As a result of the sub-studies, the complexity of the interactive spaces that individual and collective or social elements create at work were made more apparent for professional identity, while the emotional aspects of the teaching profession and ways of taking an agentic stance in controlling one's professional environment and sense of self were addressed as an integral part of teachers' professional identity negotiation. The findings from these sub-studies are presented in more detail in Chapter 5. In the following chapter, the structure of the dissertation is briefly outlined.

## 1.5 Structure of the dissertation

This chapter serves as an introduction to the reported research project, explaining the context and reasons for the study. The following chapter elaborates on the ontological and theoretical orientation of this doctoral dissertation. The purpose of this chapter is to outline how the concepts of professional identity, professional agency and emotions have been understood in educational research, and explain how they have been operationalized in this research task. Chapter 3 clarifies the overarching research questions guiding the research task, while Chapter 4 provides information on the epistemological orientation, participants, and methodological approach taken to conduct the empirical studies, and ethical considerations that occur. An overview of the findings themselves is given in Chapter 5,

which also briefly presents the aim and theoretical framework of each sub-study. Chapter 6 discusses these findings in light of the overarching research questions stipulated in Chapter 3. This discussion is followed by practical and theoretical implications, and concludes with identifying limitations to the reported research task and suggesting directions for future research on teachers' identity negotiation.

# 2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter outlines the ontological and theoretical orientation of this doctoral dissertation. Starting with varying theoretical perspectives on identity and agency, the discussion on ontology addresses how different understandings of agency and identity derive from differing views on the relationship between the personal and the social aspects of human action and learning. It, then, concludes with an explanation of the subject-centered socio-cultural approach, the theoretical basis for this research project, before moving on to conceptualizing professional and teacher identity and agency. In addition to these main concepts, the particular form of agency involved in identity negotiation, i.e. *identity agency*, as well as emotions are discussed in their respective sub-chapters.

The main concepts and their components are presented in Figure 1, which serves as visual representation of their interaction. Biographical, idiosyncratic, contextual, and socio-cultural aspects help shape CLIL teachers' professional identity. Agency being a contextual and multilevel phenomenon, CLIL teachers' professional agency is influenced by and exercised within pedagogical, relational (e.g., colleagues) and socio-cultural spaces related to their work. Professional identity and agency inform one another; teachers' individual understandings of themselves as educational professionals and colleagues influence courses of action taken in relation to constraining and resourcing circumstances at work, and vice versa. The communication between professional identity and professional agency is mediated by *identity agency*. *Identity agency* draws on both the aspects shaping professional identity and the forms of agency exercised within CLIL teachers' work-related environments for the purposes of active professional identity negotiation. Emotions are part of the process of such negotiation, since they constitute embodied experiences that are psychologically meaningful in deliberating and intentionally acting within agency-constraining or agency-resourcing work-related circumstances. In turn, the consequences of such acting create emotional experiences of a physiological and psychological nature, which are rendered meaningful through CLIL teachers' (re)negotiated professional identity.

## 2.1 Varying theoretical perspectives and traditions on identity and agency

Ontological approaches to the concepts of agency and identity have varied considerably in the 20th century. Coming from different viewpoints, they have provided varying foci and corresponding tools for the examination of work life. Summarizing Billett (2007), who distinguished among various theoretical perspectives on the relationship between personal and social forces, Vähäsantanen, Hökkä, Eteläpelto, Rasku-Puttonen and Littleton (2008) present the views found in the humanist, structuralist, late modernity and post-structural approaches. The authors refer to the personal in terms of agency as enacted on the basis of personal values and hopes, while they refer to the social in terms of social suggestion including "organisational conditions and cultural practices, along with situational demands, constraints and opportunities" (p. 133).

According to Vähäsantanen et al. (2008), the humanist tradition posits that social suggestion is weak. This makes it easier for individuals to be autonomous and able to pursue their goals, to exercise their agency and express their subjectivity. Moreover, identity negotiation takes place in an environment with manageable obstacles and individual freedom as to orientation toward the profession. The structuralist approach introduces social structures and pressures, which constrict exercising agency and suggest that identity negotiation is heavily shaped by norms and values shared within the socio-cultural context of a given professional environment. Late modernity shares the idea that identity is negotiated under the influence of context-specific social suggestions, yet the individual is deemed self-reflective. One responds to the various roles performed in and throughout one's career with self-regulation, choice and agentic positioning of oneself between personally-held values and the social suggestion of a transforming social system.

The post-structural approach builds on the above by endowing individuals more political and moral influence over social suggestions and structures in their efforts to secure, develop and maintain their identity (Vähäsantanen et al., 2008). Eteläpelto, Vähäsantanen, Hökkä and Paloniemi (2013) explain how scholars of the intermediate post-structural tradition argue for the idea of individual experience against the background of discursive pre-conditions. They suggest that the individual is autonomous, willful and reflective, and that it is through the experience of social relations that structural powers are rendered visible. Agency itself becomes a mediating tool to examine "the inter-connections between cultural and economic forces, identity formations, and social structures" (Eteläpelto et al., 2013, p. 53). Agency is, then, seen from the individual's perspective, but its subjectivity is seen as contextualized, in relation to hegemonic discourses and multilevel relations experienced in the social world. Identity negotiation in post-structuralism takes place amidst ever-changing relationships as well as socio-cultural practices and discourses at work with which the individual selectively and agentically engages (Vähäsantanen et al., 2008).

More recently, Eteläpelto et al. (2013), critically reviewing agency as a prominent concept within four major traditions (see Table 1), observe that life-course research recognizes contextual conditions and that a lived social reality can be examined using insights into identity, agency and structure. Agency in this line of research is regarded as the taking of action to formulate plans and effect long-term implication. This entails the individuals' self-reflective belief in their capability to execute formulated plans and is manifested when individuals are called to make major decisions or when they are confronted with transition or turning points. In addition to its strong temporal orientation, life-course research highlights how individual identity commitments affect one's choices and actions in actual situations.

Another line of research reviewed by Eteläpelto et al. (2013) is that of sociological research, regarding agency as tethered, shaped and constrained by structural factors. Some sociological researchers have a strong objectivistic orientation of increased organizational control and complete subjugation of employees' agency. However, others understand agency as the capability to act upon one's intentions and the individual as a conscious actor who uses their power to bring about intentional, and sometimes unintentional, outcomes by evoking or intervening in an event (see Giddens, 1991). This view has been criticized for its overt emphasis on individual action and for not addressing temporal difference, due to the analytical inseparability of the individual and the social. Such concerns can be addressed by analytically separating them, as both individual and society are endowed with special properties and powers (e.g., Archer, 2003). Agency, then, becomes a process that is intentional and goal-oriented, and social identity is deemed a part of personal identity, the latter being the consequence of an active and reflective individual that internally negotiates social concerns and prioritizes emotional responses to them. The authors stress that, in understanding agency more elaborately, we would have to consider the conscious and intentional use of official or unofficial power on the part of the individual to influence social events and conditions.

Agency as a social and collective phenomenon is also found within the sociocultural tradition, which recently also argues for agency at an individual and subjective level. Especially when considering the sociocultural[1] tradition, one refers to the foundational ideas of the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1975, 1978), who proposed a dialectical relationship between the individual and a unified system premised on three fundamental principles. First, there is a reliance on developmental analysis, which means that, to understand the individual, human functions should be seen in light of their origins, processes of change, and transitions or transformations manifested in a qualitative, rather than quantitative, nature. Second, the individual is rooted in the social. Individual develop-

---

[1] Please, note that when the word "socio-cultural" appears, it refers to the combination of social and cultural elements present in contexts, forming environmental influences and conditions. However, when it is used without a hyphen, as in "sociocultural", it refers to the Vygotskian notion of a learning and development as a process socioculturally informed.

ment is deemed a result of mediating social resources first on an interpsychological plane through joint activity, and then on an intrapsychological plane through internalization and appropriation of strategies and knowledge embedded in the socio-cultural context this joint activity took place in. Third, the notion of mediation is of central importance, as human action relies on the available physical, psychological and cultural tools and artifacts, primarily language, to coordinate, regulate and understand relationships in the world. These tools and artifacts impact on thinking and acting patterns and are internalized by individuals, thus rendering mental functions and human actions socio-culturally situated and derived.

Learning is to a significant degree social, yet the contribution of the individual in mediated relationships and the process of change should also be highlighted, going beyond the notions of their internalization and sociocultural reproduction. While agreeing that the socio-cultural context plays an important role in human action and learning mediated by tools, objects and, most importantly, language, there is still a discrepancy as to the extent of situated social practice and individual contribution. Rather than social determinism, however, it is suggested that individuals engage in relational interdependence with the social through participation and learning (e.g., Billett, 2007), as individuals not only select from social suggestions, but also actively shape their own development as well as transform cultural practices. Aside from relational interdependence, another consideration is how social conditions bear on the exercising of agency and the negotiation of identity across one's life course (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998; Meijers, 2002). Socio-cultural contexts direct the individual through action and learning by either constraining or resourcing (Eteläpelto et al., 2013). However, we need a joint focus that takes into account "manifestations of agency in socio-cultural and discursive reality" alongside "subjects' interpretations, meanings, and purposes in relation to their agentic actions, and how these are intertwined with subjects' identity commitments" (Eteläpelto et al., 2013, p. 57). Such a joint focus can be found in a subject-centered socio-cultural approach to understanding and examining agency, within which identity is a core aspect. This approach is discussed in the following sub-chapter.

TABLE 1 Comparative summary of different approaches to agency (Eteläpelto et al., 2013)

| What is agency? | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Approach | Ontology and manifestations | Relationships between the individual and the social context |
| Social science | Giddens | Agency as individuals' intentional and rational actions, viewed as having social consequences | Inseparability |
| | | Temporality and identities not addressed | Analytical primacy from individual to social (micro to macro) |
| | Archer | Natural, practical and social reality, and discursive, practical, and embodied relations with the world | Social and individual analytically separated |
| | | Agentic actions as intentional and goal-directed processes | Internal conversation and emotional elaboration seen as mediating processes between the individual and the social context |
| | | Personal identity and temporality taken into account | Historically changing social circumstances |
| Post-structural | Strong post-structural | Collective discourses: nothing outside texts Inseparability: reducing individuals to discourses | Inseparability: reducing individuals to discourses |
| | | Agency as rewriting hegemonic power discourses | |
| | | Temporality and identities not addressed | Material, cultural, economic, and social forces analytically separated from individuals' self-experiences, identities, and subjectivities |
| | Intermediate post-structural | Agency as people's lived experience of their social relations and their capacity for self-reflection and action | |
| | | Sense of self, human embodiments, and socially and culturally relational subjects | |
| | | Temporality not addressed, identity and subjectivity strongly addressed | |
| Sociocultural | Object-oriented | Process-ontology; rejection of individual and collective agency, subjugated by objects and tools of work | Inseparability of individual and social: reduction of individual to social processes |
| | | Temporality not addressed, identity and subjectivity rejected | |
| | Developmental subject oriented | Individuals as agentic actors in relation to the social world | Analytically separated (inclusively); interdependence and mutually constitutive relations between individual and social |
| | | Temporally constructed engagements | |
| | | Intentionality and subjectivity manifested as participation, decisions as to what problems are worth solving | Agency seen as closely bound up with subjects' professional identities |
| | | Individual temporality (development) include life history and prior experiences | |
| Life course and identity | | Individuals' ways of constructing their life courses through choices and actions | Separated (exclusively); social and economic circumstances and living conditions seen as opportunities and constraints |
| | | Temporality considered in terms of individual life courses | Changing socio-historical circumstances |
| | | Identities thoroughly addressed | |

## 2.2 A subject-centered socio-cultural approach

This research project is largely positioned within the intermediate post-structuralist and subject-centered sociocultural traditions, as they place the individual within a temporal and socio-cultural context[2], yet allow for a more sophisticated interaction between the social and the personal. This study aligns with Eteläpelto, Vähäsantanen, Hökkä and Paloniemi's (2014) suggestion of a subject-centered socio-cultural approach adopted in their previous studies.

First, from this perspective, professional learning is understood as identity negotiation (formation and transformation) and the shaping or development of work practices, including the practice of agency. Identity negotiation and agency are two concurrent and interdependent processes taking place within the particular material and socio-cultural context of the workplace. Second, professional identity comprises the individual's conception of themselves as professional subjects. This is a conception based on personal and professional history, encompassing relationships with colleagues, identification at work, values and beliefs, ideals and interests, commitments, ethical standards and moral obligations, and future prospects and objectives. Adopting a sociocultural and post-structural approach, the authors hold that, despite influences by workplace settings, other people and social practices, individuals show significant agency in constructing their professional identity not only in "adopting certain socially pre-existing and prescribed identities emerging from social suggestions", but also by negotiating such an identity within their local, social and work environment (Eteläpelto et al., 2014, p. 651). However, constructing and renegotiating professional identity is not a process that can be generalized neither within the same occupational field nor from one profession to the other.

Third, professional agency, be it an individual or collective phenomenon, constitutes influencing, making choices and taking a stance regarding work and professional identity. As such, it enables, indeed mediates, professional identity negotiation and allows for innovation and constant development at work. Moving from a constructivist to a sociocultural orientation, agency becomes not merely the construction and production of knowledge by means of metacognitive skills, reflection and self-monitoring, but also the construction of identities and learning through participation in knowledge communities governed by certain socio-cultural features. Professional agency can be identified as both individual- and collective-level action, while it has been linked to change, innovation and creativity, motivation and well-being. Professional agency concerns autonomy and self-fulfillment, initiative for novel or creative work practices, critical

---

[2] When the word "socio-cultural" appears, it refers to the combination of social and cultural elements present in contexts, forming environmental influences and conditions. However, when it is used without a hyphen, as in "sociocultural", it refers to the Vygotskian notion of a learning and development as a process socioculturally informed.

thinking and resistance to or questioning of either established or reformed practices at work.

The authors note that professional agency can be exercised differently over time and according to situations and relations, sense of professional identity and professional competences. Agency as a phenomenon is multidisciplinary, operates on many levels and is partially bound to a particular context. The importance of agency for teachers lies as much in the inadequacy of changes at the organization or community level for reform as in the need for active participation in resisting change or changing behavior, transforming professional identities and work practices through initiative, and crossing professional boundaries. In this study, a subject-centered socio-cultural perspective is adopted in viewing the negotiation of different aspects of professional identity and types of professional agency in the Finnish CLIL context. The main concepts of the study are outlined further in the following sub-chapters.

## 2.3 Professional identity

Professional identity is a concept difficult to describe briefly and concisely. At an abstract level, it can be conceived of as a process that individuals ceaselessly undertake in their attempt to become more conscious and self-directing regulators of their professional development (Sexton, 2008). In more practical terms, it can be regarded as a bi-directional relationship between individual agent and social context, in which the individual becomes involved in a dynamic meaning-making process and negotiates their position by contrasting or combining external, social suggestions with internal expectations (Hökkä & Eteläpelto, 2013; Hökkä, Eteläpelto, & Rasku-Puttonen, 2012). At the same time, it is the individuals' conception of themselves as professional subjects; a conception based on personal and professional history, encompassing relationships with colleagues, identification at work, values and beliefs, ideals and interests, commitments, ethical standards and moral obligations, future prospects and objectives (Eteläpelto et al., 2014).

The fundamental principle of identity as the construction of the self has its roots in the early twentieth century, when "a defining system of concepts" that were distinct and discernible in an individual "were developed through the subjectively interpreted feedback from others" (Day, Kington, Stobart, & Sammons, 2006, p. 602). This understanding of the self-aware individual that not only adapts its self-representation in response to social processes and situations, but also integrates perceived opinions of others, values, roles and identities, became a major influence on our later conceptual orientation regarding identity (Day, Kington, et al., 2006). Identity became a malleable personal expression contingent on the particular conditions that shape the environment in which the individual lives, participates and interacts. Identity, then, can be described as an individuals' biographical project that entails a negotiation "of personal biography, culture, social influence and institutional values which may change according to role and

circumstance" (Day et al., 2006, p. 613). However, the development of such a biographical project is a transactional process whereby the individual's understanding of oneself and their social identities are partially shaped by the living systems surrounding them at the same time as the individual's identity partially forms and determines the nature of these systems (Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson, 2005). Such a conceptualization of identity bridges personal and contextual resources, highlighting the mutual relationship that exists and is rendered dynamic.

Seeing the individual within the social environment they belong is a post-modern perspective on identity. As Akkerman and Meijer (2011) argue, the individual of pre-modern times was tethered to a single truth, collective norms of religious or supernatural character and the greater cosmic whole, whereas the individual of modern times takes a central position and becomes able to show a unique identity that reflects a personally generated, unique worldview. However, while the post-modern perspective questions the pre-modern and modern positions on identity, it raises theoretical concerns as to the cohesiveness of one's sense of self through time and the extent of social determination (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). Such concerns afford the space for re-conceptualizing identity as multiple, discontinuous and social in nature (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011), and allow a connection between a personal understanding of one's self and the socio-cultural, discursive, and relational spaces in which relevant identities are constructed and shared. Identities, then, are the often volatile, fragmented and context-interdependent narratives of the self, mediated through one's ongoing processes of interpreting experiences and exercising agency (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2000; Varghese et al., 2005). Thus, we can theorize that the professional identity of teachers, i.e. teacher identity, is multifaceted, relational, agentic and constantly shifting in the process of negotiating a relatively cohesive sense of self through their practices, participation, and social relationships at work. Such a view of teacher identity is supported by Day and Kington's (2008) longitudinal research project, the findings of which argue for an understanding of teacher identities as "more, or less, stable and more or less fragmented at different times and in different ways according to the influence of the interaction of a number of personal, professional and situated factors" (p. 9).

Teacher identity has garnered increasing attention in the past two decades. As a concept, professional identity reflects the sense and place of self within one's work environment, although it would be more fruitful to think of identity not as something teachers possess as much as the process of teachers arguing for or giving an account of themselves (Clarke, 2009). Identity has served as an analytic lens in exploring teachers' professional lives, like the continuous 'reinventing' teachers undergo, the narratives they create as a means to make sense of their work and their own role as teachers, the guiding metaphors that result from their understandings, and how contextual factors and discursive practices influence their work and sense of self as teachers (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). However, although professional identity, or more generally identity, has been a very useful tool for examining teachers' lives, definitions of and perspectives on professional

identity in general literature abound (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004), making it a rather elusive and idiosyncratic concept and, therefore, difficult to directly access or observe (Bukor, 2015).

There are numerous ways in which to consider teacher identity. One such way has been teacher identity as a personal interpretative framework, understood in terms of a set of cognitions, which aids teachers in giving meaning to, acting within and looking at their work (Kelchtermans, 2009). Another way has been teacher identity as a constellation of teachers' professional trajectories, their perceptions of themselves as professional actors, their professional interests and their views on teaching and learning (Vähäsantanen, 2015). Yet another is teacher identity as the way teachers regard themselves in light of the understandings and meanings they ascribe to interactions with their context (Canrinus, Helm-Lorenz, Beijaard, Buitink, & Hofman, 2011). In other words, it translates into one's self-perspective and self-perception (Bukor, 2015). However, teacher identity is not only "the way we make sense of ourselves to ourselves", but also the culturally embedded "image of ourselves that we present to others" (Day & Kington, 2008, p. 9). This bilateral negotiation renders professional identity a process as much as a product (e.g., Tynjälä, 2013). For teachers, professional identity becomes a resource or a mediational tool for them to function at their best ability within specific contexts and discourses. It is their interpretive system embedded in historically and culturally shaped contexts through which identity is negotiated and contested in relation to others (Gee, 2000).

To understand teacher identity as a lived experience of participation (Bukor, 2015), a more holistic definition would have to draw on both personally multi-faceted and socio-politically charged considerations (McIntyre & Hobson, 2016; Zembylas, 2005). By discussing identity in the frame of sociocultural theory, one in which the factors of individual agency and power relations are taken into consideration, we can better comprehend the reciprocal relationship shared by individuals and the socio-cultural and political features of their environment (Hökkä et al., 2012). The development of the individual happens on both a psychological and a social plane, although, keeping in line with a sociocultural approach to such development, the former is a reaction to forces inherent in the latter (Lasky, 2005). The importance of such an approach to identity lies in the fact that it allows the examination of the individual in a dynamic interaction with interpersonal, cultural, material, and institutional aspects of their reality. It is within this interaction that various experiences occur, are interpreted and impact on the individual's identity.

By examining teacher identity in its own right, yet alongside teacher agency, we can elaborate on how teachers shape their identities in response to variations in the educational and socio-cultural contexts as well as how teachers strategically manage the tensions created by various identities (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Day, Kington, et al., 2006). This research project supposes that teacher identity may be regarded as organizing principles that teachers use in an ongoing process to make sense of themselves and contexts alike as well as (re)interpret their values, beliefs and experiences to achieve (trans)formation in response to

personal, contextual and socio-cultural influences (Flores & Day, 2006). While in line with a sociocultural approach to identity, those influences should be understood particularly in the context of CLIL and its implementation within Finnish education.

### 2.3.1 Conceptualizing teacher identity

On the basis of the previous sub-chapter, teacher identity can be summarized as socially interdependent and comprises many fragmented, yet interwoven, concepts of the self that are co-created in mutual interaction with others (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). In line with this bi-directional view on identity, this research project proposes seeing teacher identity within a theoretical framework encompassing biographical and idiosyncratic factors as well as contextual and socio-cultural factors (see Figure 1).

#### 2.3.1.1 Biographical/idiosyncratic factors

Teacher identity is a biographical trajectory, a continuous reflexive project which includes the various occasional and situational 'Is', and draws on cultural and local resources (Taylor & Littleton, 2006). Therefore, it is crucial that we acknowledge the personal in the professional element if we are to understand teachers in their professional role (Day, Kington, et al., 2006). This personal element can be translated into biographical factors, that is, personal and professional history. Teachers have accumulated many experiences as students before assuming teaching responsibilities themselves (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009), which have been found to affect teachers' goals and decisions (Sexton, 2008). In addition, they have been subjected to the impact of influential teachers, their family and significant others, their apprenticeship, teaching traditions and cultural archetypes, atypical teaching episodes, and tacitly acquired or unarticulated understandings (Beijaard et al., 2004). In terms of professional history, it can be seen as pre-service experiences (Flores & Day, 2006) and learning experiences throughout one's teaching career, predispositions, and perceptions of distinct aspects of expertise (Beijaard et al., 2000). The personal element is also evident in idiosyncratic factors, such as reasons for pursuing a teaching career (Canrinus et al., 2011), commitment to teaching (Day, Stobart, et al., 2006; Vähäsantanen et al., 2008), job-related attitudes and subject knowledge (L. Evans, 2001; Shallcross, Spink, Stephenson, & Warwick, 2002). Moreover, it is values, beliefs and competences (Eteläpelto et al., 2014; Kelchtermans, 2005; Korthagen, 2004), as well as interests and emotions (Hargreaves, 2005). Biographical and idiosyncratic factors are what teachers bring to the socio-cultural environment of their work life. They constitute part of the grounds on which teacher identity is continuously and bi-directionally negotiated with socio-cultural influences (Day, Kington, et al., 2006).

#### 2.3.1.2 Contextual factors

Although individuals construct their identities according to their subjectivities and experiences, they are also ontologically shaped by their immediate societal

suggestions, such as social relations and structures (Billett, 2006). Those immediate suggestions are here understood as the factors inherent in the teacher's immediate context of practice, i.e. the classroom and the school environment. What seems in literature to be a key contextual factor in teacher identity negotiation is relationships with colleagues; collaborative exchanges and shared practice among teachers contribute to the dialogical development of both teacher and educational practice (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Geijsel & Meijers, 2005; ten Dam & Blom, 2006). However, relationships with students have also been found important for teacher identity; the nature of those relationships and teachers' emotional responses to student behavior and feedback can generate a positive or negative conception of the self as 'teacher' (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Day, Kington, et al., 2006; Kelchtermans, 2009). School leadership (Day, 2004) could be another aspect of the relational school environment. Moreover, the importance of a supportive environment (Shulman & Shulman, 2004) as well as the feltness of emotions in light of educational change (Hargreaves, 2005) and classroom realities (Moate, 2014b) should not be discounted. Other contextual factors bearing on teacher identity negotiation are opportunities for professional development (Geijsel & Meijers, 2005), curriculum demands (Crump, 2005), and performance assessment criteria (Hökkä & Eteläpelto, 2013). With regard to the particular context of CLIL, it could be further suggested that an interest in CLIL on the part of students, peers and school management is also a contextual factor that affects CLIL teachers' perception of themselves as language and subject teachers.

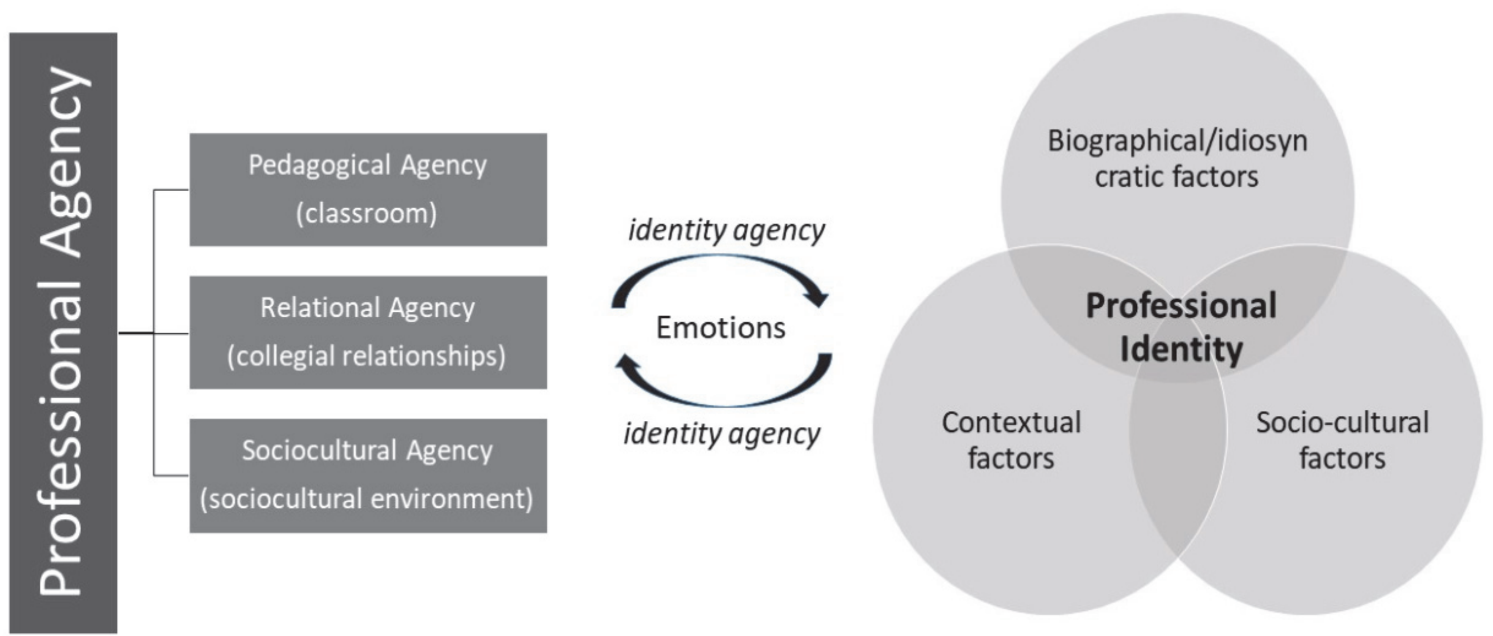


FIGURE 1 Overview of the theoretical framework

#### 2.3.1.3 Socio-cultural factors

Sociopolitical and socio-cultural contexts with their dynamics and collective discourses can shape teaches' sense of identity and sense of purpose (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Lasky, 2005). These contexts are addressed in this theoretical framework by taking into consideration the factors operating in the teachers' broader professional environment. Socio-cultural factors include organizational culture (e.g., Day, Stobart, et al., 2006; Freese & Burke, 1994), stakeholders, such as teachers, students, school principals, inspectors and government officials (Mehisto, 2008), and institutions, such as school boards, universities and parent associations (Bullough Jr., 2005; Gee, 2000; Shulman & Shulman, 2004), affecting classroom practices. Other socio-cultural factors are educational policies and reforms (e.g., Beijaard et al., 2004; Crump, 2005), beliefs about teacherhood and teachers' professional knowledge (e.g., Day & Gu, 2010), expectations and demands (Mehisto, 2008). Finally, the status of CLIL as a cross-subject methodology may also affect teacher identity (Nikula, 2005), as the status of a job is important for recruitment, teacher retention, and treatment by policy makers (Kelchtermans, 2009).

## 2.4 Professional Agency

Since professional identity is dynamic and relational, this suggests the presence of a sense of agency in order to be experienced, shaped, and enacted. In other words, it suggests that an agentic stance on the part of the individual at work influences how their professional identity is formed and manifested in relation to present or aspired to resources and relationships at work.

Agency is a multicomponential concept, socio-culturally mediated and of strong intrapersonal character. It translates into a socio-culturally, contextually, and interpersonally mediated capacity to act, which requires the individual's will to act within a framework that accounts for the individual's potential as well as his or her psychological, physical and cognitive state (Mercer, 2012). Agency is a "discursive resource rather than a state or an essence", particularly of a sociocultural nature, that the individual renegotiates and utilizes to construct meaning and identity, intertwine agency with social practices, and partake in iterative relationships in the culturally, historically and socially shaped context (Hökkä et al., 2012, p. 86). Moreover, it is the construction of individual lifecourses through conscious action and choice-making, according to an individual's beliefs and notion of selfhood which are positioned within hegemonic discourses in a particular socio-cultural framework that may act either as resource or constraint (Eteläpelto et al., 2013). Therefore, it would not be enough to merely view agency as the individual's lifecourse. Agency is also something the individual *does* within particular contexts-for-action, that is, a situated achievement within certain interactive ecological circumstances subject to time, relations, and transformative potential (Biesta, Priestley, & Robinson, 2015; Priestley, Biesta, & Robinson, 2012). To attain

transformation and achievement, professional agency relies on personal understandings and initiatives, proactivity, and reconstruction of the self in response to social interactions, interpersonal experiences, and institutional or other external sources of influence.

In the context of education, agency regards the teachers and is situated in the temporal as well as the personal, both of which are present within a specific environment of education polices, concepts of good practice, school culture, and relationships. The teacher exercises agency in making the best of that environment by 'maneuvering' amidst policies, initiatives, and expectations and by accepting the professional and personal costs implied by increasing constraints on their agency (Day, Kington, et al., 2006). Such maneuvering at school, but also in the wider social community, is often in accord with past experiences and future courses of action as well as with expectations and assumptions that may restrict or support agency, thus leading to either positive change or preservation of current practices (Robinson, 2012). Teacher agency is made apparent in how teachers influence and negotiate fundamental pedagogical and instructional practices, such as applying novel approaches to teaching; in their decision-making based on what is professionally interesting, their competencies, and work experiences; in a sense of control in such decision-making; and in various social aspects bearing on their agentic action, such as curriculum, professional tasks, adopting or ignoring school norms and availability of resources (Eteläpelto, Vähäsantanen, & Hökkä, 2015). Consequently, teacher agency is seen in the transformation of the environment through decisions and actions that include the conceptual and material resources they bring to bear in their sense-making processes (Edwards, 2007), as well as in allowing themselves to be transformed by that very same environment (e.g., Eteläpelto et al., 2013).

In recent studies defining teacher agency, an array of features are emphasized. Such features include commitment to and accountability for visualizing education as built and shaped by the profession; responsibility for actions or resistance, evaluations, and interpretations; the exercise of strong judgment alongside self-assessment, for example about the value of the intentions underlying actions; connection and attention to the wider good and what people do respectively; identification of what matters in the profession; dialectical interaction of person and practice (Edwards, 2015). Moreover, lifelong learning, mastery in subject matter knowledge and teaching strategies, and innovative and responsible entrepreneurship have also been found to characterize teachers as change agents (van der Heijden, Geldens, Beijaard, & Popeijus, 2015). Teacher agency, translates, amongst others, into shaping pedagogy by subjecting convictions about educational practices to doubt or taking an active stance on policy-making processes, improving upon a set of values and principles, setting goals and designing corresponding courses of action, realizing potential and self-regulating one's self, and collaborating with the members and stakeholders of the school community. Most importantly, agency in teaching entails reflection on espoused beliefs and constant critical consideration of what is educationally beneficial, on

the basis of which teachers enact pedagogical convictions and further their understanding of their role, theory and practice within an educational community (Moate & Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2014). However, it should be noted that it is also evident in how teachers handle the "inevitable element of passivity, of exposure", and the concomitant discomfiture of being vulnerable to external forces beyond their control that nevertheless limit or affect their effectiveness and sense of professionalism (Kelchtermans, 2009).

In this research project, teacher agency is understood as the expression of the psychological and cognitive state of being a teacher in terms of ongoing, bidirectional and multi-level action - or inaction - that affects aspects of the teaching profession. To encompass the micro, midi and macro level on which teachers operate and enhance our understanding of teacher agency, a theoretical framework is suggested with a particular focus on CLIL teachers working in Finnish schools. This framework served as a tool in examining the resources and obstacles in CLIL teaching in Finnish education, which was the principal aim of sub-study I.

### 2.4.1 Conceptualizing teacher agency

Agency as a phenomenon is multidisciplinary, operates on many levels and is partially bound to a particular context (Eteläpelto et al., 2014). Teacher agency in this research project taps into former understandings of teacher agency, but is understood as a dynamic concept encompassing pedagogical, relational and sociocultural agency (see Figure 1), seeking to examine the reality of the CLIL teacher in Finnish education. In other words, teacher agency is not a unified concept, but a holistic one. It is rather an amalgam of three different aspects of teacher agency manifested in teachers' day-to-day professional life and work environment, whose visible and observable expression we see in teachers' actions, behavior and choices. Furthermore, this concept should be understood as inherently complex and dynamic, subject to change occurring due to changes in its three integral parts and their possible interaction.

#### 2.4.1.1 Sociocultural agency

It appears that post-modern society necessitates our involvement and active stance to events happening in our working spaces. It is in the social, cultural and historical structures and processes that individuals make use of meditational phenomena, such as language, and avail themselves of resources and affordances or constraints to interpret and influence the social context according to their own intentions; in these structures, agency is shared or socially distributed, rather than automatically attributed to the individual per se (Hökkä et al., 2012). No one is simply an independent agent, but an agent who acts and interacts within a certain community governed by certain socio-cultural elements, which in terms of goal-setting and courses of action can be enabling or constraining in nature.

Sociocultural agency in this research project refers to teachers' capability and initiative to determine the quality of their work by shaping and influencing the broader operative contexts comprising societal and cultural aspects. Society is understood as the wider environment, but more pertinent to the educational

settings are the institutions, stakeholders, and policy-makers, such as parent associations, teacher unions, school boards, legislatures, universities and accrediting agencies (Bullough Jr., 2005). Culture in a society signifies the embedded knowledge that is learned and shared by the community to integrate, organize and make sense of social behavior, norms and values; culture at school is both the wider culture of teaching and the cultures that develop around school subjects, cultures rich with shared knowledge, expertise, experiences and norms of practice, but also with distinctive definitions of subjects as areas of study and social constructs (Hilferty, 2008). Teacher knowledge and teaching practices are politically and socially construed and constructed by means of policy texts and educational reforms that promote values, intentions and an education rhetoric (Robinson, 2012), which may not always find teachers in agreement (e.g., Beijaard et al., 2004). For example, whether policies take into account student behavior or the way schools mediate national policies can be interpreted by teachers as impossible demands or fruitful opportunities (Edwards, 2015). Such texts and reforms aiming at educational innovation are understood and applied differently from educational setting to educational setting, while any change is directly related to the teachers' sense-making of externally imposed policy and the assorted factors that bear on its implementation (Priestley, Edwards, Miller, & Priestley, 2012).

Sociocultural agency should also be seen as active participation and initiative-taking in response to institutional and political methods trying to frame and evaluate teaching practices and professional identities. For instance, the demands of neoliberal economic policies and New Public Management (NPM) principles cause educational organizations to "achieve maximum profitability" by adopting managerial models, "emphasiz[ing] strategy-oriented control and accountability", and involving "centrally imposed standards and new systems of monitoring and evaluation" (Hökkä & Eteläpelto, 2013, p. 1). Teachers' autonomy and agency is challenged not only by quality indicators imposed through accountability, evaluation, performance measurement, inspection, and outcome-driven methods (Evetts, 2003; Helgøy, Homme, & Gewirtz, 2007; Priestley, Biesta, et al., 2012), but also by the substitution of former ideals and standards with those dictated by de-regulated, de-centralized control systems (Helgøy et al., 2007; Hökkä & Eteläpelto, 2013). While this may be more pronounced in other educational contexts, teachers in Finland have been working in a culture of trust. Their context is one that permits a local framing of professionalism and decision-making, thus strengthening their position, their independence and the principles of their profession. Despite Finnish teachers not experiencing NPM influences in their profession as prominently as colleagues in other countries, such directions in the teaching profession need to be considered as part of the socio-cultural environment within this profession is enacted.

With an exclusive focus on the personal, however, we fail to acknowledge how individual thought and action are shaped, constrained, channeled, and sponsored by social, historical, and political systems (Florio-Ruane & Williams, 2008); yet, by focusing solely on those systems and trying to dictate the 'what'

and 'how' of education without the active participation and resounding voice of teachers, we fail to acknowledge their emotions and ideas, their meaning of their experiences, their identity and agency as educators. For CLIL, this is particularly important, as it is through teachers that practical solutions can be found to existing restraining or limiting factors, thus improving related programs, training, and practices. This research project anticipates that sociocultural agency is the type of teacher agency that CLIL teachers exercise among institutional and sociocultural aspects of their wider occupational and sociopolitical environment. Its inclusion in the broader concept of teacher agency in CLIL lies not only in the unavoidability of external social forces bearing on teaching and school culture, but also in the need for a more pluralistic processing of policies, educational goals, and understandings of teacherhood.

#### 2.4.1.2 Relational agency

It has been shown that a multidimensional work environment influences the actions within the boundaries of an organization, which in turn shape organizational structure (Bailey & Barley, 2011). In effect, teachers are guided to an extent in their actions by the environment in which they work, which does not leave relational agency unaffected. Each school entails a cluster of teachers who comprise a formal or informal network of knowledge engaged in a collective learning activity. Each member may be affected differently by the physical and interpersonal environment of the school, but they share the same responsibility in distributing knowledge, offering encouraging support, and providing counsel. It has been found that collectively assessing teaching routines and novel conceptions of education, proactively resolving conflict or facing difficulties as a community, and actively supporting one another in professional development are some factors that strengthen conditions for improvement in teaching and learning (Little, 2002). Teacher development can occur when teachers jointly consider and openly discuss classroom reality and practices, the meaning of their experiences and their conceptualization of pedagogies, as it creates space for teachers to find a voice together through exploratory talk, articulate their needs, seek and offer help, and validate a sense of being and becoming in a teacher community (Moate, 2011c, 2014a, 2014b). Relationships are built on peer guidance and cooperative learning, assuming a social and relational nature within their professional environments. Teachers who participate in such relations help set the foundations of a teacher-learning ecology using professionalism, peer interaction, and knowledge as blocks.

The teacher-as-learner condition requires and should enable relational agency. Relational agency corresponds to acting in conjunction with others, especially those with whom one shares professional interests, rather than on one's own. Elements of relational agency include dialogic reasoning at a personal and collective level, mutual responsibility, object-oriented activity and peer support (Edwards, 2007, 2015). This type of agency is a concept whereby the individual engages in a web of interactive relations with colleagues for the purposes of improvement and growth, goal achievement and perseverance in the face of adversity or uncertainty. It is a shelter of interconnections wherein purposeful practice

takes place by "align[ing] one's thought and actions with those of others in order to interpret problems of practice and to respond to those interconnections" (Edwards, 2005, pp. 169-170). Alternatively, it can be seen as a 'community of practice' or a 'community of learners' that dialogically interact and engage in discursive meaning-making; by sharing interpretations of meaning, language, emotions, values, lifecourses, practice and tools, they partake in the process of achieving the development of educational practice, the growth of teachers' personal and professional identities, and a transformation in thinking or traditional power relationships (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Geijsel & Meijers, 2005; ten Dam & Blom, 2006). Relational agency is part of a conceptual space which focuses on learning, mediating and bringing together individual understanding and systemic change (Edwards, 2007). To sharpen such focus on learning, relational agency calls for an understanding that the professional self is open to an ongoing dialogue and collaboration with multiple contributors, aiming at constructive change, the strengthening of commitment and goals, shared meaning-making, and professional development (e.g., Eteläpelto et al., 2014). Moreover, it requires the individual's consciousness in decision-making and coordination in relation to others.

In addition to relational agency as collegial or peer relationships, this research project suggests that this type of agency can also be regarded as a relationship between the CLIL teacher and CLIL students. Considering the grassroots approach Finnish teachers have taken to CLIL, fueling their efforts with their own motivation and professional integrity for the sake of their pupils' broader education (Moate, 2011c), relational agency could also be detected in the classroom, as teachers and students jointly embark on defining the language of education, resources and knowledge, assessment and self-monitoring, roles and boundaries of expertise. In the CLIL classroom, common aims are sought to be reached through a confluence of various understandings, abilities, strengths and weaknesses that are aligned and adjusted in order to learn and succeed individually as well as collectively. At the same time, teacher-student roles are subtly readjusted, as the foreign language puts both "on an equal footing" (Hüttner et al., 2013, p. 272). This viewing of relational agency from the classroom angle implies that the CLIL teachers and their students may become peers in their collaborative endeavor to implement CLIL, and renders the CLIL teacher-student relationship invaluable to ameliorating instruction, strategies, and integration of language and content.

#### 2.4.1.3 Pedagogical agency

After agency at the socio-cultural level as well as that arising from and within collegial affiliations, it is necessary that we examine pedagogical agency. Pedagogical agency in this research project regards the agency exercised by the teacher at the level of the classroom and is equally important to the two types of agency formerly mentioned. Within the socio-culturally influenced organizational and relational scope of agency, pedagogical agency as a concept allows us to regard the teacher with an instrumental role functioning at the very nucleus of

school as an institution, the classroom. Its significance lies in the practical implications it has for teacher and teaching alike and, by extension, for professional empowerment and learning.

Pedagogical agency concerns the sphere of the classroom and becomes the immediate means a teacher has in her possession to act as an educator. It is the teacher's tool to be used in and enriched with practice. The teacher comes into the classroom with their professional experience, adaptive skills and resourcefulness, attempting to determine a path to successful teaching. Korthagen (2004) suggested that a teacher creates a suitable learning environment, becomes a model, handles unexpected events, instructs, trains, and coaches. To do so, teachers would have to act on the premises of their sense of teacherhood (Moate, 2013), and the corresponding responsibilities and ethical considerations. This means that teachers engage with the reality of the classroom by bringing to it their pedagogical convictions and interests as well as their beliefs and values (e.g., Rodgers & Raider-Roth, 2006), while drawing on "individual developmental affordances", such as past experiences and competences (Eteläpelto et al., 2015, p. 663). Pedagogical agency also encompasses the way teachers utilize their professional knowledge and skills to effectively manage resources (Moate, 2013), manage the classroom (e.g., Eteläpelto et al., 2015), evaluate and respond to their emotions, values and moral commitments (e.g., Hargreaves, 1998; Kelchtermans, 2009; Sullivan & McCarthy, 2004), reflect on their experiences (e.g., Kelchtermans, 2009), set future long-term or short-term goals (Priestley, Biesta, et al., 2012), and resist or remain open to change (e.g., Ketelaar, Beijaard, Boshuizen, & Den Brok, 2012; Sannino, 2010). As far as the new Finnish curriculum, which regards all teachers as language teachers, and the international interest taken in CLIL are concerned, pedagogical agency can also be seen in CLIL material design and lesson planning (e.g., Bovellan, 2014; Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010; Mäkiranta, 2014), student assessment and classroom interaction (e.g., Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Nikula, 2007), the integration of content and language (e.g., Gajo, 2007), and how teachers respond to the needs or requirements of the curriculum. Irrespective of regular or CLIL teaching, pedagogical agency should also be seen as an active and thoughtful stance towards lifelong learning and professional development (e.g., Biesta & Tedder, 2007; Hökkä & Vähäsantanen, 2014). Pedagogical agency is the recognition of a teacher's autonomy and authority on their practice, on which principled decision-making is based and which, while not entirely independent of external authoritarian or influential forces, should be respected.

## 2.5 Identity agency

Agency and identity are juxtaposed concepts, inextricably related (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). Rather than being strictly determined by social structures, individuals are nowadays regarded as multidimensional, intentional beings with transformational and transformative capabilities (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Varghese et al., 2005). Despite influences by workplace settings, other people and

social practices, individuals show significant agency in constructing their professional identity not only in "adopting certain socially pre-existing and prescribed identities emerging from social suggestions", but also by negotiating such an identity within their local, social and work environment (Eteläpelto et al., 2014). Therefore, although context-bound in terms of society, culture and politics, one's professional identity can be juxtaposed to those externally imposed, (re)constructed, shifted, or maintained by means of dialogic negotiation (Richards, 2006; Varghese et al., 2005). This juxtaposition may hold potential for an important transformational process in professional identity. Given that such identity processes are commonly accepted as fundamental to interpersonal interaction (Freese & Burke, 1994), they are particularly important to teachers, whose work is directly related to other individuals and values and are instrumental in educational change.

Teacher identity informs the way that the psychological and cognitive state of being a teacher, or the 'self' of the teacher, will be manifested through the enactment of the teacher's professional agency. Teacher identity lies in action based upon recognition and contemplation of one's educational role and philosophy, and the engagement in mutual interaction with the school and the socio-political context in which the teacher enacts her profession. Furthermore, teacher identity is a social phenomenon, whereby the individual engages in interaction with external influences, creating states of being and constructing foundations for action and development in the process. Developing teacher identity entails bringing personal interpretations and knowledgeable appraisals to bear on matters of education as well as understanding one's participatory role in educational practice (ten Dam & Blom, 2006). In doing so, the teacher subjects the amalgam of her inherent, acquired or developed personal traits to contrasting interpretation against the background of factors at play in the working and socio-cultural environment. This interpretation suggests a state of struggle, of perturbation, that entails assuming responsibilities and forming relationships, enables positioning and defining one's self, and enhances sense and order (Freese & Burke, 1994). The interaction of the person of the teacher with intrinsic elements of macro and micro social structures offers "an analytical lens" through which to examine "the complex, situated, and fluid attributes that individuals bring with them to the study and practice of teaching" (Sexton, 2008, p.75). This interaction has been explored in terms of reinvention, explanatory narratives, discourses, metaphors, contextual influence on teachers and teaching practice, and pedagogic doing and relating (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Moate, 2013). Such perspectives suggest a connection of identity to a sense of who the teacher is and, consequently, how she acts.

Identity, as a psychological as well as social and discursive phenomenon, becomes a resource for professional agency (Varghese et al., 2005; Vähäsantanen, 2015). At the same time, agency becomes intrinsic and important to negotiating one's professional identity, as it is linked to teachers' actions, experiencing and understandings (Arpaci & Bardakçi, 2016; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). The form of agency that is utilized in this negotiation of teacher's professional self is

understood as *identity agency*. In particular, *identity agency* is understood as the active shaping of teachers' identity on pedagogical, relational and sociocultural levels, by drawing on biographical, idiosyncratic, contextual, and socio-cultural factors (see Figure 1). Teachers become intentional beings involved in situated interactions through which they attempt to make sense of the self, emotions, discourses, and roles implying certain values and beliefs (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Rodgers & Scott, 2008; Varghese et al., 2005). Yet, the ways teachers frame their experiences in light of prior beliefs and self-views are what define the process and outcome(s) of re-examination and re-negotiation of their identity (Coward et al., 2015). Thus, teachers' *identity agency* is not only rendering personally meaningful the enacted experiences within relational and physical contexts at work. It is also engaging one's personal, social, and cognitive resources in assessing and interpreting these enacted experiences so that the resulting or desired identity is more or less coherent and consistent (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Coward et al., 2015; Flores & Day, 2006). *Identity agency* helps achieve this sense of internal consistency by teachers' own alignment of past, current, and aspired-to positionings (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998), suggesting teachers are agents in shaping their professional identity through personal interests, competences, ideals, and ethical commitments they invest in their work (Eteläpelto et al., 2015).

An investment of teachers' personal and professional resources in their work can be seen more clearly in their immediate environment of professional practice. That is, as members of a wider professional community, teachers exercise *identity agency* when engaging with the general discourses, norms and expectations surrounding their work. However, it is in the classroom as a space for performing as a pedagogue, and in the school as a space for performing as a colleague that *identity agency* is exercised more often and has a direct impact on teacher identity. At the level of the classroom, *identity agency* is exercised in using one's personality traits, beliefs, experiences and professional ideals (Day, Kington, et al., 2006), so as to negotiate one's self-understanding as pedagogue and educator, i.e. pedagogical identity. Moreover, *identity agency* is exercised in coupling these personal resources with projective consideration of possible actions in the attempt to establish connections between, on the one hand, one's teacher identity, job satisfaction and motivation, and, on the other hand, practices, opportunities and hindrances within their particular professional context (Körkkö, Kyrö-Ämmälä, & Turunen, 2016; Lasky, 2005; Lemke, 2008; Mora, Trejo, & Roux, 2016).

At the level of collegial relationships, *identity agency* is exercised within social relationships at work. These relationships provide a formative context for negotiating one's self-understanding as a fellow professional, i.e. relational identity. *Identity agency* in this case may be exercised in managing the control of others or that of their social context, negotiating shaping discourses, and sharing in the traditions, rules and norms of the affinity group (Gee, 2000; Kayi-aydar, 2015). This interactional agency may lead to participation and membership, communal repertoires and tools, and shared, co-constructed meanings (ten Dam & Blom, 2006). In effect, to negotiate the pedagogical and relational sides of their overall

professional identity, teachers draw on *identity agency* through both individual action and dialogic interaction within the professional community. Although such action and interaction are cognitive, they are also to a large extent emotional, an element to which I turn in the following sub-chapter.

## 2.6 Emotions

### 2.6.1 What is emotion?

In western societies, the dualism or juxtaposition of mind and body has been embedded in our thinking and perceptions of emotion, a consequence of Cartesian, binary viewing of the two (Watkins, 2011). However, more recent research in emotions has come to acknowledge that mind and body are not separate, but interdependent, interpersonal and dynamic. Thus, the conception of the relationship between stimuli, affect and individual has been rendered more complex as well as more profound, especially thanks to early cognitive and psychological research in teaching and emotions (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003). While this has been an important step toward understanding emotion, there is no concrete consensus as to what emotions are. As van Veen and Sleegers (2006) state, the theoretical perspectives on emotions are many, e.g. "physiological, philosophical, historical, sociological, feminist, organizational, anthropological, and psychological" (pp. 86-87). Moreover, emotional intelligence, emotional labor, emotional synchronization, emotional climate, emotional geographies, affective events, affectivities, emotional contagion, and crossover theory are some of the plethora of concepts related to emotions and their role in negotiating one's self and one's social relationships at work (Ashkanasy, 2015; Becker, Goetz, Morger, & Ranellucci, 2014; Goleman, 1995; Hargreaves, 2001; Kenway & Youdell, 2011; Yin, Lee, Zhang, & Jin, 2013). Yet, despite the space created for a broader interpretation of the nature of emotions, the nature itself remains elusive.

To understand emotion conceptually, we would need to combine perspectives, as emotions are multidimensional complexes involving cognition, feeling and action (Zembylas, Charalambous, & Charalambous, 2012). On the one hand, emotion can be conceptualized as a state. Emotions are subjective experiences stemming from and being shaped by social and interactive activity (Golombek & Doran, 2014). They are the classified or stratified experiential state of pre-personal and pre-discursive bodily sensations (Kenway & Youdell, 2011). This mental state occurs as a result of personal evaluations, is activated by specified triggers, and is relatively short in duration, preparing one for potential action toward one's well-being (Newton, 2013). On the other hand, emotion can be conceptualized as a process (Cross & Hong, 2012). Cross and Hong (2012) explain that, as a process, emotion is a response to a stimulus that is perceived and evaluated by the individual, activating in turn a behavioral and physiological response that is expressed in gestures. Sutton and Wheatley (2003) clarify that the body's subsystems of "*appraisal*, *subjective experience*, *physiological change*, *emotional expression*,

and *action tendencies*" influence one another, although they may remain partially independent (p. 329, italics in original). This physiological or biological response is colored not only by an individual's beliefs, goals, personality and identity, but also by social norms, history, culture and power relationships (Cross & Hong, 2012; Zembylas et al., 2012).

Coupled with individual agency, the physical and psychological components of emotions transform into transactions between internal and external spheres of experience. Both as state and as process, emotion acquires its complexity by the way individuals render their embodied experiences psychologically meaningful in deliberating and intentionally acting within the socio-political and discursive structures that frame their current perception of their own existence (see Figure 1). Emotions are something the individual feels and interprets internally, rather than something static the individual possesses. At the same time, emotions signal a connection with and responsiveness to the individual's surroundings and occurring events. An individual's given position in the world implies a web of social relationships embedded in spatiotemporal, societal, cultural, political, and discursive contexts. These contexts may, to some degree, direct and shape emotional expression as well as validate the legitimacy of certain emotions in the shared language, one's bodily experience and practices. Emphasizing the relationships and values within such contexts, Zembylas (2003, p. 216) argues:

> The emotions that teachers experience and express, for example, are not just matters of personal dispositions but are constructed in social relationships and systems of values in their families, cultures, and school situations. These relationships and values profoundly influence how and when particular emotions are constructed, expressed, and communicated.

Emotions cease to be solely private or existential, and become performative, referring to the wider society as an ecology in which emotions become constituted through language and power (Zembylas, 2005).

### 2.6.2 Identity learning as a cyclical process

To engage with the world in general, and with one's work environment in particular, is to become emotionally vulnerable to it. Especially when teaching is a profession underlined by emotions (Hargreaves, 2001), this vulnerability may be felt more acutely by teachers in their daily interactions with pupils, colleagues, parents and other stakeholders in education. Although vulnerability brings negative connotations to mind, it does not necessarily mean that emotions may have an undesirable impact on one's identity as a teacher. This vulnerability should rather be understood as openness to emotional experiences as catalysts for professional change or development. Nonetheless, rather negatively hued emotions may prove to be an obstacle to professional learning, especially when they are disregarded or not adequately dealt with. Considering identity negotiation as an agentic and discursive process of reinterpretation, and taking into account emotional preferences and rational interpretations as mutually constitutive

(Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Beijaard et al., 2004; Zembylas, 2003), identity learning becomes a cyclical process in which emotion and cognition are bridged through a communication between individual and collective realities (Geijsel & Meijers, 2005; Meijers, 2002).

What instigates identity learning is a demarcation point in one's professional trajectory, which in Meijers' (2002) model of identity learning is dubbed 'boundary experience' (see Figure 2). As is explained by Geijsel and Meijers (2005), a boundary experience signals a hurdle to one's current self-concept, and occurs when one is confronted with a new situation whose exigencies cannot be fully identified with. It is clarified that, when this boundary experience is coupled with positive emotion, it may be conducive to learning and growth. However, this experience is more likely to be accompanied by negative emotion and encountered with fear, uncertainty and insecurity about one's abilities. In this case, the individual is unable to function adequately, a situation that consequently causes existential insecurity or crisis that forces one to reconsider one's self as well as others. While this may well be a cognitive problem, such as a lack of pertinent knowledge and required skills, it is often an emotional problem in which identity reconfiguration is rendered difficult to effect due to former identifications and bonds. Yet, the negative emotion generated by either coping with a failed attempt to reshape one's professional identity, or actualizing an identity reconfiguration in light of new circumstances and demands, can be invaluable. For its value to be realized, individuals need to view it as "*the formation of a reflexive consciousness*" (Geijsel & Meijers, 2005, p. 424, italics in original), and engage with it in the space provided by two mutually supportive processes, i.e. intuitive sense-giving and discursive meaning-giving (Meijers, 2002).

Intuitive-sense giving is the intrapersonal dialogue that the individual first engages in in their attempt to reconfigure their identity in a manner that is congruent with the new situation and its exigencies. This introspection goes beyond mere comprehension of the new situation and provides the way to making personal – that is, emotional – sense of it by means of concepts. What ensue are the motivation and ability to exhibit alternative professional behavior. Although such concepts help to more adequately articulate feelings, thus making less understood emotions transparent, they need to be embedded into one's life story. Yet, these concepts do not exist in the abstract, but are shared by others "'with love', meaning with knowledge of the individual's life history and respect for the individual's life story" (Geijsel & Meijers, 2005, p. 425). The usefulness of such concepts further lies in which concepts the individual chooses to use in light of their own life story. When such concepts have made the subjective emotional experience meaningful, a subsequent process may more successfully take place.

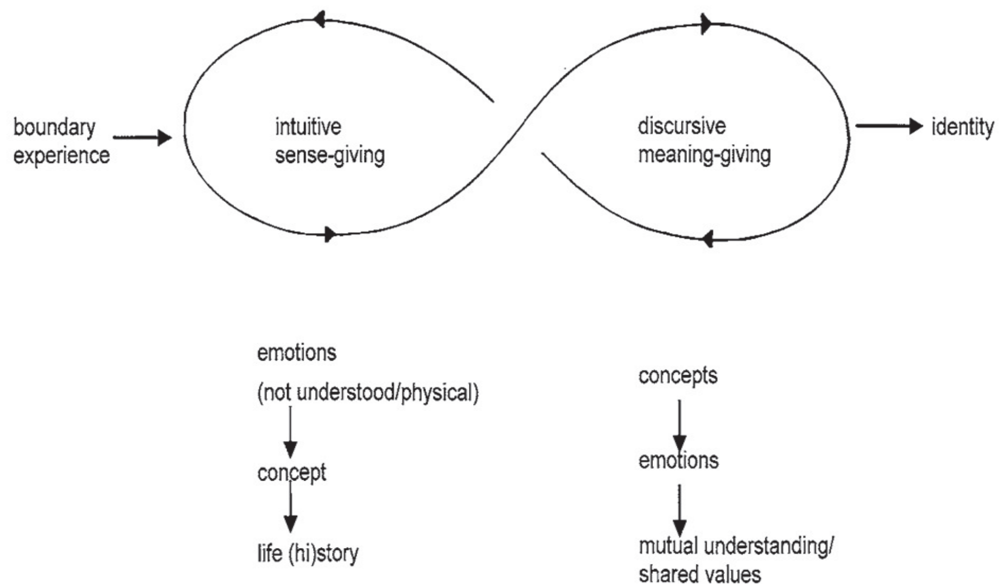


FIGURE 2 Identity as a learning process (Meijers, 2002)

Discursive-sense giving is the interpersonal dialogue that the individual later engages in their attempt to reconfigure their identity in a manner that is compatible with the new situation and its exigencies. This process signifies the involvement of the individual in existing discourses, in which they identify from the available concepts those that will help restore a 'fit' between emotions and cognitions. However, during this dialogue, the concepts are used heuristically in collaboration with others. In other words, while the individual strives to understand the new meanings a situation may hold for their sense of self, it is the individual's interaction with others that invests the concepts with logical and emotional explanations that are meaningful within the relational environment framing such interactions. This discursive-sense giving, involving others, results in mutual understanding, shared meanings, and communally upheld values.

Both intrapersonal and interpersonal dialogues are essential to reconstructing a balance between the former and the to-be self-concept, thus resolving conflict and restoring internal continuity. On the basis of their model, Geijsel and Meijers (2005) argue that these dialogues need separate platforms, especially seeing as the intrapersonal dialogue may proceed more slowly and rely on trust, implied by the intimacy necessary for conversations over personal meanings. It would be invaluable to any professional community and its collective professional development if this intimacy underpinning one's intrapersonal dialogue was cultivated among colleagues. Consequently, colleagues would become the significant others who would not only offer expertise, but also personal insights to inform one another's intuitive sense-giving processes. Geijsel and Meijers (2005, p. 425) also stress how identity construction is a cyclical process in which

learning is effected when experiences are made meaningful for the self-concept, provided that concepts are endowed with personal sense:

> Identity is a configuration of meanings, but this configuration will change constantly when new elements are given a place and are related to experiences. The inverse also applies: concepts and meanings that are available (for example, from scientific research or pedagogical theories), but cannot be related to experiences and thus are not given a personal sense, will not become a part of the identity configuration.

To negotiate identity, then, one must be aware not only of their own life story, but also remain alert and cognizant of how relatable and potentially useful the gamut of concepts offered in their professional and relational spaces may be. Moreover, rather than viewing identity negotiation as a solitary endeavor, one must be critical and inclusive of options, values and duties present in the voices and practices of others. These insights are important for teachers in general, irrespective of career stage, as they suggest that developing professionally as a consequence of renegotiating your identity – or, as understood in this model, as a consequence of reconfiguring meanings – is primarily a personal responsibility with a strong collective element.

# 3 RESEARCH TASK AND OVERARCHING RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research project consists of three empirical sub-studies (Articles I-III), mainly exploring teachers' professional identity in the context of foreign language mediated teaching in Finland. The research task and overarching research questions presented in this chapter aim at guiding the discussion on the basis of the empirical findings. The research task of this project concerns the ways CLIL teachers in Finnish primary education negotiate their professional identity. The three overarching questions that ensue in the present research task are:

1. How does professional agency become important in identity negotiation?
2. What does the interrelationship of individual and collective mean for professional identity?
3. How are emotions involved in professional identity negotiation?

These research questions are investigated in light of the empirical findings of the three sub-studies and informed by an understanding of professional identity as the dynamic negotiation of agency-related, emotional, pedagogical, relational, and socio-cultural aspects in teachers' work life. The empirical studies comprising this research project have attempted to examine these aspects separately, so as to provide a clearer picture of each (see Table 2). In particular, sub-study I centered on the tensions CLIL teachers encounter in their work as well as the resources they draw on to counter, manage or negotiate such tensions. Sub-study II explored how a form of professional agency, namely *identity agency*, was exercised in negotiating CLIL teachers' pedagogical and relational sides to their professional identity, and how those two sides gave rise to a broader sense of professional identity. To highlight the emotional nature of teaching and address the role of emotion in identity construction, sub-study III explores what emotionally accented experiences are perceived in teachers' work and how they are involved in teachers' negotiation of their professional identity. These empirical studies aimed at illuminating different facets of identity negotiation, the inner relationship of which is discussed here in line with the overarching research questions

specified for this research task. The relationship among the main concepts used in this research project (identity, agency and emotions), the overarching research questions (RQ 1, 2 and 3), and the research questions for sub-study I (1a, 1b), sub-study II (2a, 2b, 2c) and sub-study III (3a, 3b) is summarized in Figure 3.

TABLE 2 Focus, research questions and methods of the three sub-studies

| Focus of sub-studies | | Research questions | Data and participants | Data analysis |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | Tensions and resources for teacher agency | (1a) What tensions do CLIL teachers in Finland recognize in exercising agency in their work?<br><br>(1b) What enables and resources CLIL teachers in Finland to deal with tensions at work? | Thirteen primary school and one kindergarten CLIL teachers. Interviews averaged 34:40 minutes, and transcripts averaged 14.57 pages. | Thematic Analysis |
| II | Pedagogical and relational identity negotiation; *identity agency* | (2a) How is CLIL teacher identity agency exercised at the classroom level?<br><br>(2b) How is CLIL teacher identity agency exercised within the collegial community?<br><br>(2c) How do CLIL teachers negotiate their professional identity between its pedagogical and relational sides? | Thirteen primary school CLIL teachers. Interviews averaged 34:71 minutes, and transcripts averaged 14.6 pages. | Thematic Analysis |
| III | Emotions and identity negotiation | (3a) What are the emotions present in Finnish primary school teachers' CLIL work?<br><br>(3b) What is the role of emotions in teachers' identity negotiation? | Thirteen primary school CLIL teachers. Interviews averaged 34:71 minutes, and transcripts averaged 14.6 pages. | Thematic Analysis |

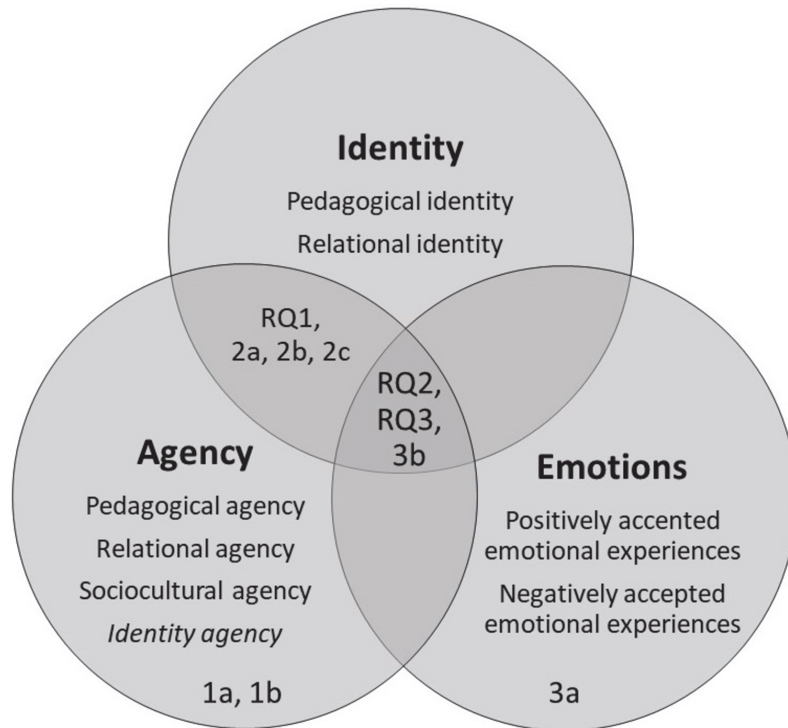


FIGURE 3 Relationship between main concepts and the overarching research and sub-study questions

# 4 METHODS

This chapter begins by addressing the epistemology underpinning this research project. Then, it provides information on the CLIL teachers who participated in the empirical studies and on how the data were collected. Moreover, it offers justification for the choice of interviewing as a method for data collection and explains the process of data analysis. Finally, it addresses some ethical considerations pertaining to this research project.

## 4.1 Epistemology

This research project is informed by constructivist and sociocultural thought. The concepts and phenomenon explored in the sub-studies comprising this dissertation are subjectively as well as socially constructed, hence calling for epistemology that problematizes and addresses subjective interpretations of the phenomena explored. On the one hand, the framework of the research being that of CLIL, language as a mediational tool for thought and action in the teaching profession calls for epistemology that enables an understanding of how meaning-making occurs between individuals and how that, in turn, affects subjective interpretations of one's professional identity and agency. On the other hand, the constructivist approach posits that knowledge is subjectively constructed and that reality varies from individual to individual, with language actively shaping and molding a meaningful reality (Scotland, 2012). Schwandt (1998, p. 236) aptly describes this when saying that:

> Constructivists are deeply committed to the contrary view that what we take to be objective knowledge and truth is the result of perspective. Knowledge and truth are created, not discovered by the mind. They emphasize the pluralistic and plastic character of reality – pluralistic in the sense that reality is expressible in a variety of symbol and language systems; plastic in the sense that reality is stretched and shaped to fit purposeful acts of intentional human agents. […] Constructivists are antiessentialists.

Knowledge occurs individually as well as discursively, while it is a process as much as it is a product of our ways of thinking and enacting our agency. Individuals are deemed knowing beings capable of autonomous, albeit at times constrained, action, whose knowledge "is further assumed to have a complex set of referents and meanings", and whose behavior is purposive (Magoon, 1977, p. 652). The sociocultural approach may debate the primacy of the psychological or social nature of Vygotskian theory, yet adds to the above by seeing action as mediated, in part linguistically, while seeing (inter)mental functioning as situated within the socio-cultural, institutional and historical fabric of one's experienced existence; knowledge, then, becomes dialogic, subject to social forces at the same time as it is influenced by individual experience and negotiated meanings (Steffe & Gale, 1995). Hence, a combination of the constructivist and sociocultural paradigm is employed as epistemological lens in an attempt to make this research project coherent and intelligible in its approach to understanding the data.

As reality is constructed alongside others through engagement and interaction within particular contexts, knowledge can be accessed through the descriptions, understandings and perspectives of participants, and can be interpreted by identifying various levels of insight in an evidence-based and justifiable fashion (Scotland, 2012). In the case of such epistemological underpinnings, researchers' interpretation of knowledge should be theorized accounts that do justice to participant's sociological understandings, while taking into account ways in which structural forces and pre-existing meaning-making systems inform such interpretation (Scotland, 2012). Nonetheless, this interpretation itself is the researcher's subjective understanding of the participants' reality, as seen through their accounts, which then becomes part of the world-shaping and value-laden discourse such accounts initiated. This becomes more pertinent to this research project considering that the interviews, which comprise the data of the sub-studies, took place in English. Regardless of proficiency levels or of how close to their mother tongue they felt it was, English was a second or foreign language for both interviewer and interviewees, save for one participant who was raised a bilingual. This may have affected how participants chose to express themselves and re-construct their experiences in dialogue with the researcher. Moreover, thinking of knowledge as a coordinated activity mediated through language as a shared intelligible system that helps create accounts of the world (Schwandt, 1998), the accounts that are co-created are further mediated in the process of interpretation by the researcher's command of English as a linguistic resource as well as their understanding of the cultural aspects implied by English as a language and the participants' socio-cultural background. In addition to that, the interpretation of these accounts as knowledge expressive of relationships among individuals may invest some authority in the researcher (Schwandt, 1998), as the researcher draws on scientific language, and, consequently, ways of thinking, that are available to him or her, yet not to the participants. Yet, it might be this particular language that can render the interpretations of the participants' accounts more sophisticated understandings of the phenomenon or concept under exploration, and add

scientific relevance, quality and critical dimension to the initially dialogic constructions. Therefore, rather than lessening the importance of the information or accounts provided by the participants, such scientific prisms help elevate the meaningfulness of such accounts within, and possibly beyond, the contexts that gave rise to them.

## 4.2 Data

### 4.2.1 Participants

In understanding the concepts and findings of this research project, one would need to be acquainted with the participating teachers and their background. Altogether, fourteen CLIL teachers participated in the sub-studies comprising this research project. Thirteen of these teachers were Finnish citizens and have had teacher education in Finland. Moreover, there was one international teacher (Teacher 12 in sub-study II and III; Teacher 13 in sub-study I), who worked and resided in Finland, having had bilingual education training in her country of origin. As she was not a native speaker of English, the language used as the medium for instruction in the participants' CLIL classes, she was considered an eligible participant for the research project (Nikula et al., 2013). While all teachers worked at 5 primary schools around Finland, one of the Finnish teachers worked at an English kindergarten as a manager, having first worked at the same place as a teacher for some years (Teacher 3 in sub-study I). However, despite this participant's long teaching experience in early childhood immersion education, only the teachers teaching CLIL in primary education were included in the subsequent sub-studies, so as to create a more homogeneous group of participants. All the CLIL teachers who participated in this research project were women and used English in their foreign-language mediated classes.

Teachers in Finland are required to have a Bachelor's (3 years) and Master's (2 years) degree. When teaching more than 8 hours a week through the medium of another language, teachers need to have training. In addition, their foreign language proficiency should correspond to level C1 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. The participants' educational backgrounds varied, as did the length of the teaching experience they had in either regular and special, or CLIL instruction (see Table 3). The kindergarten teacher studied early childhood education and, due to her own interests in teaching English at that educational level, she followed an intensive CLIL training course of twenty weeks. There was one more participant (Teacher 10) who had an early childhood education background, but she had already been working for many years at primary school level by the time the interviews took place.

TABLE 3 Information on participants

| Information on participants | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Teacher | School level | Qualifications | Preparation for CLIL | Years of experience | Testing students | Transcript |
| 1 | primary | class teacher | minor studies in English | 1 | no | 10.11 |
| 2 | | class teacher | specialization in Music, Art and English | 20 | no | 12.11 |
| 3 | kindergarten | early education teacher | in-service training | about 25 | NA | 16.11 |
| 4 | primary | subject teacher; special education teacher | PhD, CLIL courses after starting teaching CLIL | 30 | no | 17.11 |
| 5 | | class teacher | specialization in English | 30 | no | 23.11 A |
| 6 | | class teacher | learning CLIL from colleagues | 20 | no | 23.11 B |
| 7 | | class teacher | PhD, specialized in English and German | 26 | no | 23.11 C |
| 8 | | class teacher | minor studies in English | 8 | no | 24.11 |
| 9 | | special education teacher | minor studies in English | 13 | not all | 08.12 A |
| 10 | | early childhood teacher | specialization in English | 21 | not all | 08.12 B |
| 11 | | class teacher | specialization in Music and English, CLIL teacher qualification exam | 27 | not all | 08.12 C |
| 12 | | class teacher | specialization in English, in-service CLIL training | 16 | NA | 10.12 A |
| 13 | | bilingual education teacher | BA in bilingual education, internship at bilingual school | 5 | NA | 10.12 B |
| 14 | | class teacher | minor studies in English | 3 | NA | 11.12 |

*Note.* NA = This information is not available

Moreover, while other teachers were qualified as class teachers, there was one teacher qualified as a bilingual teacher and two as special education teachers. Two teachers had pursued doctoral studies, one had a Bachelor's degree and the rest had a Master's degree, which teachers in Finland are required to acquire during their studies and training. Apart from one participant (Teacher 6) who learned how to teach CLIL through her colleagues, all participants had either chosen English as their minor studies or specialized in English during their studies, or had courses in CLIL after they started using foreign-language mediated instruction. The teachers' professional experience ranged from 1 to 30 years at the time of the interviews, with four teachers being at the beginning (1-6 years), two in the middle (13 and 16), and seven at a later stage (20-30) of their teaching career. There is no precise information concerning the kindergarten teacher's (Teacher 3) teaching experience in terms of years, although it seems that she has worked as an early childhood teacher extensively, shifting to executing administrative duties in the past few years. One teacher had substantial teaching experience in special education, while three others taught special education classes alongside their foreign-language mediated ones.

All participants were evidently very fluent in English. One teacher was bilingual, as one of her parents was a native language speaker. Another two regarding themselves as such; one of them was married to a native language speaker and, therefore, constantly used English at home, while the other stated she "wasn't born bilingual" (Teacher 13), but studied English in secondary school and university and had native-like proficiency. Other participants deeming English an integral part of their lives. All the teachers came into CLIL teaching quite spontaneously, by becoming familiar with the methodology during their studies, internship or change of workplace. In addition, some teachers had the experience of teaching abroad (Teachers 3, 12, 13 and 14). Although three teachers stated they were following the school's policy on CLIL, CLIL teaching was perceived as an interesting challenge in the course of their professional careers. These are important facts, especially considering that students participating in the CLIL classes taught by these teachers are neither tested nor carefully selected on the basis of their language proficiency. The positivity with which teachers encounter this additional dimension to their work, their volition in pursuing international experiences or CLIL-related in-service or pre-service training, and their personal inclination toward English underline the innovative aspect of CLIL as well as support the grassroots approach teachers in Finland still take to CLIL.

### 4.2.2 Participant recruitment

Contact with the participants was initially effected via electronic correspondence with the head teachers of the schools, who disseminated the information at the school, or through direct communication with the teachers. Subsequent communication took place with prospective participate teachers who expressed an interest in participating in this research project. The teachers were informed about the scope, aims and ethical commitments of the study from the outset, although the

particular concepts examined, i.e. professional identity and agency, were not explicitly explained in detail in the email, so as not to incline teachers toward giving premeditated answers to the interview questions. Further information about the research project to be conducted was provided prior to signing the confidentiality form, a copy of which was kept by both researcher and participant. The interviews took place between October and December 2015 at the teachers' workplace, each teacher giving an interview individually. This entailed a quiet classroom, which is at once a public and somewhat private space, and an audiotaped conversation across a desk. By choosing their workplace as the physical space in which to conduct the interview, it was expected that the CLIL teachers would feel comfortable and confident, and that the surrounding environment would indirectly underline the meaningfulness of the interview exchange.

#### 4.2.3 Interviewing as data collection method

Exploring the concepts of identity and agency, much more so that of emotion, in one's professional life could benefit from both qualitative and quantitative approaches to research. However, this research project opted for a qualitative approach, often employed in social research (Taylor, Bogdan, & DeVault, 2016), so as to better identify the hues of the concepts examined and draw potential connections among these concepts. Therefore, although questionnaires may have been developed for the examination of professional agency (e.g., Goller, 2017; Vähäsantanen, Paloniemi, Hökkä, Eteläpelto, & Räikkönen, 2016), semi-structured interviews constituted the tool for the collection of more nuanced data.

As teachers' lives, and in this case CLIL teachers' lives, entail social relationships and taking stances at work, it would be expected that through interviews participants would share circumstances and ways in which self and action come together to shape their individual reality. By referring to contexts and situations in which the nature of identity, agency and emotions come to the fore, interviews allow participants to construct accounts of themselves as pedagogues, as colleagues and as professionals, while allowing the researcher to be privy to individual realities, insights, and ways of interpreting experiences and social worlds (Miller & Glassner, 2016). Consequently, the interview becomes an actively constructed conversation in which the participants' agentic subjectivity in creating narratives of themselves meets the researcher's subjectivity in interpreting and communicating the produced narrative (Holstein & Gubrium, 2016). Interviews are not "communicatively neutral artefacts", but interactional events in which the interviewer has to be aware of their own presence, however restrained, as well as of the socially shared dialectic and dialogic tools that may inform the representation of participants' accounts of themselves (Holstein & Gubrium, 2016, p. 68). If we are to regard interviews not as technical, but as intellectual enterprises, the researcher must employ more intellectual resources than in regular conversational contexts, and acknowledge the ambiguity and impossibility of any ultimate truth; rather, the researcher should aim at the best possible interpretation of the data yielded by participants as potentially knowledgeable subjects (Alversson, 2011).

The overarching purpose of the qualitative approach taken in this research project was to gain information about teachers' perceptions of their work and lived experiences therein, in a manner that was meaningful and relevant to their social and relational contexts (e.g., Labuschagne, 2003). The interview questions used in this research project were guided by aspects of professional identity and professional agency identified in academic literature. Drawing on both general as well as educational literature on these particular concepts, professional agency was understood as a concept comprising three different forms of agency, namely sociocultural, relational and pedagogical agency. Similarly, professional identity was conceptualized as encompassing biographical or idiosyncratic, contextual and socio-cultural elements. Features of the different forms of agency and elements of identity respectively were identified in extant literature, and interview questions were developed for each of these features. Some questions were developed in such a way as to render any existing differences more prominent by means of comparison between CLIL and regular teaching, and to encourage self-disclosure by self-to-self, rather than self-to-other comparison (Moate, 2011b). These interview questions were subsequently refined, so as to address the particular research context, i.e. CLIL teaching, and their sequence was reorganized, with the most important questions being followed by follow-up or supportive questions. Although this aimed at participants' answers creating a more internally coherent narrative of themselves as CLIL teachers, the structure of the narrative itself was not imposed. The questions were open-ended, focusing on the teachers' experiences, opinions and knowledge. In addition to that, questions other than, but similar to, the ones developed could be asked depending on what the teachers shared. This served to provide a shared frame in which teachers discussed their experiences and perceptions (Holloway & Jefferson, 2000), while maintaining a consistent interaction throughout the interview. Finally, pertaining to the examination of emotions in light of professional identity, there were two questions directly related to positive and negative emotions elicited when teaching CLIL classes. Nonetheless, an emotional undertone could be identified throughout the teachers' responses, which prompted a further investigation of the emotionally accented experiences of the participants and the role of such experiences in the negotiation of their overall professional identity.

## 4.3 Data Analysis

The analysis began with a transcription of the audiotaped interviews. The transcripts were saved as Word Office document files, written in Times New Roman, font 12, with single-line spacing and a break between each speaking turn. The data used in sub-study I included all the interviews, which lasted from 20:71 minutes to 51:58 minutes (average 34:40 minutes). The corresponding transcripts that were coded ranged from 10 to 20 pages (average 14.57 pages). The data used in sub-study II and sub-study III included 13 interviews, excluding the interview

with the kindergarten teacher. The interviews lasted an average of 34:71 minutes and the corresponding transcripts averaged 14.6 pages.

The transcripts were coded following the model of Thematic Analysis suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006): coding in detail; grouping codes and naming basic themes; identifying illustrative excerpts; identifying key themes; joining key themes under overarching themes. Thematic Analysis is a flexible method used not only to identify recurring themes in the data that connect with the guiding epistemology and research questions, but also to interpret the data in a rich and insightful manner when connected to a theoretical framework (Patton, 2015). A theme is understood as a construct implied by recurrent patterns which identify the essence and/or meaning of a unit of data (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012; Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen, & Snelgrove, 2016). Themes may "be developed at different levels of granularity", being broad and sweeping or more focused, and may also "be antithetical or complementary to other themes or subsumed within larger themes" (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012, p. 65).

The coding process was completed using Microsoft Office applications. All transcripts were coded on Microsoft Word Office, while Microsoft Excel was used to organize codes. In particular, after initial coding, all excerpts corresponding to a specific code were collated in an Excel sheet, which stated the transcripts these excerpts were found in and the total number of excerpts per transcript. Further organization of the codes included a separate Excel sheet where all codes were collated, including their corresponding description, total number of excerpts, and transcripts in which they were found. These codes were later organized under themes. While Thematic Analysis was employed to identify the larger themes emerging from the codes, thus taking a more inductive approach, certain research questions required delving deeper into the contents of each overarching theme and drawing connections between their comprising key themes. This was particularly the case in sub-study II and sub-study III. In sub-study II, the codes were organized according to their relevance to either pedagogical or relational identity, under which they were further organized into more coherent thematic units. However, to examine *identity agency* in these two aspects of teacher identity and in their potential interrelation, internal relevance had to be examined across their key themes. Similarly, in sub-study III, the relationship between identity negotiation and positively and negatively accented emotional experiences could be discussed after drawing connections between the overarching themes of emotions, self and community, aided by the internal relevance of their key themes. This should not subtract from the overall credibility of the findings, but rather help to clarify the interconnectedness of the themes and the dynamic nature of the codes themselves.

## 4.4 Ethical considerations

There are four primary ethical considerations. The first and second concern the involvement of the participants. Although it seemed that most CLIL teachers participated in this study of their own volition, it could be the case that others participated because they were urged to do so by colleagues. For instance, a school was working on a CLIL program at the time of the interviews and one of the CLIL teachers coordinating it was very interested in this research project, stating how important it would be for the team to discuss their work and, through that, see how the program is progressing. Thus, considering the busy life of teachers, it might have been out of collegiality, rather than individual initiative, that these teachers participated in the interviews. Nonetheless, it could be argued that, like other participants, these teachers were forthright in their responses, while the positive impressions after the interview and the facial expressions, gestures and instances of laughter during the interview indicate that the interview was perceived as an overall positive thing. Unfortunately, facial expressions and gestures could not have been included in the transcripts, but this does not necessarily render the original data of lesser quality. In addition to the above, male teachers did not participate in the interviews; rather, all participants were women. While the number of the interviews allows for saturation in coding, male voices in this research project, and in educational research in general, could be more prominent. However, considering the content of the interviews and the shared day-to-day experiencing of CLIL exhibited by the participating teachers, it could be assumed that male teachers' insights would have been in the same line as those of their female counterparts.

A third ethical consideration concerns the researcher's role. Not coming from a CLIL background, other than that of CLIL-related research, some participating teachers may have found it hard to relate to the researcher and the research project, the former bearing on the interview process (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). At the same time, it was felt that there was sufficient rapport for teachers to be forthcoming, and it can be hoped that participants could see the relevance of the research project to their work as the interview was progressing. On the part of the researcher, this lack of a directly shared teaching background on CLIL helped put some distance between data and researcher, consequently helping make the reading of the data less biased, and the interpretation of the data more objective. Coupled with supportive authorship of researchers familiar with the field and the concepts examined, this may contribute toward more reliability.

A fourth ethical consideration concerns the sharing of the findings. While findings are shared with the research community, findings should also be shared with the participants themselves. While the format of, or the language in, the research report may not be as easily accessed by those not familiar with a certain field of research, causing the gesture of sharing the findings to feel patronizing, the findings of the research project should be shared nonetheless. Either in the form of academic papers or a workshop for the participants, the contribution of

the participants needs to be acknowledged not only at the end of a published paper, but also in a more tangible manner. However, sharing findings and researchers' insights should go beyond the participants and the research community, extending to university students and the wider community of the participants in the hope that further discussion, possibly also policy change, may occur.

# 5 FINDINGS

This chapter presents the aim, theoretical framework, and main findings of the three empirical sub-studies on which the present research task is based. The first sub-study to be summarized is sub-study I, addressing professional agency in terms of tensions and resources. The second one is sub-study II, centering on teachers' professional identity negotiation in terms of pedagogical and relational identity, followed by sub-study III, focusing on the role of emotions in shaping teacher's professional identity.

## 5.1 Sub-study I: Tensions and resources to CLIL teacher agency

This study centers on how CLIL teachers in Finnish primary education experience professional agency by exploring the various tensions and resources that influence agency at the level of the classroom, amidst professional relationships, and within teachers' socio-cultural context. An inquiry into aspects of CLIL teachers' work that may either aid or undermine agency at work is justified by the limitations and added demands or concerns of foreign-language mediated teaching (e.g., Lehti, Järvinen, & Suomela-Salmi, 2006). Moreover, it draws part of its significance from the immediate presence of the foreign language in teachers' work, which not only creates the space for re-conceptualizing curricular content and goals (Tedick & Cammarata, 2012), but also implies possibilities for change in the teacher self (Nikula, 2010).

The theoretical orientation of this paper draws heavily on the concept of professional agency. Professional agency is often understood as the mediated capacity to act within the particular discourses and frameworks of a work environment, so as to actively influence said environment by means of making choices and taking stances (Ahearn, 2001; Eteläpelto et al., 2013). In educational research, as in this paper, the professional agency of teachers is understood as teacher agency. As a dynamic, temporally and relationally situated concept (Biesta et al., 2015), teacher agency in this study is examined as an interrelationship among

pedagogical, relational and professional agency. Pedagogical agency is teacher agency as enacted within the classroom and it concerns, among other things, relationships with pupils, material design and translating the curriculum into teaching practices. Relational agency is teacher agency as enacted within collegial relationships, such as sharing experiences and expertise with one another and building reciprocal partnerships. Sociocultural agency is teacher agency as enacted within the wider socio-cultural environment, such as collaboration with parents and curricular work in conjunction with local educational authorities. By examining teacher agency in light of the interplay among these three components related to important spheres of action in CLIL teachers' – or indeed any teacher's – professional life, a more inclusive view of teacher agency and its impact on doing CLIL was argued.

As far as tensions are concerned, three main challenging aspects of participants' work could be identified. First of all, despite the overall positive outlook participants maintained on its use and presence in school contexts, the foreign language was perceived as a tension. While it was increasingly used in classrooms interactions, it often hindered the development of pedagogical relationships with pupils. The foreign language and its implications not only for teaching per se, but also for aspects related to successful teaching, made teachers sometimes question and reconsider their subjectivity and role as teachers. Second, classroom-related tensions, closely related to those raised by language, highlighted how teachers balanced demands on themselves for being organized and well-prepared for CLIL lessons, as well as student integration and motivation, with the often positive nature of teacher-pupil relationships and the bi-directional learning opportunities they offered. Third, a general lack of access to or availability of temporal, material and developmental resources was felt to be a tension in light of the more demanding national curriculum, which took effect in August 2016. From the findings, it could be suggested that, depending on how teachers regarded and acted upon them, these identified tensions could potentially be used in a manner facilitative to teacher agency.

As far as resources are concerned, four main aspects of participants' work were considered to enable or be supportive of CLIL teachers' agency. First, a sense of autonomy positively influenced participants' actions in a way that aligned their beliefs about good teaching to their teaching practices. Moreover, supported by appreciation of their work, trust invested in them by stakeholders, and general curriculum guidelines, participants could be more agentive in their professional behavior and decisions at work. Second, an openness to change facilitated agency in positively predisposing teachers toward starting CLIL and facing the unexpected or challenging at work. Third, teacher versatility was conducive to exercising teacher agency, as exemplified by participants' variation of educational methodologies in their CLIL and regular classes. Finally, the collegial community shaped by close collaboration and the provision of help in the form of sharing expertise or emotional and material support enhanced teacher agency at both school and wider-community level.

## 5.2 Sub-study II: CLIL teachers' pedagogical and relational identity negotiation

This study aims to better understand how CLIL teachers in Finnish primary education negotiate their professional identity. In particular, it focuses on the pedagogical and relational aspects of CLIL teachers' identity, and explores how identity negotiation takes place both within and between these aspects. Academic discourse on the issue of teachers' professional identity has received many scientific contributions, recognizing the centrality of the teacher in education and educational innovations (Day & Gu, 2010; Korhonen & Törmä, 2016; Körkkö et al., 2016; Varghese et al., 2005; Vähäsantanen, 2015). In the field of second and foreign language teaching, teacher identity has been addressed in terms of institutional context, training and experience, early years of practice and being a non-native foreign language teacher (Kayi-aydar, 2015; Tsui, 2007). However, teacher identity within CLIL, still an innovative foreign language teaching methodology, has been scantly researched.

This study is framed by four key theoretical concepts. The first is teacher identity conceived as an ongoing and dynamic process of shaping oneself (Vähäsantanen, 2015), which is resourced by individual and professional biographies. While it is a psychological phenomenon, it is also one tethered to social, interpersonal, physical and intellectual contexts with their own particular discursive and institutional conditions (Varghese et al., 2005). Based on this conceptualization, pedagogical identity is understood as the negotiation process that reflects the teacher as a pedagogue through their ideals, personality and experiences. Relational identity is understood as the negotiation process that reflects the teacher as a colleague or community member, and entails individual action coupled with development of social relationships. *Identity agency* is understood as the form of agency teachers exercise in crafting their professional identities by positioning themselves in relation to collective discourses and shared contexts (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Eteläpelto et al., 2015; Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016; Wells, 2007).

With regard to *identity agency* exercised at the level of the classroom, pedagogical identity was negotiated by means of personal and professional resources. In particular, self-awareness and past experiences served as an interpretive lens for teachers' understanding of present and future courses of action. Moreover, language played a mediatory role in this negotiation in terms of the professional and relational aspects of the classroom. Emotions were also present, although they were addressed only to a certain extent. With regard to *identity agency* exercised at the level of the community, relational identity was negotiated by means of active membership in a shared collegiality. As a consequence, individual and collective action was improved and *identity agency* became relational. With regard to *identity agency* as exercised between the participants' pedagogical and relational identities, participants' overall professional identity was negotiated in a

reciprocal manner which, given the rather resourcing working environment experienced by participants, was contingent on the participants' ability to and interest in building upon possibilities and opportunities for their own development. It is within these conditions that an interest was taken in the role emotions play in these teachers' identity negotiation.

## 5.3 Sub-study III: The role of emotions in shaping CLIL teachers' professional identity

This study focuses on what emotions are present in CLIL teachers' work and the role these emotions play in identity negotiation. While it aims to add to the general discussion about emotions in teaching, it particularly addresses the paucity of research in emotions in foreign language mediated teaching. While CLIL is not foreign language instruction as it is traditionally understood, it draws on principles informing bilingual and foreign language education. This professional context not only creates opportunities for re-evaluating professional goals, roles and responsibilities, but also highlights the nature and variance of teachers' emotions. CLIL teachers' overall emotional engagement with these opportunities is important in their individual and professional development.

Acknowledging an inconsistency in defining emotion (see van Veen & Sleegers, 2006), this study conceived of emotion as a psychological, physiological and transactional phenomenon (Ashkanasy, 2015; Cross & Hong, 2012). Emotion is the embodied experience in response to events within particular temporal, sociopolitical, cultural and historical contexts, and is always mediated by one's self-knowledge and meaning-making (Kelchtermans, 2005; Zembylas, 2005). Identity was understood as an ongoing, dynamic, multifaceted and agentic process (Beijaard et al., 2004), in which psychological, emotional and personal aspects play a significant shaping role (Uitto, Jokikokko, & Estola, 2015). The analysis of the interview data was based on Meijers' (2002) theoretical model, which suggests that an intuitive sense-giving process complemented by one of discursive meaning-making helps emotions become meaningful in identity negotiation when the self-concept encounters a 'boundary experience'. The former process was understood as intrapersonal dialogue and the latter as interpersonal dialogue.

With regard to emotions, although some of the participants' emotional experiences may have been ambiguous, others were more negatively or positively accented. The prevailing negatively accented emotional states were frustration and feeling rushed. The curriculum, issues of time, questioning one's competence as a professional and pupils' negative attitude toward CLIL seemed to be the predominant sources eliciting such negatively accented emotional states. The prevailing positively accented emotional states were contentment and empowerment, heavily influenced by CLIL and pupils' involvement, as well as by the

teachers themselves and exercising their profession. The strength and range of participants' emotional responses varied.

Participants engaged emotions in negotiating their identity in intrapersonal and interpersonal ways. Intrapersonal dialogue, i.e. intuitive sense-giving, mostly regarded rationalizing, self-reliance, resilience, and empathy. Interpersonal dialogue, i.e. discursive meaning-making, mostly regarded the concept of the autonomous teacher and that of the CLIL team. Collegial collaboration, in particular, appeared to be significant in helping teachers cope with negatively accented emotional states. The findings highlight not only the importance of the community for self-regulation in terms of one's emotions and identity negotiation, but also how discursive tools are used by individual and community alike in order to make sense of emotional experiences and subjective positioning within a given professional community.

# 6 DISCUSSION

The aim of this research project was to gain further understanding of how teachers in CLIL experience, enact and negotiate their professional identities. This chapter derives from the empirical findings of the three sub-studies in order to answer the three overarching research questions. This chapter addresses how professional agency is involved in identity negotiation. Then, the interactional relationship between individual and collective influences in CLIL teachers' work is considered. Finally, the role of emotions in CLIL teachers' work and identity development is discussed.

## 6.1 Professional agency in identity negotiation

Professional agency in the educational context assumes that teachers are able to influence their work environment. While this would ideally be conducive to work conditions that allow for change and transformation, it could also mean that teachers exercise their agency to resist change and maintain situations or professional self-understanding as they are. As the findings of this research project suggest, CLIL teachers in Finnish primary education are quite aware of how being agentic at work aids not only their enactment of professional responsibilities, but also the continuation of CLIL provision for students. Although this cannot be generalized to all CLIL teachers in primary education or across education, it does reflect a positive reception of CLIL as part of these Finnish class teachers' methodological repertoire and their profession. Figure 4 summarizes the types of professional agency exercised by the CLIL teachers and the relationship of each to teacher's pedagogical and relational identity, which is further discussed in this sub-chapter.

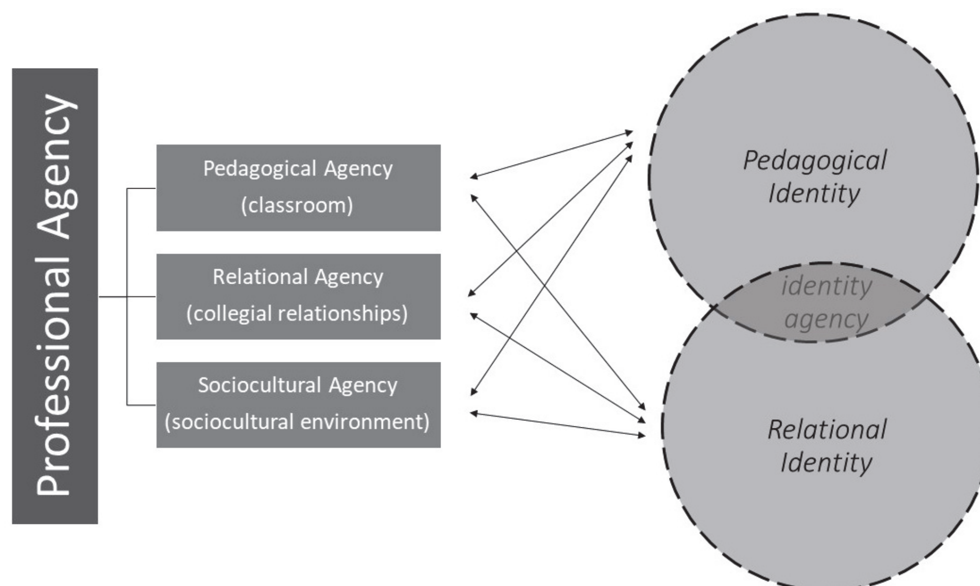


FIGURE 4 Professional agency in identity negotiation

### 6.1.1 Pedagogical agency

The findings (sub-study I) indicated that most perceived tensions and resources participants encountered at work are related to the classroom, highlighting the importance of the classroom as the main sphere of action within which teachers exercise their agency. This may not come as a surprise, given the amount of time participants seemed to expend on preparing or executing lesson plans. What could be surprising is how the unavoidability of certain tensions in teaching are made more visible in CLIL and how CLIL teachers who challenge themselves to overcome them might experience a change in their professional identity (e.g., Pillen, Brok, & Beijaard, 2013). This change might or might not go undetected by the teachers themselves.

One prominent tension was the added element of the foreign language, which affected both pupils' and teachers' behavior. For pupils, this translated into either resistance or motivation toward CLIL, and into overcoming current levels of linguistic competence in tandem with content learning. At the same time, the teachers became the principal orchestrators of the classroom-based endeavor and models of the language production. Pedagogical agency was exercised not only in managing material and language use that was pertinent to pupils' levels, but also in using the foreign language as a channel for teacher-pupil communication and more dialogic instruction. In order to achieve that, teachers had to negotiate their own views on language as a tool or instrument, and to identify and utilize the resources available to accommodate language as a tool within their teaching repertoire. Consequently, professional agency in the classroom af-

forded teachers the means to actively validate and enact new or different professional roles, for example by means of individually-designed materials and taking an active stance according to what they deemed pedagogically beneficial for their students. This, in turn, caused teachers to re-conceptualize their work at classroom-level, and see themselves as teachers and language users from a different perspective (e.g., Aiello, Di Martino, & Di Sabato, 2017; Graaff et al., 2007; Koopman et al., 2014). Therefore, their pedagogical agency was a resource for (re)shaping their pedagogical identity.

In addition to pedagogical identity, pedagogical agency at classroom-level appears to also have implications for teachers' relational identity in relation to pupils. As mediators of both content and language, teachers are called to navigate pupils' emotional, verbal and cognitive responses to CLIL and the more advanced synthesizing processes it necessitates. In primary education, when pupils' linguistic resources may be rather limited, this navigation might be hindered by the extent of communication teachers can effect through the foreign language. On the one hand, this concerns the communication of the content through language. For instance, the linguistic imbalance between teacher and pupils as well as among pupils does not allow for in-depth exploration of concepts or subjects (e.g., sub-study I; Coonan, 2007). On the other hand, it concerns the expression of the teachers' personality. For instance, similar to Moate's (2011b) study, humorous exchanges or puns might be limited. Exercising pedagogical agency in this respect would entail creating the space for pupils to be more involved in the construction of knowledge, and drawing on various features of interpersonal communication between adult and child that encompass, but are not limited to, currently shared vocabulary. Consequently, teachers form relationships with pupils that may differ to some extent to those created in non-CLIL classrooms. The relational identity of CLIL teachers is divested of rigid or absolute roles, such as that of 'the expert', and pupils play a more prominent role in the bi-directional process of teachers' identity negotiation (Nikula, 2007, 2010). At the same time, teachers become more aware of the way teacher-pupil relationships are mediated by the foreign language used and how, in turn, their own relational identity within the classroom is co-constructed under these different conditions (Edwards & D'arcy, 2004; Moate, 2011b). Thus, the resourceful role of pedagogical agency extends to teachers' relational identity.

### 6.1.2 Relational agency

The findings also underlined the importance of social relationships between colleagues at work. The interest teachers took in CLIL was evident in the way they connected, collaborated, and shared with fellow CLIL teachers. Relational agency was exercised in making choices that would strengthen collegial bonds, such as choosing to speak English with other Finnish-speaking CLIL teachers, engaging in the tailoring and design of material to be used at school, sharing the workload, and pooling expertise and ideas (sub-study I). Such actions contributed to co-creating a professional environment in which one could not only feel secure in

the face of occurring difficulties at work, but also learn from peers while feeling valued as professionals.

This environment was conducive to a relational identity that entailed the investment of both personal and professional aspects of the individual teacher. For example, teachers would share their professional experiences and education to support others and help achieve curriculum aims, but they would also express negatively accented emotional experiences at work and provide moral support to others (sub-study III). Such actions, condoned by the collegial community, would denote acculturation on the part of the individual teacher and validation of one's membership on the part of the community. Teachers' relational identity could then encourage or perpetuate certain practices and negotiate professional trajectories at work.

The relational identities of teachers, as shared and enacted among colleagues, may affect teachers' inclination to begin and, more importantly, to continue doing CLIL as well as the learning that can take place at work on individual and collective level alike (e.g., Moate, 2014a). It should be noted, however, that the positivity of these teachers toward CLIL in conjunction with a wider culture of support and respect for teachers, paints relational identity in this context in a positive light. The impact of relational identities needs to be problematized further in relation to possible tensions between colleagues working closely together on the development of CLIL programs and within contexts where teachers' needs are largely neglected. As Lehti, Järvinen and Suomela-Salmi (2006) have argued, support within the school community can contribute to the continuity of CLIL. Adding to this support, the awareness and negotiation of CLIL teachers' relational identity, at once individually experienced and socially constructed, can sustain teachers' motivation, persistence, and cooperative interaction with colleagues from within and without alike.

Aside from relational identity within collegial relationships, exercising relational agency served as a mediational tool for pedagogical identity. The findings suggested that teachers negotiated considerations, active involvement in collegial and school activities or events, and shared collegiality in a way that supported their own reflective autonomy in the classroom (sub-study II). In other words, events in the collegial community helped teachers exercise their pedagogical identity in an independent and self-sufficient manner. At the same time, teachers thought about the meaning and nature of their work as well as how good they are at it and what resources they have at their disposal to perform at work.

This stresses how the classroom should not be considered a sphere of action that is removed from happenings and relationships at school. On the one hand, the values, pedagogical priorities, shared practices, and narratives on CLIL are some of the tools present in the socio-cultural environment and collective thought of the school, which teachers then borrow and translate into pedagogical action in their classrooms. On the other hand, interactions with students prompt meaning-making through learning and inspiration, while connections made between personal and professional experiences, beliefs, and personal incentives provide strong foundations upon which to build one's pedagogical identity (sub-

study II). Therefore, relational agency creates the professional space that informs and partly directs teachers' performance of their pedagogical identities (e.g., Pietarinen, Pyhältö, & Soini, 2016). Meanwhile, teachers' pedagogical identities are, in part, the result of deliberation of and conscious enactment upon such a professional space.

### 6.1.3 Sociocultural agency

As school is part of a wider community, teachers' agency extends outside the physical and social limits of the school. The findings showed that teachers' active involvement in the development of CLIL included collaboration with teachers on a local, not merely school, level (e.g., sub-study I). Such sociocultural agency could be either working on the 2016 curriculum, so as to meet local needs, or attending trainings, where teachers discussed issues affecting CLIL provision more in-depth. Moreover, it entailed contributing one's voice to a dialogue on education with parents, policy-makers and educational authorities.

The way teachers respond to various expectations and aims, sometimes unclear (Mehisto, 2008), becomes part of their relational identity, often mediated through the curriculum as a shared tool. This response, be it individual or collective, is an account of how external demands and directives fit into or clash with existing pedagogical beliefs and experiences of CLIL teaching (e.g., Robinson, 2012). Without discrediting one's individual response, it would be safe to assume that, in this case, a collective response would have more impact on relational identity. Teachers would reach out to colleagues as their immediate source of support to reactively or proactively react to change. Moreover, teachers would employ the collegial side of their professional self to help negotiate this change.

When local efforts are recognized and supported by local administration, such as school leadership, and other stakeholders, such as parents, relational identity may be performed and negotiated within a broader framework and perhaps to better effect (Hökkä et al., 2012; Pyhältö, Pietarinen, & Soini, 2015). In this regard, individual relational identity may be experienced more strongly as part of an extended network of professionals and wider discourses on the teaching profession. Alternatively, the extent to which teachers are able to exercise sociocultural agency may contribute to perceived limits to one's relational identity, limiting it to collegial interactions and initiatives at school, and perpetuating an idea of the teacher as a technician or instrument through which to implement policy into practice (Edwards & D'arcy, 2004; Moate & Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2014). Despite the autonomy the participants seemed to enjoy and the positive regard they had for the curriculum as the backbone of their teaching, various structural, political and resource-derived frames should be negotiated by teachers and stakeholders alike if the enthusiasm for CLIL is to be maintained and CLIL as an innovation to maximize its potential (e.g., Pyhältö, Pietarinen, & Soini, 2015).

As sociocultural agency helps create a space for action by drawing on relationships, policies and material resources, it also affects teachers' pedagogical identity. The findings indicate that teacher autonomy, versatility and openness

to change as well as language and emotions were perceived as resourcing elements in CLIL teaching (sub-studies I-III; see also van der Heijden et al., 2015; van Kampen, Admiraal, & Berry, 2016). Through sociocultural agency, teachers are able to maintain or enhance the ability to exercise pedagogical judgment on curriculum implementation and methodology, make choices as to the form of CLIL provision, and take on further responsibilities of their own accord. For instance, some participants mentioned participating in English-mediated extra-curricular activities for pupils, tailoring material for a CLIL material bank or co-ordinating CLIL projects. Moreover, although it was but mentioned in passing by the participants, it can be argued that CLIL teachers can make use of their sociocultural agency to voice concerns as to students' need for language support as well as their exposure to languages other than English. As far as emotions are concerned, sharing teaching and emotional experiences in CLIL with others could open the space for a more sensitive approach to professional learning and development, and identity negotiation on the part of educational authorities, such as teacher trainers and mentors.

Sociocultural agency is not detached from classroom events or something teachers do outside of school devoid of immediate practical implications. It can be as meaningful an aspect of professional agency as relational and pedagogical agency, adding to teachers' negotiation of their selves as pedagogues from a different perspective. By means of asserting their rights, beliefs, professional biographies and emotional experiences within their socio-cultural environment, CLIL teachers take a stance and partake in decision-making as to the conditions of their work. Additionally, they become instrumental in conceiving of and executing courses of action in CLIL programs, while becoming more mindful of how they themselves can direct CLIL as an innovation for higher-order thinking and cultural and linguistic awareness. Therefore, it could be argued that pedagogical identity necessitates the employment of one's sociocultural agency, and vice versa, which raises concerns for professional contexts characterized by strict, top-bottom approaches, under-resourced schools, and teachers untrained in bilingual or CLIL education.

### 6.1.4 Identity agency

In addition to aspects of agency that encompass teachers' various levels of professional action, professional agency is also exercised in the form of *identity agency*. This form of agency manifests in the way teachers negotiate themselves as professional actors between the pedagogical and relational aspects of their professional identity (sub-studies II and III). The findings indicated that *identity agency* is found in the reciprocal negotiation comprised of, on the one hand, teachers' personal and professional trajectories and resources, and, on the other hand, active participation in and membership endorsement by the collegial community. Amongst other things, the former translates into acknowledging individual traits and strengths, acting according to beliefs about CLIL and the teaching profession in general, and being aware of how past – personal and professional – experiences influence the contextualized interpretation of present conditions as well as

the pursuit of future goals. While this is in line with other research (Day, Kington, et al., 2006; Mora et al., 2016), it is important to stress how these trajectories, part of a teacher's overall biography, are essential to professional identity negotiation on an individual plane.

The findings further suggested the importance of a dynamic interrelationship among colleagues. This translates into not only finding a resource in the face of colleagues, but also being proactive in engaging with opportunities for collective activity. For example, the CLIL team supports the autonomous employee in making sense of emotionally hued experiences at work and can help co-create a space where negatively and positively accented emotions are expressed without apprehension or judgment (sub-study III). Exercising *identity agency* in terms of relational identity needs to be resourced by the collegial community at the same time as it needs active individual engagement with such resources.

The effect of *identity agency* on pedagogical identity can be detected in the career and pedagogical choices teachers make and act upon. Such choices have been resourced in part by their relational identity, which may instigate a revision of current practices or held beliefs and enrich individual understanding of CLIL as a tool for teaching and professional development. On relational identity, *identity agency* can be seen in the way teachers contribute to a sense of belonging and help create a self-regulating professional community with shared objectives (see also ten Dam & Blom, 2006). This, in turn, may offer structural and moral support for teachers' negotiation and performance of their pedagogical identity. Therefore, teachers exercise *identity agency* to reassess and re-establish teachers' internal organization, at the same time as they are using this internal organization to shape and validate both oneself as a colleague and the collegial community itself (e.g., Day, Stobart, et al., 2006; Freese & Burke, 1994; Varghese et al., 2005). In the following sub-chapter, the interplay of individual and social elements in CLIL teaching in Finland is discussed in light of the findings.

## 6.2 The individual and the collective in professional identity negotiation

As has been shown by the findings, professional identity and agency are concurrent and interdependent processes that form and transform not only the professional self, but also the material and socio-cultural context of the workplace. Yet, this particular context also causes or prompts one's identity to undergo change. As is the case with many teaching innovations, so in CLIL teachers' professional learning and the continuation of CLIL depend on both teacher initiative and agency, and contextual affordances and structures. With much debate surrounding the relationship between personal and social conditions in the traditions that tackle the issues of professional identity and agency (see Billett, 2007; Vähäsantanen et al., 2008), it would be pertinent to discuss this relationship in light of CLIL teachers' professional identity. Figure 5 summarizes the identified

collective and individual elements in professional identity negotiation, the relationship of which is discussed in this sub-chapter.

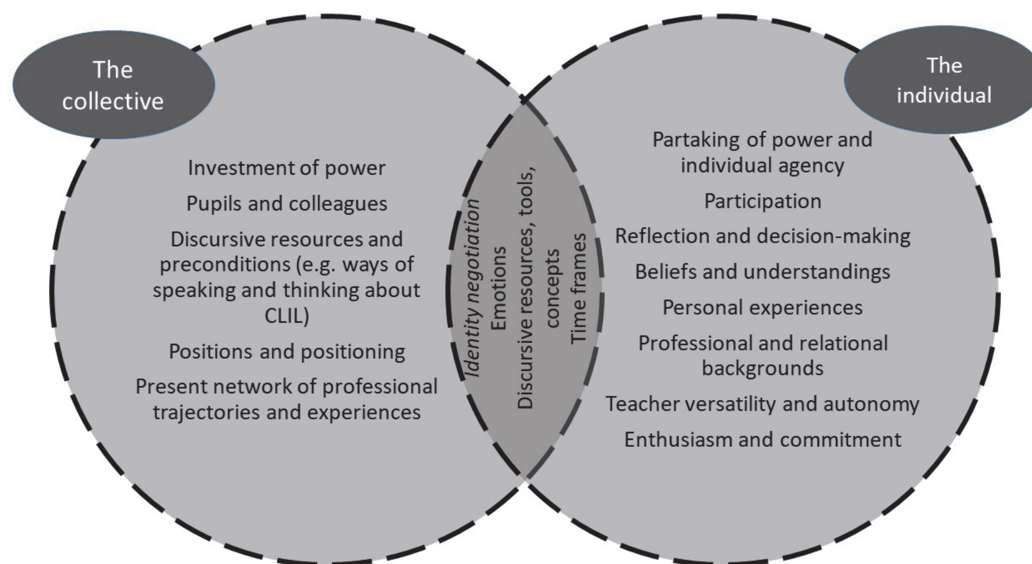


FIGURE 5 The individual and the collective in professional identity negotiation

### 6.2.1 Investment and partaking of power

The interrelationship between the investment and partaking of power is one of the places in which the relationship between individual and collective conditions can be seen (see Figure 5). Autonomy and teacher versatility being perceived by CLIL teachers as resources reflect aspects of the Finnish educational culture, such as trust and respect for teachers' work (Sahlberg, 2011). Individual elements can easily be detected in the participants' confidence in their own material, their alignment of teaching practices to ethical principles, and the flexibility in their methodological approaches to CLIL to include students of varying learning and linguistic capabilities (e.g., sub-study I). Outside of the classroom, teachers were goal-oriented in changing their social conditions at work by either asking or creating CLIL-appropriate material, attending teacher training courses to better their practice, and forming partnerships with fellow CLIL teachers. Social elements can also be seen in the official and unofficial power invested in teachers. For example, teachers are part of curriculum negotiation at school and local level. While not policy-makers themselves, in such instances they become part of policy development. CLIL teachers may also use unofficial power at school to complain about timetable regulation, suggest ways to achieve the 25% of foreign language mediated instruction aimed at by the participants' school, and create CLIL teams.

Such individual and social conditions suggest that CLIL teachers' professional identity does not only pre-suppose a reflective individual that assesses,

prioritizes, and tries to achieve self-reliance. They also suggest that professional identity needs recognition in the form of official power that allows them to direct governmental guidelines in a locally responsive manner and in the form the unofficial power to take actions with more immediate effect on their day-to-day work. Consequently, when personal aspects in teachers' work are linked to social ones, professional identity can acquire a wider range of activity and involvement, while retaining fluidity (e.g., Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Beijaard et al., 2000; Varghese et al., 2005). CLIL teachers themselves might not adhere to pedagogically-based views of themselves as professionals (Edwards, 2015), but encompass broader relational and political responsibilities in the understanding of their professional identity.

### 6.2.2 Discursive resources

Beside the investment and partaking of power, the interaction of the social and the personal can be seen in the negotiation of discursive resources (see collective and shared spaces, Figure 5). In line with the tradition of post-structuralism (Clegg, 2006; Eteläpelto et al., 2013; McNay, 2004), the findings indicate that the CLIL teachers juxtaposed individual experiences with discursive possibilities in making sense of their professional identity. This was evident in the similar words and ways participants employed to describe the function of CLIL as a methodology either in their classroom as an interpersonal space or in their own teaching practices. This was perceived between participants that worked at the same school, but also among participants in different schools, indicating that CLIL teachers draw on certain ways of speaking and, by extension, thinking about CLIL that are shared within a wider professional community. Still, however, teachers would be critical of idealized notions of CLIL, despite their genuine enthusiasm and determination. Their interviews suggested that professional experiences might serve as a personal analytical lens through which to establish the degree of agreement and disagreement with the professional aims and expectations implied by circulating discourses.

Discourses are hegemonic and create positions that the individuals may or may not identify with (Eteläpelto et al., 2013; Hökkä et al., 2012; Vähäsantanen et al., 2008). Bearing in mind the fact that Finnish schools retain a horizontal hierarchy (e.g., informal style of collegial interaction, collective management of school events) and that the participants did not position themselves as superior or inferior to language teachers, these teachers did position themselves as enthusiastic, active, reflective, and sensitive professionals. This may be an active perpetuation of ideas they were exposed to during training and throughout their career, but also the outcome of conscious consideration of their professional and relational backgrounds. The discourses teachers create and the discursive preconditions they draw on reflect their instructional experiences, pedagogical beliefs and ways they understand CLIL at an abstract and practical level. The individual, then, is very much present in deliberating and adopting or possibly rejecting the discursive preconditions of the social world in which their professional actions are embedded.

Negotiation of discursive resources is further seen in the ways teachers make sense of their emotional experiences at work. The findings suggest that identity negotiation is an ongoing learning process in which discursive resources are dynamically incorporated into one's life course and shared professional understandings (sub-study III; see also Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Rodgers & Scott, 2008; Varghese et al., 2005). Emotional experiences, in particular, necessitated both intrapersonal and interpersonal dialogues mediated by concepts, the most prominent of which were that of the autonomous employee and that of the CLIL team. An inner dialogue to give sense to emotional experiences entailed perseverance and willingness to better understand professional situations, while relationships in the workplace afforded conceptual tools to aid this understanding and create shared values. Such tools included the school culture through collective teaching or administrative practices, beliefs about pupil participation in and attainment through CLIL, and ways of speaking about classroom experiences and collegial relationships.

Using the present tools, teachers negotiated their professional identities so as to sustain autonomy and achieve empowerment, but also in order to validate their own and others' felt experiences in the classroom, build rapport, maintain well-being, and assert the right to belong to the community. This indicates that identity negotiation is not passive internalization of discursive conditions or resources, but agentic interpretation of social contexts and consideration of their resourcing potential (Biesta & Tedder, 2007; Eteläpelto et al., 2013). Moreover, the acknowledgement of both positively and negatively accented emotions highlights the subjectivity of the individual in negotiating its place in the community (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Geijsel & Meijers, 2005; Meijers, 2002; Zembylas, 2003), at the same time that the contextual subjectivity of the community creates a collective space in which emotions as discursive tools themselves can be dealt with in ways that promote professional development and well-being. Thus, in a dialectical relationship, patterns of human action and thought may be socio-culturally situated and derived (Hökkä, 2012; Hökkä, Vähäsantanen, Paloniemi, & Eteläpelto, 2017), but the individual also shares the activity and responsibility of shaping physical, psychological and cultural conditions for identity construction. In turn, such sharing can be seen in the way the individual partakes in this activity and responsibility with the collective.

### 6.2.3 Collegial learning and synergy

In addition to discursive preconditions, the interaction of individual and social aspects can be distinguished in the way teachers learn from their colleagues (the collective, Figure 5). As is the case in the Zone of Proximal Development which presupposes the help of an experienced other in reaching a higher level of cognitive development (Vygotsky, 1978), so do social aspects in the face of more experienced colleagues function as support for other teachers. Some participants had a background in special education or were still traversing their induction years, while others had recently become involved in CLIL teaching or were not that long ago officially qualified as CLIL teachers (the individual, Figure 5). On the

other hand, other participants had been doing CLIL for years and enriched their teaching practice with new activities learned over time. This does not suggest that some teachers were experts and other novices in CLIL in a hierarchical sense; it rather suggests that each teacher with her corresponding pedagogic thinking and experience could be a resource for her colleagues (Moate, 2014a).

The teachers at the school comprised a network of professional trajectories and experiences that assisted individual action by means of ideas, advice and materials. Meanwhile, individual aspects were involved not only in the agency individual teachers exercised in seeking and using this support, but also in the interpretation of this support in light of individual professional orientation, purpose, and commitment. It could be argued that the learning opportunities teachers obtained were not limited to cognitive development, such as the conceptualization of CLIL approaches and aims, but included a synergistic creation of a value-laden belief system and local reality (e.g., Edwards, 2007). Professional identity did require participation in the social, but it also meant that the teachers discerned and managed constraints and resources, while acting upon decisions that reflected their own pedagogical and relational orientations.

### 6.2.4 The temporal nature of identity negotiation

Social and individual aspects are also involved in the temporality of professional identity negotiation (shared space, Figure 5). The findings indicate that there are two temporal frames that link personal and professional resources. The first connects past and present through the teachers' experiences, providing a career-based continuum. A complementary one links present to future through teacher-pupil relationships and existing professional resources, like language. While separate, the latter continuum is tied to teaching experiences in the classroom, as the way pupils respond to teacher practices influences how reflective teachers are about their work and how autonomous or effective they feel. These two temporal frames are embedded in the collegial relationships that inform the situational and interpersonal contexts teachers work in.

Such temporal frames recall Lemke's (2008) differentiation of identity-in-practice within short time frames and small-group activity, and identity within larger institutional and lifespan frames. The participants' context can illuminate how the two time frames may interact, especially since CLIL teachers can exercise agency in performing their identity-in-practice within the short time frames offered by classroom events and interactions (Lemke, 2008). Moreover, these time frames can shape future trajectories, as they can influence teachers' perceptions about the teaching profession and CLIL, determining conscious choices and future courses of action for instruction and professional development alike (Korthagen, 2004). The collegial relationships that envelop them suggest that identity negotiation comprises both individual decisions in light of immediate classroom circumstances and a response to lived social realities. Yet, this presupposes a mindful individual that takes into account personally held beliefs, attitudes and commitments in decisions and responses with long-term effects.

The temporal frames of the teachers' profession are a combination of their own professional commitments and their orientations toward socio-cultural resources at the workplace. While this might be the case for teachers in different contexts, the particular context of CLIL in Finland highlights three things. First, given that the participants' professional background varied despite shared instructional interests and inclinations, individual resources are important in the construction of timelines that span the past and future. Second, pupils play a central role in teachers' identity negotiation and outlook on the profession as a situated and temporally significant practice. Third, given the closeness the participants felt to their colleagues, social connectedness and support help make a connection or transition between temporal frames mutually meaningful. These three points underline how professional identity negotiation should be regarded as a lifelong process of professional learning that encompasses individual as well as social elements (see also Evans, 2017).

### 6.2.5 Concluding remarks on individual and collective elements in professional identity negotiation

In conclusion, it is beneficial to keep the individual and the social analytically separate, yet, upon examining their interconnection, we come to realize how the teacher is unavoidably an amalgam of these. The individual aspects are not dispersed uncritically throughout social suggestions that comprise the contexts in which teachers work. Rather, these individual aspects are the collated backgrounds, understandings, and commitments that hue social encounters and serve as a lens through which to make meaning of such encounters. This internal organization manifests itself in the collective by means of actions and behaviors, while being dynamic in the way that it incorporates social aspects into itself. The individual becomes vital in identity negotiation, as it actively filters social suggestions and selectively responds to power, positions, discourses, values, and other social affordances in the professional environment (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Coward et al., 2015; Gee, 2000; Richards, 2006). At the same time, the social aspects may powerfully frame identity negotiation, as they provide the discursive, material and relational conditions that the individual may use as building blocks for their professional learning and identity negotiation (Eteläpelto et al., 2015; Kayi-aydar, 2015; Lemke, 2008; Mora et al., 2016). It is through such social conditions that recent discussion sees individuals enacting their agency (Biesta & Tedder, 2007; Evans, 2017).

While in strictly regulated CLIL contexts such social aspects may explicitly direct teachers' identity negotiation toward what may or may not find teachers in agreement, this research project highlights how social aspects can create synergistic spaces within which teachers can not only craft their own identities, but also contribute to others' identities and potentially bring initiative and transformation to community practices. Therefore, individual and social aspects are intertwined, yet it is difficult to argue for primacy of one over the other. As the

collective shapes the individual, so does the individual agentically shape the collective. Thus, both aspects to professional identity negotiation need to be considered in light of one another.

## 6.3 Emotions in professional identity negotiation

Identity negotiation between individual and collective aspects is further hued by the emotions teachers experience and express or suppress in the work. In trying to avoid a strict distinction between positive and negative emotions, this research project sought to examine positively and negatively accented emotional experiences in teachers' responses. Teachers' emotionally ambiguous experiences may have been due to emotions not being explicitly addressed or asked about throughout the interviews, yet they clearly indicated how the process of negotiating one's professional identity entails negotiating emotions. While such emotions may be hued more negatively or positively, they hold potential for individual as well as professional learning, which could be tapped into by teachers, rather than discounted as a merely unpleasant or taken-for-granted, yet overlooked, aspect of the teaching profession (Cross & Hong, 2012; Hargreaves, 2001). Figure 6 presents how interpersonal and intrapersonal dialogues are involved in negotiating (negative) emotions in light of one's identity and summarizes the main aspects of *identity agency* exercised in the process of this negotiation.

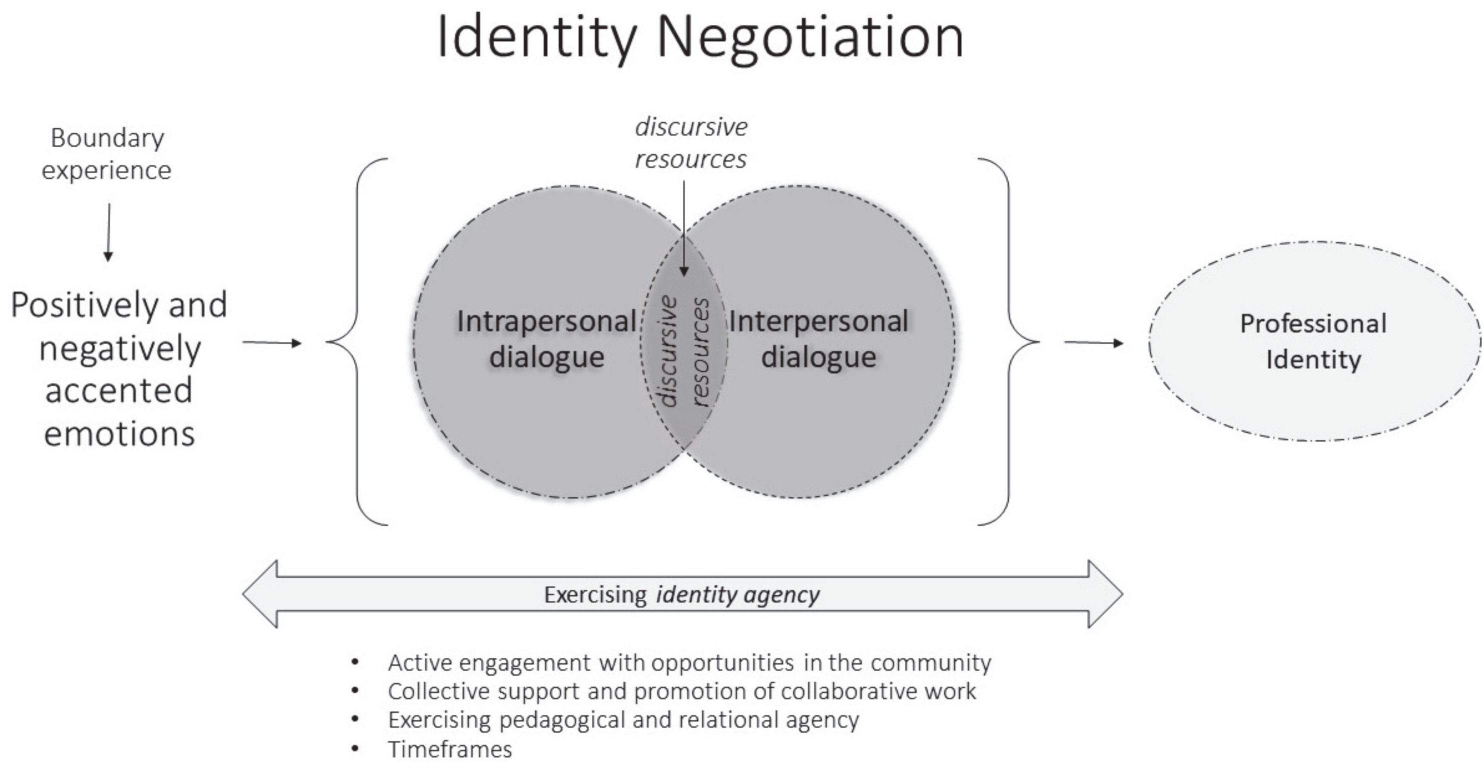


FIGURE 6 Emotions in identity negotiation

### 6.3.1 Negatively accented emotions

When considering the presence of emotions in identity negotiation, it is worth noting the source of these emotions. The findings indicated that negatively accented emotional experiences, such as hurry and frustration, were mostly experienced because of lack of time and the pace of instruction. Finding it difficult to spend time with colleagues and to prepare for CLIL classes, especially when they also had to tend to responsibilities not directly related to instructional tasks, seemed to subtract from experiencing CLIL as a learning-enhancing methodology and from their well-being at work. Yet, their awareness that they can offer more through CLIL, coupled with a persistent interest in teaching more through the foreign language, implies that CLIL is a sustained part of their pedagogical identity which they themselves wish to exercise. Moreover, their chagrin that collegial relationships cannot be easily built on due to time directed toward various duties at school indicates how their relational identity necessitates and actively seeks interaction with or influence from others.

Another source of negatively accented emotional experiences, such as self-doubt and vulnerability, stemmed from teachers' own preoccupations with competence and from pupils' resistant attitudes to CLIL. Questioning oneself as an effective teacher may be useful in the form of critical self-reflection and, thus, be conducive to a more sensitized enactment of pedagogical identity (e.g., Escobar Urmeneta, 2013). However, it may also prove harmful to a confident pedagogical identity if teachers focus on perceived inadequacies, especially when such considerations are not mitigated by a positive influence or presence of other CLIL colleagues. Similarly, their relational identity as enacted with pupils may be sustained or constrained by the way teachers interpret their pupils' reactions to CLIL instruction.

### 6.3.2 Positively accented emotions

As far as positively accented emotional experiences are concerned, CLIL and pupils' involvement could be identified as the primary source of positive influences on identity development, followed by teachers themselves and the exercising of their profession. As the findings indicated, when pupils enjoy CLIL classes and teachers can observe pupils' accomplishments or progress, teachers can appreciate how CLIL becomes a tool in day-to-day instruction as well as in meeting curricular goals. Since the sense of contentment that this generated also extended to the teachers' particular workplace, these findings might indicate that pedagogical identity can be strengthened by seeing the positive outcomes of one's pedagogical choices and actions and by better understanding how CLIL can be an instrument in pupils' learning. Moreover, it can enable the negotiation of teachers' pedagogical identity by lending their practice a hopeful outlook, which in turn can direct teachers' efforts toward higher or more complex goals for themselves and pupils alike (e.g., Hökkä, Vähäsantanen, Paloniemi, & Eteläpelto, 2017). Being excited about or feeling joy and reward for their work was found to incline teachers favorably toward professional development. This is encouraging, as it

might facilitate the negotiation of changes or the introduction of new methodological approaches, making them part of one's pedagogical identity. In terms of relational identity, as regards collegial relationships, this accommodation of change and methodological initiatives may translate into prompting professional learning between colleagues, as individual teaching practices may become shared ones, provided there is a collaborative community at school (Meijers, 2002) and the time to invest in sharing professional expertise.

### 6.3.3 Intrapersonal and interpersonal dialogues

These positively and negatively accented emotional experiences become part of CLIL teachers' professional trajectories when they are made sense of and rendered meaningful by means of conceptual and other discursive tools available to them (Meijers, 2002). Such tools are negotiated in light of one's professional identity both intrapersonally and interpersonally in a mutually constitutive manner.

#### 6.3.3.1 Intrapersonal dialogue

On an intrapersonal plane (see Figure 6), the findings indicate that teachers employed cognitive processes, such as reasoning with oneself or rationalizing certain situations, as well as psychological processes, like reliance on their capabilities, internalization of goals, and an empathetic approach to pupils' sometimes encumbered participation in CLIL. This underlines the subjectivity of felt experiences in teaching, which goes beyond emotion in the abstract and enters identity negotiation by means of personal resources (e.g., Zembylas, 2003). This was complemented by the discursive conditions present in teachers' workplace, which helped intuitively felt emotional responses to an experience be made more explicit and, then, meaningfully part of one's work history. For instance, the terms teachers borrowed to describe their work in CLIL, the mentality colleagues had about challenging conditions in CLIL, and the collegial space for expressing oneself and finding support to emotional dissonance seemed to be such discursive conditions.

By taking advantage of such discursive conditions, teachers came to see emotions as a valid part of their work and encouraged a sense of normality in themselves. It could be argued that, for pedagogical identity, this means a more self-aware, cognitively engaged and emotionally present practitioner. For relational identity, it could be argued that this implies active membership in a community of CLIL practitioners that does not suppress undesirable emotions and collectively creates room for shared viewpoints, meanings and values (e.g., Geijsel & Meijers, 2005).

While discursive tools are important in supporting teachers' intrapersonal dialogue, some teachers demonstrated how current discourses are resisted or questioned. Most participants were positively predisposed toward CLIL, yet there were four who questioned whether doing CLIL was really worthwhile and the influence of the foreign language on the teachers' identity. Moreover, some responded defensively to expectations they perceived from stakeholders or the

curriculum, and others coped with school events by distancing themselves physically and mentally. These findings suggest that, at the same time emotion is an embodied experience (Cross & Hong, 2012; Kenway & Youdell, 2011), CLIL teachers' pedagogical identity is preoccupied with negotiating external demands as well as the nature of foreign language mediated instruction and the effects this has on their role as teachers, their understanding of themselves through the foreign language, and meeting pupils' expectations.

Teachers' overall professional identity negotiation may encompass implementing strategies that promote well-being or balance between work and private life. Therefore, teachers' identity negotiation does not only entail using available discourses, tools and socio-cultural affordances, but also exercising agency in deliberating whether these resources are in agreement with their own professional orientations, sense of purpose and ideas about foreign-language mediation. It also entails drawing on positively accented emotional experiences to make sense of and navigate negative ones that affect the reviewing of existential or identity-related exploration within the profession.

#### 6.3.3.2 Interpersonal dialogue

On an interpersonal plane, the findings denote that a shared school culture aids identity negotiation, mostly by moderating negatively accented emotional experiences, while promoting autonomy, principles, and collaboration. The participants expressed a sense of gratitude toward colleagues when they acknowledged the difficulties participants encountered at work as well as when they were included in the school community. The latter could be effected by being guided and advised in CLIL by colleagues and by having one's practices and ideas acknowledged. Moreover, while reflecting and working together on CLIL would enhance positively accented emotional experiences, negatively accented emotional experiences were not ignored.

It could be argued that teachers' negotiation of their pedagogical identity on an interpersonal level drew on the idea of the teacher as an autonomous practitioner existing in the shared school culture, whereby teachers would feel free to make pedagogical and methodological decisions that reflect their beliefs and ethical principles. This may contribute to a sense of empowerment, commitment, and contentment at work (e.g., Day & Kington, 2008). Teacher's negotiation of their relational identity on an interpersonal level was supported by the idea of the CLIL team, which established the local material tools and discourses on CLIL as a method and CLIL as practice through the extent to which collaboration took place and intellectual resources were exchanged. This might support the enactment of pedagogical identity in the classroom and help maintain inspiration or motivation for CLIL, while it can also help abate feelings of loneliness, frustration, and rush.

In addition, when negatively accented emotional states are expressed and tended to with words of understanding or practical advice on the part of colleagues, emotions could be seen as an aspect of relational identity that, if not suppressed or disregarded, can serve as a cohesive element that promotes rapport. Thus, emotions are not only embodied experiences, but also social events (Cross

& Hong, 2012; Golombek & Doran, 2014; Zembylas et al., 2012), since they are shared with and endorsed by others. Yet, while it can be argued that teachers co-created a safe space for the expression of emotions regardless of their positive or negative accent, it cannot be argued on the strength of the existing findings whether there were specific or prescribed ways of expressing such emotions. Other than condoning negatively accented emotional experiences of individual teachers, which yielded a sense of membership and normalcy, the ways the collegial community particularly shaped such experiences remains unclear.

### 6.3.4 The temporal dimension of emotions

The intrapersonal and interpersonal dialogues that occur were more easily accessible when examining present and near-past events. While a longitudinal approach would yield a broader picture of identity negotiation over one's professional course, the participants' presentation of shorter time frames enabled smaller connections between how teachers experienced the present in light of past and future directions. In particular, the intrapersonal dialogue rendered emotional responses to professional experiences meaningful by linking individual and collective understandings to an envisioned future for pupils' life and collegial undertakings. The interpersonal dialogue rendered them meaningful by affording a discursive and relational reality that allowed mutual understanding, inclusion, and emotional expression.

While it is up to the individual to negotiate how professional and identity agency will be exercised upon making sense of such emotions and the ways they are then reflected in individual professional trajectories, such emotions are constantly under negotiation in pedagogical and relational identity. The temporal dimension of emotions is tied to conceptualizations of professional identity as a process or as a product of the moment-by-moment experiencing of the professional environment (e.g., Kelchtermans, 2005; Tynjälä, 2013; Zembylas, 2003). Because of this temporality, emotions occasion possibilities for reviewing past, present, and future conditions and may propel action in constructing work-life histories. Thus, this temporality can be most fruitful when present conditions do not significantly confuse, disorient or obstruct the transaction between intrapersonal and interpersonal dialogues, but rather present teachers with boundary experiences that instigate more profound reconsideration of their profession as enacted by themselves and those around them.

### 6.3.5 Concluding remarks on emotions in professional identity negotiation

In conclusion, emotions are both embodied and social and benefit from individual negotiation aided by the resources in interpersonal conditions. While few emotions were mentioned explicitly, emotions did underlie the professional lives of teachers, as did the negotiation of these emotions on a personal as well as collegial level. Negatively accented emotional experiences did not necessarily translate into negative influences on teachers' pedagogical and relational identity in the context under examination. Despite this, it could be argued that negatively

accented emotions may be detrimental to teacher commitment and motivation over time (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Hargreaves, 1998, 2001), although it was not evident from the participants' responses. Positively accented ones helped perpetuate the shared outlook and values in CLIL teaching. On the one hand, these entailed an active engagement of the individual with opportunities in the community and, on the other hand, the collective support of individual actions and the promotion of collaborative work. This, in turn, highlights the importance of teachers' individual pedagogical and relational agency, as well as *identity agency* in negotiating the role and significance of emotions within their professional identity.

Pedagogical, relational, and *identity* agency are important forms of agency in any educational context. Nonetheless, the relationship between teachers' intrapersonal and interpersonal dialogue on emotions and identity may vary, as different discursive and material tools incur different interpersonal affordances and, by extension, different intrapersonal negotiation. Interpersonal dialogue becomes a meaningful terrain to which the individual responds through experience and agency in a way that is intrapersonally meaningful (Bakhurst, 2007; Holland & Lachicotte Jr., 2007). Thus, this particular context of CLIL serves to highlight the importance of a reflective and sensitive individual who works in tandem with a community of practitioners that is accepting and considerate of the emotional complexities in CLIL teaching. It can be argued that both individual teachers and their community have the responsibility to address emotional confluence or dissonance within the social space that is shared, rather than regard emotions as a strictly individual response to workplace events, thus creating possibilities for mutual and communal transformation.

# 7 CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the preceding discussion, this chapter concludes the dissertation with practical and theoretical implications. In addition, it identifies limitations to the reported research project and suggests directions for future research on teachers' identity negotiation.

### 7.1.1 Practical implications

#### 7.1.1.1 Professional identity

The findings suggest that professional identity benefits from synergy within as well as between teachers' pedagogical and relational identities. Professional identity, therefore, should be recognized as something that is both personal and relational, whose negotiation is contingent on various resources, like professional and institutional, personal and emotional, temporal, discursive, and socio-cultural resources (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Eteläpelto et al., 2015; Varghese et al., 2005; Vähäsantanen, 2015; Wells, 2007).

Pre-service teachers need to be aware of their assumptions and convictions about teaching and language learning when entering teaching practice, and be amenable to shifting such self-imposed preconditions in light of existing interests and unfolding professional trajectories. Therefore, while teacher training should be about formal preparation, it should also be about self-exploration and future direction, so as to promote the construction of knowledgeable and self-reliant, yet perceptive and reflective, professionals. Concepts like identity should not be regarded as insubstantial, but as a meaningful process of self-discovery within the profession and encounters with pupils and colleagues.

Student-teachers of CLIL should also become of aware of language as an integral part of their professional identities, especially as part of its pedagogical side. Foreign language training and pedagogy would be beneficial, while cooperation with mentors and foreign language teachers alike during teaching practice would help review preparation for teaching through the prism of the foreign language used as a medium of instruction. In addition to that, student-teachers should be encouraged from their university years to form cooperative or project-

oriented units, in which they can learn how to draw on another as an intellectual and emotional resource. This might foster positive attitudes toward collaborative work and help avoid isolating collegial cultures in future school environments, while laying foundations for the relational side to their individually experience professional identity.

With regard to in-service teachers, although CLIL teachers in Finland might tend to be positive and enthusiastic about foreign language mediated teaching, it would be worthwhile for teacher trainers to remind them of professional identity being a negotiation between pedagogical and relational sides. Aside from providing teachers with resources that enable autonomy and agency in the classroom, teachers should also be provided with the resources to foster collegial and other relational spaces which stimulate thought, promote individual involvement in collective action, and address considerations that bring one's professional self into question. Since this has implications for the ways they exercise or the degree to which they seek to exercise their professional agency, it is important that CLIL teachers themselves co-create these spaces with the interpersonal resources they have in their possession, as well as by being more vocal regarding their needs. On the one hand, interpersonal resources can be contributed by teachers at regional and school levels in ways that create self-sufficient pockets of professional activity and mutual encouragement. On the other hand, needs like CLIL-tailored material, training or informative seminars, language support, possibilities for successful team teaching and in-class teacher assistance, and more time for preparation can be met by educational stakeholders who wield political power over the implementation of CLIL programs. Most importantly, CLIL teachers themselves have to be agentic in finding ways that do not let personal initiative and enthusiasm for CLIL subside, as this has been at the roots of CLIL education and, by extension, the renegotiation or transformation of their professional identity.

#### 7.1.1.2 Professional agency

The findings suggested that professional agency is exercised not only in drawing on resources and managing work-related challenges, but also in negotiating one's identity (Day, Kington, Stobart, & Sammons, 2006; Edwards, 2007; Eteläpelto, Vähäsantanen, & Hökkä, 2015; Flores & Day, 2006). Professional agency should, therefore, be recognized as an individual tool in coping with everyday exigencies and boundary experiences of the self, as well as a collective one in effecting changes and responding to demands.

Pre-service teachers should become aware during their studies of the influences of language on the professional self and teacher-pupil relationships. For example, they should be instructed in ways that language can function as the medium of instruction, especially as one linked to conceptual and cultural aspects to learning (e.g., 4Cs), and learn how to engage pupils in learning, so that they combine the interactive and inquisitive qualities as learners with that of foreign language users. Moreover, student-teachers themselves have to become more sensitive to their own use of language, serving as a model for pupils' language learning and production, while having the possibility to explore and de-

sign material suitable for CLIL prior to or during their teaching practice. Consequently, they will be better prepared to assimilate into a reality that necessitates roles like material designer, language teacher, and guide in the learning process through language mediation. In addition to that, student-teachers need to be supported in meaning-making on the basis of their emotional experiences, especially during teaching practice, as it represents the time when prospective teachers are able to exemplify acquired knowledge and start building on their professional expertise. Concepts like pedagogical agency and *identity agency* can be introduced as academic and discursive tools with which to operationalize personal and pre-determined or expected understandings of teaching and CLIL.

In relation to teachers who are already in practice, it is important for them to recognize and utilize resources for professional agency. For instance, for the viability of CLIL, teachers need to retain their openness to change with which they ventured into CLIL, as it is closely connected to their methodological flexibility. What is more, more attention should be paid to collective practices as the primary resource for countering material and developmental limitations. These would entail allocating time for teachers to collaborate within the school schedule, affording them possibilities for teacher training that addresses considerations particular to CLIL instruction, encouraging and supporting teachers in getting CLIL teaching qualifications, and enabling as well as resourcing creativity. Teachers need to be able to collectively safeguard autonomous, yet informed, action in the classroom, at the same time as they promote the relational culture of the school through their pedagogical choices and outcomes. In other words, there needs to be a professional environment in which CLIL teachers' pedagogical and relational agency can be exercised in a mutually supportive manner.

In addition to the above, teachers should be afforded or themselves demand the power to be part of syllabus negotiation, thus having political influence over CLIL provision at the level of the school or that of the municipality. Their sociocultural agency needs to be exercised to both make CLIL initiatives feasible and successful and perceive themselves as active participants in a boarder endeavor, rather than its mere implementers. Finally, in-service CLIL teachers need to be more aware of how *identity agency* is exercised throughout their careers, encompassing the negotiation of emotional, temporal, physical and social aspects in both their immediate and extended professional environment. This implies the creation of a safe, respectful, and empathetic interpersonal space as well as the use of intellectual resources and pedagogical expertise to sustain individual efforts and enhance collegiality.

#### 7.1.1.3 Emotions

The findings suggested that emotions are an aspect of teacher's professional lives negotiated in light of their identity and made viable by the collegial community in which this identity is negotiated (Cross & Hong, 2012; Geijsel & Meijers, 2005; Hargreaves, 2001; Meijers, 2002; Zembylas et al., 2012). Emotion should, therefore, be recognized as an inevitable consideration in teachers' professional learning that does not only concern the individual, but also the community.

Taking this as a starting point, pre-service teachers could be trained through practice and instruction to anticipate certain emotions and learn ways of regulating them in a constructive manner. As teaching is a people profession, the range of emotional responses to events may vary considerably. Still, however, if young teachers have been prepared to face certain difficult emotional experiences in advance, the induction years may not be emotionally overwhelming, while teachers may turn their attention to more meaningful interpretation and expression of the perceived emotional responses to their everyday circumstances in the classroom. This may be achieved with an explicit focus on emotions on the part of the student-teachers by means of reflective writings, which can help formulate personal understandings of oneself as a teacher in an informal manner and envision ways such understandings might be challenged. Other ways may include interdisciplinary courses involving sociological and psychological backgrounds or discussing emotions as part of prominent theories on teaching and learning. Moreover, provided there is sufficient time, a closer relationship with the mentor during teaching practice and a temporary experience as a member of a collegial community can provide further incentive for exploring emotions at the workplace and learning strategies of using negatively or positively accented emotional experiences to one's benefit by more experienced others.

As far as in-service teachers are concerned, the recognition of both positive and negative emotion can promote individual well-being and sense of belonging as well as a serve a more profound bond between colleagues. As CLIL entails certain additional challenges, the emotions that arise from the boundary experiences can be addressed by the school-based CLIL community. While positively accented emotional experiences may be encouraging and reaffirming, negative accented ones may pose a threat to the community intent on developing their school-based CLIL program if they are perpetuated, suppressed or disregarded altogether. Moreover, emotions should cease to be something merely tolerated by the social as something that is individually experienced, but allow for collective attitudes that are conducive to mutual learning, such as being merciful toward oneself and openness to the expression of negativity. This can be achieved by closer collaboration, which addresses CLIL challenges in a practical manner, and teacher trainings or teacher gatherings, which address CLIL challenges in a collective and empathetic manner respectively. Negatively accented emotional experiences should be regarded as the responsibility of the whole collegial community, as they partly shape the felt reality of the workplace, and used in a ways that transform local practices in relation to local needs.

### 7.1.2 Theoretical implications

#### 7.1.2.1 Professional identity and professional agency

According to the subject-centered socio-cultural approach underpinning the ontological orientation of this research project (Eteläpelto, 2017), socio-cultural and other features of the professional environment are not superimposed on one's professional identity, or vice versa. Rather, the individual exercises significant

agency in shaping or re-constructing their professional identity in accord with what how they see themselves as professionals.

The findings of the studies comprising this research project lend further support for this approach to professional identity and agency. At the same time, however, they build upon it and the understanding of identity and agency as mutually constitutive, by examining professional identity and agency in light of particular aspects that could be more important to CLIL teachers. In particular, by examining professional identity in terms of pedagogical and relational identity, and their interrelation, we can explore two major and daily performed aspects of teachers' professional lives. Meanwhile, examining resources and constraints on a pedagogical, relational, and socio-cultural level enables a more synthesized perspective on how teachers exercise their professional agency.

Another way this research project contributes to current understandings of professional identity as mediated by agency, such as *identity agency*, is the temporal frameworks within which teachers construct their perceptions and resources, and which co-construct future directions through relationships with pupils and colleagues. In addition to that, while teachers were very agentic in forming their own professional identities, this research project proposes that theory should take into further consideration the role of social relationships developed in the professional environment (e.g., pupils or colleagues), in order to better understand how perceived and enacted accounts of the self are hued or mediated by teachers' relational identity. This might be especially important in CLIL, as the findings showed how professional learning and the reviewing of professional identity are tied to synergistic spaces between pedagogy and collegiality facilitated by such social relationships. This should not detract from the power of individual influence over social and material suggestions at the workplace, but rather highlight how the social can be present in individual conceptions.

While the teachers of this research project presented an optimistic background on which to interpret such suggestions and identity negotiation, more challenging professional contexts in CLIL education might shed light on how social suggestions may contain or stream identity negotiation and how teachers exercise their pedagogical, relational, and sociocultural agency in response to such conditions.

#### 7.1.2.2 Professional identity and emotions

According to the theoretical framework used to examine emotions and identity negotiation (see Meijers, 2002), boundary experiences to current understandings of the self signal instances when negatively accented emotional experiences should be made sense of intrapersonally as well as interpersonally with the use of concepts. While identity learning as a cyclical learning process suggests that intuitive sense-giving precedes the complementary process of discursive meaning-giving, the findings of the sub-studies indicated that, seen within shorter time frames, discursive elements are very present in the intrapersonal negotiation of emotions at the same time that the individual is very much present in their inter-

personal negotiation. Therefore, theory on identity negotiation in light of emotions should take into account how *identity agency* is exercised to navigate between personal and discursive or collective resources.

In agreement with the theoretical perspective taken, when emotions are rendered personally meaningful, they become a part of teachers' identity. However, besides issues of an affected sense of well-being and teacher retention, it would be interesting for theories on emotions to consider possibilities of emotional experiences becoming part of professional identity when they are embodied, but social discourses are constricting, or when they are socially constructed and do not stem from a profoundly subjective experience. Such possibilities may arise in workplace conditions that could be problematic to the mutually constitutive nature of intrapersonal and interpersonal dialogues.

Another consideration is emotional contagion through the discursive meaning-giving process. As the findings suggested, the teachers' collegial environments provided discursive and relational tools and helped further one's pedagogical agency, which affected how the teachers experienced their workplace and their work. This research project highlights the responsibility of the collegial community in the regulation of emotions at the workplace and how agency at classroom level can be aided by such regulation, especially when regulation does not translate into suppression of certain negative emotional experiences. It would not be unreasonable to expect that such a collegial environment sets a positive emotional tone for the nature of their work, while helping abate or face more unpleasant emotions. As this tone itself can become a resource, theory on emotion and identity could explore how collectively created positive or negative tones in the relational aspects of teachers' work influence the transferability, contagion, or internalization of such tones on the intrapersonal level.

Finally, yet importantly, the adopted theoretical lens posits that positive emotions also hold potential for transformation, although it is rather the negative ones that cause dissonance and need further understanding before they can realize their own potential for transformation. The teachers' pedagogical identity negotiation involved both positive and negative emotions, while conceptual resources in the discursive helped teachers with making meaning of their emotions in terms of their own classroom-based and more general professional activity. What is more, issues of membership, recognition, and legitimization of felt experiences at work amongst colleagues indicate a positive emotional climate at the workplace that enables both individual and collective agency. This research project suggests that positive emotions that are created by colleagues could be considered as part of identity negotiation pertaining to the interpersonal dialogue and the presence of discursive elements in the intrapersonal dialogue.

### 7.1.3 Limitations

#### 7.1.3.1 Data

One of the limitations of the study may be the duration of the interviews and the length of the transcripts. It could be supposed that if more lengthy exchanges had transpired, transcribed interviews would be longer and would, therefore, yield

more data for interpretation (Twining, Heller, Nussbaum, & Tsai, 2017). Yet, it may be the careful processing and critical interpretation of the existing interviews in conjunction with supporting sophisticated ideas that render interviews solid building blocks for research (Alversson, 2011). Thus, while interviews could span more minutes and more pages, it is hoped that the interpretation of the existing ones and the ensuing discussion have done justice to both their content and the qualitative approach to their analysis.

Another limitation concerning the data is that they consisted of a set of fourteen interviews. It could be argued that the data could be complemented by observations, so that the interpretations of the interviews would find further support in teachers' real-time actions. While examples of their practice would have benefited a more rounded understanding of how identity is enacted and expressed through teacher action, the existing data afforded logical consistency, while their interpretation allowed for the identification of patterns and abstractions (Twining et al., 2017). In addition to that, investigator triangulation of the interpretations based on the transcripts added to the trustworthiness and verification of findings (Twining et al., 2017), rendering classroom observations a possible tool for future research on similar research tasks.

#### 7.1.3.2 Data analysis

All sub-studies were conducted using Thematic Analysis as the means to identify common threads and meaningful connections within the interview data. On the one hand, it could be argued that, in conjunction with only interviews as a means of data collection, it subtracts from the research project. Other approaches to data analysis, such as Discourse Analysis, Grounded Theory and narrative methods, could have varied the methodological groundings of the overall research project and yielded a more complex perspective from the data. On the other hand, it could be argued that persisting with the same data analysis technique adds to the reliability and trustworthiness of the findings (Saldana, 2016), since there is better familiarization with ways to identify key and overarching themes. Moreover, it suggests inner consistency with regard to methodology throughout the research project, while it allows for interpretation of the data across themes, which some research questions necessitated (sub-studies II and III). Therefore, while not limiting the interpretation of the data used, the consistent use of Thematic Analysis in the research project does allow for consideration of alternative routes to data analysis in the future.

#### 7.1.3.3 Participants' enthusiasm

Another limitation regards possible bias due to the participants' enthusiasm for CLIL. These teachers had a very positive outlook on CLIL, which they shared, deeming it a tool or challenge for their professional practice and development. This positivity and enthusiasm toward their using CLIL in their lessons may imply that their responses were biased. That is, the accounts participating teachers constructed of themselves throughout the interview may have been heavily influenced by their overall positive experience of studying and teaching through a

foreign language. As a consequence, the findings may have been underlined by this positivity. While more tension could be manifested had their experiences varied more or had there been more consistency among participants in terms of years of teaching experience, the teachers' experience cannot be discounted. At the same time, the identified negatively accented emotional experiences, the ways teachers exerted their agency and negotiated their identity, and the concerns they raised hint that, despite this general positivity, the participants were not blind to the difficulties inherent in their work. Therefore, their positive spirit and enthusiasm should be acknowledged, and indeed applauded, but not seen as compromising the nature and content of the data.

#### 7.1.3.4 Participants' gender

Yet another possible limitation questioning the quality of the data could be participants' gender and the variation in their teaching experience. The teaching profession being one dominated by women, it would be difficult to find men to participate in this research project. However, even if male voices would have added to the plurality of the sub-studies, it can be argued that their absence does not make the existing voices any less potent, meaningful, and truthful. Aside from this consideration, the variation in participants' teaching background and experience may suggest that the findings are not consistent nor generalizable within other professional communities implementing CLIL or across stages of the teaching career. This may certainly hold true, as the context in which the research project was carried out was very specific. Nevertheless, the analysis of the interviews did provide a general picture of agency, identity and emotions in foreign language mediated teaching in Finland. Moreover, it is hoped that the variation in participants' teaching background helps highlight how regular and CLIL teaching can inform one another as well as how it can be used for the support and socialization of younger or less experienced colleagues in CLIL teaching. The identified limitations in this sub-chapter can be addressed by further research, for which some suggestions are made in the following sub-chapter.

### 7.1.4 Directions for future research

Like any research project, this one is not meant to be conclusive and complete, but to add to academic discourse on the concept of teachers' professional identity in CLIL, in tandem with those of teacher's professional agency and emotions. Therefore, future research can amend for any failings suggested or directions set by the present research project. One way to do that would be to include a bigger number of teachers as well as men. Another would be to vary the methodological approach, such as a more longitudinal or multi-modal approach to data collection and analysis. For instance, follow-up interviews could be made with a few participants over the span of two years, while a combination of in-class observations and videotaped material could be used to examine how professional identity is enacted in real time within the immediate settings for professional agency and emotion.

Moreover, with further engagement on the part of the participants, text could be included in the form of regular entries into reflective diaries, while drawings could serve as visual representation of felt experiences at work. Additionally, a more reciprocal toward participants way of doing research could involve seminars on emotions or agency at work, coupled with interviews or written pieces before and after these seminars to examine how conceptual understandings and practical knowledge become embedded in teachers' professional identities or how the ways of exercising agency changes in relation to regulating and making sense of emotions. A comparative approach could also be taken, shedding light into possible differences between various stages of the CLIL teachers' career in light of pedagogical and relational identity negotiation (e.g., beginning teachers, experienced teachers, teachers just starting doing CLIL with or without CLIL training). Especially since the first induction years are important for teacher retention, teacher trainees could also be followed throughout their first years of full-responsibility teaching, so as to examine shifts and causes for shift in their professional identities.

Finally, positive emotions should be problematized in their own right in research. Positive emotions may hold transformative potential for professional identity and agency, yet it might be overshadowed within research by the implications negative emotions usually have for professional learning and development. As stated in sub-study II, positively accented emotional experiences do not necessarily translate into positive outcomes for professional identity, or into possibilities for exercising professional agency. Similarly, negative emotions do not necessarily translate into a strictly or pervasively negative influence over identity negotiation; a reflective outlook and aid by more experienced others can help negotiate negative emotions toward constructive meanings and actions. In conclusion, future research on professional identity, as connected to agency and the embodied and social experience of emotions, has many opportunity-laden prospects.

# SUMMARY

This dissertation explores how professional identity is perceived by teachers in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) instruction. In particular, it addresses professional identity in relation to two immediate contexts of teacher activity, i.e. that of the classroom and that of the collegial community. In addition to exploring how these two sides of the professional self give rise to a broader understanding of professional identity, this dissertation also explores aspects of professional agency and the negotiation of emotions in their work. The dissertation is founded on interviews with one kindergarten and thirteen primary education teachers doing CLIL. The data were thematically analyzed in relation to exercising teacher agency and negotiating teacher identity at work.

Identity has been regarded as the expression of an individual's understanding of the self in response to experiences and conditions that shape their lived contexts. While it can be seen as a product-in-context, it can also be seen as a lifelong processes of negotiating individual-biographical and social-cultural influences, in an attempt to more or less harmonize identities enacted in the different contexts and relationships individuals engage in (Beijaard et al., 2004; Day, Kington, et al., 2006). Leaning toward the latter understanding, this dissertation argues that identity synthesizes the shaping elements present in various living systems at the same time as it partially shapes and directs the nature of these (Varghese et al., 2005). In relation to CLIL teachers' professional lives, this dissertation further argues that teachers' professional identity is dynamically informed by biographical or idiosyncratic, contextual and socio-cultural factors.

Since identity is a process, the notion of agency as part, indeed as a necessary component, of identity negotiation is implied. Agency is social and collective, but also individual and subjective. Individuals draw on this phenomenon to make choices, take stances and effect changes or maintain situations within their social realities and pre-existing social suggestions therein (Eteläpelto et al., 2013). Agency is also used in bi-directional manner in negotiating who they are in relation to personal resources and social contexts. Within the particular CLIL frame of this dissertation, teachers' professional agency was conceptualized as dynamic interplay across three different levels representing the most prominent contexts teachers may enact it in concerning their work. Thus, pedagogical agency in the classroom, relational agency with colleagues and pupils, sociocultural agency beyond the school environment, and identity agency in identity negotiation were the aspects of professional agency that were suggested for guiding the exploration of resources and constraints to agency in CLIL work.

In addition to agency, identity as a process of (re)interpreting the lived experience of the self implies the presence of emotions as a result of the interaction between the internal-subjective and external-social. The role of emotions in identity negotiation becomes prominent in the teaching profession, a profession underlined by emotions (Hargreaves, 2001), even more so in CLIL, since the foreign language used the medium of instruction might present additional challenge to

teaching, hence more tension. Emotions are multicomponential, involving prediscursive bodily sensations and cognition (Kenway & Youdell, 2011; Zembylas et al., 2012) at the same time as they involve shaping and directive influences from social and interactional activity and historical and political circumstances (Cross & Hong, 2012; Golombek & Doran, 2014; Zembylas et al., 2012). Emotional experiences at work, although mostly the negative ones, ignite identity negotiation. This allows for identity maintenance or reconfiguration by means of intuitive sense-giving and discursive meaning-giving (Meijers, 2002), understood in this dissertation as intrapersonal and interpersonal dialogue respectively.

The key findings of this dissertation indicate that when CLIL teachers feel agentic at work, they feel they can work in accordance with how they perceive their professional identity and have strengthened motivation behind their actions in continuing CLIL. However, despite the overall positive attitude the participants had toward CLIL, constraints did exist in their day-to-day practice. This highlights that the individual teacher might instigate exercising agency, yet contextual resources and structures continue to bear on the extent of teacher agency. The key findings also show how agency is linked to teachers' negotiation of their professional self as educational professionals and colleagues. Both their pedagogical and relational identity were negotiated in classroom and collegial relationships alike. This underlines the importance of independent, yet reflective, action coupled with participation and membership in a collegial community. In addition, it suggests that these can influence the present and future success of teachers' practices as well as affect their well-being at work.

The key findings further indicate that the individual and the social are interconnected and that the teacher is the result of both. Teachers' individual resources color and help interpret social contexts and relationships therein. The way these are brought to bear on the social sphere of activity is dynamic, as the social aspects become selectively embedded in the individual. Social aspects themselves offer frames in which professional identity is negotiated drawing on the existing and aspired-to discursive, material and relational conditions. While not aiming at arguing for the supremacy of individual over social aspects or vice versa, this dissertation does argue for the central role of the individual in identity negotiation, as he or she agentically interprets socio-cultural aspects in lived contexts and selectively responds in progressive, reactive or regressive manner to the various social affordances in the professional environment. Nonetheless, it is in such social contexts that spaces can be created, in order to facilitate identity negotiation, professional initiative and transformation of community practices.

In relation to emotions, the key findings indicate that the process of (re)defining and shaping one's professional identity is an emotional one. Holding potential for individual as well as professional learning, they become part of professional trajectories and a resource for CLIL teachers. Yet, to realize the potential of not only positive, but also negative emotions for individual and collective practice, emotions have to first be rendered meaningful. With Meijers's (2002) framework of identity learning as a cyclical process offering a long-term perspective, this dissertation on smaller time frames highlighted how conceptual and

discursive tools do not solely belong to the interpersonal dialogue, but are very much present and often utilized in the intrapersonal dialogue as well. The key findings suggest that the negotiation of emotions in light of professional identity should not be a sole endeavor, but one supported by a community of practitioners. At the same time, they highlight the importance of awareness and reflectiveness toward negative emotions at work. Addressing the convergence or dissonance of emotional responses to workplace events can be a tool for individual and mutual or communal transformation.

The overall contribution of this dissertation is the exploration of professional identity in a field of teaching that has not received as much attention in scholarly discourse as foreign language, bilingual or regular teaching. In addition, the current exploration of CLIL teachers' experience of their professional identity is complemented by the concepts of professional agency and emotion at work. Moreover, the interviews supporting this dissertation were done at a time of change when teachers were anticipating and preparing for the 2016 curriculum. Consequently, while enabling a more holistic conceptualization of identity as an agentic and emotion-involving process, it also highlights CLIL as a professional space in which sensitivity to teachers' material and immaterial needs could facilitate CLIL teaching practices. This dissertation does not claim to be a comprehensive study of CLIL teachers' identity in Finnish primary education, but it hopes to have added to the general discussion on teachers' professional identity, agency and emotions and to have encouraged further research on in-service CLIL teachers' experiences of the self in the profession.

# YHTEENVETO

Väitöskirjassa tarkastellaan, kuinka asiasisältöjä vieraalla kielellä opettavat ns. CLIL-opettajat (Content and Language Integrated Learning) kokevat ammatillisen identiteettinsä. Identiteettiä käsitellään erityisesti suhteessa opettamisen kahteen välittömään kontekstiin eli luokkahuoneeseen ja työyhteisöön. Työssä selvitetään, kuinka nämä ammatillisen minän kaksi puolta laajentavat käsitystä ammatillisesta identiteetistä, mutta pohditaan myös ammatilliseen toimijuuteen ja tunteiden käsittelyyn liittyviä kysymyksiä. Tutkimus perustuu 13:n CLIL-menetelmää käyttävän alakoulunopettajan ja yhden lastentarhanopettajan haastatteluihin. Aineistosta tehtiin teema-analyysi suhteessa opettajan toimijuuden toteutumiseen ja opettajan työssä tapahtuvaan identiteettineuvotteluun.

Identiteetti on nähty yksilön itseymmärryksen ilmauksena, joka on tulosta hänen elinympäristöään muovaavista kokemuksista ja olosuhteista. Identiteetti voidaan nähdä tilannesidonnaisena mutta myös elinikäisenä prosessina, jossa pohditaan yksilöllisbiografisia ja sosiaaliskulttuurisia vaikutteita; pyrkimyksenä tässä on harmonisoida identiteettejä, joita syntyy niissä konteksteissa ja suhteissa, joissa yksilö on osallisena (Beijaard ym., 2004; Day, Kington, ym., 2006). Väitöskirja tukee jälkimmäistä käsitystä olettaen, että identiteetti syntetisoi elollisissa järjestelmissä esiintyvät muovaavat elementit samalla kun se osittain muovaa ja ohjaa niiden luonnetta (Varghese ym., 2005). Työssä esitetään lisäksi, että CLIL-opettajan ammatti-identiteettiin vaikuttavat voimakkaasti biografiset tai idiosynkraattiset, kontekstuaaliset ja sosiokulttuuriset tekijät. Koska identiteetti on prosessi, toimijuuden käsite on identiteettineuvottelun keskeinen osa. Toimijuus on sosiaalista ja yhteisöllistä mutta myös yksilöllistä ja subjektiivista. Yksilö turvautuu ilmiöön tehdessään valintoja, ottaessaan kantaa ja muuttaessaan tai ylläpitäessään sosiaalista todellisuuttaan sekä siinä vallitsevia ennakko-odotuksia (Eteläpelto ym., 2013). Toimijuutta käytetään myös kaksisuuntaisesti käsiteltäessä omaa suhdetta henkilökohtaisiin voimavaroihin ja sosiaalisiin tilanteisiin. Väitöskirjan CLIL-opetuksen viitekehyksessä opettajan ammatillinen toimijuus käsitteellistettiin dynaamiseksi vuorovaikutukseksi niiden kolmen tason välillä, joilla se voi ensisijaisesti toteutua opettajan työssä. Näin ollen pedagoginen toimijuus luokassa, toimijuus suhteessa työtovereihin ja oppilaisiin, sosiokulttuurinen toimijuus koulun ulkopuolella ja identiteettitoimijuus identiteettineuvottelussa olivat ne ammatillisen toimijuuden osatekijät, joita esitettiin toimijuuden voimavarojen ja rajoitusten tarkastelun suuntaviivoiksi CLIL-opetuksessa.

Toimijuuden lisäksi identiteetti prosessina, jossa (uudelleen)tulkitaan kokemusta itsestä, merkitsee tunteiden läsnäoloa, joka on tulosta vuorovaikutuksesta sisäisen/subjektiivisen ja ulkoisen/sosiaalisen välillä. Tunteilla on erityisen suuri merkitys opettajan identiteettineuvottelussa (Hargreaves, 2001), ja vielä enemmän CLIL-opetuksessa, sillä vieraan kielen käyttö opetuksen välineenä saattaa olla haasteellista ja lisätä paineita. Tunteet ovat moniulotteisia – niihin sisältyy prediskursiivisia tuntemuksia ja kognitioita (Kenway & Youdell, 2011;

Zembylas ym., 2012), ja samalla niihin vaikuttavat sosiaalinen toiminta ja vuorovaikutus sekä historialliset ja poliittiset olosuhteet (Cross & Hong, 2012; Golombek & Doran, 2014; Zembylas ym., 2012). Tunnekokemukset työssä, vaikkakin pääasiassa negatiiviset, saavat aikaan identiteettineuvottelua. Tämä mahdollistaa identiteetin säilyttämisen tai muokkaamisen intuitiivisen järkeilyn ja diskursiivisen merkityksenannon avulla (Meijers, 2002), jotka ymmärretään tässä yksilön sisäisenä ja yksilöiden välisenä dialogina.

Väitöskirjan tulokset osoittavat, että kun CLIL-opettaja tuntee toimijuutta työssään, hän tuntee voivansa toimia ammatillisen identiteettinsä mukaisesti ja hänen motivaationsa CLIL-opetuksen jatkamiseen vahvistuu. Vaikka osallistujien asenne CLIL-opetusta kohtaan oli yleensä myönteinen, käytännön työssä oli tiettyjä rajoituksia. Tämä osoittaa, että yksittäinen opettaja saattaa ryhtyä toteuttamaan toimijuuttaan, mutta kontekstuaaliset resurssit ja rakenteet vaikuttavat toimijuuden määrään. Toimijuus on myös yhteydessä opettajan ammatillisen minän pohdintaan koulutuksen ammattilaisena ja työtoverina. Pedagogista ja relationaalista identiteettiä pohdittiin sekä luokassa että kollegiaalisissa suhteissa. Tämä korostaa itsenäisen, reflektiivisen toiminnan merkitystä yhdessä työyhteisöön osallistumisen kanssa. Lisäksi nämä tekijät voivat vaikuttaa opettajan toiminnan tuloksellisuuteen ja työhyvinvointiin.

Tutkimuksessa osoitetaan myös, että yksilöllinen ja sosiaalinen kietoutuvat toisiinsa, ja opettaja on molempien tulos. Opettajan yksilölliset voimavarat värittävät ja auttavat tulkitsemaan sosiaalisia tilanteita ja suhteita. Tapa jolla ne vaikuttavat sosiaaliseen toimintaympäristöön on dynaaminen, sillä sosiaaliset tekijät vaikuttavat yksilöön valikoivasti. Sosiaaliset tekijät itsessään tarjoavat kehykset, joissa ammatti-identiteettiä pohditaan olemassa olevien ja tavoiteltujen diskursiivisten, aineellisten ja relationaalisten olosuhteiden pohjalta. Väitöskirjassa ei oteta kantaa yksilöllisten ja sosiaalisten tekijöiden tärkeysjärjestykseen, mutta siinä katsotaan yksilön roolin olevan keskeinen identiteettineuvottelussa, koska yksilö tulkitsee elinympäristön sosiokulttuurisia näkökohtia agenttisesti ja reagoi valikoivasti progressiivisella, reaktiivisella tai regressiivisellä tavalla työympäristön tarjoamiin sosiaalisiin mahdollisuuksiin. Kuitenkin juuri näissä sosiaalisissa yhteyksissä voidaan luoda tiloja, jotka helpottavat identiteettineuvottelua, ammatillista aloitteellisuutta ja yhteisön käytänteiden muutosta.

Tulokset osoittavat ammatti-identiteetin (uudelleen)määrittelyn ja muovaamisen prosessin olevan tunneperäinen. Koska tunteet tarjoavat mahdollisuuden sekä yksilölliseen että ammatilliseen oppimiseen, niistä tulee CLIL-opettajille voimavara ja osa ammatillista kehityskaarta. Jotta tunteiden – sekä myönteisten että kielteisten – potentiaali voidaan hyödyntää yksilön ja yhteisön toiminnassa, niille tulee ensin antaa merkitys. Meijersin (2002) viitekehyksen tarjotessa pitkän aikavälin näkökulman identiteettioppimiseen syklisenä prosessina, tässä lyhyemmän aikavälin tutkimuksessa korostui, kuinka käsitteelliset ja diskursiiviset työkalut eivät kuulu vain yksilöiden väliseen dialogiin vaan ovat vahvasti läsnä ja usein käytössä myös yksilön sisäisessä dialogissa. Tulosten perusteella ammatti-identiteettiin liittyviä tunteita ei tulisi käsitellä yksin vaan työyh-

teisön tukemana. Samalla korostuu työhön liittyvien negatiivisten tunteiden tiedostamisen ja reflektoinnin merkitys. Työpaikan tapahtumiin liittyviä ristiriitaisiakin tunnereaktioita käsittelemällä voidaan edesauttaa yksilö- ja yhteisötason muutosta.

Väitöskirjan kokonaisantina on ammatillisen identiteetin tarkastelu sellaisella opetuksen osa-alueella, jolla siihen ei akateemisessa diskurssissa ole kiinnitetty yhtä paljon huomiota kuin vieraiden kielten opetuksessa ja kaksikielisessä tai perinteisessä opetuksessa. CLIL-opettajan ammatti-identiteetin kokemuksen analyysi täydentyy ammatillisen toimijuuden ja työhön liittyvien tunteiden käsitteillä. Tutkimushaastattelut toteutettiin aikana, jolloin opettajat valmistautuivat vuonna 2016 käyttöön otettuun opetussuunnitelmaan. Mahdollistaessaan kokonaisvaltaisemman identiteetin käsitteellistämisen agenttisena ja emotionaalisena prosessina tutkimus myös korostaa CLIL-opetuksen olevan ammatillinen tila, jossa herkkyys opettajan aineellisia ja aineettomia tarpeita kohtaan voisi edistää CLIL-opetuksen käytäntöjä. Väitöskirja ei pyri olemaan tyhjentävä analyysi CLIL-opettajien identiteetistä Suomen alakoulukontekstissa vaan osallistumaan keskusteluun opettajan ammatti-identiteetistä, toimijuudesta ja tunteista sekä kannustamaan lisätutkimukseen, jossa kartoitetaan CLIL-menetelmää käyttävien opettajien ammatti-identiteetin kokemuksia.

## REFERENCES

Ahearn, L. M. (2001). Language and agency. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *30*(1), 109–137. https://doi.org/doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro. 30.1.109.
Aiello, J., Di Martino, E., & Di Sabato, B. (2017). Preparing teachers in Italy for CLIL: Reflections on assessment, language proficiency and willingness to communicate. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *20*(1), 69–83. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2015.1041873
Akkerman, S. F., & Meijer, P. C. (2011). A dialogical approach to conceptualizing teacher identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *27*, 308–319. https://doi.org/doi:10.1016/j.tate.2010.08.013
Alversson, M. (2011). *Interpreting Interviews*. London, UK: Sage Publications.
Archer, M. (2003). *Structure, agency and the internal conversation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Aro, S., & Mikkilä-Erdmann, M. (2015). School-external factors in Finnish Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) programs. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, *59*(2), 127–142. https://doi.org/10.1080/00313831.2014.894937
Arpaci, D., & Bardakçi, M. (2016). An investigation on the relationship between prospective teachers' early teacher identity and their need for cognition. *Journal of Education and Training Studies*, *4*(3), 9–19. https://doi.org/10.11114/jets.v4i3.1176
Ashkanasy, N. M. (2015). Emotions and work. In J. Wright (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 507–512). Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.22037-0
Bailey, D. E., & Barley, S. R. (2011). Teaching-learning ecologies: Mapping the environment to structure through action. *Organization Science*, *22*(1), 262–285.
Bakhurst, D. (2007). Vygotsky's Demons. In H. Daniels, M. Cole, & J. V. Wertsch (Eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Vygotsky* (pp. 50–76). New York, NY, US: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CCOL0521831040.003
Banegas, D. L. (2012). CLIL teacher development: Challenges and experiences. *Latin American Journal of Content & Language Integrated Learning*, *5*(1), 46–56. https://doi.org/10.5294/laclil.2012.5.1.4
Banegas, D. L. (2016). Teachers develop CLIL materials in Argentina: A workshop experience. *LACLIL*, *9*(1), 17–36. https://doi.org/10.5294/laclil.2016.9.1.2
Beauchamp, C., & Thomas, L. (2009). Understanding teacher identity: An overview of issues in the literature and implications for teacher education. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, *39*(2), 175–189. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057640902902252
Becker, E. S., Goetz, T., Morger, V., & Ranellucci, J. (2014). The importance of teachers' emotions and instructional behavior for their students' emotions – An experience sampling analysis. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *43*, 15–26.

https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2014.05.002
Beijaard, D., Meijer, P. C., & Verloop, N. (2000). Teachers' perceptions of professional identity: An exploratory study from a personal knowledge perspective. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *16*, 749–764.
Beijaard, D., Meijer, P. C., & Verloop, N. (2004). Reconsidering research on teachers' professional identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *20*, 107–128. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2003.07.001
Bergroth, M. (2016). Reforming the national core curriculum for bilingual education in Finland. *Journal of Immersion and Content-Based Language Education*, *4*(1), 86–107. https://doi.org/10.1075/jicb.4.1.04ber
Biesta, G., Priestley, M., & Robinson, S. (2015). The role of beliefs in teacher agency. *Teachers and Teaching*, *21*(6), 624–640. https://doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2015.1044325
Biesta, G., & Tedder, M. (2007). Agency and learning in the lifecourse: Towards an ecological perspective. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *39*(2), 132–149.
Billett, S. (2006). Relational interdependence between social and individual agency in work and working life. *Mind, Culture, and Activity*, *13*(1), 53–69.
Billett, S. (2007). Work, subjectivity and learning. In S. Billett, T. Fenwick, & M. Somerville (Eds.), *Work, Subjectivity and Learning: Understanding Learning Through Working Life* (pp. 1–20). Dordrecht: Springer. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1007/1-4020-5360-6_1
Bovellan, E. (2014). *Teachers' beliefs about learning and language as reflected in their views of teaching materials for Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)* (Master's thesis). University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland.
Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1191/ 1478088706qp063oa
Bukor, E. (2015). Exploring teacher identity from a holistic perspective: Reconstructing and reconnecting personal and professional selves. *Teachers and Teaching*, *21*(3), 305–327. https://doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2014.953818
Bullough Jr., R. V. (2005). Being and becoming a mentor: School-based teacher educators and teacher educator identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *21*, 143–155. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2004.12.002
Cammarata, L., & Tedick, D. J. (2012). Balancing Content and Language in instruction: The experience of immersion teachers. *The Modern Language Journal*, *96*(2), 251–269. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2012.01330.x
Canrinus, E. T., Helms-Lorenz, M., Beijaard, D., Buitink, J., & Hofman, A. (2011). Profiling teachers' sense of professional identity. *Educational Studies*, *37*(5), 593–608. https://doi.org/10.1080/03055698.2010.539857
Cenoz, J. (2013). Discussion: towards an educational perspective in CLIL language policy and pedagogical practice. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *16*(3), 389–394.
Cenoz, J. (2015). Content-based instruction and content and language integrated learning: The same or different? *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, *28*(1), 8–

24. https://doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2014.1000922

Cenoz, J., Genesee, F., & Gorter, D. (2014). Critical analysis of CLIL: Taking stock and looking forward. *Applied Linguistics*, *35*(3), 243–262. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amt011

Clarke, M. (2009). The ethico-politics of teacher identity. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, *41*(2), 185–200. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-5812.2008.00420.x

Clegg, S. (2006). The problem of agency in feminism: A critical realist approach. *Gender and Education*, *18*(3), 309–324. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540250600667892

Coonan, C. M. (2007). Insider views of the CLIL class through teacher selfobservation–introspection. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *10*(5), 625–646. https://doi.org/10.2167/beb463.0

Coward, F. L., Hamman, D., Johnson, L., Lambert, M., John, I., & Zhou, L. (2015). Centrality of enactive experiences, framing, and motivation to student teachers' emerging professional identity. *Teaching Education*, *26*(2), 196–221. https://doi.org/10.1080/10476210.2014.996741

Coyle, D. (2007). Content and language integrated learning: Towards a connected research agenda for CLIL pedagogies. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *10*(5), 543–562. https://doi.org/10.2167/beb459.0

Coyle, D. (2013). Listening to leaners: An investigation into "successful learning" across CLIL contexts. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *16*(3), 244–266.

Coyle, D., Hood, P., & Marsh, D. (2010). *Content and Language Integrated Learning*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Cross, D. I., & Hong, J. Y. (2012). An ecological examination of teachers' emotions in the school context. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *28*(7), 957–967. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2012.05.001

Crump, S. (2005). Changing times in the classroom: Teaching as a "crowded profession." *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, *15*(1), 31–47.

Cummins, J. (2014). Rethinking pedagogical assumptions in Canadian French immersion programs. *Journal of Immersion and Content-Based Language Education*, *2*(1), 3–22. https://doi.org/10.1075/jicb.2.1.01cum

Dalton-Puffer, C. (2008). Outcomes and processes in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL): Current research from Europe. In W. Delanoy & L. Volkmann (Eds.), *Future Perspectives for English Language Teaching* (pp. 139–157). Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Dalton-Puffer, C. (2011). Content-and-Language Integrated Learning: From practice to principles? *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *31*, 182–204. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190511000092

Dalton-Puffer, C., & Nikula, T. (2014). Content and language integrated learning. *The Language Learning Journal*, *42*(2), 117–122. https://doi.org/10.1080/09571736.2014.891370

Day, C. (2004). The passion of successful leadership. *School Leadership &*

*Management*, *24*(4), 425–437. https://doi.org/10.1080/13632430410001316525
Day, C., & Gu, Q. (2010). *The New Lives of Teachers*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Day, C., & Kington, A. (2008). Identity, well--being and effectiveness: The emotional contexts of teaching. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, *16*(1), 7–23.
Day, C., Kington, A., Stobart, G., & Sammons, P. (2006). The personal and professional selves of teachers: Stable and unstable identities. *British Educational Research Journal*, *32*(4), 601–616. https://doi.org/10.1080/01411920600775316
Day, C., Stobart, G., Sammons, P., & Kington, A. (2006). Variations in the work and lives of teachers: Relative and relational effectiveness. *Teachers and Teaching*, *12*(2), 169–192. https://doi.org/10.1080/13450600500467381
Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D., & Sierra, J. M. (2014). CLIL and motivation: The effect of individual and contextual variables. *The Language Learning Journal*, *42*(2), 209–224.
Edwards, A. (2005). Relational agency: Learning to be a resourceful practitioner. *International Journal of Educational Research*, *43*, 168–182. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijer.2006.06.010
Edwards, A. (2007). Relational agency in professional practice: A CHAT analysis. *Actio: An International Journal of Human Activity Theory*, *1*, 1–17.
Edwards, A. (2015). Recognising and realising teachers' professional agency. *Teachers and Teaching*, *21*(6), 779–784. https://doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2015.1044333
Edwards, A., & D'arcy, C. (2004). Relational agency and disposition in sociocultural accounts of learning to teach. *Educational Review*, *56*(2), 147–155. https://doi.org/10.1080/0031910410001693236
Emirbayer, M., & Mische, A. (1998). What is agency? *The American Journal of Sociology*, *103*(4), 962–1023.
Escobar Urmeneta, C. (2013). Learning to become a CLIL teacher: Teaching, reflection and professional development. *Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *16*(3), 334–353.
Eteläpelto, A. (2017). Emerging conceptualisations on professional agency and learning. In M. Goller & S. Paloniemi (Eds.), *Agency at Work. Professional and Practice-based Learning* (pp. 183–201). Cham: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-60943-0
Eteläpelto, A., Vähäsantanen, K., Hökka, P., & Paloniemi, S. (2014). Identity and agency in professional learning. In S. Billett, C. Harteis, & H. Gruber (Eds.), *International Handbook of Research in Professional and Practice-based Learning* (pp. 645–672). Dordrecht: Springer.
Eteläpelto, A., Vähäsantanen, K., & Hökkä, P. (2015). How do novice teachers in Finland perceive their professional agency? *Teachers and Teaching*, *21*(6), 660–680. https://doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2015.1044327
Eteläpelto, A., Vähäsantanen, K., Hökkä, P., & Paloniemi, S. (2013). What is Agency? Conceptualizing professional agency at work. *Educational Research Review*, *10*, 45–65. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.edurev.2013.05.001

Evans, K. (2017). Bounded agency in professional lives. In M. Goller & S. Paloniemi (Eds.), *Agency at Work. Professional and Practice-based Learning* (pp. 17–36). Cham: Springer. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-60943-0_2

Evans, L. (2001). Delving deeper into morale, job-satisfaction and motivation among education professionals. *Educational Management & Administration*, *29*(3), 291–306.

Evetts, J. (2003). The sociological analysis of professionalism: Occupational change in the modern world. *International Sociology*, *18*(2), 395–415.

Flores, M. A., & Day, C. (2006). Contexts which shape and reshape new teachers' identities: A multi-perspective study. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *22*, 219–232. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2005.09.002

Florio-Ruane, S., & Williams, L. G. (2008). Uncovering paths to teaching: Teacher identity and the cultural arts of memory. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, *35*(3), 7–22.

FNBE. (2004). *Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2004*. Retrieved from http://www.oph.fi/english/curricula_and_qualifications/basic_education/curricula_2004

FNBE. (2014). *Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014*. Retrieved from http://www.oph.fi/english/curricula_and_qualifications/basic_education/curricula_2014

Freese, L., & Burke, P. J. (1994). Persons, identities, and social interaction. In B. Markovsky, K. Heimer, & J. O'Brien (Eds.), *Advances in Group Processes* (11th ed., pp. 1–24). Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press.

Gajo, L. (2007). Linguistic knowledge and subject knowledge: How does bilingualism contribute to subject development? *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *10*(5), 563–581.

Gee, J. P. (2000). Identity as an analytic lens for research in education. *Review of Research in Education*, *2*, 99–125.

Geijsel, F., & Meijers, F. (2005). Identity learning: The core process of educational change. *Educational Studies*, *31*(4), 419–430. https://doi.org/10.1080/03055690500237488

Gibbons, P. (2002). *Learning language, learning through language, and learning about language. Scaffolding Language, Scaffolding Learning* (Second). Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Goleman, D. P. (1995). *Emotional intelligence: Why it can matter more than IQ for character, health and lifelong achievement*. New York, NY: Bantam Books.

Goller, M. (2017). *Human agency at work*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer.

Golombek, P., & Doran, M. (2014). Unifying cognition, emotion, and activity in language teacher professional development. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *39*, 102–111. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2014.01.002

Graaff, R. de, Koopman, G. J., Anikina, Y., & Westhoff, G. (2007). An observation tool for effective L2 pedagogy in Content and Language

Integrated Learning (CLIL). *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *10*(5), 603–624. https://doi.org/10.2167/beb462.0

Guest, G., MacQueen, K. M., & Namey, E. E. (2012). *Applied Thematic Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Hargreaves, A. (1998). The emotional practice of teaching. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *14*(8), 835–854. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0742-051X(98)00025-0

Hargreaves, A. (2001). The emotional geographies of teachers' relations with colleagues. *International Journal of Educational Research*, *35*, 503–527.

Hargreaves, A. (2005). Educational change takes ages: Life, career and generational factors in teachers' emotional responses to educational change. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *21*, 967–983. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2005.06.007

Helgøy, I., Homme, A., & Gewirtz, S. (2007). Local autonomy or state control? Exploring the effects of new forms of regulation in education. *European Educational Research Journal*, *6*(3), 198–202.

Hilferty, F. (2008). Theorising teacher professionalism as an enacted discourse of power. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *29*(2), 161–173. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690701837521

Hillyard, S. (2011). First steps in CLIL: Training the teachers. *Latin American Journal of Content & Language Integrated Learning*, *4*(2), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.5294/laclil.2011.4.2.1 ISSN 2011-6721

Holland, D., & Lachicotte Jr., W. (2007). Vygotsky, Mead, and the new sociocultural studies of identity. In H. Daniels, M. Cole, & J. V. Wertsch (Eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Vygotsky* (pp. 101–135). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Holloway, W., & Jefferson, T. (2000). *Doing Qualitative Research Differently: Free Association, Narrative and the Interview Method.* London, UK: Sage Publications.

Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (2016). Narrative practice and the active interview. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative Research* (pp. 67–82). London, UK: Sage Publications.

Hunt, M. (2011). Learners' perceptions of their experiences of learning subject content through a foreign language. *Educational Review*, *63*(3), 365–378.

Hüttner, J., Dalton-Puffer, C., & Smit, U. (2013). The power of beliefs: Lay theories and their influence on the implementation of CLIL programmes. *International Journal of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*, *16*(3), 267–284. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2013.777385

Hökkä, P. (2012). *Teacher educators amid conflicting demands: Tensions between individual and organizational development* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland.

Hökkä, P., & Eteläpelto, A. (2013). Seeking new perspectives on the development of teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *65*(1), 39–52. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487113504220

Hökkä, P., Eteläpelto, A., & Rasku-Puttonen, H. (2012). The professional agency of teacher educators amid academic discourses. *Journal of Education for*

*Teaching: International Research and Pedagogy*, *38*(1), 83–102.

Hökkä, P., & Vähäsantanen, K. (2014). Agency-centred coupling: A better way to manage an educational organization? *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, *17*(2), 131–153. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603124.2013.783932

Hökkä, P., Vähäsantanen, K., Paloniemi, S., & Eteläpelto, A. (2017). The reciprocal relationship between emotions and agency in the workplace. In M. Goller & S. Paloniemi (Eds.), *Agency at Work: An Agentic Perspective on Professional Learning and Development* (pp. 161–181). Cham: Springer. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-60943-0_9

Kayi-aydar, H. (2015). Critical inquiry in language studies multiple identities, negotiations, and agency across time and space: A narrative inquiry of a foreign language teacher candidate. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, *12*(2), 137–160. https://doi.org/10.1080/15427587.2015.1032076

Kelchtermans, G. (2005). Teachers' emotions in educational reforms: Self-understanding, vulnerable commitment and micropolitical literacy. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *21*, 995–1006. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2005.06.009

Kelchtermans, G. (2009). Who I am in how I teach is the message: Self-understanding, vulnerability and reflection. *Teachers and Teaching*, *15*(2), 257–272. https://doi.org/10.1080/13540600902875332

Kenway, J., & Youdell, D. (2011). The emotional geographies of education: Beginning a conversation. *Emotion, Space and Society*, *4*, 131–136. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2011.07.001

Ketelaar, E., Beijaard, D., Boshuizen, H. P. A., & Den Brok, P. J. (2012). Teachers' positioning towards an educational innovation in the light of ownership, sense-making and agency. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *28*, 273–282. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2011.10.004

Koopman, G. J., Skeet, J., & de Graaff, R. (2014). Exploring content teachers' knowledge of language pedagogy: A report on a small-scale research project in a Dutch CLIL context. *The Language Learning Journal*, *42*(2), 123–136. https://doi.org/10.1080/09571736.2014.889974

Korhonen, V., & Törmä, S. (2016). Engagement with a teaching career – how a group of Finnish university teachers experience teacher identity and professional growth. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, *40*(1), 65–82. https://doi.org/10.1080/0309877X.2014.895301

Korthagen, F. A. J. (2004). In search of the essence of a good teacher: Towards a more holistic approach in teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *20*, 77–97. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2003.10.002

Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2009). *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Körkkö, M., Kyrö-Ämmälä, O., & Turunen, T. (2016). Professional development through reflection in teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *55*, 198–206.

Labuschagne, A. (2003). Qualitative research - Airy fairy or fundamental? *The Qualitative Report*, *8*(1), 100–103. Retrieved from

https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol8/iss1/7

Lasky, S. (2005). A sociocultural approach to understanding teacher identity, agency and professional vulnerability in a context of secondary school reform. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *21*, 899–916. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2005.06.003

Lehti, L., Järvinen, H.-M., & Suomela-Salmi, E. (2006). Kartoitus vieraskielisen opetuksen tarjonnasta peruskouluissa ja lukioissa [Mapping FL learning in comprehensive and high schools]. In P. Pietilä, P. Lintunen, & H.-M. Järvinen (Eds.), *Kielenoppija tänään–Language Learners of Today* (pp. 293–313). Jyväskylä: Suomen Soveltavan kielentutkimuksen keskus.

Lemke, J. L. (2008). Identity, development and desire: Critical questions. In C. R. Caldas-Coulthard & R. Iedema (Eds.), *Identity Trouble* (pp. 17–42). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230593329_2

Little, W. J. (2002). Locating learning in teachers' communities of practice: Opening up problems of analysis in records of everyday work. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *18*, 917–946.

Lo, Y. Y., & Macaro, E. (2015). Getting used to content and language integrated learning: What can classroom interaction reveal? *The Language Learning Journal*, *43*(3), 239–255. https://doi.org/10.1080/09571736.2015.1053281

Magoon, A. J. (1977). Constructivist approaches in educational research. *Review of Educational Research*, *47*(4), 651–693.

Marsh, D., Mehisto, P., Wolff, D., & Martín, M. J. F. (2012). *European Framework for CLIL Teacher Education*. Retrieved from https://www.unifg.it/sites/default/files/allegatiparagrafo/20-01-2014/european_framework_for_clil_teacher_education.pdf

Marsh, D., Nikula, T., Takala, S., Rohiola, U., & Koivisto, T. (1998). *Language teacher training and bilingual education in Finland*. Retrieved from http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/elc/tnp1/SP6NatRepFI.pdf

McIntyre, J., & Hobson, A. J. (2016). Supporting beginner teacher identity development: External mentors and the third space. *Research Papers in Education*, *31*(2), 133–158. https://doi.org/10.1080/02671522.2015.1015438

McNay, L. (2004). Agency and experience: Gender as a lived relation. *The Sociological Review*, *52*(2), 173–190. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2005.00530.x

Mehisto, P. (2008). CLIL counterweights: Recognising and decreasing disjuncture in CLIL. *International CLIL Research Journal*, *1*(1), 93–119.

Meijers, F. (2002). Career learning in a changing world: The role of emotions. *International Journal for Advancement of Counselling*, *24*(3), 149–167. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1022970404517

Mercer, S. (2012). The complexity of learner agency. *APPLES – Journal of Applied Language Studies*, *6*(2), 41–59.

Meyer, O., Coyle, D., Halbach, A., Schuck, K., & Ting, T. (2015). A pluriliteracies approach to content and language integrated learning–mapping learner progressions in knowledge construction and meaning-making. *Language,*

*Culture and Curriculum*, *28*(1), 41–57. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2014.1000924

Miller, J., & Glassner, B. (2016). The “inside” and the “outside”: Finding realities in interviews. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative Research* (pp. 51–66). London, UK: Sage Publications.

Moate, J. (2011a). Reconceptualising the role of talk in CLIL. *Journal of Applied Language Studies*, *5*(2), 17–35.

Moate, J. (2011b). The impact of foreign language mediated teaching on teachers’ sense of professional integrity in the CLIL classroom. *European Journal of Teacher Education*, *34*(3), 333–346. https://doi.org/10.1080/02619768.2011.585023

Moate, J. (2011c). Voicing the challenges faced by innovative teacher community. *Teachers and Teaching*, *17*(2), 255–268. https://doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2011.539804

Moate, J. (2013). *Reconceptualising teacherhood through the lens of foreign-language mediation* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland.

Moate, J. (2014a). A narrative account of a teacher community. *Teacher Development: An International Journal of Teachers’ Professional Development*, *18*(3), 384–402. https://doi.org/10.1080/13664530.2014.931294

Moate, J. (2014b). Dialogic struggles and pedagogic innovation. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, *22*(2), 295–314. https://doi.org/10.1080/14681366.2014.891641

Moate, J., & Ruohotie-Lyhty, M. (2014). Identity, agency and community: Reconsidering the pedagogic responsibilities of teacher education. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, *62*(3), 249–264. https://doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2014.955456

Mora, A., Trejo, P., & Roux, R. (2016). The complexities of being and becoming language teachers: Issues of identity and investment. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, *16*(2), 182–198. https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2015.1136318

Mäkiranta, P. (2014). *CLIL Teachers as Materials Designers (Master’s thesis)*.

Newton, D. P. (2013). Moods, emotions and creative thinking: A framework for teaching. *Thinking Skills and Creativity*, *8*, 34–44.

Nikula, T. (2005). English as an object and tool of study in classrooms: Interactional effects and pragmatic implications. *Linguistics and Education*, *16*, 27–58. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2005.10.001

Nikula, T. (2007). Speaking English in Finnish content-based classrooms. *World Englishes*, *26*(2), 206–223.

Nikula, T. (2010). Effects of CLIL on a teacher’s classroom language use. In C. Dalton-Puffer, T. Nikula, & U. Smit (Eds.), *Language use and Language Learning in CLIL Classrooms* (pp. 105–123). Amsterdam, NL: John Benjamins.

Nikula, T., Dafouz, E., Moore, P., & Smit, U. (Eds.). (2016). *Conceptualising Integration in CLIL and Multilingual Education*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual

Matters.
Nikula, T., Dalton-Puffer, C., & Llinares, A. (2013). CLIL classroom discourse: Research from Europe. *Journal of Immersion and Content-Based Language Education*, *1*(1), 70–100. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/jicb.1.1.04nik
Nikula, T., & Marsh, D. (1996). *Kartoitus vieraskielisen opetuksen tarjonnasta peruskouluissa ja lukioissa*. Helsinki, FI: Opetushallitus.
Patton, M. Q. (2015). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods: Integrating Theory and Practice* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Pietarinen, J., Pyhältö, K., & Soini, T. (2016). Teacher's professional agency – a relational approach to teacher learning. *Learning: Research and Practice*, *2*(2), 112–129. https://doi.org/10.1080/23735082.2016.1181196
Pillen, M. T., Brok, P. J. Den, & Beijaard, D. (2013). Profiles and change in beginning teachers' professional identity tensions. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *34*, 86–97. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2013.04.003
Priestley, M., Biesta, G., & Robinson, S. (2012). Understanding teacher agency: The importance of relationships. In *Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association*. Vancouver, Canada. Retrieved from https://www.stir.ac.uk/research/hub/publication/6081
Priestley, M., Edwards, R., Miller, K., & Priestley, A. (2012). Teacher agency in curriculum making: Agents of change and spaces for manoeuvre. *Curriculum Inquiry*, *42*(2), 191–214. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-873X.2012.00588.x
Pyhältö, K., Pietarinen, J., & Soini, T. (2015). Teachers' professional agency and learning – from adaption to active modification in the teacher community. *Teachers and Teaching*, *21*(7), 811–830. https://doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2014.995483
Richards, K. (2006). "Being the Teacher": Identity and classroom conversation. *Applied Linguistics*, *27*(1), 51–77. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/ami041
Robinson, S. (2012). Constructing teacher agency in response to the constraints of education policy: Adoption and adaptation. *The Curriculum Journal*, *23*(2), 231–245. https://doi.org/10.1080/09585176.2012.678702
Rodgers, C. R., & Raider-Roth, M. B. (2006). Presence in teaching. *Teachers and Teaching*, *12*(3), 265–287.
Rodgers, C. R., & Scott, K. H. (2008). The development of the personal self and professional identity in learning to teach. In C. R. Rodgers (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education* (pp. 732–755). Retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/1879050/Rodgers_and_Scott_2008_The_development_of_the_personal_self_and_professional_identity_in_learning_to_teach
Ruohotie-Lyhty, M., & Moate, J. (2016). Who and how? Preservice teachers as active agents developing professional identities. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *55*, 318–327. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2016.01.022
Sahlberg, P. (2011). The fourth way of Finland. *Journal of Educational Change*,

*12*(2), 173–185. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-011-9157-y
Saldana, J. (2016). *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. London, UK: Sage Publications.
Sannino, A. (2010). Teachers' talk of experiencing: Conflict, resistance and agency. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *26*, 838–844. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2009.10.021
Schwandt, T. A. (1998). Constructivist, interpretivist approaches to human inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues* (pp. 221–259). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
Scotland, J. (2012). Exploring the philosophical underpinnings of research: Relating ontology and epistemology to the methodology and methods of the scientific, interpretive, and critical research paradigms. *English Language Teaching*, *5*(9), 9–16. https://doi.org/10.5539/elt.v5n9p9
Sexton, D. M. (2008). Student teachers negotiating identity, role, and agency. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, *35*(3), 73–88.
Shallcross, T., Spink, E., Stephenson, P., & Warwick, P. (2002). How primary trainee teachers perceive the development of their own scientific knowledge: Links between confidence, content and competence? *International Journal of Science Education*, *24*(12), 1293–1312. https://doi.org/10.1080/09500690110110106
Shulman, L. S., & Shulman, J. H. (2004). How and what teachers learn: A shifting perspective. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *36*(2), 257–271. https://doi.org/10.1080/0022027032000148298
Skinnari, K. (2014). Silence and resistance as experiences and presentations of pupil agency in Finnish elementary school English lessons. *APPLES – Journal of Applied Language Studies*, *8*(1), 47–64. Retrieved from http://apples.jyu.fi/ArticleFile/download/423
Steffe, L. P., & Gale, J. E. (1995). *Constructivism in Education*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
Sullivan, P., & McCarthy, J. (2004). Toward a dialogical perspective on agency. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, *34*(3), 291–309.
Sutton, R. E., & Wheatley, K. F. (2003). Teachers' emotions and teaching: A Review of ther literature and directions for future research. *Educational Psychology Review*, *15*(4), 327–358. https://doi.org/1040-726X/03/1200-0327/0
Sylvén, L. K. (2013). CLIL in Sweden - why does it not work? A metaperspective on CLIL across contexts in Europe. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *16*(3), 301–320. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2013.777387
Taylor, S. J., Bogdan, R., & DeVault, M. L. (2016). *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: A Guidebook and Resource*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
Taylor, S., & Littleton, K. (2006). Biographies in talk: A narrative-discursive research approach. *Qualitative Sociology Review*, *2*(1), 22–38.

Tedick, D. J., & Cammarata, L. (2012). Content and Language Integration in K–12 contexts: Student outcomes, teacher practices, and stakeholder perspectives. *Foreign Language Annals*, *45*(S1), S28–S53. https://doi.org/doi:10.111/j.1944-9720.2012.01178.x.

ten Dam, G. T. M., & Blom, S. (2006). Learning through participation. The potential of school-based teacher education for developing a professional identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *22*, 647–660. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2006.03.003

Tsui, A. M. Y. B. M. (2007). Complexities of identity formation: A narrative inquiry of an EFL teacher. *TESOL QUARTERLY*, *41*(4), 657–680.

Twining, P., Heller, R. S., Nussbaum, M., & Tsai, C.-C. (2017). Some guidance on conducting and reporting qualitative studies. *Computers & Education*, *106*, A1–A9. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.compedu.2016.12.002

Tynjälä, P. (2013). Toward a 3-P model of workplace learning: A literature review. *Vocations and Learning*, *6*(1), 11–36. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12186-012-9091-z

Uitto, M., Jokikokko, K., & Estola, E. (2015). Virtual special issue on teachers and emotions in Teaching and teacher education (TATE) in 1985-2014. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *50*, 124–135. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2015.05.008

Vaismoradi, M., Jones, J., Turunen, H., & Snelgrove, S. (2016). Theme development in qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis. *Journal of Nursing Education and Practice*, *6*(5), 100–110. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.5430/jnep.v6n5p100

van der Heijden, H. R. M. A., Geldens, J. J. M., Beijaard, D., & Popeijus, H. L. (2015). Characteristics of teachers as change agents. *Teachers and Teaching*, *21*(6), 681–699. https://doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2015.1044328

van Kampen, E., Admiraal, W., & Berry, A. (2016). Content and language integrated learning in the Netherlands: Teachers' self-reported pedagogical practices. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. https://doi.org/1http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2016.1154004

van Veen, K., & Sleegers, P. (2006). How does it feel? Teachers' emotions in a context of change change. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *38*(1), 85–111. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220270500109304

Varghese, M., Morgan, B., Johnston, B., & Johnson, K. A. (2005). Theorizing language teacher identity: Three perspectives and beyond theorizing language. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, *4*(1), 21–44. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327701jlie0401

Vygotsky, L. S. (1975). *Thought and Language*. Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in Society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Vähäsantanen, K. (2015). Professional agency in the stream of change: Understanding educational change and teachers' professional identities. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *47*, 1–12.

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2014.11.006

Vähäsantanen, K., Hökkä, P., Eteläpelto, A., Rasku-Puttonen, H., & Littleton, K. (2008). Teachers' professional identity negotiations in two different work organisations. *Vocations and Learning*, *1*(2), 131–148. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12186-008-9008-z

Vähäsantanen, K., Paloniemi, S., Hökkä, P., Eteläpelto, A., & Räikkönen, E. (2016). Professional agency and learning at work: Developing a practical assessment tool. Paper presented at the EARLI sig 14 Conference. 24.-26.8.2016.

Watkins, M. (2011). Teachers' tears and the affective geography of the classroom. *Emotion, Space and Society*, *4*, 137–143. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2010.03.001

Wells, G. (2007). Who we become depends on the company we keep and on what we do and say together. *International Journal of Educational Research*, *46*, 100–106.

Wewer, T. (2013). English language assessment in bilingual CLIL instruction at the primary level in Finland: Search for updated and valid assessment methods. *Didaktik Und Methodik Im Bereich Deutsch Als Fremdsprache*, *18*(2), 76–87.

Yin, H., Lee, J. C. K., Zhang, Z., & Jin, Y. (2013). Exploring the relationship among teachers' emotional intelligence, emotional labor strategies and teaching satisfaction. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *35*, 137–145. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2013.06.006

Zembylas, M. (2003). Emotions and Teacher Identity: A poststructural perspective. *Teachers and Teaching*, *9*(3), 213–238. https://doi.org/10.1080/13540600309378

Zembylas, M. (2005). Beyond teacher cognition and teacher beliefs: the value of the ethnography of emotions in teaching. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *18*(4), 465–487. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518390500137642

Zembylas, M., Charalambous, P., & Charalambous, C. (2012). Manifestations of Greek-Cypriot teachers' discomfort toward a peace education initiative: Engaging with discomfort pedagogically. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *28*, 1071–1082.

# APPENDICES

## Appendix 1: Information letter about the study for the teachers

Dear CLIL teacher,

I am a Ph.D. student at the Faculty of Education, University of Jyväskylä. My supervisors are professor Anneli Eteläpelto and post-doctoral researchers Josephine Moate and Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty. I am contacting you about my Ph.D. study concerning teacher agency and identity in Finnish CLIL. I took the liberty of contacting you, as I understand that you have been involved in CLIL before. I would be grateful if you could participate in an interview for this study.

I am interested in CLIL teachers' experiences, interests, feelings, critical views and future dreams, especially in light of the new curriculum. The purpose of the study is to examine the challenges and possibilities in CLIL teaching in Finland. The study can contribute significantly to making the situation of CLIL teaching visible and develop practical suggestions for future CLIL practices and policies. Your contribution to this study with your teaching experiences, insights, personal opinion and understandings of CLIL would be vastly helpful in determining what supports and constrains CLIL teacher education and what needs should be prioritized.

I would be very grateful if you could share your knowledge, experiences, ideas and opinion in a discussion. It will take place at a time and place convenient to you, and last approximately one hour. Our discussion will be audiotaped and later transcribed. Your identity will never be revealed in any phase of the study. The collected data will be stored in a locked place at the university and only the researcher and supervisors will have access to them. The results of the study will be shared with you before any publication, so that you can check their accuracy, relevance and anonymity.

If you have any question about the study or the interview, do not hesitate to contact me. For further information, you can also contact any of my supervisors:

Professor Anneli Eteläpelto
xxx@xxx.x

Dr. Josephine Moate
xxx@xxx.x

Dr. Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty
xxx@xxx.x

If you would like to participate in the interview, please let me know. You can do so by email or text message. Then, I will contact you so that we can arrange a time and a place for the interview. In case you do not have much time, we could

do the interview using Skype. Having been a teacher myself, I can understand how your schedule is tight. In case you are not interested, would you kindly suggest a colleague who you think might be interested? I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards,
Sotiria Pappa
email: sotiria.s.pappa@student.jyu.fi
Tel.: 040 805 3832

## Appendix 2: Informed consent form for participants

**Informed Consent Form**

This document is a consent form for a research project carried out by Sotiria Pappa, doctoral student at the Faculty of Education, University of Jyväskylä. The research project concerns Teacher Agency in the Finnish CLIL Context and aims at offering a better understanding of how CLIL teachers in Finland experience teacher agency and negotiate their professional identities, what the factors bearing on such experiencing and negotiating may be, and how agency can be empowered through identity for further teacher development and better teaching practices in CLIL. Two copies of this form should be signed by investigator and interviewee alike. The interviewee will be given one copy of the signed form.

**Consent for Participation in Interview Research**

1. I agree to participate in a research project conducted by Sotiria Pappa from the University of Jyväskylä. I understand that the project is designed to gather information about experiences of agency and identity of CLIL teachers in Finland. I will be one of approximately 10 people being interviewed for this research.

2. My participation in this project is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty. If I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.

3. The interview will last approximately 60 minutes. Notes will be written during the interview. An audiotape of the interview will be made to accurately capture my insights in my own words. A transcription of the interview will also be made and sent to me for confirmation of details given during the interview. If I do not want to be taped, I will not be able to participate in the study.

4. I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from this interview, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Subsequent uses of records and data will be subject to standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions. In the event I choose to withdraw from the study, all information I provide (including tapes) will be destroyed and omitted from the final paper.

5. I understand that this research study has been reviewed and approved by the Faculty of Education of the University of Jyväskylä. For research problems or questions regarding subjects, the University of Jyväskylä may be contacted through the investigator's supervisor, Dr. Josephine Moate (xxx@xxx.x).

6. I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

7. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

________________________________ My Signature

________________________________ My Printed Name

_______/________/_____________ Date

For further information, please contact:

Sotiria Pappa, doctoral student
(sotiria.s.pappa@student.jyu.fi)

________________________________ Signature of the Investigator

## Appendix 3: Interview guide

**Warm-up Questions**

1. Tell me something about your work and your career?
2. How many years have you been a (CLIL) teacher?
3. Have you had any CLIL training?
4. How did you become a CLIL teacher and why?

**Past (more identity-oriented)**

1. Who or what inspired or encouraged you to become a CLIL teacher?
2. Do you have any memorable experiences that have made you the teacher you are today?
3. Was it hard when you first started teaching CLIL?
4. What do teaching and learning mean to you? How does CLIL teaching and learning become a part of your understanding?
5. How does CLIL reflect your idea and purpose of education? Or doesn't it?

**Present (identity & agency)**

1. How would you describe the teacher's role in the CLIL classroom? How is it different or similar to the teacher's role in the subject classroom?
2. What are your goals and tasks at work?
3. What typical learning tasks do you use in the CLIL classroom? How do they compare to the tasks you use in the regular classroom?
4. Have the pedagogical/ teaching methods you use changed over time?
5. Has your CLIL teaching changed the methods you've used in your regular classroom?
6. How have they changed your teaching in Finnish?
7. What does CLIL change at the level of the classroom?
8. How does CLIL change the teacher's role in the classroom?
9. How do you feel CLIL changes the teacher-student relationship?
10. How is the dynamic in the classroom affected?
11. How have they changed your teaching in Finnish? (Professional knowledge)
12. Do you feel like being the same teacher when you teach through a different language?
13. What are the most important things you have learned by teaching in a CLIL classroom? How do you see yourself develop through your work (in the CLIL classroom)?
14. What are your interests concerning education?
15. What do you enjoy the most as a CLIL teacher? What do you enjoy the least as a CLIL teacher?
16. What are the most cost common positive feelings you have when you teach CLIL? What are the most common negative ones?
17. What do you consider priorities in your CLIL lesson?
18. What helps you in teaching/developing CLIL classes?

19. What are the challenges in CLIL teaching?/ What do you think are the most difficult things in teaching CLIL?
20. What do you describe to a subject teacher as the role and responsibilities of a CLIL teacher in Finnish education?
21. How do you deal with difficulties in CLIL teaching? And what about in the CLIL classroom?
22. What kind of support is available at school and what support do you seek?
23. Then what about outside of school?
24. How would you describe your relationships with colleagues at school?
25. How do collegial relationships help in better understanding CLIL?
26. How do collegial relationships help in better understanding yourself as a CLIL teacher?
27. How does the school management affect your CLIL teaching?
28. How do you see the meaning and role of the curriculum in your teaching?
29. Has there been any curriculum change or general change at work recently/in the past years?
30. How do you respond to changes at work that affect your day-to-day reality in the classroom?
31. Do you think you have possibilities for influence at school and the work community?
32. Can you work according to your ethical principles?

**Future (more agency-related)**

1. How would you link CLIL teaching with the future of children and the country's education system?
2. How do you believe that the difficulties you encounter in teaching CLIL will empower you as a teacher in the long run?
3. What aspects of your teaching are you happy with? And what would you like to change or develop?

**Concluding the Interview**

1. Is there anything you would like to add?
2. Is there something you would like to say about the interview?

**Most Important Interview Questions in Provisional Order**

1. Tell me something about your work and your career.
2. What are your goals and tasks at work?
3. How many years have you been a (CLIL) teacher?
4. Have you had any CLIL training?

5. How did you become a CLIL teacher and why?
6. Do you have any memorable experiences that have made you the teacher you are today?

7. What do teaching and learning mean to you? How does CLIL teaching and learning become a part of your understanding?
8. How would you describe the teacher's role in the CLIL classroom? How is it different or similar to the teacher's role in the subject classroom?
9. What are your goals and tasks at work?/ What are your learning and/or pedagogical methods?
10. Has your CLIL teaching changed the methods you've used in your regular classroom?
11. How have they changed your teaching in Finnish?
12. What does CLIL change at the level of the classroom?
13. Do you feel like being the same teacher when you teach through a different language?
14. What are the most cost common positive feelings you have when you teach CLIL? What are the most common negative ones?
15. What helps you in teaching/developing CLIL classes?
16. What are the challenges in CLIL teaching?/ What do you think are the most difficult things in teaching CLIL?
17. How do you deal with difficulties in CLIL teaching?
18. What kind of support is available at school and what support do you seek?
19. Then what about outside of school?
20. How would you describe your relationships with colleagues at school?
21. How does the school management affect your CLIL teaching?
22. How do you see the meaning and role of the curriculum in your teaching?
23. How do you respond to changes at work that affect your day-to-day reality in the classroom?
24. Do you think you have possibilities for influence at school and the work community?
25. Can you work according to your ethical principles?
26. How do you see yourself develop through your work (in the CLIL classroom)?
27. What aspects of your teaching are you happy with? And what would you like to change or develop?

28. Is there anything you would like to add?
29. Is there something you would like to say about the interview?

# ORIGINAL PAPERS

# I

## TEACHER AGENCY WITHIN THE FINNISH CLIL CONTEXT: TENSIONS AND RESOURCES

by

Sotiria Pappa, Josephine Moate, Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty & Anneli Eteläpelto,

February 2017

International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 1-15

Reproduced with kind permission by Taylor & Francis.

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND BILINGUALISM, 2017
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2017.1286292

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

# Teacher agency within the Finnish CLIL context: tensions and resources

Sotiria Pappa[a], Josephine Moate[b], Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty[b] and Anneli Eteläpelto[a]

[a]Department of Education, University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland; [b]Department of Teacher Education, University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland

**ABSTRACT**
Recent discussion indicates that the initial enthusiasm of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) teachers can be undermined by the demands of foreign-language mediated education. However, there is a lack of research on the resources and tensions that respectively support or limit the professional agency of CLIL teachers. By means of semi-structured interviews with fourteen participants, this study seeks to better understand how teacher agency is experienced by CLIL teachers working in Finnish primary schools. To examine tensions and resources in CLIL teachers' work lives, a holistic and dynamic theoretical conceptualization of teacher agency is suggested, paying particular attention to the classroom, professional relationships and the wider sociocultural environment. Findings showed that language, classroom-related tensions and temporal, material and developmental resources were perceived as tensions limiting teacher agency. In contrast, autonomy, openness to change, teacher versatility, and collegial community were found to support teacher agency. The study concludes with practical implications for teacher education, practicing teachers and future research.

**ARTICLE HISTORY**
Received 25 April 2016
Accepted 19 January 2017

**KEYWORDS**
Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL); teacher agency; perceived tensions; perceived resources; Finnish education

## Introduction

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is a well-established approach in language education. CLIL intentionally seeks to develop foreign language (FL) learning by using the FL in subject classrooms, that is to teach and learn, for example, history, physics, religion or physical education through a FL. Whilst initially CLIL sought to promote FL learning without harming subject learning (Masih 1999), in recent times CLIL has been promoted as a means to enrich subject as well as FL learning (e.g. Baetens-Beardsmore 2008). As CLIL has been introduced in many European contexts (see Eurydice 2014), this versatile methodology has taken on many different forms from small language 'showers' to more extensive forms of bilingual education. Various projects have been funded at a European level to develop more systematic approaches to CLIL pedagogy (e.g. Marsh et al. 2014), yet whether or not CLIL teachers receive specific support for the implementation and development of CLIL pedagogy is less clear. A number of different research reports indicate that the initial enthusiasm of CLIL teachers can be undermined by the demands of foreign-language mediated education (e.g. Lehti, Järvinen, and Suomela-Salmi 2006). Although CLIL teachers are not required to have a native command of the target language (e.g. Marsh 2012), the limitations of working through a FL, such as the lack of humor, materials, collegial support (e.g. Lehti, Järvinen, and Suomela-Salmi 2006), and the additional tensions when supporting pupils' learning through a FL (e.g. Moate 2013) can be overwhelming.

**CONTACT** Sotiria Pappa sotiria.s.pappa@jyu.fi
© 2017 Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

Recent research has sought to better understand the tensions CLIL teachers face by investigating, for example, how CLIL teachers develop materials (Bovellan 2014), how teacher selves change when working through a foreign language (Nikula 2010), and how teacher communities can support CLIL development (Moate 2014). Other CLIL research has focused more specifically on the use of language in CLIL – both the language that is used and the language that perhaps should be used (e.g. Morton 2012) as well as learner development in CLIL (Dalton-Puffer 2011). Teachers, however, are central mediators in the classroom, responsible for building the relationship between the pupils and the subject, monitoring and guiding pupil development, representing subject knowledge in the appropriate language, and creating an environment that supports the learning of different pupils. If CLIL limits teacher capacity in any of these areas, it is potentially detrimental to the learning capacity of the classroom environment – although this is not intended to suggest a causal relationship between teaching and learning. However, there is a lack of research on the resources and tensions that support or limit CLIL teachers' professional agency, understood here as actively influencing, making choices and taking stances at work.

Taking a qualitative approach, the research reported here seeks to better understand how teacher agency is experienced by CLIL teachers working in Finnish primary schools (grades 1–6, ages 7–13). Teacher agency is examined in the light of perceived tensions and resources, taking into consideration how individual and contextual factors interact in Finnish CLIL education. The findings are explained in light of a holistic and dynamic theoretical conceptualization of teacher agency. In this conceptualization, teacher agency is comprised of three types pertaining to the different work contexts of CLIL teachers. Particular attention is paid to the classroom, professional relationships and the wider sociocultural environment in which teachers act and interact, examining factors at play within the scope of Finnish CLIL teachers' pedagogical, relational and sociocultural agency respectively. In the following sections, the theoretical framework and the context for this study are outlined in more detail.

## Theoretical framework

Agency is a concept that has recently received a significant amount of attention in educational research and it is often understood as the mediated capacity to act within hegemonic discourses and sociocultural frameworks (Ahearn 2001; Eteläpelto et al. 2013). Therefore, teacher agency is the way in which teacher intention and understanding is enacted within a particular environment, whether physical, emotional, social, pedagogical or professional. This concept is useful because it draws attention to the sensitive space between an individual's hopes and plans, and their realized or realizable potential. We contend that if the agency of CLIL teachers is significantly constrained, CLIL teaching will be less successful and negatively impact on teachers' well-being. On the other hand, a better understanding of CLIL teacher agency should help in the further development of professional development programs and courses for teachers, as well as the development of appropriate materials, resources and environments for CLIL.

Agency is a situated activity, something the individual *does* within contexts-for-action characterized by particular interactive ecological circumstances influenced by time, relations, and a potential for transformation and achievement (Biesta, Priestley, and Robinson 2015). To gain a more comprehensive understanding of what constitutes teacher agency within the particular context of CLIL, teacher agency is proposed as a dynamic concept involving an interrelation between pedagogical, relational and professional agency. *Pedagogical agency* is enacted within the classroom domain; that is, material selection and usage, selection and execution of instructional strategies, classroom management, performance of the teacher role and decision-making for pupil learning, engagement and better academic performance. It is important that teachers are able to influence and negotiate 'core pedagogical and instructional practices, including applying new ideas at work, making decisions on one's ways of teaching, and developing one's work', an ability that is meaningful only when teachers 'feel in control of the choices they make within their work' (Eteläpelto, Vähäsantanen, and Hökkä 2015, 663).

Whereas pedagogical agency highlights the relationship between teachers and pupils, *relational agency* reflects collegial relationships in light of sharing experiences and knowledge with colleagues. This type of agency involves reciprocal, mutual relationships in strengthening expertise, but also advocates a focus on the nature of the relationships that mediate between individual interpretations and the social at work for the sake of distributing expertise and enhancing collective competence (Edwards 2007). Teacher development can occur when teachers jointly consider and openly discuss classroom reality and practices, the meaning of their experiences and their conceptualization of pedagogies, as this creates space for teachers to find a voice together through exploratory talk, articulate their needs, seek and offer help, and validate a sense of being and becoming in a teacher community (e.g. Moate 2014). *Sociocultural agency*, however, goes beyond the immediate school environment to the wider sociocultural environment, including stakeholders like parents, policy-makers and other authorities. These three different components align with a sociocultural account of agency as 'an essentially mediated phenomenon' (Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate 2015, 59), with teachers acting in a reactive or proactive manner, willingly or grudgingly, to educational policies, aims, expectations and demands. This perspective suggests that teacher agency is tethered to these three components of agency and evident in the way teachers respond to pupils, colleagues, external forces, expectations and aspirations. Thus, it may offer a more inclusive view of influences on CLIL teachers' agency, its expression in the CLIL classroom and its impact on the implementation of this methodology.

## Context for the research

Being complementary to traditional and formal foreign language instruction, CLIL has been a popular means of effecting bilingual or FL education through the curriculum for many decades. CLIL aims at motivating pupils in language learning and offers a wider space for academic achievement and linguistic awareness through dialogic practices (Coyle 2006; Baetens-Beardsmore 2008). Moreover, while not so different from other language-based initiatives (e.g. content-based language education or immersion education) in terms of aim, there is a significant difference in the teacher's relationship with the language, which yields the opportunity to re-conceptualize the content, purpose and processes of the curriculum (Tedick and Cammarata 2012). This is reflected in the new Finnish curriculum put into effect in August 2016, which particularly emphasizes language-aware education, cultural knowledge and multilingual orientation (FNBE 2014; Bergroth 2016).

Finland has been among the first European countries to introduce CLIL to its education system and continues to conduct considerable research in CLIL and to offer teacher training programs for prospective CLIL teachers (e.g. JULIET in Jyväskylä). Section 10 of the Finnish Basic Education Act (Ministry of Education 1998) states that instruction provided through a foreign language may be done partly or entirely, so long as it does not obstruct pupils' ability to follow teaching. Bergroth (2016) clarifies that the Finnish core curriculum is an administrative, intellectual and pedagogical document following a backward design, whereby learning objectives are stipulated in educational policy and then interpreted, developed and implemented by educational providers and teachers, taking into account local needs. However, there are no prescribed or recommended teaching methods for bilingual education or any restrictive definition of it. The author argues that this is because the national curriculum would otherwise compromise teacher autonomy and local decision-making about the extent and character of the bilingual education provided (e.g. large- or small-scale programs where respectively 25% of the curriculum or less is taught in the target language). With no official bilingual schools and bilingual education being intertwined with general language education (Bergroth 2016), CLIL implementation is versatile and potentially vulnerable, despite common objectives and shared principles. However, for Finnish CLIL to be able to make the most of this opportunity, it is important to understand what teachers need to be able to succeed in CLIL teaching.

It would be safe to assume the majority of pre-service CLIL teachers are not fully prepared upon graduation for the practical and difficult aspects of the teaching profession. However, general

guidelines in conjunction with the inherent difficulty of the methodology and the day-to-day reality of the classroom render CLIL a challenge for more experienced teachers as well. Although teachers in Finland are considered and indeed expected to be autonomous practitioners in fulfilling curricular and pedagogical requirements, they still need support, especially given the professional challenge of teaching one's subject through the medium of a foreign language. Examining what enables and restrains the professional agency of teachers might not only bring to the forefront factors that affect CLIL implementation in Finnish schools, but also provide discursive space for teachers' professional development. In the following sections, the research questions and methods are outlined.

## Research questions

This study aims at examining factors that negatively or positively influence teacher agency in Finnish primary school CLIL education. The combined components of pedagogical, relational and sociocultural agency serve as a dynamic conceptualization of teacher agency, which provides the background to the following research questions:

(1) What tensions do CLIL teachers in Finland recognize in exercising agency in their work?
(2) What enables and resources CLIL teachers in Finland to deal with tensions at work?

## Methods

### *Participants*

Thirteen primary school and one kindergarten CLIL teachers participated in the study. As well as Finnish participants, one international teacher was included in the study. The language of CLIL instruction was English. The participants were women, fluent in English, working in seven different schools. With the exception of one experienced teacher who had become familiar with CLIL through her colleagues, all teachers had completed university-level courses in CLIL (see Table 1). In addition, some participants (Teachers 3, 12, 13 and 14) had experience teaching abroad. One had spent 12 years in special education before teaching CLIL, and three others taught special education classes parallel to CLIL. Three teachers explicitly mentioned following the school's policy on CLIL, and all participants saw CLIL teaching as an interesting challenge to their teaching whether when coming into contact with it during their studies and internship, or when changing work places.

**Table 1.** Information on participants.

| Participant Information | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Teacher | School | Qualifications | Years of experience |
| 1 | primary | minor studies in English | 1 |
| 2 | | specialization in Music, Art and English | 20 |
| 3 | kindergarten | in-service training | 25 |
| 4 | primary | PhD, CLIL courses after starting teaching CLIL | 30 |
| 5 | | specialization in English | 30 |
| 6 | | learning CLIL from colleagues | 20 |
| 7 | | PhD, specialized in English and German | 26 |
| 8 | | minor studies in English | 8 |
| 9 | | minor studies in English | 13 |
| 10 | | specialization in English | 21 |
| 11 | | specialization in Music and English, CLIL teacher qualification exam | 27 |
| 12 | | specialization in English, in-service CLIL training | 16 |
| 13 | | BA in bilingual education | 5 |
| 14 | | minor studies in English | 3 |

### *Research design and data collection*

Initially, a preliminary differentiation between three different forms of agency was developed based on a review of the existing literature drawing principally on professional and teacher agency. One of the underlying motivations for the study was whether this differentiation corresponded with the reported experiences of teachers and whether the reported experiences could enrich the differentiation. The interviews included questions corresponding to each feature of these components, which were then refined to relate to CLIL teaching and organized in an easy-to-follow sequence, so that the data could yield a narrative-like account of the teachers' agency. The questions were open-ended and focused on teachers' experiences, opinions and knowledge, for example:

- Do you have any memorable experiences that have made you the teacher you are today?
- What do teaching and learning mean to you?
- What are the most common positive feelings you have when you teach CLIL?
- How would you describe your relationships with colleagues at school?

Some questions included comparing CLIL teaching to L1 teaching and self-to-self so as to make existing differences more prominent and facilitate self-disclosure in a safe environment devoid of notions of self–other judgment (Moate 2011). The interviews were semi-structured, so as not to impose a structure on the narrative and to allow participants to expand on their experiences and perceptions within a shared frame (Holloway and Jefferson 2000). The data were collected from October to mid-December 2015. Participants were informed about the methods, purpose of the study and ethical commitments, while an informed consent form was signed prior to the interviews.

### *Data analysis*

The audiotaped interviews lasted from half to a full hour and were transcribed verbatim. Preliminary differentiation was used to conduct an abductive thematic analysis of the data (Patton 2015). Thematic analysis is a useful, widely used and flexible approach that not only allows access to and identification of themes and patterns related to both epistemology and research questions, but also produces rich interpretation of data sets and insightful analysis when anchored to an existing theoretical framework (Patton 2015). An abductive thematic analysis recognizes that the researcher can refer to former research in the relevant area and draw on statements or conclusions present therein (Vaismoradi et al. 2016). An example of how the data were analysed is presented in Table 2, while a more detailed description of reduction from codes to themes is available in Appendix A.

**Table 2.** Steps of data analysis.

| | Steps of Data Analysis | |
|---|---|---|
| Steps | Actions taken | Examples |
| 1st | Coding in detail | Intense cooperation in CLIL<br>Designing material improving teacher cooperation<br>Assessment and teacher cooperation<br>Collegial cooperation |
| 2nd | Grouping codes and naming basic themes | Collegial cooperation |
| 3th | Identifying illustrative excerpts | 'And they can help me with anything, and we do cooperation together. So we can have- not with all the CLIL classes, we haven't had cooperation, but with few we've had some projects together or some artwork together maybe or something, so.' (Teacher 14) |
| 4th | Identifying key themes | 'Collegial cooperation' under 'Collegial relationships' |
| 5th | Joining key themes under overarching themes | 'Collegial relationships' under 'Resourcing factors' |

The data analysis was subjected to consultation and constructive criticism by the primary author and co-authors. Research triangulation was applied to increase the credibility of the study. All interview data was examined thoroughly and has not been manipulated or edited. The excerpts used in this study serve to illustrate the identified themes and their relevance and accuracy has been examined by means of review by co-authors and participants.

## Findings

In this section, the findings are presented according to the order of the research questions. Thus, perceived tensions are presented first and resourcing factors are presented second.

### *Perceived tensions*

Tensions could be perceived as either constraining or facilitating teacher agency depending on how they were perceived by the CLIL teachers. In the analysis, three themes describing challenging and tensioned factors were identified: (i) language as a tension, (ii) classroom-related tensions, and (iii) availability of temporal, material and developmental resources. In the following section, these themes are described in more detail and illustrated with examples.

#### *Language as a tension*

Language featured often in the interviewees' responses (11/14), which could be expected since CLIL involves a language other than the mother tongue for teacher and pupils alike. In general, CLIL was viewed as a holistic approach, complementary to regular or foreign language classes, but also as an extra challenge (5/14) for all parties concerned. Teachers talked about open-endedness to their questions, pupils' natural use of language over time, more active learning and focusing. However, language can be a cognitive load for pupils, while teachers might feel constricted in the quantity and level of difficulty of language they can use:

> Because for many, uh, just the idea that somebody is talking to you on a foreign language, that might be a huge barrier. So I think, uh, teacher had to know the pupil really well on the quantity of the language, foreign language, used in the classroom (Teacher 8)

> At this point, a little bit yes, because language is so central to teaching, it's so central to who we are. And when I use a different language, and especially because it's a second language for the kids, I don't get to express myself in a same way. Kinda narrows the expression down a little bit (Teacher 9)

Therefore, while 'our learning is based a lot on language' (Teacher 6) and 'you teach in the language you want students to learn' (Teacher 13), a lot of visual material, and time allotted to clarification and vocabulary learning are necessary. Language might become a 'natural tool' over time and through continuous collaboration with pupils, but some teachers (5/14) commented that pupil behavior in class might change because of it. For example, '[pupils] have a lot of negotiation' (Teacher 6) and try 'finding the answers themselves' (Teacher 7), but not all pupils find it easy to participate. Language can affect pupil participation in unpredictable ways. It could give 'room for maybe quiet ones' (Teacher 2) or be an impetus for a more 'active role' (Teacher 6) and motivation, but it could also make pupils question 'the whole idea of CLIL' (Teacher 4), thus giving rise to attitudes that present an 'obstacle' for teachers (Teacher 4). Additionally, CLIL might have 'definitely taught [teachers] to use the language in the classroom […] in a more effective way' (Teacher 14), but teachers felt that conversations in English 'won't go so deep' (Teacher 6), and teacher-pupil relationships can be constricted in part by the pupils' very young age and availability of linguistic resources. That, however, can become an occasion for more dialogic teaching, allowing more teacher-pupil negotiation on social and interpersonal dynamics (e.g. Nikula 2010). Language is very much involved in teaching and learning, and becomes even more important when it is a foreign channel of communication, requiring acceptance and output from pupils, and explanations and resolve from teachers. This

theme remains significant in relation to the other perceived tensions, factoring as a mediating and permeating element.

### *Classroom-related tensions*

Classroom-related tensions concerned the CLIL classroom as a sphere of teacher action and teacher-pupil interactions. Many teachers (10/14) discussed teacher-pupil relationships, referring to them as a source for their own learning as teachers as well as for their pupils' learning, and as 'the beginning of all learning at school' (Teacher 4) for teacher and pupil alike. This bidirectional learning taking place through a foreign language entails giving and receiving feedback, communication, an adjustment of teacher expectations, and a gradual growth in terms of connection:

> I have built a, sort of, a secure [environment]. And so it's, it's nice where you can, it doesn't matter if you make mistakes. […] I think that's the best. […] So, it's nice to hear my own pupils to say that this is working, even they are not saying that that way, but I feel that this is something that I need to do more. […] Also we teachers learn from the children (Teacher 5)

However, for better communication and learning, three teachers suggested smaller class sizes, while the importance of being organized (2/14), planning lessons well (7/14) and preparing material (8/14) was also discussed. Yet, the latter demand 'time and effort' (Teacher 3). The teacher acts as a mediator of the methodology, making it not only a less daunting experience, but also available to and useful for everyone. Therefore, it should not be surprising that successfully integrating content and language (7/14), identifying priorities in CLIL (7/14), such as making or sustaining positive pupil attitudes towards learning and languages, attempting to integrate all pupils into CLIL (3/14), and determining pupil assessment (4/14) were issues that concerned some teachers. However, teachers' hopes for pupils' learning (3/14) and seeing the potential and benefit of CLIL (6/14), such as raised linguistic awareness (5/14), might be helping teachers persist or guiding them throughout the process. As a theme, classroom-related tensions give a picture of what happens in the physical and relational space where teachers and pupils spend most of their school day. Teachers were aware of responsibilities and existing needs, to which they try to respond successfully. Yet, there are things that are sometimes beyond their control, such as pupil participation, using more advanced language, and class sizes, whose affect they try to remediate by being well prepared and drawing on the perceived meaningfulness of CLIL. Awareness and action combined could be an invaluable tool for teachers' pedagogical agency, yet the effects of such combination are always dependent on environmental factors and teachers' willingness to persevere.

### *Availability of temporal, material and developmental resources*

The availability of resources was perceived as a tension. Teacher 8 claimed that '[they] get less resources and the new curriculum, for example, requires a lot of resources'. When asked about what helps them in developing CLIL lessons, teachers referred to the Internet, props, other teachers' materials, to pupils' ideas and collaboration, and cooperation with other people. Yet, 'CLIL, for a large part, is using your own creativity' (Teacher 12). Moreover, in-service opportunities for professional development were found to be important to most teachers (10/14) as a place to get expert advice or ideas for their work, meet and discuss with colleagues working at other schools, get qualifications, and learn about new developments. The provision of time and space to share and reflect with colleagues was considered the most valued professional benefit of such in-service training. After attending a course on critical thinking abroad, Teacher 10 remarks:

> I've never been to a, like, course like that and it *really* opened up my eyes, thinking that what kind of a teacher I am, and what's my role, and what do the pupils do in my classroom. And forever since, eh, I just go back to what I used to be in a way, that even if it says in our old curricula, and it emphasizes the, like, teaching thinking skills a lot in the new curricula, I don't think Finnish teachers or I haven't understood what that actually means.

International projects for the benefit of pupils, exchange programs for teachers, and cooperation with teacher trainees from foreign universities were also mentioned as important resources. Most teachers

actively sought or were granted such in-service opportunities for training and professional development, while there was a general appreciation of and interest in them.

On the other hand, one teacher mentioned outdated CLIL-related web pages and five teachers hinted at the need for more funds that could be used for material and in-service training. Five teachers commented on the excellence of Finnish school books, while one claimed they were old and incompatible with the curriculum. In all cases it was stated that there was no mere reliance on books for teaching, but teachers consulted the curriculum, prepared handouts and new material, and sought new information. Resources that are easy to reach or readily available seemed to be managed well by teachers, yet funding remained an issue for them.

### *Resourcing factors*

In the analysis, four themes were considered to act as a resource for CLIL teachers' agency: (i) autonomy, (ii) openness to change, (iii) teacher versatility, and (iv) collegial community**.** In the following section these themes are described in more detail and illustrated with examples.

#### *Autonomy*

Most participants (13/14) reported that they experience autonomy at work. At the level of the classroom, autonomy concerned teaching style and versatility in the implementation of CLIL, decision making with regard to the curriculum, using one's own material with confidence, and working according to one's ethical principles. Amongst colleagues, autonomy concerned a feeling of being valued for one's work performance and contribution of experiences, while amongst stakeholders it involved joint decision making by having a say in matters of pedagogy as well as communication and cooperation with parents. Autonomy requires an investment of interest and trust, such as by school leadership and parents:

> I think most of the parents are, are very interested in what their children do, but there's really nice peace for me to do things the way I do. I met most of the parents in the fall, only like two weeks after school started, and the atmosphere was really nice. And hopefully they saw [laughs] something they like, because it's been really quiet from the parents' side (Teacher 8)

However, according to Teacher 14, while teachers are trusted enough not to be questioned or observed and monitored in the classroom, it 'sometimes might be good to get some feedback' (Teacher 13). Autonomy also entails a sense of agency coupled with possibilities of influence at work and the disposition to question. For example, while teachers might feel responsible or willing to effect changes and take an active role (Teachers 2 and 9), they also have to be 'very flexible and [a] little humble as well', because '[i]t's a different constellation every year' (Teacher 4), while being critical about curricular demands (5/14). Autonomy at work is important not only for creativity and change, but also for an overall sense of well-being at work.

#### *Openness to change*

Most interviewees (13/14) exhibited an openness to change. Firstly, such openness was evident in the unplanned way teachers started CLIL (9/14), either by starting studying it at university without directly applying for a CLIL training program (4/14) or by accepting the challenge due to a change in school (5/14). As Teacher 13 characteristically says, 'Well, I first came in contact with it while I was still at university doing my last year as a teacher trainee. Um, I- I've never heard of it before.' Secondly, openness towards change takes the form of adjustment to or acceptance of new work situations and school culture (9/14). The fact that while teachers might feel 'pressure', they might still 'have a little growing interest to have more courage maybe to go towards new things' is encouraging (Teacher 2). Talking about the new curriculum, Teacher 5 mentions that 'when it's on the paper, what does change, so it's, it's good that it's done now, because the school needs, needs to change, but not too quickly'. For her part, teacher 12 comments:

> I think where Finnish educational system is going with the new curriculum especially, um, I think it's connected really well. I think the … like, the, what we are aiming at is pretty similar actually. […] The methods and, and the ways how to- how learning should be. It's, it's not that far, far form that. CLIL is not that traditional way of teaching.

Teachers emphasized that it is important that time be given for changes to fall into place with the daily school life of teachers, so that their embeddedness in everyday pedagogical practices is also reflected in teachers' internalization of their purpose. Thirdly, reflection is also essential to the reception or rejection of change. Most participants (9/14) acknowledged being reflective about their role, beliefs, abilities and progress as an individual action that can help monitor and assess one's overall performance. Fourthly, lifelong learning (6/14) and professional development (10/14) were mentioned as two more important components to openness to change, as they propel teachers to learn about and try out new methodologies, improve on their skills, keep abreast of current educational research and learn through the long-term results of their teaching practices. Openness to change is a significant characteristic of teachers' lives, since it encourages the pursuit of different routes of action, and facilitates professional development and innovation (e.g. Wanberg and Banas 2000; Ketelaar et al. 2012).

#### *Teacher versatility*

A perceived versatility was identified from the teachers' responses (14/14). Teacher versatility was manifested in varying the educational approach or initiating methodological change (10/14), and potentially transferring practices from CLIL to regular teaching (7/14). Teacher versatility predominantly concerns the classroom and couples well with autonomy and openness to change, the former being invested in teachers and the latter a characteristic of the teacher. Its importance for teacher agency lies in maintaining an active stance towards classroom events and pedagogical practices, and being able to manoeuvre adequately amidst them when necessary. As such, it represents an aspect of pedagogical agency that is crucial for effectively carrying out teaching and pedagogical responsibilities, and maintain enthusiasm (e.g. Billett and Pavlova 2005; Kunnari and Ilomäki 2016).

#### *Collegial community*

The findings show that teachers perceived they had collegial communities, salient features of which were collegial relationships (11/14), cooperation (8/14) and collaboration (5/14). Teachers discussed collegiality as a resource whereby they can learn, practice English skills, discuss CLIL and instructional issues more deeply, co-design and tailor teaching material, complement another's class (e.g. team teaching), and enhance their connection to the teacher community. The following excerpt echoes the appreciation participants had for their colleagues:

> Um, that's a lovely question, and sometimes I've thought that, um, I think, I think [briefly laughs], what comes into my mind is my lovely colleagues that kind of can see something in you that will grow there. […] I think I, I owe to, lot, lot to my lovely colleagues. The support, and, and the cooperation it kind of inspires and I think that's, has helped, and I have, I have, I feel like I'm grateful to, for many of my colleagues (Teacher 2)

Asking (7/14), sharing (10/14) and talking (7/14) were found to be other aspects of relationships within such a community. The teachers seemed keen to engage in an exchange of practices, ideas and materials, experience and knowledge. Moreover, they actively sought communication with colleagues, who also seem to be the primary or most immediate source of help:

> But then, if you think of, like, that there are those stressful moments and where to get support, I think that that's also more or less, um, our own staff. (Teacher 3)

Knowing that there are help and advice available and given if asked for is important for a sense of security and for overcoming difficulties at work, which can help one learn and progress. Teachers' relational agency was also evident in their involvement in projects or research, developmental or curriculum work, and CLIL associations or CLIL teams (9/14). While such involvement can be regarded by some as 'extra' (Teacher 5) and time-consuming, it is worth remarking the importance for teachers'

ability to influence their work and practices within the structural and relational space offered at the school level by means of active participation. Support at school extends from colleagues to school leadership (10/14) which, according to the interviewees, should be helpful, support teachers' feasible ideas, trust them as professionals and take initiatives to aid teachers in their work, such as inviting native speakers to the school or being involved in development work alongside teachers. Last but not least, teacher assistants and substitute teachers were also found to be a source of support for some participants (4/14), as they assist teachers in providing pupils with the support they need. A supportive and collaborative collegial atmosphere in conjunction with good school leadership and in-class assistance can be a strong foundation for teachers' relational, and by extension pedagogical or sociocultural, agency. In addition, it could also mean a firmer ground to stand on or a vast resource for new teachers and for teacher trainees alike.

## Discussion

This study provides a view into the tensions and resources of teacher agency in Finnish CLIL education in primary schools. With regard to the first research question – *What tensions do CLIL teachers in Finland recognize in exercising agency in their work?* – three themes were identified, drawing on language, the classroom, and resources. In answer to the second research question – *What enables and resources CLIL teachers in Finland to deal with tensions at work?* – four themes were identified. Autonomy, openness to change and teacher versatility primarily concerned the teacher herself, while collegial community regarded the immediate collegial environment. In this section, the significance of these findings is discussed in the light of literature on agency before touching upon limitations and elaborating on the practical implications of the study.

Firstly, the study brings the matter of professional identity to the fore with an emphasis on how language mediation and perceived hindrances to exercising teacher agency can affect one's sense of self within the profession. In this study, teacher-pupil relationships offered opportunities for bidirectional learning, yet were counterbalanced by teachers' instructional responsibilities, challenges and concerns. Participants' perceived emphasis of CLIL on active learning and usage of language might indicate that teachers needed to be more active themselves. However, language was an element that would not always favor participants' lesson plans, and could be regarded by some as a temporary impediment and by others as an ever-present, yet positively perceived, challenge to teaching and learning. The relationships and experiences created by teachers' proactivity and reactivity within the classroom potentially nourish the development of teachers' identity (Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate 2016). It is, therefore, pertinent to better teacher-pupil communication, classroom practices and meeting curriculum demands that attention is drawn to the professional development and identity negotiation of CLIL teachers in primary education. However, it was evident that the CLIL teachers of this study were not entirely self-sufficient in their identity development, but dependent from the support offered by other practicing CLIL teachers. To further professional development within CLIL, the creation of a support network for teachers that are largely working alone could be of critical importance (Lehti, Järvinen, and Suomela-Salmi 2006; Moate 2014).

Secondly, the findings raise the issue of pedagogical agency in CLIL, since language use, autonomy, openness to change and teacher versatility were related to exercising agency at the classroom level. These themes resonate with a view of agency as involving conscious action and choice-making, according to what is educationally beneficial and in conjunction with the physical and interpersonal resources of the working environment (Eteläpelto et al. 2013; Moate and Ruohotie-Lyhty 2014; Toom, Pyhältö, and Rust 2015). Nonetheless, although language is acknowledged by participants as a self-evident tool in CLIL teaching, the study also showed some of the less acknowledged effects of language on CLIL teacher agency. The participants struggled to construct pedagogical relationships with their pupils and raised the meaning of language for classroom interactions. As a consequence, the language shaped the participants' subjectivity as teachers (Nikula et al. 2016) and forced them to reconsider their teacher role. Aside from language, autonomy was felt not only because teachers

believed they were able to follow the instructional material and styles of their choice at work, but also because curriculum guidelines coupled with trust, involvement and appreciation on the part of stakeholders, like school administration and parents, afforded them space for individual action and decision-making. In addition, a positive attitude towards both short-term and long-term changes coupled with instances of reflection and self-evaluation may be conducive to mindful, varying and creative educational approaches. These three themes indicate that teachers need to be to some extent flexible in order to better incorporate changes into their daily schedules and practices and, by extension, their careers. For example, in stark contrast to the textbook-supported mainstream Finnish classroom, CLIL teachers have to be material designers themselves, since there are no ready-made materials tailored to the varying needs of CLIL pupils (Atjonen et al. 2008). Moreover, as bilingual education becomes more popular in Finland and starts earlier in education, teachers should be more involved in implementing bilingual models and engaging in 'educational partnerships' with parents for children's target language development and attitudes (Schwartz and Palviainen 2016). However, this flexibility needs to be supported and enhanced by the social and structural frames determining their classroom practices. Although CLIL teachers are enthusiastic at first, lack of sufficient support for them as gatekeepers of education and mediators of the curriculum can cause innovation to fail by minimizing its potential (e.g. Pyhältö, Pietarinen, and Soini 2015). While pedagogical agency appears to rest on CLIL teachers' judgment and action, it is in fact also linked to the sociocultural environment, which delineates the area of possible agency by means of relationships, policies and material resources.

Thirdly, this study highlights the importance of a collegial community, and consequently of relational agency, for CLIL teachers. Similarly to Eteläpelto, Vähäsantanen, and Hökkä's (2015) study on novice Finnish teachers' perception of professional agency, close collaboration with colleagues and their being an immediate source of help were major resources for teachers. In addition, CLIL teachers' participation in organizational activities at school level, and the sharing of ideas or material showed a strong sense of agency in working within their community. As members of collegial communities, they contribute intellectual, social and material resources (Little 2002). While this holds true for any teaching context, it is even more salient in CLIL due to the isolation in which many teachers work in schools, and the additional effort required to be successful and effective with respect to material design and language mediation. CLIL teachers' investment in collegial relationships and cooperation stress the importance of strengthening teachers' relational agency as a key factor for both collective and individual autonomy. Teachers traditionally view themselves as pedagogically-based professionals, yet relationships and shared responsibility in a collegial community can provide support for initiatives, resistance and change on a collective level (Edwards 2015). At the level of the CLIL classroom, joint action can strengthen individual agency through material and conceptual resources that make sense-making and object-oriented activities clearer (Edwards 2007). Facilitating and making time for teacher interactions would be fruitful for pedagogical practices and involvement in the work community, which supportive school leadership can greatly advance (Thoonen et al. 2011).

To conclude, mutual pedagogic relationships amongst colleagues can support teacher development and an enriched critical understanding of pedagogy (Moate 2014). This is supported by the importance practicing CLIL teachers gave to their community in this study. Compared to some other studies about the constraints and enabling factors that teachers perceive in their environment (see Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate 2016), this study also highlighted the participants' versatility, openness to change and autonomy. This might suggest that the CLIL teaching context presents a pronounced need for relational and sociocultural components of teacher agency, when it does not occur within established support networks and clear institutional regulations. By supporting that agency, we can enhance teachers' diverse learning, the pursuit of their professional orientations, their well-being and commitment (Hökkä and Vähäsantanen 2014). Compared to a monolingual environment, bilingual education in this study emphasized teachers' ability to connect and negotiate the increasing tensions of the environment with the help of their personal and environmental resources.

The limitations of the present study concern timeframe, scope and participant gender. The interviews took place in the space of two months, as we were mostly interested in an overview of resourcing and constraining factors. Two sets of interviews might have given more information, but the teachers' busy schedule might have discouraged participants from participating in another interview. Moreover, although participants worked in different cities, some worked at the same school. This might have resulted in a similarity of views, for example regarding collegial collaboration. If the interviewees had all taught at different schools, their responses might have provided a more diverse picture. Additionally, all interviewees were women, which leaves male teachers' voices unheard, although a majority of female respondents was expected due to the numerical dominance of women in the teaching profession. Nonetheless, the relative similarity of the responses received suggests that male teachers might have responded similarly. Future research could focus on case studies or male teachers.

## Implications

This study draws attention to the support teachers need to succeed in teaching CLIL. Practical implications are discussed in light of pre-service teacher education, in-service opportunities and research. The study suggests that teacher training should go beyond mere expertise and cultivate collaboration and joint meaning making. During the formative years of teacher training, an open and cooperative relationship with mentors and supervisors alike could foster a sense of community and safety for confronting tensions at work and support teachers in making sense of their professional identity. In addition to the ability to build collegial relationships, this study also raised language as a central element in creating and maintaining relationships and expressing emotions in the classroom. In the light of this, the education of pre-service teachers should include a component of language not just as a medium of instruction, but as an organizational tool in maintaining relationships. This aspect has been already taken into account in some CLIL programs, e.g. at the University of Jyväskylä where a course entitled 'The Language of Education and Pedagogy' has been introduced to encompass the different dimensions of language in the classroom. Moreover, autonomy and versatility should be encouraged during practicum, as they enable prospective teachers to be more self-sufficient and flexible, traits which act as precursors to innovation in their teaching. Finally, a learning portfolio could regularly be maintained from the beginning of pupil-teachers' studies and complemented along the way with reflections on personal and vicarious teaching experiences, so as to promote self-monitoring and self-regulation, planning and goal-setting, understanding one's beliefs and perceptions, and gradual ownership of theory and practice.

Concerning in-service CLIL teachers, the study suggests that opportunities for learning and further education entail critical thought-provoking encounters which can foster more original and reflective pedagogical CLIL practices in the future. This can be effected by organizing workshops or seminars at a local – not only national – level and at times that are possible for teachers to attend. Most importantly, the in-service education continuum could continue either within teacher-initiated communities or in partnership with universities and institutions for a more organized and research-based provision of training. International experiences could also be organized and partly funded regularly for teachers and pupils, which can act both as a reward and incentive by bringing the wider significance and implications of CLIL teaching to bear on one's perception of its purpose. Thus, awareness concerning EU funding possibilities for teacher exchange is important. In addition, more language support could be offered to CLIL pupils to strengthen CLIL teaching, while a more concrete framework for such teaching could better guide teachers in organizing and implementing methodology in and across CLIL classes. The latter, on the one hand, requires a more prominent presence of CLIL in the national curriculum with corresponding pedagogical guidelines and specified goals. On the other hand, it requires inclusion and involvement of CLIL teachers not only in designing that section of the curriculum, but also in translating it at regional, school and classroom level. This could be achieved by creating regularly-convening CLIL teams that transcend school, disciplinary

and geographical boundaries. Additionally, to meet the national need for language-aware teachers irrespective of background set forth by the national curriculum, the supportive relationship of skills and beliefs in both regular and CLIL teaching should be reinforced (Nikula et al. 2016). Finally, it is important for teachers' efficacy and well-being at work that they be allowed sufficient time in their schedule to share everyday school experiences, discuss and plan with colleagues. This could be done by designating time for CLIL team work, for example to create material banks, or by informally cultivating a nested environment of positive interdependency (Pyhältö, Pietarinen, and Soini 2015). Agency should be sustained and encouraged throughout teachers' careers and couple classroom, collegial relations and social structures.

Regarding theoretical conclusions, the differentiation of teacher agency used in this study reflected the reported experiences of teachers. Nonetheless, the identified resourcing factors indicate that the differentiation should be enriched with issues concerning teacher identity. By examining the role and aspects of CLIL teachers' professional identity, we could gain a more comprehensive understanding of how agency is enacted in the negotiation of teacher identity in everyday school life. However, this study highlights the importance of understanding CLIL teacher agency and the ongoing development of CLIL pedagogical practices in Finnish primary education.

## Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the CLIL teachers for sharing their thoughts and experiences for the purpose of this study. We also thank the reviewers for their insightful comments and suggestions.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## Notes on contributors

***Sotiria Pappa*** is a doctoral candidate at the Department of Education at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. Her doctoral dissertation focuses on issues of professional agency and identity as well as emotions present in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) teaching in Finland.

***Josephine Moate*** currently works as a post-doctoral researcher in the Department of Teacher Education at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. Josephine's key areas of interest include the role of language in education as well as questions concerning pre- and in-service teacher development.

***Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty*** is a senior lecturer in applied linguistics at the Department of Languages, University of Jyväskylä, Finland. Her research is broadly situated in the area of identity, agency and emotions in language learning and teaching.

***Anneli Eteläpelto*** is a professor at the Department of Education, University of Jyväskylä, Finland. Her main areas of research and teaching are professional agency and identity amid changing work practices, particularly those taking place in education and healthcare work. Moreover, recent projects and publications center on the role of emotions and collaborative creativity in agentic learning at work.

## References

Ahearn, L. M. 2001. "Language and Agency." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30 (1): 109–137. doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro.30.1.109.

Atjonen, P., I. Halinen, S. Hämäläinen, E. Korkeakoski, G. Knubb-Manninen, P. Kupari, J. Mehtäläinen, A.-M. Risku, M. Salonen, and T. Wikman. 2008. "Tavoitteista vuorovaikutukseen." *Perusopetuksen pedagogiikan arviointi. Koulutuksen arviointineuvoston julkaisuja* 30. [From Objectives to Interaction: Evaluation of Pedagogies in Comprehensive School]. Jyväskylä, Finland: Finnish Evaluation Council. Accessed January 24, 2017. https://karvi.fi/app/uploads/2014/09/KAN_30.pdf

Baetens-Beardsmore, H. 2008. "Multilingualism, Cognitions and Creativity." *International CLIL Research Journal* 1: 4–19. Accessed January 20, 2015. http://www.icrj.eu/11/article1.html.

Bergroth, M. 2016. "Reforming the National Core Curriculum for Bilingual Education in Finland." *Journal of Immersion and Content-Based Language Education* 4 (1): 86–107. doi:10.1075/jicb.4.1.04ber.

Biesta, G., M. Priestley, and S. Robinson. 2015. "The Role of Beliefs in Teacher Agency." *Teachers and Teaching* 21 (6): 624–640. doi:10.1080/13540602.2015.1044325.

Billett, S., and M. Pavlova. 2005. "Learning through Working Life: Self and Individuals' Agentic Action." *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 24 (3): 195–211. doi:10.1080/02601370500134891.

Bovellan, E. 2014. "Teachers' Beliefs about Learning and Language as Reflected in their Views of Teaching Materials for Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)." PhD diss., University of Jyväskylä. Accessed December 18, 2014. http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-951-39-5809-1.

Coyle, D. 2006. "Content and Language Integrated Learning Motivating Learners and Teachers." *Scottish Languages Review* 13: 1–18. Accessed August 19, 2016. http://www.scilt.org.uk/Portals/24/Library/slr/issues/13/SLR13_Coyle.pdf.

Dalton-Puffer, C. 2011. "Content-and-Language Integrated Learning: From Practice to Principles?" *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 31: 182–204. doi:10.1017/S0267190511000092.

Edwards, A. 2007. "Relational Agency in Professional Practice: A CHAT Analysis." *An International Journal of Human Activity Theory* 1: 1–17. Accessed January 10, 2015. http://www.chat.kansai-u.ac.jp/publications/actio/pdf/1_Edwards.pdf.

Edwards, A. 2015. "Recognising and Realising Teachers' Professional Agency." *Teachers and Teaching* 21 (6): 779–784. doi:10.1080/13540602.2015.1044333.

Eteläpelto, A., K. Vähäsantanen, and P. Hökkä. 2015. "How do Novice Teachers in Finland Perceive their Professional Agency?" *Teachers and Teaching* 21 (6): 660–680. doi:10.1080/13540602.2015.1044327.

Eteläpelto, A., K. Vähäsantanen, P. Hökkä, and S. Paloniemi. 2013. "What is Agency? Conceptualizing Professional Agency at Work." *Educational Research Review* 10: 45–65. doi:10.1016/j.edurev.2013.05.001.

Eurydice. 2014. "Language in Education and Training: Final Country Comparative Analysis." Accessed March 8, 2016. http://ec.europa.eu/languages/library/studies/lang-eat_en.pdf.

FNBE (Finnish National Board of Education). 2014. "Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014." Accessed April 18, 2016. http://www.oph.fi/english/curricula_and_qualifications/basic_education.

Hökkä, P., and K. Vähäsantanen. 2014. "Agency-centred Coupling - A Better Way to Manage an Educational Organization?" *International Journal of Leadership in Education: Theory and Practice* 17 (2): 131–153. doi:10.1080/13603124.2013.783932.

Holloway, W., and T. Jefferson. 2000. *Doing Qualitative Research Differently: Free Association, Narrative and the Interview Method*. London: Sage Publications.

Ketelaar, E., D. Beijaard, H. P. A. Boshuizen, and P. J. Den Brok. 2012. "Teachers' Positioning Towards an Educational Innovation in the Light of Ownership, Sense-making and Agency." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 28 (2): 273–282. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2011.10.004.

Kunnari, I., and L. Ilomäki. 2016. "Reframing Teachers' Work for Educational Innovation." *Innovations in Education and Teaching International* 53 (2): 167–178. doi:10.1080/14703297.2014.978351.

Lehti, L., H.-M. Järvinen, and E. Suomela-Salmi. 2006. "Kartoitus vieraskielisen opetuksen tarjonnasta peruskouluissa ja lukioissa [Mapping FL Learning in Comprehensive and High Schools]." In *Kielenoppija tänään* [Language Learners of Today], edited by P. Pietilä, P. Lintunen, and H.-M. Järvinen, 293–313. Jyväskylä: AFinLA.

Little, J. W. 2002. "Locating Learning in Teachers' Communities of Practice: Opening up Problems of Analysis in Records of Everyday Work." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 18: 917–946. doi:10.1016/S0742-051X(02)00052-5.

Marsh, D. 2012. *CLIL/EMILE – the European Dimension: Actions, Trends and Foresight Potential*. Jyväskylä: UniCOM. Accessed March 9, 2016. https://jyx.jyu.fi/dspace/bitstream/handle/123456789/47616/david_marsh-report.pdf?sequence=1.

Marsh, D., P. Mehisto, D. Wolff, and M. J. Frigols. 2014. "European Framework for CLIL Teacher Education." Accessed March 9, 2016. http://www.unifg.it/sites/default/files/allegatiparagrafo/20-01-2014/european_framework_for_clil_teacher_education.pdf.

Masih, J. 1999. "Forward." *Learning through a Foreign Language: Models, Methods and Outcomes*, edited by J. Masih, 8–12. Lancaster: CILT.

Ministry of Education. 1998. "Basic Education Act." Accessed August 24, 2016. http://www.finlex.fi/en/laki/kaannokset/1998/en19980628.pdf.

Moate, J. 2011. "The Impact of Foreign Language Mediated Teaching on Teachers' Sense of Professional Integrity in the CLIL Classroom." *European Journal of Teacher Education* 34 (3): 333–346. doi:10.1080/02619768.2011.585023.

Moate, J. 2013. "Reconceptualising Teacherhood through the Lens of Foreign-language Mediation." PhD diss., University of Jyväskylä. Accessed December 16, 2014. https://jyx.jyu.fi/dspace/bitstream/handle/123456789/40738/978-951-39-5034-7.pdf?sequence=1.

Moate, J. 2014. "A Narrative Account of a Teacher Community." *Teacher Development* 18 (3): 384–402. doi:10.1080/13664530.2014.931294.

Moate, J., and M. Ruohotie-Lyhty. 2014. "Identity, Agency and Community: Reconsidering the Pedagogic Responsibilities of Teacher Education." *British Journal of Educational Studies* 62 (3): 249–264. doi:10.1080/00071005.2014.955456.

Morton, T. 2012. "Classroom Talk, Conceptual Change and Teacher Reflection in Bilingual Science Teaching." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 28 (1): 101–110. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2011.07.006.

Nikula, T. 2010. "Effects of CLIL on a Teacher's Classroom Language use." In *Language use and Language Learning in CLIL Classrooms*, edited by C. Dalton-Puffer, T. Nikula, and U. Smit, 105–123. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Accessed August 25, 2016. https://books.google.fi/books?hl=fi&lr=&id=lT0zAAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA105&dq=Nikula,+T.+2010.+

Effects+of+CLIL+on+a+teacher%E2%80%99s+classroom+language+use.+In+C.+Dalton-Puffer,+T.+Nikula+%26+U.+Smit+(eds.)+Language+use+and+Language+Learning+in+CLIL+Classrooms.+Amsterdam:+John+Benjamins,+105-123.&ots=FkGOuAKipV&sig=bmk2om0YBKGZNLBAghg6xU4keZk&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Nikula, T., E. Dafouz, P. Moore, and U. Smit. 2016. *Conceptualising Integration in CLIL and Multilingual Education*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Patton, M. Q. 2015. *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods: Integrating Theory and Practice*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Pyhältö, K., J. Pietarinen, and T. Soini. 2015. "Teachers' Professional Agency and Learning – From Adaption to Active Modification in the Teacher Community." *Teachers and Teaching* 21 (7): 811–830. doi:10.1080/13540602.2014.995483.

Ruohotie-Lyhty, M., and J. Moate. 2015. "Proactive and Reactive Dimensions of Life-course Agency: Mapping Student Teachers' Language Learning Experiences." *Language and Education* 29 (1): 46–61. doi:10.1080/09500782.2014.927884.

Ruohotie-Lyhty, M., and J. Moate. 2016. "Who and How? Preservice Teachers as Active Agents Developing Professional Identities." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 55: 318–327.

Schwartz, M., and Å Palviainen. 2016. "Twenty-first-century Preschool Bilingual Education: Facing Advantages and Challenges in Cross-cultural Contexts." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 19 (6): 1–11. doi:10.1080/13670050.2016.1184616.

Tedick, D., and L. Cammarata. 2012. "Content and Language Integration in K–12 Contexts: Student Outcomes, Teacher Practices, and Stakeholder Perspectives." *Foreign Language Annals* 45 (S1): S28–S53. doi:10.111/j.1944-9720.2012.01178.x.

Thoonen, E. E. J., P. J. C. Sleegers, F. J. Oort, T. T. D. Peetsman, and F. P. Geijsel. 2011. "How to Improve Teaching Practices." *Educational Administration Quarterly* 47 (3): 496–536. doi:10.1177/0013161X11400185.

Toom, A., K. Pyhältö, and F. O. C. Rust. 2015. "Teachers' Professional Agency in Contradictory Times." *Teachers and Teaching* 21 (6): 615–623.

Vaismoradi, M., J. Jones, H. Turunen, and S. Snelgrove. 2016. "Theme Development in Qualitative Content Analysis and Thematic Analysis." *Journal of Nursing Education and Practice* 6 (5): 100–110. doi:10.5430/jnep.v6n5p100.

Wanberg, C. R., and J. T. Banas. 2000. "Predictors and Outcomes of Openness to Changes in a Reorganizing Workplace." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 85 (1): 132–142. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.85.1.132.

## Appendix A.

| Theme | Code | Smaller codes included | Total number of excerpts |
|---|---|---|---|
| Autonomy | Autonomy | Autonomy<br>Working according to ethical principles | 12 |
| | Being valued | Being valued<br>Being valued by stakeholders<br>Feeling valued<br>Feeling valued by colleagues | 8 |
| | Feeling agentic | | 8 |
| | (Not) Getting feedback on teaching | | 1 |
| | Possibilities of influence at work | | 3 |
| | Questioning | Doubts about CLIL<br>Questioning the curriculum<br>Dissatisfaction with the changing culture | 6 |
| | Stakeholder interest | Stakeholder participation<br>Teacher-stakeholder cooperation<br>Organizational structure<br>Joint decision-making<br>Parental involvement<br>Teacher-parent communication<br>Parental interest in CLIL<br>Parental interest<br>Stakeholders<br>Interest in CLIL (others) | 20 |
| | Trust | Trust<br>being trusted by stakeholders | 5 |
| | Versatility in CLIL | Many ways of doing CLIL<br>Versatility | 3 |
| Collegial community | Asking | | 13 |
| | Collegial collaboration | Regular collegial collaboration – Organized planning<br>Collaboration<br>Finding partners amongst colleagues<br>Collegial collaboration<br>Team teaching | 9 |
| | Collegial cooperation | Intense cooperation in CLIL<br>Designing material improving teacher cooperation<br>Cooperation<br>Cooperation with colleagues<br>Assessment and teacher cooperation<br>Collegial cooperation | 20 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Collegial relationships | Collegial relationships | 30 |
| | | Superficial communication with non-CLIL colleagues | |
| | | Keeping in touch with like-minded classmates | |
| | | Network of old classmates | |
| | | Practicing English with colleagues | |
| | Community of practice | Community of practice | 18 |
| | | Comparing one's work to others' | |
| | Involvement in … | Involvement with CLIL association | 26 |
| | | Involvement in projects | |
| | | Involvement in research | |
| | | Involvement in developmental work | |
| | | Involvement in CLIL team | |
| | | Involved in curriculum work | |
| | | Involved in developmental work: Primary-secondary school cooperation | |
| | Sharing | Sharing | 22 |
| | | Sharing ideas | |
| | | Sharing experiences | |
| | | Eagerness to share ideas | |
| | | Networking and sharing | |
| | Support | Collegial support | 11 |
| | | Support | |
| | | All communication is support | |
| | | Supportive collegial atmosphere | |
| | Supportive school leadership | Supportive school leadership | 12 |
| | | Supportive and involved school management | |
| | Talking | Talking | 14 |
| | | Discussing with colleagues from other schools – solidarity | |
| | | Talking with colleagues | |
| | Teacher assistants and substitute teachers | Teacher assistants | 6 |
| | | Substitute teachers | |
| Classroom-related tensions | Assessment | Assessment and content learning | 5 |
| | | Things to assess | |
| | | Student assessment: acknowledging student participation | |
| | | Student assessment | |
| | Being organized | | 6 |
| | Class size and classroom management | Students' attitude toward CLIL | 24 |
| | | Smaller classes, better teacher-student communication | |
| | | Having a bit of CLIL in the non-CLIL classroom | |
| | | Active learning | |
| | | Smaller classes, better learning | |
| | | Having English in the regular classroom | |
| | | Big classes | |

(*Continued*)

Continued.

| Theme | Code | Smaller codes included | Total number of excerpts |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Smaller classes, better communication | |
| | | Dealing with challenges in classroom | |
| | | Cooperative learning | |
| | | Dealing with challenges in the CLIL classroom | |
| | | Classroom management | |
| | | Coping with challenges in the classroom | |
| | Content and language integration | | 10 |
| | Lesson planning | Lesson planning | 21 |
| | | Good lesson planning | |
| | Linguistic awareness | | 5 |
| | Material design | Material design | 13 |
| | | Preparing one's material (lack) | |
| | | Preparing one's material (time and effort) | |
| | | Managing resources (material) | |
| | | Preparing material | |
| | Priorities in CLIL | | 12 |
| | Seeing the point | Seeing the point | 8 |
| | | Seeing the point/Benefit to students | |
| | Student integration into CLIL | Student integration into CLIL | 4 |
| | | Students' special needs | |
| | | School management: integration in CLIL | |
| | | Student integration in CLIL | |
| | Student motivation | | 3 |
| | Student-student relationships | Group dynamics | 7 |
| | | Changes in student-student dynamics | |
| | | Student-student collaborative learning | |
| | | CLIL and group dynamics | |
| | Teachers' hopes for students' learning | | 4 |
| | Teacher-student relationships | Teacher-student relationships | 26 |
| | | Collaborative learning (teacher-student) | |
| | | Teacher expectations | |
| | | Learning from students | |
| | | Feedback from students/Receiving feedback | |
| | | Bidirectional learning | |
| | | Giving feedback | |
| | | Student motivation | |
| | | Teacher-student communication | |
| | | Teacher demands | |
| | | Teacher expectations (in CLIL) | |
| Language as a tension | CLIL as … | CLIL as an alternative interpersonal communication tool | 28 |
| | | CLIL as supportive of language-talented students | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | CLIL as an opportunity for the students' future | |
| | | CLIL as demanding | |
| | | CLIL as opportunity for change | |
| | | CLIL complementary to EFL and overall language awareness | |
| | | CLIL as extra challenge | |
| | | CLIL as enriching methodology | |
| | | CLIL as complimentary to regular teaching | |
| | | CLIL emphasizing learning | |
| | | A future holistic educational approach | |
| | | CLIL as a tool | |
| | | CLIL for deeper learning | |
| | | CLIL as additional to regular teaching | |
| | Language | Communication | 43 |
| | | Language | |
| | | Language central to teaching | |
| | | CLIL and cognitive load for students | |
| | | Clear instructions | |
| | | Student motivation | |
| | | CLIL for deeper learning | |
| | | Language and active learning | |
| | | Language and students' low self-esteem | |
| | Role of CLIL | | 4 |
| | Students' level of English | Students' level of English | 16 |
| | | Students' age and level of English | |
| | | Students' level of English and student activity | |
| | | Little pressure for foreign language use | |
| | | Time-consuming explanations | |
| | Teacher awareness | Teacher awareness | 14 |
| | | Teacher responsibility: Observation and reaction | |
| | | Teacher alertness to student reactions heightened in CLIL | |
| | Teachers' level of English | | 3 |
| | Teaching students to cope | Clear explanations | 12 |
| | | Teaching students to cope | |
| | | Learning to cope | |
| Openness to change | Acceptance | | 5 |
| | Adjusting | Adjusting | 12 |
| | | Adjusting to change | |
| | | Adjustment | |
| | | Adapting | |
| | | Getting the hang of things | |
| | | Adjusting to school culture | |
| | CLIL by accident | | 11 |

(*Continued*)

Continued.

| Theme | Code | Smaller codes included | Total number of excerpts |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | CLIL by accident: Following school policy | |
| | | Starting CLIL by accident | |
| | | CLIL by accident | |
| | Lifelong learning | | 11 |
| | Openness to change | Openness to change | 18 |
| | | Seeing the point in a change | |
| | | Methodological change | |
| | Professional development | Professional development | 17 |
| | | Professional development through CLIL | |
| | | Research as a means to professional development | |
| | | Culture of teaching and individual perceptions | |
| | | Building your confidence | |
| | | Professional development (transference of CLIL methodology) | |
| | Reflection | Reflection: changes | 20 |
| | | Reflection: ideas | |
| | | Reflection | |
| | School culture | School culture | 6 |
| | | Acclimatizing to school culture | |
| | | Learning the school culture | |
| Teacher versatility | Being versatile | Being versatile | 2 |
| | | Teacher versatility | |
| | Teacher-initiated methodological change | Teacher-initiated methodological change | 17 |
| | | Bravery to change one's teaching style or lack thereof | |
| | | Methodological changes in CLIL (material, topic, projects, negotiation) | |
| | | Methodological variety | |
| | Transference from CLIL to regular classroom | Influence of CLIL teaching on regular teaching | 8 |
| | | CLIL transference to regular teaching | |
| | | Transferring to regular classroom | |
| | | Transference from CLIL to regular classroom | |
| | | Transference of CLIL to the regular classroom | |
| Temporal, material and developmental resources | In-service opportunities for professional development | In-service trainings | 22 |
| | | School's cooperation with foreign university | |
| | | Expert advice | |
| | | Possibilities for professional development | |
| | | Trainings | |
| | | International projects | |
| | | Exchange programs | |
| | | In-service training: Exchange programs | |
| | Resource management | Resources/Resource management | 32 |
| | | Resources: Money | |
| | | Resource management: the Internet | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Resource management: students | |
| | | Sufficient resources in lower grades | |
| | | Financing (Governmental budget) | |
| | | Resource management: Material | |
| | | Resource management: Internet and social media | |
| | | Resources at school | |
| | | Less resources | |
| | | Availability of resources | |
| | | Outdated CLIL webpages | |
| | | Some more English material | |
| | School books | School books | 7 |
| | | Good school books | |
| | Time | Time | 17 |
| | | Lack of time | |

# II

# TEACHERS' PEDAGOGICAL AND RELATIONAL IDENTITY NEGOTIATION IN THE FINNISH CLIL CONTEXT

by

Sotiria Pappa, Josephine Moate, Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty & Anneli Eteläpelto, March 2017

Teaching and Teacher Education vol 65, 61-70

Reproduced with kind permission by Elsevier.

Teaching and Teacher Education 65 (2017) 61–70

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Teaching and Teacher Education

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/tate

# Teachers' pedagogical and relational identity negotiation in the Finnish CLIL context☆

Sotiria Pappa [a, *], Josephine Moate [b], Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty [c, 1], Anneli Eteläpelto [d]

[a] Department of Education, University of Jyväskylä, Ruusupuisto D423.6, P.O. Box 40014, Jyväskylän Yliopisto, Jyväskylä, Finland
[b] Department of Teacher Education, University of Jyväskylä, Ruusupuisto D222.2, P.O. Box 40014, Jyväskylän Yliopisto, Jyväskylä, Finland
[c] Department of Teacher Education, University of Jyväskylä, Ruusupuisto D222.1, P.O. Box 40014, Jyväskylän Yliopisto, Jyväskylä, Finland
[d] Department of Education, University of Jyväskylä, Ruusupuisto D437, P.O. Box 40014, Jyväskylän Yliopisto, Jyväskylä, Finland

## HIGHLIGHTS

- Exploring in-service CLIL teachers' pedagogical and relational identity.
- Examining identity agency in CLIL teacher's professional identity negotiation.
- Importance of personal and professional resources for identity agency.
- The mediating role of foreign language in CLIL teachers' pedagogical identity.
- Importance of relational identity for pedagogical identity.

## ARTICLE INFO

*Article history:*
Received 29 November 2016
Accepted 10 March 2017
Available online 22 March 2017

*Keywords:*
Content and Language Integrated Learning
Teacher identity
Identity agency
Pedagogical identity
Relational identity
Finnish education

## ABSTRACT

This study explores the professional identity of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) teachers in Finnish primary education. It aims at explaining how CLIL teachers negotiate their pedagogical and relational identity, and how *identity agency* is exercised in negotiating a more encompassing professional identity. Thematic analysis of thirteen interviews outlines the bi-directional process of identity negotiation between personal and professional resources, and social contexts at work. The results highlight a connection between professional identity and agency, and suggest that identity negotiation is a process of working and sharing with others, but also individually.

© 2017 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

## 1. Introduction

Despite the long history of education as an institutionalized means of sharing cultural knowledge and international research, contemporary research continues to highlight the considerable flux that takes place within and around education (Weiner & Torres, 2016). In the midst of this flux, however, education continues to be enacted at a local level in institutional communities divided into classrooms in which teachers and pupils – ideally – enter into a pedagogic contract to teach and learn. It is this relational heart of education that has led to the descriptions of teachers as mediators of the curriculum (Alexander, 2001). At the same time, notions of teaching as a lifelong career are being replaced by temporary trials (Ingersoll, Merrill, & Stuckey, 2014). It is perhaps this recognition of the central role of the teacher at the cutting edge of education and the importance of teachers in the midst of change (Vähäsantanen, 2015) that has focused research on the professional identity of teachers (Day & Gu, 2010; Korhonen & Törmä, 2016; Körkkö, Kyrö-Ämmälä, & Turunen, 2016; Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson, 2005). Whilst some attention has been given to second/foreign language teacher identity with studies addressing language teachers' institutional contexts, teacher education, early years of practice, classroom practice experience, and non-native speaking teachers (e.g. Kayi-Aydar, 2015; Tsui, 2007), the professional identity of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) teachers

☆ Content and Language Integrated Learning.

* Corresponding author.
*E-mail addresses:* sotiria.s.pappa@jyu.fi (S. Pappa), josephine.moate@jyu.fi (J. Moate), maria.ruohotie-lyhty@jyu.fi (M. Ruohotie-Lyhty), anneli.etelapelto@jyu.fi (A. Eteläpelto).
[1] Permanent address: Department of Languages, University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland, Agora D321.1, P.O. Box 40014, Jyväskylän Yliopisto, Jyväskylä, Finland.

http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2017.03.008
0742-051X/© 2017 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

has received little attention (e.g. Moate, 2013).

From a contemporary perspective, professional identity is deemed multiple, discontinuous and social in nature, immersed in various social worlds where interdependence and discourse cause shifts across time and contexts (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). Lemke (2008) argues that as a notion identity links the personal domain of lived, moment-by-moment experience with cultural and social systems of beliefs, values and meaning-making practices. The professional identity of a teacher, however, "integrates the intellectual, the emotional, and the physical aspects of a teacher's life with the subjectivities of 'teacher'" (Alsup, 2006, p. 36), that is, the different positions a teacher can take up within a particular context. These positions are influenced by teachers' intricately connected personal and professional biographies, as well as their social contexts at work (Bukor, 2015; Flores & Day, 2006). For teachers to renegotiate their positions amid collective discourses and practices at work, thus crafting their professional identity, they exercise agency in developing and learning (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Wells, 2007). In this paper, we refer to the form of agency used for identity negotiation as *identity agency* (Eteläpelto, Vähäsantanen, & Hökkä 2015; Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016), using it as a lens to better understand teachers' professional identity. The aim of this study is to investigate how CLIL teachers in Finnish primary education craft their professional identity. We first examine *identity agency* as exercised at the level of classroom and collegial relationships, i.e. the ways in which pedagogical and relational identities are negotiated. Second, we examine how CLIL teachers' negotiation between the pedagogical and relational sides gives rise to a broader sense of professional identity.

## 2. Background on CLIL teaching

Teacher identity denotes a departing point for decision-making and actions that affect the work environment, which in turn affects the teacher. Very often, a struggle between personal and contextual components yields opportunities for negotiating one's professional identity (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004). Within the Finnish educational context, however, teachers have a high level of autonomy, trusted as professionals with no inspection or accountability regimes. This system purportedly promotes professional commitment and innovation, public engagement and inspiration, responsibility and sustainability (Sahlberg, 2011). It might, therefore, be anticipated that when teachers in Finland choose to take on the challenge of teaching subjects through a foreign language, they can more easily, more positively, respond to this challenge and the professional context might give rise to the potential of synergistic and transactional spaces for developing teacher identity. As a methodology, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) recognizes the dual aims of language and subject learning by using a foreign language (FL) to mediate the teaching and learning of curricular subjects. This approach became popular in Finland in the early 1990s, providing teachers with a more flexible and dynamic methodology (Coyle, 2007) for exercising autonomy and directing teaching efforts without being explicitly tethered to strict guidelines. Although Finnish educational authorities have not supported CLIL with top-down policy efforts as in other EU countries (Dalton-Puffer & Nikula, 2014), Finnish teachers' grassroots innovations have continued over the last two decades despite struggles along the way (Lehti, Järvinen, & Suomela-Salmi, 2006; Moate, 2011a). The latest curriculum reform explicitly recognizes the importance of language innovation and integration in education and maintains that 'every teacher is a language teacher' (FNBE, 2014) creating a CLIL-friendly environment.

Previous research on Finnish CLIL teachers has focused on the fundamental role of language for teachers' individual and collective integrity (Moate, 2011b, 2014), teacher beliefs (Bovellan, 2014) and different forms of agency CLIL teachers draw on (Pappa, Moate, Ruohotie-Lyhty, & Eteläpelto, 2017). International research suggests that the challenges CLIL teachers face can open new paths to teacher action (Nikula, Dalton-Puffer, & Llinares, 2013), despite the lack of explicated theoretical and pedagogical understanding (Cammarata & Tedick, 2012; Nikula, Dafouz, Moore, & Smit, 2016). In order to better understand how in-service CLIL teachers exercise professional agency in forming their identities, this study investigates the negotiation of teachers' identity on pedagogical and relational levels within the context of CLIL in Finnish elementary education. The following section elaborates on the theoretical framework for this study.

## 3. Identity negotiation

The concept of professional identity has received a significant amount of interest and generated much debate around the meaning of the term (for a review of studies on teacher's professional identity, see Beijaard et al., 2004). Gee (2000) offers a basic definition of identity as context-bound, yet premised upon an individually held interpretive system, life-trajectories, active construction and negotiation. Day, Kington, Stobart, and Sammons (2006, p. 613) elaborate that "identities are a shifting amalgam of personal biography, culture, social influence and institutional values which may change according to role and circumstance"; that is, identities are multifaceted and liable to change according to external influences (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). These definitions are reiterated in Akkerman and Meijer's (2011) comprehensive mapping of identity that highlights the recurrent multiplicity and unity, discontinuity and continuity, and social and individual nature of identity.

Teachers' professional identity is always negotiated in the individual and social space that is shared between the teachers' personal and professional lives. According to Day et al. (2006), Nias (1989) identified personal and professional elements as distinct in teachers' lives and identities, arguing the crucial role of the former in understanding teachers within their working lives. It is not only through influences of external policy, and social or structural conditions that teachers define their professional identity (Lasky, 2005), but also "through their beliefs and values about the kind of teacher they hope to be in the inevitably changing political, social, institutional and personal circumstances" (Day et al., 2006, p. 610). Thus, teacher identities are contextualized and draw on material and immaterial affordances to be negotiated at classroom, collegial and professional level.

In this study, teacher identity is conceptualized as the dynamic shifting process of an ongoing conception of oneself (Vähäsantanen, 2015), comprising biographical and professional trajectories as well as interpersonal, physical and material resources. In other words, teachers might be aware of past and present experiences and roles, yet negotiate their sense of being as professionals according to the circumstances they find themselves in. This process is guided by the organizing principles that teachers use in making sense of themselves and contexts alike as well as (re)interpreting their values, beliefs and experiences to achieve (trans)formation in answer to personal, social and cognitive influences (Flores & Day, 2006). The outcomes of this process are manifested through the multiple aspects of teachers' being, acting, and understanding (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). In effect, teacher identity is both an intrinsically psychological phenomenon and a deeply social, real-word phenomenon; the self- and other-image of teachers are negotiated within discursive and institutional settings, affecting their communities and working conditions (Varghese et al., 2005).

In educational settings, professional agency is salient in the

process of professional identity negotiation, change and continuity (Vähäsantanen, 2015). The particular sense of professional agency that is related to one's professional identity has been termed *identity agency* and entails renegotiating one's professional ideals, maintaining one's own ethical standards and availing oneself of possibilities to use personal interests and competences at work (Eteläpelto et al. 2015). In other words, *identity agency* is the form of agency teachers employ to act in accord with who they believe they are at the moment (present), who they have been (past) and who they would like to become (future) (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). Within the context of CLIL in Finnish elementary education, this study adopts this term of *identity agency*, but also argues for a more enriching relationship between teachers' personal and professional lives as well as a more dialogical relationship between teachers and their community (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009).

This study examines *identity agency* within two levels of CLIL teachers' professional identity negotiation which acknowledge two immediate contexts of teachers' working lives. First, *identity agency* is manifested at the level of the classroom. Pedagogical identity is the aspect of teachers' identity that concerns negotiating who one is as a pedagogue by acting upon one's professional ideals and by drawing on one's personality and experiences in doing so (Day et al., 2006). These act as resources that, coupled with a projective reconfigurations of possible actions, can help teachers understand the relationship between their identity and contextualized practices (Lemke, 2008; Mora, Trejo, & Roux, 2016). *Identity agency*, then, constitutes professional decision-making and actions at classroom level, while employing affordances or constrains therein, and their beliefs (e.g. moral, social) as sources for satisfaction, commitment, motivation and self-efficacy at work (Körkkö et al., 2016; Lasky, 2005).

Second, *identity agency* is manifested at the level of collegial relationships. Relational identity is the aspect of teachers' identity created between individual action and social relationships at work. While independent and autonomous in decision-making and action, individuals are also controlled by others or their social context (Kayi-Aydar, 2015). The impact of colleagues and the school environment constitute parts of the formative contexts in which teachers come to confront their professional identity (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). Within those contexts, the internal, interpretive system of the individual teacher is socially informed by discourse and collaboration with affinity groups as well as the shared traditions, norms and rules (Gee, 2000). In mutual interaction with the professional interpersonal context, teachers not only engage in wide-ranging activities that enhance their responsibility-taking and membership in the community, but they also dialogically construct meanings, communal repertoires and tools that simultaneously trigger school and identity development (ten Dam & Blom, 2006). It is through this interactional agency that teachers' relational identity is negotiated.

In conclusion, teacher identity is individually, socially and culturally negotiated. It is not only what we think of ourselves, but also what others think of us and the way identity is experienced on a daily basis that guide identity negotiation (Tsui, 2007). To better understand how teachers' professional identities are negotiated, it is pertinent that we look at how they exercise agency in constructing self-stories and interpreting everyday experiences within the professional community (Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2013; Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016). In the following section, the research task and questions are outlined.

## 4. Research questions

In this study, teachers' professional identity is conceived as a negotiated process among individual, social, physical and material contexts. *Identity agency* is the form of professional agency teachers use in guiding the bi-directional process of identity negotiation between personal resources and social contexts at work. In order to highlight CLIL teachers' *identity agency* within Finnish educational culture, this study examines how in-service CLIL teachers in Finnish primary schools exercise their agency in renegotiating and constructing their teacher identities. More specifically, the matter is addressed in light of the following research questions:

(1) How is CLIL teacher *identity agency* exercised at the classroom level?
(2) How is CLIL teacher *identity agency* exercised within the collegial community?
(3) How do CLIL teachers negotiate their professional identity between its pedagogical and relational sides?

## 5. Methods

### 5.1. Participants

Thirteen primary school CLIL teachers participated in this study. Participants taught CLIL through English and were Finnish, save for one who was an international teacher working and residing in Finland. She was included in the study as she was not a native speaker, which fits the common definition of a CLIL teacher (Nikula et al., 2013). All participants were fluent in English and worked at five different schools. The teachers became familiar with CLIL during their studies and internship, or when changing work places. While one experienced teacher learned CLIL from her colleagues, the other teachers have had university-level courses. In particular, six of them specialized in English, four studied in a CLIL or bilingual programme, and two took courses in CLIL. Moreover, two participants had a doctoral degree. Participants' teaching experience varied from 1 to 30 years; seven teachers were at a later stage in their career (20–30 years), while two in the middle (13 and 16), and four at the beginning (1–6 years). One of the teachers had a long-standing background of 12 years in special education before she started teaching CLIL. Three teachers taught special education classes parallel to CLIL ones. Additionally, three participants had experienced teaching abroad. Finally, although three teachers stated they followed the school's CLIL policy, all participants regarded CLIL teaching as a welcome challenge to their teaching.

### 5.2. Research approach and data collection

The qualitative approach taken to examine teacher identity concerned participants' multiple meanings and lived experiences, while taking into account social contexts and relationships as understood by participants themselves (Labuschagne, 2003). Initially, background literature was drawn on to review aspects of professional identity in educational contexts, i.e. teachers' professional identity. These aspects were organized under the larger themes of biographical/idiosyncratic, contextual and sociocultural factors. The purpose of this organization was to gain as much information as possible about how the teachers perceived their work life and their degree of involvement as pedagogues and colleagues. For each aspect characterizing these themes, interview questions were formed in an open-ended manner, focusing on teachers' perceptions and experiences:

- Do you have any memorable experiences that have made you the teacher you are today?
- How would you describe the teacher's role in the CLIL classroom?

- Do you feel like being the same teacher when you teach through a different language?
- How do you see the meaning and role of the curriculum in your teaching?

The interviews were conducted from October to December 2015 with 13 CLIL teachers working at 5 schools located in different cities around Finland. Participants were contacted via electronic correspondence informing them about the purpose of the study, and signed a confidentiality form prior to their interview.

### 5.3. Data analysis

The 13 interviews were audiotaped and later transcribed. Transcript length ranged from 10 to 20 pages (average 14 pages), written in Times New Roman, font 12, with single-line spacing and a break between each speaking turn. Thematic Analysis was used to identify recurring patterns in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006), keeping in mind the concepts of pedagogical and relational identity, and their potential interrelation. Thus, an initial familiarization with the content of the interviews was followed by systematic coding and code description. The codes were then organized under the two sides of teachers' professional identity, i.e. pedagogical and relational identity, according to their internal relevance. Codes were later grouped into themes within their respective spaces. Based on latent content, a theme was understood as an implicit topic that characterizes recurring patterns reflecting textual data (Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen, & Snelgrove, 2016). For example, the codes 'attitudes' (10/13), 'competences' (6/13), 'idiosyncrasies' (9/13), 'personal beliefs' (13/13) and 'personal motivations' (10/13) were initially grouped under *personal resources*. Along with the codes under *personal experiences*, they were later grouped under the *personal aspect* of pedagogical identity. To study *identity agency*, the themes were reviewed in relation to one another, and connections were drawn across themes between participants' pedagogical and relational identities.

The data analysis process was supported by peer debriefing, whereby the data and research process were reviewed by members familiar with the study and concepts explored (Creswell & Miller, 2000). The data set itself has not been altered with respect to both recorded and transcribed versions. In the following section, the findings of the study are reported along with excerpts intended to highlight the presented sides of teachers' professional identity.

## 6. Findings

This chapter presents the findings of the study and includes three sections, organized according to the research questions. The first section outlines three ways in which *identity agency* is exercised in relation to the pedagogical side of professional identity. The second section outlines two key findings that were identified in participants' contributions concerning the relational side of their professional identity. The third section outlines the way in which *identity agency* is also needed in negotiating boundary-crossings between the pedagogical and relational sides of teachers' professional identity.

### 6.1. Pedagogical identity negotiation

This section concerns the aspect of identity CLIL teachers enact within classroom settings, and the experiences, resources and emotions they negotiate in enacting their pedagogical identity. The analysis for pedagogical identity negotiation highlights, first, how teachers invest themselves in their work; and, second, the ongoing negotiation between the present personal and professional resources, rather than their separation.

When teachers invest themselves in the profession, they draw on their personal experiences and resources. The former relates to their experiences as language learners at school, as adults who have to balance work and life, and as individuals in social relationships outside of school. The latter comprised participants' idiosyncrasies, competences and attitudes, beliefs and motivations, employed in managing everyday difficulties at work. For instance, a self-reliance concerning materials and a positive view of learning and development as something anticipated could be associated with identifying one's strengths and being ambitious about students' language learning progress. Thus, *identity agency* was closely tied to attitudes and competences that concern teaching, learning and language. Moreover, it was exercised by matching one's personal motivations (10/13) to the nature of the profession, thus intrinsically driving participants to become and be the teachers they are. Such motivations were a long-standing interest in languages and bilingual education, an interest in having an additional challenge at work or simply a desire to change one's job. Participants' landscape was further enriched by their personal beliefs about various issues, some also linked to work. For instance, when asked about how CLIL links to her understanding of teaching and learning, Teacher 1 stated:

> I believe that the earlier you begin learning languages, the more easier it is, and then once you know a different language, you, some things you look at from different angle, because the language is different and then you might think different.

This excerpt highlights how beliefs, especially beliefs about language learning, can be interwoven into the profession and affect its enactment. Incentives and beliefs that were close at heart helped fuel and shape teacher identity in the way that they informed courses of action, and supported it by being close to one's personal understanding of the self. Personal resources served as a firm background to pedagogical identity and helped meaning-making and drawing on resources in participants' professional space.

In further negotiating their pedagogical identity, participants' drew on existing professional experiences, resources and considerations. Experiences and understandings teachers gain throughout their careers act as affordances to *identity agency*. Teacher 8, for example, says:

> Actually, I kinda think that my special education background gives a good starting point for the CLIL teaching, because they both kinda require clarity, so that you have to give instructions that are very specific and easy to understand, so then … I've been actually been surprised to find how much common ground there is in special education and in the CLIL education.

It is not only the ability to evaluate and draw on past experiences to manage within present conditions, but also the connection teachers make across various professional contexts and their corresponding principles that factor strongly in the meaning-making process of identity negotiation against a temporal and physical background. Professional training, as mentioned by some participants (7/13), can heighten this process by providing access to different perspectives, inviting questions, and validating current experiences. However, what could be the most potent element in meaning-making would be interactions with students or encounter with children (10/13), as they prompted reflection, inspiration and learning, and have affected how participants thought about teaching and students. Such interactions become 'pieces to [their] puzzle' (Teacher 7) and contribute to a 'gradual grow[th] altogether' (Teacher 8). Continuously cultivating positive relationships with

pupils creates an important space for *identity agency*. Such professional experiences are negotiated through beliefs about the profession in general and CLIL in particular. As Teacher 12 characteristically says:

> CLIL is a ideal way of teaching, because it's- it really makes teaching much more active, both for the learner and for the teacher. So, um, in that way, it sort of reinforces what you're doing there.

Participants' ways of understanding themselves as teachers were reflected in views of CLIL and its role within education. The extent to which they agreed with the aims and outcomes of CLIL, and the way the methodology resonated with their actions (e.g. being an active teacher) suggest that internalization and identification with elements inherent in the profession are essential strategies to identity negotiation. Within this negotiation, agency is exercised in judging which of these elements are relative or appropriate to teachers' beliefs and perceptions of foreign-language mediated teaching and learning.

Pedagogical identity negotiation is, then, intricately linked to views of themselves as teachers, which itself is strongly connected to the presence of first and foreign languages. This entails validating a personal perspective on thoughts and perceptions about CLIL teaching and teacher expression.

> That sometimes I'm comparing that what I could give to these kids if I would be working in Finnish. But now, I'm working in English, I have to concentrate on this basic, basic words, and that repetition. And it's, uh, kind of, you've got the colour, but you don't have the shades (Teacher 10)

CLIL teachers can be aware of the discrepancy between teaching in their first and foreign language, what methodological choices they have to make and how language affects the presentation of the teacher self in the CLIL classroom. Using the colour to gradually provide pupils with the shades goes beyond a mere comparison of the 'teacher in Finnish' and 'teacher through the foreign language' dichotomy, touching upon overarching pedagogical convictions, teaching style and hopes for students' learning that may affect action concerning instruction and pedagogy in CLIL in tandem with students' reactions and interaction. These are mediated by the language which, perceived as either a tool or a positive challenge coupled with student interest, may fuel positive views of oneself as a CLIL teacher and reinforce a sense of purpose in the classroom- and CLIL-related actions teachers take. Teachers need to understand the language part of CLIL as part of their teacher identity by internalizing the goals, tasks and principles and owning the methodology (Nikula et al., 2016). Yet, language use and internalization in CLIL is not devoid of emotion. While many teachers expressed a sense of efficacy (9/13), there were a few who experienced instances of self-doubt (4/13):

> Well, of course, I've had my doubts about whether I want to be a teacher. And one reason has been that I don't believe in the system so much. I think there are many things that restrict learning. (Teacher 13)

> I suppose, all the teachers ask that, quite many- At some time, at some points that 'Am I good enough?' (Teacher 4)

Feeling competent and good as a teacher might help teachers in their day-to-day school life, such as the feeling of being in control or on top of the curriculum, but second thoughts about themselves fitting the job or being good enough as teachers could be demoralizing. Such considerations, among others, could be resolved with support from the immediate relational environment at work.

### *6.2. Relational identity negotiation*

This section concerns the aspect of identity CLIL teachers enact within social relationships developed at school in the immediate collegial environment. Relational identity regards the synergistic negotiation of individually-initiated as well as collectively-driven actions.

With colleagues, CLIL teachers' identity negotiation could be seen in their social involvement and willingness to partake in collegiality. The actions of sharing (8/13) and participation (8/13) comprised participants' involvement. Speaking about everyday challenges in the classroom, Teacher 11 says:

> Well, discussing with colleagues. I think that's the best way [laughs] to deal with them. To share, cause I've noticed that most CLIL teachers are struggling with same problems, so.

Sharing seemed to be participants' individual way of bonding with colleagues over tensions they encountered in their shared, immediate professional environment. While originating in individual teachers' preoccupations, the actions they took within their community could have a wider impact. Teacher 10 elaborates:

> Now we've got this one big project in our school where we're writing out a lot better, like, a lot more clearly what we mean by CLIL and the aims for each class, so, so we are trying to help that. […] Before we've had a very vague, eh, text in curricula and it's, like- it's been very much up to the teacher, how they sort of, what they do, and how they do things, like, in the CLIL. […] The English they are doing here. The English teacher obviously does work, you know, there, but we are trying to open that. So hopefully that will help every CLIL teacher in our school.

Such actions aimed at offering help on a larger scale and becoming a member of a smaller or larger community. Participants' relational identity was validated by using professional membership to address matters that affected themselves, colleagues and their pedagogical tasks. At the same time, it entailed jointly making sense of those tasks, acknowledging other colleagues' role in completing them, and determining one's own role in ameliorating current state of affairs in CLIL education at school level.

To further this involvement, *identity agency* was exercised within a shared sense of collegiality, whereby teachers used others as resources and proactively responded to an invitation for collective activity. Whereas involvement stems from the individual and aims at the collective, collegiality stems from the wider social and professional environment of the school that facilitates or validates legitimate membership, collegial connectedness and professional support:

> Or it used to be that every teacher had their own material and they, like, jealously guarded it as if they were on their own island, keeping their own material. […] And because the CLIL teachers were relatively new and maybe also more outgoing, open-minded … I'm fine with sharing material. I really don't care. And they were also of that mind, so we would share much more. We would also that would help share the burden of teaching. (Teacher 12)

The possibility of working with others to share the workload and materials not only provides a support system, but also supports

the quality of practice. Rather than work in isolation, teachers can work cooperatively, although it is the culture shared by colleagues that will determine under which conditions and to what extent cooperation can take place. The importance of collegiality and its function as resource for teachers' professional identity lies in its potential for creating a self-regulated, productive work community, where one can express thoughts and emotions or seek advice and find help. By doing so, issues under discussion can yield new insights or understandings, and enrich professional learning by means of collective educational practices. It should be noted, however, that this would be more successful with support from the principal, as they hold the primary executive and administrative authority in schools. When asked about the professional and social relationships with their principal, almost all teachers (12/13) voiced their opinions, most of them describing it in positive terms, such as 'supportive' (Teacher 7) and 'positively influencing' (Teacher 5). This might echo the trust invested in teachers in the Finnish society and the contemporary importance attributed to educational leadership (e.g. Nevalainen & Kimonen, 2013).

Despite this valuable web of social relationships at school, teachers act on a comparatively independent level of action that runs parallel to those relationships. Relational identity on this level entails reflective autonomy in light of certain, profession-related considerations. While feeling autonomous at work (9/13), participants engaged in consciously thinking (10/13) about their work and its meaning as well as their performance and the means they have to do it. As Teacher 6 says, 'in Finland it's really […] free I think to do […] what we like', while keeping in mind the national curriculum. Pondering one's work, coupled with autonomy, becomes a tool for 'evaluating' (Teacher 6) and keeping one 'active and creative' (Teacher 12). *Identity agency*, then, would be making use of a thoughtful awareness within a flexible space of autonomous action to determine their actions and the meaningful impact these could have on their professional identity. Nonetheless, the boundaries of this space become blurred in contact with that shared amongst colleagues, which has the potential to reinforce or constrain *identity agency*. A sense of identity can encounter demands and expectations that originate in institutional, interpersonal and temporal settings. For instance:

> Well, the curriculum. [laughs] Too many things in the curriculum and we have to do too many things. We are expected to do a lot, which I think restricts deep learning. And some of the things we do- I do in school, I feel this doesn't make any sense. Why are we doing this? (Teacher 13)

The curriculum was felt to be important in grounding the professional self, as it is the official document which stipulates language policy and directs teachers' work. While it was deemed the foundations on which they could build their teaching and a strong presence in the school books, reference to CLIL practices were vague and not represented in the course material. As a consequence, teachers became material designers and could negotiate what aspects of the curriculum they would teach through the foreign language. Not strictly adhering to the book was perceived positively by participants, although that required investing more time in lesson planning and coping with a general insufficiency of time in their work. Concerning the interpersonal setting, a parental and leadership interest in CLIL was welcomed, yet did not help address considerations and challenges which remained part of teachers' responsibilities.

### 6.3. Identity agency across contexts

The previous sections outline how professional identity is negotiated within different contexts through different relationships. We understand this ongoing negotiation as *identity agency*, which is the agency an individual exerts to be and become themselves. This section concerns the agency CLIL teachers exert between the classroom and collegial level in negotiating a more encompassing professional identity. It attempts to explain how teachers use their pedagogical identity in the classroom, as well as their relational identity and corresponding resources to negotiate considerations that affect action on both individual and collective levels.

In the light of pedagogical identity, participants' personal and professional biographies could be seen as resources conducive to identity formation. Personal experiences, changes in their personal life, and available opportunities guided participants' actions in their careers:

> I came to this school where they had CLIL and I was a class teacher. And since I had studied English and was qualified as an English teacher as well as a class teacher, I was employed. […] Just happened in a way, yeah. I didn't, kind of, go for CLIL. I just wanted to change jobs, so. (Teacher 3)

*Identity agency* can take place through adaptation to or seeking change in new work circumstances as a result of changes or experiences in personal life circumstances. At the same time, participants' individual characteristics, beliefs and perceptions accompanying such biographies contribute to a meaningful exchange between the personal and professional aspects of teachers' lives:

> Like I said, I think I'm, as a personality I'm quite flexible, but it gets harder every year, when you get older, so I- usually I don't start, I … criticizing. Uh, usually I try to sleep over changes first and then … but this year when I have had so many changes, I got really angry with all these changes and I felt that it was honest to, to, kind of, let the school head know about how I feel and how this affects my, my work. (Teacher 3)

*Identity agency* is also using one's interpretation of events to inform work-related actions through which a sense of self in the profession may be reinforced or questioned. Identity formation requires an acknowledgment of one's traits and beliefs as well as past and present experiences. Consequently, *identity agency* will not only reflect those, but also help understand current situations and direct possible future courses of action.

However, as teachers are not lone agents, but members of a work community, their pedagogical identity interacts with their relational identity. Through this interaction, pedagogical identity is afforded a collegial atmosphere which, if supportive and collaborative, can encourage one's autonomous action, and guide that action. For example, sharing expertise and instructional material can affect methodological choices, help face instructional challenges and meet teacher responsibilities in CLIL. In other words, participants try to determine their professional identity within social settings that have an immediate impact on their teaching. Moreover, participation in the work community can generate a sense of belonging and purpose:

> Of course, this CLIL group we have. There I'm part of the group and there I can always say what I think and why and I think I can say and I'm heard if my colleagues. And they ask me if they need to know or if they want to know and I think we have a good relationships in our CLIL group, that group of teachers. But that group doesn't include all these CLIL teachers. It's only, like, three or four of us. […] But, hopefully, with the new curricula, we will have new working groups inside this school and these CLIL class teachers will be one group. (Teacher 10)

Participation and the possibilities for change may affect teachers' perceptions about the profession as well as address curricular demands and lack of clarity. On a classroom level, *identity agency* becomes not only pursuing autonomous and reflective action, but also availing oneself of opportunities for participation and belonging in a community of practice. In turn, the collective can have an impact on the professional and external factors attempting to shape identity. As such, it becomes tethered to the relational, and entails membership and engagement with the community and its practices.

Within these circumstances, participants' *identity agency* seemed to take place in negotiating their role in light of considerations and responsibilities. Although their role might have been partly ascribed to them from a wider educational and institutional culture, it was the importance it held for them and their own beliefs about what a teacher should be and do in the CLIL classroom that helped them position themselves at work.

> Sometimes, eh, we haven't tested all the children that come to the CLIL classes, and sometimes we've had a couple of children where I've been thinking that this is not right for that. And then, that situation is strange. And it's challenging, because you can't lower the whole level of the whole- You can't wipe the CLIL out, because of one or two children, and then you just have to manage in the situation, even if you can see that their understanding is very low and their capability of absorbing new words and all that is very low. (Teacher 9)

> […] because we don't choose children for CLIL classes in our school, it's a lottery, this class, which class is going to be a CLIL? […] with children with the special needs, how do I, how do I integrate them so that they would feel as, as good as somebody else? (Teacher 2)

> We are not choosing any of those children. They are children with all different kind of abilities and they just, that they come- […] And I was saying to that, that that I think was so important to realize, that we are giving language to everybody. (Teacher 5)

This stance entailed exercising one's judgment regarding what is appropriate, which at times might be contrary to what they believe. Their positioning helped resolve ethical considerations about entitlement to CLIL education irrespective of the special needs or level of English, while maintaining the positive stance of motivators and CLIL proponents in the face of instructional challenges. Thus, they became teachers compliant to school policies or acted in accordance with their own beliefs. Their individual understanding of themselves as teachers might or might not reflect the various roles attributed to teachers by the institutions of teacher education and school. Therefore, there is an internal organization of the individual with aspects related to the profession that is utilized in shaping who they want to be within the profession. *Identity agency* is manifested when this internal organization is used to achieve a preferred state of being as teachers, when encountering success or compromising in response to external pressure. Since identity formation is a reciprocal process between individual and contextual resources, *identity agency* is expected to be exercised in using any external pressure to review or change participants' particular internal organization. At the same time, participants' relational agency may be an independent aspect of teacher's working life, but it can also serve as a supportive or structuring resource for pedagogical identity for CLIL teachers in Finland.

## 7. Discussion

This study examined how CLIL teachers in Finnish primary education exercise *identity agency* in negotiating their professional identity. In particular, it examined how CLIL teachers negotiated their pedagogical and relational identity, and how *identity agency* was enacted between these two sides of their professional identity. At the level of the classroom, participants negotiated their professional identity by drawing on personal and professional experiences and resources. *Identity agency* in relation to the pedagogical side was using self-awareness and past experiences to interpret current situations and direct future actions at work. Meanwhile, language was used as a mediational means to negotiate professional and relational aspects of participants' pedagogical identity. At the level of collegial relationships, participants negotiated their relational identity by being involved and active members in a shared collegiality. Thus, *identity agency* acquired a relational nature that enhanced individual and collective action. Finally, *identity agency* was exercised in the reciprocal way teachers drew on their pedagogical and relational sides to their professional identity (see Fig. 1). In the participants' particular work environment that might be perceived more as resourcing rather than constricting, it is not tension as such that ignites teacher identity formation, but the ability to draw on possibilities and using opportunities for one's benefit.

This study highlights a connection between professional identity and agency and suggests that any space for identity negotiation should be accompanied by action. Through agency between the pedagogical and collegial spheres of action, a sense of professional identity can be negotiated, thus potentially reinforcing, altering or compromising professional identity. Rather than separate, these spheres should be seen as parts of a much larger interlinked space, wherein teachers attempt to negotiate their professional identity by acting alone and in collaboration with others. Thus, identity is constructed or negotiated in a process of working and sharing with others, but also individually. Such processes seem to require, first, using one's sense of self and experiences in both the personal and the professional context as resources; and second, being aware of one's professional environment and participating in changing it. It should be noted, however, that a certain degree of autonomy or availability of opportunities should be present for the above to be effective.

It is currently understood that there is a connection between teachers' knowledge of the self and interpretation of their work as well as teachers' personal experiences and performance of professional roles (e.g. Day et al., 2006). This study highlights how language teachers' personal biographies are a dominant influence in teacher identity negotiation involving conscious/rational and intuitive/tacit thought processes in exploring personal and professional experiences (Bukor, 2015). Beliefs, competences and personal motivations seem to link with teaching interests, pedagogical convictions and instructional choices. Moreover, teachers' hopes and views of themselves as teachers helped resolve ethical considerations about eligibility of participation in CLIL classes and cope better with the additional practical challenges of CLIL. Participants' personal resources in conjunction with their personal and professional experiences inform who they want to be as teachers and the extent to which that could be achieved. Consequently, there is a complex and interactive background to teachers' decision-making and actions, which we have identified as part of teachers' *identity agency*.

To date, teachers' pedagogical identity has been understood as a negotiation of their professional identity in the light of past and possible future professional trajectories, individual personality and contextualized practices (Day et al., 2006; Mora et al., 2016). This study adds to this understanding by suggesting that teachers as individuals draw on themselves as the main resource in identity negotiation. On the basis of what they hold to be pedagogically valid and fruitful for their students as well as through their own interests and understanding of themselves as CLIL teachers, participants made decisions about pedagogy and instruction. Their decisions and

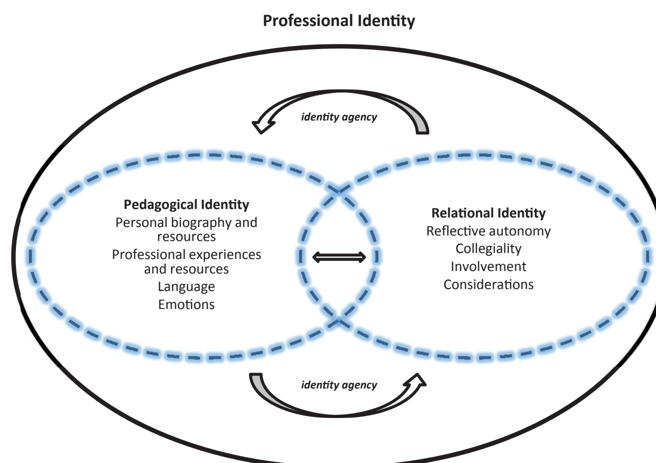


**Fig. 1.** *Identity agency* as reciprocal negotiation between CLIL teachers' pedagogical and relational identity.

actions, but also the preceding meaning-making processes and succeeding outcomes, become the tools for teachers' interpretation of their place and role in the profession. A realization of their identity through its performance within teaching contexts can give rise to a sense of agency and empowerment that to implement ideas, set and achieve goals, and potentially transform contextual circumstances (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). Moreover, expectations or interests deriving from the individual teacher herself are not strong and rigid. As such, they do not question teachers' professional and moral integrity (Kelchtermans, 1996), nor do they clearly define teacher action. On the contrary, they provide the space for them to enact their role as they deem it more relevant to their own convictions and particular educational settings. Nonetheless, these expectations and interests should be re-evaluated whenever new circumstances demand that teachers change their practices and as teachers progress in their career.

As teachers belong to a work community, teachers' pedagogical identity is also negotiated in relation to the identity developed within this community. The collective actions and strong influence of collegial relationships described by the participants raise questions concerning teachers' role and *identity agency* within the teachers' community. Similarly to Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2016), this study highlights identity negotiation alongside membership and participation within a particular community. There is a mutually constitutive relationship between teachers and the community's socio-cultural matrix mediated by situated actions and discourses, and appropriation of norms and values (Wells, 2007). While there is disparateness and variation concerning the emphasis on sociocultural and individual factors (Smith & Sparkes, 2008), identity development is enriched through increasing participation in communities of practice, wherein teachers actively craft their identities and potentially transform community practices, thus possibly contributing to the identity construction of others (Moate, 2013; Wells, 2007). Akkerman and Meijer (2011) argue that teacher identity is "*an ongoing process of negotiating and interrelating multiple I-positions in such a way that a more or less coherent and consistent sense of self is maintained throughout various participations and self-investments in one's (working) life*" (p. 315, italics in the original). This is teachers' performative personal project undertaken alongside the social one, central to which are the process of becoming, interactional meaning-making, creating integrity, and finding a balance between personal and external expectations (Korhonen & Törmä, 2016; Taylor & Littleton, 2006).

One novel aspect of this study is the temporal frames through which *identity agency* is exercised by teachers. Teachers' personal and the professional resources are connected by means of ongoing reconsiderations along two parallel temporal frames. Teachers' experiences afford the long-term, career-based continuum, linking past and present. However, a continuation of the present towards the future occurs contemporaneously and constitutes a separate continuum co-constructed with the pupils and the existing professional affordances, such as language. In light of the latter temporal frame, the nature of students' reaction to teacher instruction may feed the reflective process and might strengthen a sense of autonomy and efficacy at work, which might in turn affect the way teaching and CLIL are perceived and determine future courses of action in instructional settings. On the basis of professional self-understanding, teachers can make more conscious choices and relate them to further professional development (Korthagen, 2004). The two continuums of CLIL teachers' pedagogical identity are framed themselves by collegial relationships. Therefore, teachers' overall professional identity has to be considered as a temporal, situational and interpersonal construct.

Another novel aspect is the role of relational identity in that it is enacted at classroom level within an autonomous professional context. The participants of this study seemed to enjoy autonomy and to reflect on events taking place in their work, which are encouraged in Finnish educational settings from schooling to teacher education and teaching (Körkkö et al., 2016). It is worth noting, however, that this autonomy can be supported by and partly mirrored in collective practices. CLIL teachers in Finland are professionally interdependent, at once relying on their professional competence and acting collaboratively with others (Nevalainen & Kimonen, 2013). In this context, therefore, relational identity can act as a strong resource for teachers' pedagogical identity. While having the possibility to influence one's circumstances at work is important for exercising one's professional agency (Eteläpelto et al., 2015), having that possibility on a collective level could have further impact on workplace conditions and sustain individual action (Kelchtermans, 1996). Participation in daily routines and structures

as well as the embrace of the community's knowledge and beliefs give rise to a shared sense of culture and belonging (Korhonen & Törmä, 2016; Lasky, 2005). This participation, in turn, might help feelings of self-doubt and vulnerability subside. While not having the immediacy of the classroom or the continuity of a career, collegiality is a ‘living’ professional bond in constant need of maintenance and cultivation. It is, thus, important that communities are supported as spaces for deliberating, collaborating, mutual support, and distributing expertise (Shulman & Shulman, 2004).

Despite its potential, however, we should also bear in mind that teachers' relational identity may also act as a constraint to pedagogical identity. For instance, working for shared goals, even though one might not agree with them, or trying to be a teacher colleagues respect, admire or accept through actions that might not resonate with one's own professional convictions and values, might limit one's repertoires to routines and peer-approved strategies. The effect of relational identity as a constraint to professional *identity agency* might be further enhanced by working in isolation, as it divests the personal project of being a CLIL teacher of communal interpersonal and intellectual resources and potential. Although relational identity as a constraint seemed not to be the case for the CLIL teachers in Finland, it is worth pondering the implications in different CLIL teaching contexts.

Last but not least, this study highlights how the foreign language plays a mediating role for teachers' pedagogical identity. Not only does it affect instructional choices, practice and perceptions, but it also colours teacher-student relationships. Its immediate presence in the classroom renders it a lens through which CLIL teachers understand, interpret and internalize CLIL as a methodology and themselves as its users. As such, foreign-language-mediated teaching settings can be an affordance for research to examine the impact of language on shaping CLIL teachers' professional identity. For instance, the tensions that arise between what teachers want to achieve or become through the use of a foreign language as a medium of instruction, and what roles are projected on them or are expected of them to play as content and language teachers create opportunities for negotiation and adaptation of identity (Cammarata & Tedick, 2012). Such settings could also shed more light on how in-service teachers' professional identity and professional resources (Tsui, 2007) in CLIL could affect their level of commitment and personal investment in CLIL teaching.

### 7.1. Limitations

There are three limitations to this study. The first concerns the fact that this is a study within a particular context. The trust and respect toward the teaching profession in Finland affords teachers the possibility to follow their pedagogical beliefs and to be the teachers they want to be to a large extent. In addition, the lack of a top-down approach to CLIL, allows teachers to experiment with instructional diversity. Those factors may account for the absence of strongly perceived tensions, which could have established a direct link to current literature addressing identity formation as a struggle (Day et al., 2006; Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2013). The second concerns gender. All participants being women, one might suggest that male voices could have added to the findings. While that may be true, the diversity among the participants and an assumed common interest in being a teacher with their male counterparts support rather than devalue the present findings in light of gender. Future research could include a wider spectrum of teachers from different levels of education, gender and countries. The third concerns the method. Interviews were deemed the best way to gain insight into participants' understanding of their professional identity, but future research could also include observations to examine how this understanding is enacted in the immediate work environment.

### 7.2. Practical implications

The present study suggests that there are different contexts in which teachers negotiate their identity. Rather than separate, however, these contexts may interact according to how teachers position themselves therein. This positioning is achieved by exercising agency on both an individual and relational level. Given the breadth of literature on teacher students' identity (e.g. Flores & Day, 2006; Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016), teacher education constitutes a major source of influence. Teacher education should be a place where theory and practice come together, but also one that acknowledges personal experiences and pre-existing beliefs (e.g. Körkkö et al., 2016). Teacher students should be encouraged to ponder their own expectations and aspirations, being aided by pedagogical theories. During teaching practice, teacher educators could further enrich teacher students' experience by helping them be more aware of how their idiosyncrasies, pedagogical convictions and practical knowledge inform their actions and how those very actions can strengthen or weaken their teacher identity. Moreover, mentors should allow for teachers to practice innovative instructional methods and enact their role as they currently understand it, while letting them make mistakes and providing constructive advice. Positive first teaching experiences and collaboration with members of the university and work community may significantly impact teachers' relational agency and future resilience in the face of adversity (e.g. Banegas, 2012; Korthagen, 2004).

With regard to in-service teachers, attention should be paid both to the synergy within contexts and the transaction between contexts for teacher identity formation and negotiation. It is important that teachers are able to work according to what they uphold as pedagogically valid and in a manner that does not strongly contradict externally imposed expectations. The tensions created should the case be otherwise, without any form of support, might be a chance for change or compromise for some, but a reason to withdraw altogether for others. Rather than suggesting no challenges be present, we would like to suggest presenting opportunities for change in the form of thought-provoking discussions or space for collective action. *Identity agency* will be drawn on to reconceive oneself in the light of new information, such as new educational theories or the importance of certain academic skills, as well as their membership in the school community. Finally, as the personal aspect of teachers' lives interplays with the professional, workshops by school counsellors or merely insightful collegial discussions could help teachers re-evaluate beliefs and bring to the fore competences that affect their perceptions about the profession, and vice versa. In some cases, they might help teachers maintain a balance between life and work circumstances, abate defeatist attitudes and self-doubt, and strengthen a sense of autonomy and agency.

The study highlights a connection between teacher identity and agency in a context complementary to teacher education, suggesting that teachers utilize their agency in forming their identity within synergistic developmental contexts. It would be interesting for future research to compare the rather collaborative and supportive teaching culture of Finland to one where teachers feel less valued or recognized, and where CLIL instruction follows detailed guidelines, so as to highlight perceived resources or challenges in *identity agency*. Moreover, it could explore the sociocultural side of professional identity that goes beyond the school community, so as to see how teachers relate and act within the wider professional setting comprising social, organizational, political and financial considerations. Last but not least, academic discourse on *identity agency* could be enriched by the inclusion of emotions, in order to examine how prominent negative and positive affective states interfere with or facilitate identity negotiation.

## Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the CLIL teachers for their participation and valuable insights. In addition, they would like to thank the reviewers for their feedback.

This research did not receive any specific grant from funding agencies in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

## References

Akkerman, S. F., & Meijer, P. C. (2011). A dialogical approach to conceptualizing teacher identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 27*, 308–319. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2010.08.013.

Alexander, R. J. (2001). *Culture and pedagogy: International comparisons in primary education*. Oxford: Blackwell publishing.

Alsup, J. (2006). *Teacher identity discourses: Negotiating personal and professional spaces*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Banegas, D. L. (2012). CLIL teacher development: Challenges and experiences. *Latin American Journal of Content & Language Integrated Learning, 5*(1), 46–56. http://dx.doi.org/10.5294/laclil.2012.5.1.4. ISSN 2011–6721.

Beauchamp, C., & Thomas, L. (2009). Understanding teacher identity: An overview of issues in the literature and implications for teacher education. *Cambridge Journal of Education, 39*(2), 175–189. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03057640902902252.

Beijaard, D., Meijer, P. C., & Verloop, N. (2004). Reconsidering research on teachers' professional identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 20*, 107–128. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2003.07.001.

Bovellan, E. (2014). *Teachers' beliefs about learning and language as reflected in their views of teaching materials for Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved on 18 December 2014, from. ISBN:978-951-39-5809-1 http://urn.fi/URN.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77–101. http://dx.doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa.

Bukor, E. (2015). Exploring teacher identity from a holistic perspective: Reconstructing and reconnecting personal and professional selves. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 21*(3), 305–327. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2014.953818.

Cammarata, L., & Tedick, D. (2012). Balancing content and language in instruction. The experience of immersion teachers. *The Modern Language Journal, 96*(2), 251–269. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2012.01330.x.

Coyle, D. (2007). Content and Language Integrated Learning: Towards a connected research agenda for CLIL pedagogies. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 10*(5), 543–562. http://dx.doi.org/10.2167/beb459.0.

Creswell, W. J., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into Practice, 39*(3), 124–130.

Dalton-Puffer, C., & Nikula, T. (2014). Content and language integrated learning. *The Language Learning Journal, 42*(2), 117–122. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09571736.2014.891370.

ten Dam, G. T. M., & Blom, S. (2006). Learning through participation: The potential of school-based teacher education for developing a professional identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 22*, 647–660. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2006.03.003.

Day, C., & Gu, Q. (2010). *The new lives of teachers*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Day, C., Kington, A., Stobart, G., & Sammons, P. (2006). The personal and professional selves of teachers: Stable and unstable identities. *British Educational Research Journal, 32*(4), 601–616. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01411920600775316.

Emirbayer, M., & Mische, A. (1998). What is agency? *American Journal of Sociology, 103*(4), 962–1023. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2782934.

Eteläpelto, A., Vähäsantanen, K., & Hökkä, P. (2015). How do novice teachers in Finland perceive their professional agency? *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 21*(6), 660–680.

Flores, M. A., & Day, C. (2006). Contexts which shape and reshape new teachers' identities: A multi-perspective study. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 22*, 219–232. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2005.09.002.

FNBE [Finnish National Board of Education]. (2014). *Core curriculum for basic education 2014*. Retrieved on 18 April 2016, from http://www.oph.fi/english/curricula_and_qualifications/basic_education.

Gee, J. P. (2000). Identity as an analytic lens for research in education. *Review of Research in Education, 2*, 99–125.

Ingersoll, R., Merrill, L., & Stuckey, D. (2014). *Seven trends: The transformation of the teaching force*. CPRE Research Report # RR-80. Philadelphia: Consortium for Policy Research in Education. http://dx.doi.org/10.12698/cpre.2014.rr80.

Kayi-Aydar, H. (2015). Multiple identities, negotiations, and agency across time and space: A narrative inquiry of a foreign language teacher candidate. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies, 12*(2), 137–160. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15427587.2015.1032076.

Kelchtermans, G. (1996). Teacher vulnerability: Understanding its moral and political roots. *Cambridge Journal of Education, 26*(3), 307–323. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0305764960260302.

Korhonen, V., & Törmä, S. (2016). Engagement with a teaching career – how a group of Finnish university teachers experience teacher identity and professional growth. *Journal of Further and Higher Education, 40*(1), 65–82. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0309877X.2014.895301.

Körkkö, M., Kyrö-Ämmälä, O., & Turunen, T. (2016). Professional development through reflection in teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 55*, 198–206. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2016.01.014.

Korthagen, F. A. (2004). In search of the essence of a good teacher: Towards a more holistic approach. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 20*(1), 77–97. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2003.10.002.

Labuschagne, A. (2003). Qualitative research - Airy fairy or fundamental? *The Qualitative Report, 8*(1). Retrieved on 23 May 2016, from http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR8-1/labuschagne.html.

Lasky, S. (2005). A sociocultural approach to understanding teacher identity, agency and professional vulnerability in a context of secondary school reform. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 21*, 899–916. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2005.06.003.

Lehti, L., Järvinen, H.-M., & Suomela-Salmi, E. (2006). Kartoitus vieraskielisen opetuksen tarjonnasta peruskouluissa ja lukioissa [Mapping FL Learning in Comprehensive and High Schools]P. Pietilä, P. Lintunen, & H.-M. Järvinen (Eds.). *Kielenoppija tänään [Language Learners of Today]*, 293–313 (Jyväskylä: AFinLA).

Lemke, J. L. (2008). Identity, development and desire: Critical questions. In C. Caldas-Coulthard, & R. Iedema (Eds.), *Identity trouble* (pp. 17–42). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Moate, J. (2011a). Voicing the challenges faced by innovative teacher community. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 17*(2), 255–268. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2011.539804.

Moate, J. (2011b). The impact of foreign language mediated teaching on teachers' sense of professional integrity in the CLIL classroom. *European Journal of Teacher Education, 34*(3), 333–346. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02619768.2011.585023.

Moate, J. (2013). *Reconceptualising teacherhood through the lens of foreign-language mediation* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved on 16 December, 2014 from https://jyx.jyu.fi/dspace/bitstream/handle/123456789/40738/978-951-39-5034-7.pdf?sequence=1.

Moate, J. (2014). Dialogic struggles and pedagogic innovation. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society, 22*(2), 295–314. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14681366.2014.891641.

Mora, A., Trejo, P., & Roux, R. (2016). The complexities of being and becoming language teachers: Issues of identity and investment. *Language and Intercultural Communication, 16*(2), 182–198. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2015.1136318.

Nevalainen, R., & Kimonen, E. (2013). Teacher competences in a changing school culture. A comparative analysis of teacher professionalism in England and Finland. In E. Kimonen, & R. Nevalainen (Eds.), *Transforming teachers' work globally* (pp. 229–259). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Nikula, T., Dafouz, E., Moore, P., & Smit, U. (Eds.). (2016). *Conceptualising integration in CLIL and multilingual education*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Nikula, T., Dalton-Puffer, C., & Llinares, A. (2013). CLIL classroom discourse: Research from Europe. *Journal of Immersion and Content-Based Language Education, 1*(1), 70–100. http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/jicb.1.1.04nik.

Pappa, S., Moate, J., Ruohotie-Lyhty, M., & Eteläpelto, A. (2017). Teacher agency within the Finnish CLIL context: Tensions and resources. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 65*(July), 61–70. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2017.1286292.

Ruohotie-Lyhty, M. (2013). Struggling for a professional identity: Two newly qualified language teachers' identity narratives during the first years at work. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 30*, 120–129. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2012.11.002.

Ruohotie-Lyhty, M., & Moate, J. (2016). Who and how? Preservice teachers as active agents developing professional identities. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 55*, 318–327. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2016.01.022.

Sahlberg, P. (2011). The fourth way of Finland. *Journal of Educational Change, 12*, 173–185. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10833-011-9157-y.

Shulman, L. S., & Shulman, J. H. (2004). How and what teachers learn: A shifting perspective. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 36*(2), 257–271. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0022027032000148298.

Smith, B., & Sparkes, A. C. (2008). Contrasting perspectives on narrating selves and identities: An invitation to dialogue. *Qualitative Research, 8*(1), 5–35. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1468794107085221.

Taylor, S., & Littleton, K. (2006). Biographies in talk: A narrative-discursive research approach. *Qualitative Sociology Review, 2*(1), 22–38.

Tsui, A. B. M. (2007). The complexities of identity formation: A narrative inquiry of an EFL teacher. *TESOL Quarterly, 41*(4), 657–680.

Vähäsantanen, K. (2015). Professional agency in the stream of change: Understanding educational change and teacher's professional identities. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 47*, 1–12. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2014.11.006.

Vaismoradi, M., Jones, J., Turunen, H., & Snelgrove, S. (2016). Theme development in qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis. *Journal of Nursing Education and Practice, 6*(5), 100–110. http://dx.doi.org/10.5430/jnep.v6n5p100.

Varghese, M., Morgan, B., Johnston, B., & Johnson, K. A. (2005). Theorizing language teacher identity: Three perspectives and beyond. *Identity & Education, 4*(1), 21–44.

Weiner, J. M., & Torres, A. C. (2016). Different location or different map? Investigating charter school teachers' professional identities. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 53*, 75–86. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2015.11.006.

Wells, G. (2007). Who we become depends on the company we keep and on what we do and say together. *International Journal Research, 46*, 100–106.

# III

## CLIL TEACHERS IN FINLAND: THE ROLE OF EMOTIONS IN PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY NEGOTIATION

by

Sotiria Pappa, Josephine Moate, Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty & Anneli Eteläpelto, November 2017

APPLES – Journal of Applied Linguistics vol 11, 79-99

Reproduced with kind permission by Center for Applied Language Studies

*Apples – Journal of Applied Language Studies*
*Vol. 11, 4, 2017, 79–99*

# CLIL teachers in Finland: The role of emotions in professional identity negotiation

*Sotiria Pappa, University of Jyväskylä*
*Josephine Moate, University of Jyväskylä*
*Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty, University of Jyväskylä*
*Anneli Eteläpelto, University of Jyväskylä*

*Research on emotions has yielded many theoretical perspectives and many concepts. Yet, most scholars have focused on how emotions influence the transformation and maintenance of teacher identities in the field of teacher education and novice teachers, with little research being conducted on either experienced or foreign language teachers. This study explores emotions in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) teachers' work and their role in identity negotiation. The data is based on interviews with thirteen CLIL teachers working at six different primary schools around Finland, while the analysis draws on Meijers' (2002) model of identity as a learning process. According to this model, a perceived boundary experience usually generates negatively accented emotions, which are negotiated in light of one's professional identity by means of two complementary processes, i.e. intuitive sense-giving and discursive meaning-giving. The predominant emotional experiences that were identified were, on the one hand, hurry and frustration, and on the other hand, contentment and empowerment. Intuitive sense-giving mostly entailed reasoning, self-reliance, resilience, and empathy. Discursive meaning-giving mostly entailed the ideas of autonomy and of the CLIL team. This study highlights the need for sensitivity toward teachers' emotions and their influence on teacher identity. It concludes with suggestions for theory, further research and teacher education.*

*Keywords:* professional identity, teachers' emotions, identity negotiation, content and language integrated learning (CLIL), Finnish primary education

## 1 Introduction

Teachers' professional identity has been increasingly acknowledged in contemporary educational research. Recent research argues for teacher identity or self-understanding as a lifelong process of negotiation of who teachers perceive themselves to be as individuals and as professionals within their immediate and wider socio-cultural contexts (e.g. Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Coward et al., 2015; Gu & Benson, 2015; Huhtala, 2015; Kelchtermans, 2005;

Corresponding author's email: sotiria.s.pappa@jyu.fi
ISSN: 1457-9863
Publisher: Centre for Applied Language Studies
University of Jyväskylä
© 2017: The authors
http://apples.jyu.fi
http://dx.doi.org/10.17011/apples/urn.201711144252

VERTAISARVIOITU
KOLLEGIALT GRANSKAD
PEER-REVIEWED
www.tsv.fi/tunnus

Mora, Trejo & Roux, 2016). This connection is effected by means of power, structure, and agency as well as social, cultural and discursive practices (Song, 2016; Zembylas, 2003). However, the role of emotion in teachers' work life and cognition has only fairly recently been included as an essential element in teachers' identity negotiation (Golombek & Doran, 2014; Uitto, Jokikokko, & Estola, 2015), and deemed a topic serious enough for academic consideration (Nias, 1996).

Research on emotions has yielded many theoretical perspectives (Van Veen & Sleegers, 2006), and many concepts. Goleman's emotional intelligence, Hochschild's emotional labor, Hargreaves' emotional geographies, affective events, emotional contagion and crossover theory are only some of these concepts (Ashkanasy, 2015; Becker, Goetz, Morger, & Ranellucci, 2014; Goleman, 1995; Hargreaves, 2001; Yin, Lee, Zhang, & Jin, 2013). Yet, most scholars have focused on how emotions influence the transformation and maintenance of teacher identities in the field of teacher education and novice teachers, with little research being conducted on either experienced or foreign language teachers (see Ruohotie-Lyhty, Korppi, Moate, & Nyman, 2016; Schutz & Lee, 2014). Especially in English language teaching (ELT), research on emotions has examined student language anxiety and language motivation, while the few exceptions investigating comprehensive emotions and ELT tend to adopt a pathogenic, rather than salutogenic, perspective on emotions (Cowie, 2011; Nilsson, Ejlertsson, Anderson, & Blomqvist, 2015; Schutz & Lee, 2014; Skinnari, 2014). This paucity of empirical research on emotions extends to Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), a European pedagogical innovation which seeks to integrate the learning of a foreign language with subject learning, often implemented in contexts in which the language of instruction is an additional language for teachers and pupils (Coyle, 2007). Beyond Europe, CLIL is being adopted in a broad range of educational contexts, such as Argentina, Japan and Taiwan (e.g. Banegas, 2016; Ikeda, 2013; Yang & Gosling, 2013).

While neither bilingual nor foreign language teaching in the traditional sense, CLIL provides an interesting context in which to examine emotions. CLIL in Finland lacks overtly explicit curricular outlines, while encouraging a bottom-up, school-based approach (e.g. Bergroth, 2016; Nikula, Linares, & Dalton-Puffer, 2013). This grass-roots approach is coupled with teacher autonomy and CLIL teacher education initiatives. While there are many schools that test pupils prior to CLIL classes, others, like the participants' schools, did not select pupils by such means at the time of the interviews. Meanwhile, CLIL is more demanding in terms of resources, and may create disjuncture between what teachers are doing and who they feel they are as professionals and educators (Pappa, Moate, Ruohotie-Lyhty, & Eteläpelto, 2017a). For example, teachers may find preparation for CLIL classes more time-consuming than for regular ones, or re-evaluate their educational role in foreign-language mediation (Moate, 2011, 2014). Thus, CLIL presents an opportunity for teachers to rethink both regular and foreign-language mediated teaching, while offering a range of professionally and personally meaningful opportunities. At the same time, however, it may cause teachers to experience uncertainty and other emotions of a more negative nuance. CLIL, then, may become a 'boundary experience' (Meijers, 2002; Meijers & Lengelle, 2012), prompting cognitive as well as emotional engagement with these opportunities in a manner conducive to individual and career development.

If emotion lies at the heart of teaching, teaching implies an ethical responsibility involving the teacher personally and not merely as an instrument of curriculum goals; thus, the experience of both positively and negatively tinged emotions are important for CLIL teachers' self-understanding, well-being and job satisfaction, in addition to retention and professional development (Hargreaves, 2001; Hong, 2012; Kelchtermans, 2005; Schutz & Lee, 2014; Shapiro, 2010; Yin et al., 2013). By addressing emotions in CLIL, we seek to address not only teachers' sense of self and the ways these emotions are instrumental in constructing, sharing and positioning one's identity as a teacher, but also ways CLIL can be successful. However, although this issue has been scantly investigated in ELT (e.g. Cowie, 2011; Giovanelli, 2015; Moate & Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2017; Song, 2016; Wolff & De Costa, 2017; Yuan & Lee, 2015), it has received negligible attention in scholarly work in CLIL. This study investigates the role of emotions in teacher identity, with a focus on primary CLIL education in Finland. In particular, we examine the emotions present in CLIL teachers' work and how they are rendered meaningful for identity negotiation in their professional lives. In the following section, we elaborate on the view of identity and emotions that provide our orientation, and extend the discussion to identity development as a cyclical learning process (Meijers, 2002; Meijers & Lengelle, 2012), which serves as a lens for our analysis.

## 2 Theoretical framework

### *2.1 Emotions and identity*

Emotion as a concept pertinent to teachers' professional lives has garnered much attention in recent decades (for an overview, see Uitto et al., 2015). Despite the many theoretical perspectives taken, including 'physiological, philosophical, historical, sociological, feminist, organizational, anthropological, and psychological' (Van Veen & Sleegers, 2006, pp. 86–87), there is no concrete consensus as to what emotions are. Defined on a psychological and physiological basis, emotions are experiences of how the body physically responds to events in our environment, preparing us for subsequent action (Ashkanasy, 2015). They are the embodiment of the mind in the way they psychophysically parallel or represent ideas in the mind (Watkins, 2011). At the same time, emotions are socially constructed, yet personally enacted ways of performing within an 'external' environment in a transactional and relational manner, so as to attain goals or maintain standards or beliefs (Cross & Hong, 2012). These transactional performances are of temporal, social and political character, reciprocally mediated by our self-understanding, meaning-making and decision-taking (Kelchtermans, 2005; Zembylas, 2005). Emotions, then, have come to be understood in broader terms which transcend dichotomies prized in the past (Zembylas, Charalambous & Charalambous, 2012), while acknowledging the physical and intellectual presence of the individual within their particular political, historical, socio-cultural and interpersonal contexts. It is within these contexts that social interaction and emotion connect with self-knowledge, thus rendering identity (re)construction meaningful (Zembylas, 2003).

Similar to emotions, identity has been a concept difficult to define in educational research. In their review of research on teacher identity, Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop (2004) argue that there are four essential features. First, teachers' identity is an ongoing process, during which teachers reinterpret experiences in light of 'personal' and 'professional' biographies. Second, it is complex and dynamic, as it involves a negotiation between person and context, whereby prescribed professional characteristics are adopted depending on the personal value they hold for the individual teacher. Third, it is multifaceted, as it consists of core or peripheral subidentities related to teachers' different settings and relationships. Fourth, it involves exercising agency according to teachers' goals and available resources, while trying to resolve perceived tensions between the personal and social dimensions of teaching. Adding to this view of teacher identity, Day and Kington (2008) discuss the culturally embedded and unavoidable interrelationship between how teachers make sense of themselves, the image they present to others, and the way they are perceived by others. Nonetheless, for a holistic definition of teacher identity, psychological, emotional and personal aspects have to be considered alongside legitimate professional ones (Bukor, 2015). This becomes all the more important, considering the role emotions play in shaping teachers' identity in regular teaching (Nichols, Schutz, Rodgers, & Bilica, 2016; Uitto et al., 2015) as well as foreign language teaching (Golombek & Doran, 2014; Varghese, Motha, Park, Reeves, & Trent, 2016). Emotions are as much an embodied experience as a cultural tool situated in the discursive, social and institutional frameworks that raise questions for identity (Zembylas, 2003).

Through the situatedness of teachers' emotions, we can better comprehend not only the complex space emotions afford teachers for self-transformation and self-understanding, but also overcome a presumed separation of teacher identity in terms of public and private (Meijers & Lengelle, 2012; Zembylas, 2003). In this study, we understand emotions as embodied and subjective experiences that are a personal response to the events and contexts individuals engage in. Although the subjective experience and its manifestation in the form of emotional expression may be heavily shaped by the lived contexts, we argue that neither is privileged over the other. Rather, they are two vital elements that dynamically develop a mutually mediational relationship. We use this socio-psychological understanding to qualitatively explore the relationship among emotions and identity negotiation in primary education CLIL teachers' work. To understand this relationship, we draw on Meijers' (2002) framework of identity as a learning process.

### *2.2 Identity as a cyclical learning process*

In contrast to past eras of institutional socialization into a particular occupation, there is increasing pressure for employees to be flexible and mobile, able to construct a career identity while considering a larger array of possibilities and one's own feelings and emotions (Meijers, 2002). CLIL presents an opportunity for teachers to rethink both conventional and language teaching, while offering a range of professionally and personally meaningful opportunities. At the same time, however, it may cause teachers to experience uncertainty and uncomfortable emotions. Therefore, in the process of creating, sustaining and reconfiguring their overall teacher identity to include that of the CLIL teachers', the presence and management of emotions have to be addressed. In order to do so in this

paper, we draw on Meijers' (Meijers, 2002; Meijers & Lengelle, 2012) suggestion of identity as an ongoing learning process that couples experience, emotion, and occupational conditions, something that has been largely overlooked by social-cognitive and career learning theories.

In line with recent depictions of identity (e.g. Akkerman & Meijer, 2011), Meijers (Meijers, 2002; Meijers & Lengelle, 2012) argues that identity is the continuous negotiation and construction of a more or less consistent sense of self, adding that this can be effected in a relational and dialogic way in which emotions and cognition are mutually and gradually adjusted. He further explains that identity formation is making sense of oneself through activities and experiences that are situated in the temporal and spatial, structural and institutional, social and historical. This situatedness and the (re)configuration of interpretations individuals attach to themselves are mediated not only by specific cultural practices and corresponding artefacts, but also by the agency individuals use in positioning themselves, controlling their behavior and negotiating action possibilities. As a result, individuals develop conscious and objectified identities in relation to their socio-cultural contexts, and the interpretations of semiotic and situated resources existing therein (e.g. concepts, metaphors, emotions, symbols). Yet, identity learning takes place only when culturally available concepts and meanings are related to experiences, hence being ascribed personal meaning and identified with.

According to Meijers (2002), despite its intellectual and relational aspects, identity formation involves emotions in an instrumental way. An emotionally safe environment, rather than shelter from pain and uncertainty, may help an individual to productively and creatively handle emotions if emotions are acknowledged, valued and respected (Meijers, 2002). On an individual level, emotions coupled with meanings become the vehicle of imagination to insightfully appreciate a possible turn of events and one's role in them (Meijers, 2002). Similar to Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop (2004), who proposed that identity formation is an outcome of struggle, Meijers (2002) suggests that identity development occurs when a demarcation point in one's life course, or boundary experience, causes a shift in one's, and possibly others', perspective. Emotion signals the beginning and is the product of this change in perspective. A boundary experience occurs when the individual, in 'trying to participate more fully (centrally) in a social practice', cannot 'fully identify with the new situation and its exigencies' and, consequently, 'experiences the boundary of his [sic] existing self-concept' (Meijers, 2002, p. 158). According to Meijers (Meijers, 2002; Meijers & Lengelle, 2012), this is often an emotional rather than a cognitive problem, yet it can lead to learning and growth irrespective of whether the emotion elicited is positive or negative. That said, for emotions to become fruitful in identity negotiation, a balance between emotions and cognition can be restored by means of two complementary processes, namely 'intuitive sense-giving' and 'discursive meaning-giving' (pp. 158–161) (see Figure 1).

'Intuitive sense-giving' refers to an introspective dialogue that creates space for the (role-coupled) exigencies of a situation to be reconfigured in one's identity. This intrapersonal process of identity configuration is achieved by rendering a situation personally (emotionally) meaningful, thus motivating and enabling the individual to act. 'Discursive meaning-giving' refers to the engagement of the individual with the existing discourse, in which concepts and shared meanings are heuristically used. During this interpersonal process, the

individual tries to restore a sense of self in light of new elements and experiences by 'finding – together with others – the concepts that give an explanation that is logically and emotionally satisfactory for all involved in this dialogue' (Meijers, 2002, p. 158). In this study, intuitive sense-giving is understood as the intrapersonal dialogue by means of which the individual interprets an instinctive and subjective emotional response to an experience. Discursive meaning-giving is understood as the interpersonal dialogue by means of which the individual discursively and reflectively constructs and renders meaningful an emotional experience in light of their identity. Both of these intrapersonal and interpersonal processes or dialogues are integral to shaping one's identity.

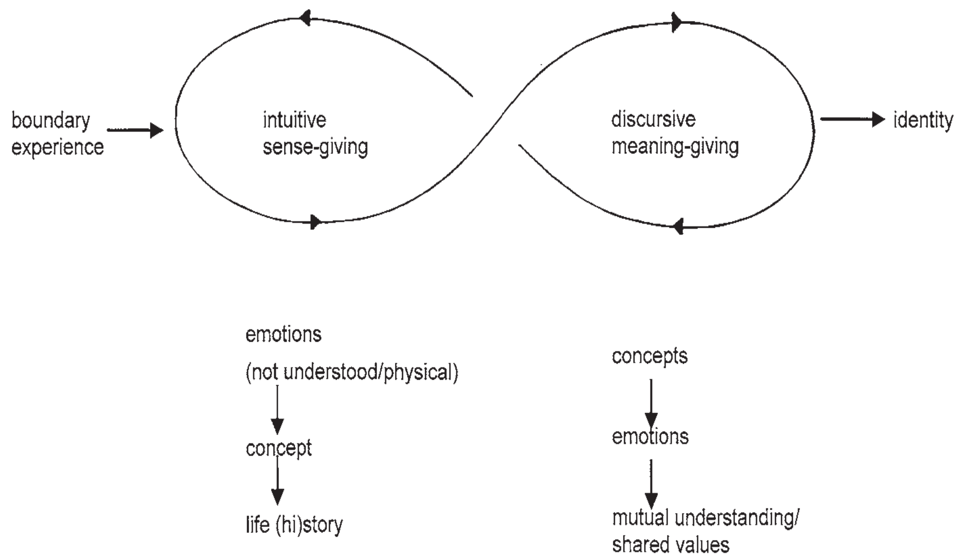


**Figure 1.** Identity as a learning process (Meijers, 2002).

Similar to regular and language teaching, CLIL teaching is a sociocultural phenomenon. In other words, it is not merely an individual endeavor, but also a quality of the particular collegial communities in which it is practiced (see Vygotsky, 1978). As such, it is lifelong process of professional development and learning in which the individual CLIL teacher and the CLIL teacher community alike take into consideration meanings and concepts in negotiating who they are as educators. On the one hand, this may be empowering in reaching a rounder professional identity as teachers, one that supports their well-being at work. On the other hand, this may cause boundary experiences that challenge a currently held sense of self within the profession and its respective community. The emotions that indicate and are employed in attributing meaning to such experiences are worth elaborating further in educational research. This study investigates on what emotions CLIL teachers experience and how they make sense of them in light of their teacher identity. In particular, we seek to examine:

1) What are the emotions present in Finnish primary school teachers' CLIL work?
2) What is the role of emotions in these CLIL teachers' identity negotiation?

## 3 Methods

### *3.1 Participants*

Working at six different primary schools around Finland, thirteen CLIL teachers participated in the study. Twelve of these teachers were Finnish, while one was a teacher from another European country, using English as a foreign or additional language. All participants were female teachers and fluent in English, with varying teaching experience and fairly similar educational backgrounds (see Table 1). Their particular experience of teaching CLIL was not directly asked during the interview, yet it was evident from their responses that they identified themselves as CLIL teachers. Participants' familiarization with CLIL took place during their undergraduate studies, internship or change of school, and they generally shared a positive outlook on CLIL. All participating teachers were contacted via email. Information about the aims of the study was provided and a confidentiality form was signed prior to each interview.

Table 1. Information on participants.

| **Information on participants** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Teacher** | **Qualifications** | **Preparation for CLIL** | **Years of experience** |
| 1 | class teacher | minor studies in English | 1 |
| 2 | class teacher | specialization in Music, Art and English | 20 |
| 3 | subject teacher; special education teacher | PhD, CLIL courses after starting teaching CLIL | 30 |
| 4 | class teacher | specialization in English | 30 |
| 5 | class teacher | learning CLIL from colleagues | 20 |
| 6 | class teacher | PhD, specialized in English and German | 26 |
| 7 | class teacher | minor studies in English | 8 |
| 8 | special education teacher | minor studies in English | 13 |
| 9 | early childhood teacher | specialization in English | 21 |
| 10 | class teacher | specialization in Music and English, CLIL teacher qualification exam | 27 |
| 11 | class teacher | specialization in English, in-service CLIL training | 16 |
| 12 | bilingual education teacher | BA in bilingual education, internship at bilingual school | 5 |
| 13 | class teacher | minor studies in English | 3 |

### *3.2 Research approach and data collection*

In order to examine emotions and their relation to teacher identity, the qualitative approach chosen sought to bring forward participants' own understandings and perception of their experiences as lived within particular social and relational contexts (Labuschagne, 2003). This study draws on data initially collected from October to December 2015 for the exploration of teachers' professional identity and agency. The semi-structured interviews conducted for these concepts were based on corresponding literature in educational and other

occupational contexts. In particular, questions were designed to address concepts in relation to biographical and idiosyncratic, contextual and socio-cultural facets of teachers' professional lives. The teachers' answers to these questions provided significant insights into their work as pedagogues, colleagues and professionals. Although there were initially only two questions directly related to emotions in CLIL, participants' responses indicated the presence of emotions throughout their professional lives. The open-ended questions asked included:

- What are the most cost common positive feelings you have when you teach CLIL? What are the most common negative ones?
- Do you feel like being the same teacher when you teach through a different language?
- How do you respond to changes at work that affect your day-to-day reality in the classroom?
- What are the challenges in CLIL teaching?
- How would you describe your relationships with colleagues at school?

To research emotions, we looked at emotion talk and emotional talk in participants' responses (Bednarek, 2009). Emotion talk was understood as the explicit reference to and naming of an emotion (e.g. anger, guilt, frustration). Emotional talk was understood as language indirectly related to and conveying an emotional experience. For example, we looked at affectively charged or stative language, implicit or explicit calls for validation or help, juxtapositions and metaphors (Golombek & Doran, 2014). Rather than representing the participants' internal affective state, emotion and emotional talk are considered discursive strategies that help construct a social reality (Bednarek, 2009).

### *3.3 Data analysis*

The audiotaped material was transcribed by the first author. Written in Times New Roman, font 12, with single-line spacing and a break between each speaking turn, the transcripts yielded an average of 14 pages (10 to 20 pages). To identify patterns of emotional responses and identity negotiation, Braun and Clarke's (2006) model of Thematic Analysis was followed. The already familiar content was systematically coded in light of the research questions. After each code description, the codes were organized into seven subthemes and later into three main themes, i.e. emotions, self and community. We understood a theme as the implied unit comprising recurring patterns reflective of textual content (Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen, & Snelgrove, 2016). Thus, 'defensive', 'empathy', 'perseverance' and other codes denoting strategic action were initially grouped under *agency*. This subtheme was joined along with that titled *identity* (comprising 'person' and 'profession') under the main theme *self*. To determine the relationship between emotions and identity negotiation, connections among the main themes were drawn according to internal relevance of their subthemes. Peer debriefing helped to regularly monitor and review data analysis, and reporting on research was supported by members' familiarity with the data and expertise in the concepts addressed (Creswell & Miller, 2000). No alterations were made to the either the recorded or transcribed data set, although repetitions, indicated by […], have been omitted from the presented excerpts for

easier reading. In the following section, the identified emotions and identity negotiation processes are reported.

## 4 Findings

In the first subchapter, we answer the first research question, outlining what emotions were expressed in CLIL teachers' interviews. Then, we answer the second research question, turning to the ways CLIL teachers used emotions within intrapersonal and interpersonal dialogue to negotiate their identity.

### *4.1 Negative and positive emotions*

Although some participants' responses included emotionally ambiguous experiences, there were experiences that teachers shared which implied either more negatively or more positively accented emotions. That said, positively or negatively experienced circumstances do not necessarily trigger corresponding emotions, which subsequently translate into strictly positive or negative consequences for identity development. While emotions will be discussed in the following subchapters, it is worth noting that negatively accented emotions tended to derive principally from the curriculum and issues of time. On a secondary level, they derived from teachers questioning themselves as competent professionals as well as from their pupils' negativity toward CLIL. On the other hand, positively accented emotions overwhelmingly derived from CLIL and pupils' involvement, and secondarily from teachers themselves and from exercising their profession.

#### 4.1.1 Negatively accented emotions

The most prevalent negatively accented emotions were a sense of hurry and frustration. Most participants (10/13) referred to feeling rushed and not having enough time to prepare properly for lessons or invest in social relationships at the workplace. This may have been aggravated by feeling deeply disappointed and dissatisfied with current situations at work. For instance, when asked to describe relationships and collaboration with colleagues at school, Teacher 9 explains that:

> because we have trainees in our school, so most of our time goes in our own classrooms, dealing with the trainees. So, we are very loaded with work like that. So, for example, part of the teachers go to the teachers [' room] once a day for coffee. *Once* a day. And some go even very seldom, because they are so busy. So we don't, like, see very often in that way.

While Teacher 9 talks about time-consuming tasks additional to those of teaching as such that do not afford the time to meet colleagues in general, let alone CLIL colleagues at work, Teacher 8 shows her disappointment with the inevitability of a packed timetable that limits her desire to offer more through CLIL:

> I would like to have a bit different schedule to be able to focus on different things. And at the moment, well, I'm a little bit unhappy, because of the language issues. I haven't been able to teach as much in English and also because I only have certain […] subjects for my

> class, so I think that it's very limited, the things that I can teach through English. I would like to do more, but at the moment my hands are kinda tied because there's so many, so many lessons that I have to teach in Finnish. [...] So that's what I'm unhappy with.

Frustration seems to extend emotionally in the form of stress and pressure (3/13) as well as confusion and feeling overwhelmed (6/13). At the same time, participants felt pressure from changes they were struggling to deal with or from curricular/school expectations (e.g. completing 25% of the curriculum through CLIL instruction), they seemed to constantly worry about not having enough time to teach more in depth, particularly CLIL subjects. Moreover, some teachers felt disoriented with changes that came suddenly or felt lost in preparatory work, while others felt confused concerning the curriculum and the effect of language on one's teacher self. For example, talking about the perceived emphasis on technology in the curriculum, Teacher 2 describes it 'like a big wave, whoosh', making her feel 'like [she's] in a washing machine at the moment with all this' and the need to 'protect' her subject. Moreover, when Teacher 7 is asked why she thinks something changes when she starts speaking English, she claims:

> I don't know. [...] I think it, kinda like, it's really hard. I haven't, kinda like, figured it out. It's something I've tried to think what it is. It's not that I would be scared or anything, but I don't know if it's my second persona or something. [...] It's really hard to say. But I can't say that I'm definitely the same in Finnish as I am in English.

This is not echoed in all other participants' responses, yet shows how the involvement of a foreign language may sometimes create boundary experiences that put one's identity into question.

Participants may also have experienced feelings of regret in relation to certain situations and their being difficult to change (7/13). For instance, Teacher 5 reports students not speaking English together, but only to her; Teacher 7 regrets the changing Finnish culture and paucity of resources, especially in light of the more demanding 2016 curriculum; and Teacher 10 wishes for 'different kind of resources' that are not designed solely for native-English children. Moreover, although only Teacher 3 explicitly stated feeling angry with timetable management and subsequently guilty for acting out of character, six of the participants expressed irritation as a more transient or mild expression of anger, stemming from feelings of being restrained and charged with too much work. This may be understandable by not only the inherent difficulty of the teaching profession, but also the fact that teachers in Finland are paid for teaching hours, rather than according to a whole day model, when they are fulfilling educational needs that go beyond their traditional teacher role.

Within this emotional climate, some participants (5/13) raised concerns about being right for the teaching profession, having enough capabilities as a person, and adequate language skills. Self-doubting moments were sometimes coupled with anxiety about doing their job right (e.g. doing the right thing, doing something well enough). Other concerns were loneliness in doing CLIL (4/13), because of lack in sufficient collegial support at school, as well as a sense of vulnerability (3/13) originating in a perceived inadequacy of language skills, feeling that pupils' attitudes are volatile toward CLIL, and the belief that there isn't much one can do, but accept things as they come.

### 4.1.2 Positively accented emotions

The most prevalent positively accented emotions were contentment and empowerment. Almost all participants (11/13) felt efficacious and satisfied, mainly due to their pupils' accomplishments or progress, and their joy in CLIL lessons. These emotions were also strongly connected to participants' pedagogical methods and outcomes of their work, as well as their workplace or school placement. While this may hold true for teachers in general, it is even more so for CLIL teachers. CLIL itself becomes a tool or a lens for making sense of their work, and is situated in the recent 2016 curriculum and new demands. Thus, it becomes a concept that renders how and with whom CLIL teachers work meaningful. For instance, Teacher 8 states:

> I think the biggest change is that when you start teaching in alo- another language, you really need to take a look at how you do things and how you want to get things across. […] So, in that sense, really it is a tool for me. A tool for change, this teaching in English.

while Teacher 7 shares:

> I'm pretty happy with what I do, actually. […] But I think I've been observing my students and seeing different ways of leaning and encourage different strategies to learn and we use different kind of methods on learning and, and I've been trying to, kinda like, set some English words and phrases every now and then.

Coupling such an emotional experience with feeling able to exert influence over one's work either directly or indirectly, through CLIL, through in-service training, and being the teacher you want to be (10/13), can be very powerful motivation for continuing teaching CLIL (5/13). Teacher 8 posits:

> And I think it's good to get new challenges and- That's what I think, that this CLIL teaching, that's definitely a challenge, a new challenge. And I think you always, as a teacher, you always need new things that you get to work on, cause otherwise, you know, if you get bored as a teacher, you might as well quit.

Such feelings may be supported by a hopeful outlook (7/13) on the current state of things, CLIL in the future, pupils' overall learning, and participants' own professional development. Professional development, in particular, seemed to resonate with the participants, as they felt rewarded or confident about being effective or successful in doing CLIL (6/13), as well as excited about their work (5/13). This may have not only allowed the positive reception of the changes brought about with the 2016 curriculum or using new teaching methods, but also facilitated feeling that it is normal or natural (5/13) to use CLIL or a foreign language, and to experience difficulties in being a guide in pupils' (language) learning. Such emotional dispositions are exemplified in Teacher 2's experience:

> CLIL in a best way is just another tool to explore the world. So it would be so natural, kind of, way to connect with the other people. […] I think we have bridged something very important and wonderful when the children, we don't realize ourselves that the language changes and, especially with the children, so I can, I can see that, O.K., it changed, he or she changed the language and they didn't notice that, so it's so natural, natural tool.

Other participants implied feeling inspired by CLIL and its learning outcomes (6/13). For example, Teacher 9 related a visit from a former student she did not deem 'actually brilliant in English', but who was successful after secondary school; 'he was very good and he felt that it given him a lot, you know'. While some participants took pride in their own professional development and pupils' learning (4/13), many felt joy in response to pupils' attentiveness, enjoyment and achievement in CLIL (8/13). Last but not least, there was one participant (Teacher 10) who felt relief to have changed school, because her child attending the same school felt inappropriate. Although this is not directly linked to CLIL teaching, the relevance of having a comfortable balance between life and work can be significant for teachers if they are to concentrate on their work.

## *4.2 Negotiating emotions*

As teachers' emotional responses varied in strength and range, so did their meaning for teacher identity negotiation. This subchapter attempts to explain how teachers themselves made sense of emotions and how their collegial community emotionally supports them in their work. As Meijers' (2002) model suggests, intuitive sense-giving, here understood as intrapersonal dialogue, represents the individual interpretation of an intuitively felt emotion in response to an experience. Discursive meaning-giving, here understood as interpersonal dialogue, represents the emotional experience discursively constructed in response to or through reflection on an experience. In CLIL teachers' responses, four ways of sense-giving appeared to be used more often, while the concept of the autonomous teacher and collegial cohesion at school seemed to be very influential in helping teachers cope with negatively accented emotions.

### 4.2.1. An intrapersonal dialogue

In participants' responses, four primary ways of sense-giving were recognized. Eleven teachers employed reasoning as a means to rationalize and make sense of situations and changes. Teacher 3, for example, tries to remind herself of the meaningful and rewarding nature of teaching at the same time she acknowledges teaching as core knowledge, despite not enjoying it as much as doing research:

> I've done research work and I have to say that, in a different way, I've enjoyed it more, in a way, and still, like, I might miss teaching, in a way. I kind of know how to teach, so I- I'm more comfortable when teaching and, uh, sometimes in classroom I, specially when you do kind of the main thing in the classroom, the core thing, there are the kind of rewards, uh, that make you understand why you do this, why- because it's, it's *deeply* meaningful.

The majority of teachers also explained how they relied upon themselves as a resource and built their confidence (9/13), while also persevering in the face of difficulties (9/13). For instance, they would change the teaching approach or material (Teacher 9), attempt to reason with pupils (Teacher 1), or simply be merciful towards themselves if a lesson plan did not work as anticipated (Teacher 6). Such actions point to the teachers' agentic practice, and indicate

flexibility in conjunction with practice-related and affective responsiveness on the part of these teachers (see also Pappa et al., 2017a).

In addition to self-reliance and resilience, teachers used empathy (8/13) to explain pupils' reluctance or rebelliousness in light of how difficult CLIL may be for them. While reflecting on her CLIL pupils, Teacher 7 says:

> I don't find it hard. I do find it somewhat challenging, because, […] I have four students who have difficulties in language development, even in their own first language. So then, of course, this teaching in another language is a whole different challenge for them.

Teacher 13 adds to this by saying that students 'don't believe […] in themselves and then using another language makes it even more difficult'. Such examples show how CLIL teachers can and should be sensitive to their pupils' difficulties and beliefs about themselves as learners. Yet, empathy extended to being understood by fellow teachers regarding one's emotions and lived situations in the classroom. For example, what helped Teacher 1 was '[t]o say it out loud, and then usually get practical ideas, like what you could do, or you just get support, like "Yeah, that happens, we understand"'. Not only sharing one's emotional experience with others, but also having it validated may help counter feelings of frustration and encourage those of normality.

Although it seems that few participants used the other five intrapersonal processes identified in their responses, they are worth mentioning, especially since three of them show dissonance. Only two teachers seemed to internalize changes and goals related to their CLIL teaching, by acknowledging and embracing them, while Teacher 9 used intuition as a tool for estimating pupils' coping and learning. However, four teachers exhibited an inquisitive attitude as to CLIL being worthwhile and the effect of the foreign language on teachers' behavior. While Teacher 6 ponders 'what kind of role you have in different languages. […] Do you think you're different? Do you act as students have thought?', Teacher 3 imparts that:

> there have been times when I have thought that is it worth it? Or is this natural? Or h-how do different children, what do they get out of it? […] Ah, lots of things went, kind of, through my mind during this, uh, lots of things. Yeah. Like why am I teaching?

Such reflective actions link CLIL to existential inquiries about one's professional identity and sense of purpose. Rather than deal directly with negatively accented emotions, they seek to make connections between the positively accented ones that shape teachers' practices and render them meaningful. However, there were three participants who responded defensively to parental, school and curricular expectations, while others (3/13) seemed to detach themselves physically and mentally from the school and happenings therein.

#### 4.2.2 An interpersonal dialogue

On the level of the school, most teachers (12/13) addressed autonomy in a positive manner, indicating that the concept of the autonomous employee was part of the shared school culture. This concerned not only working according to one's beliefs and ethical principles, but also being free in pedagogical decision-making and following the curriculum without strictly following the book:

> it's possible to organize and, em, develop your work, what you do and how do- it's, it's so free. It's so free […] and I think that we all have some kind of ambitions to, you know […] to teach pupil better and better and, and to get them better work, so it's some kind of eagerness to things, like we do. (Teacher 6)

> I think the curriculum kinda gives you the building blocks and then, as a teacher, you kinda have the freedom of then maybe using those building blocks as, as you see fit. But you kind have to use all the building blocks, because that's not a choice that you can make. (Teacher 8)

This autonomy may be supported by the enthusiasm (6/13) or trust (3/13) invested in participants by the headteachers, the parents and colleagues, as well as a sense of safety (7/13) in the form of support from headteachers and colleagues as advisors or guides. Indeed, many teachers (8/13) expressed gratitude towards colleagues that have helped them in the beginning and along the way, or felt lucky for their current work placement. Teacher 13 characteristically says:

> So, learned a lot from [parents] as well. And from my colleagues. We have very good team here. The CLIL team. It's been amazing. [laughs] For the last two years.

The presence of the community in teachers' work is further evident in the acknowledgement of one another's work, ideas and potential (10/13). While belonging or negotiating that right to belong to their collegial community (i.e. both CLIL and subject teachers) and within their classroom (with pupils) was mentioned by many teachers (8/13), all participants experienced connectedness primarily with colleagues. Reiterating Teacher 6 and 11's experiences, Teacher 13 claimed that 'in the CLIL team we can share [...] our knowledge, […] share experiences and we can give ideas to each other'. Moreover, Teacher 10 explained how 'hopefully, with the new curricula, we will have new working groups inside this school and these CLIL class teachers will be one group'. The significance of such positive views on collegiality are underlined by Teacher 5's experience, who applied to be transferred to a CLIL teaching school, because she had no one to reflect on ideas with, while being the only one doing CLIL would even 'generat[e] *bad* feelings in [her] colleagues'. Through cooperation and the act of sharing, teachers co-constructed and made available the concept of the CLIL group that collaborates and shares the same principles. This, in turn, helped build rapport and made new and former members feel valued and included. Such a concept, coupled with that of the autonomous teacher, has the potential to strengthen feelings of empowerment or inspiration about what the CLIL projects teachers are working on as well as alleviate feelings of loneliness and rush.

## 5 Discussion

This study drew on Meijers' (2002) theoretical model to explore the presence of emotions in CLIL teachers' work lives and their role in identity negotiation. The predominant emotions were, on the one hand, hurry and frustration, and on the other hand, contentment and empowerment. Participants' intrapersonal dialogue mostly entailed reasoning, self-reliance, resilience, and empathy. Their

interpersonal dialogue mostly entailed the concept of autonomy and that of the CLIL team. Although this study was conducted within the Finnish context, in which teachers enjoy autonomy as professionals, we would argue that our findings can provide insights into the emotions involved in teacher identity development within other educational contexts as well. In this chapter, we discuss implications with regard to theory and practical considerations.

In terms of theory, the role of communal, discursive tools has to be more explicitly addressed in the intrapersonal dialogue. Although Meijers' (2002) model contrasts intuitive sense-giving with discursive meaning-giving, in the teacher identity negotiations examined here, discursive resources were extensively present in intuitive sense-giving processes as well as in discursive meaning-giving ones. This suggests that discursive tools are important in individual as well as in shared meaning-giving processes. Our findings highlight, however, the ways in which different discursive tools are used in intrapersonal sense-giving to those which are used in more explicitly interpersonal contexts. Therefore, although it may be analytically helpful, a mere distinction between the intrapersonal and the interpersonal is not sufficient. It should be complemented by a distinction between an individual using discursive tools from the wider context as an intrapersonal process, and an individual engaging with others to make sense of emotions as an interpersonal process. While we cannot altogether disregard the socially shared discursive tools in teachers' intrapersonal dialogue, we can differentiate between the different spaces within which they are being used as well as the different tools that are being used individually. What is more, in practice, intuitive and discursive processes of understanding emotion and negotiating identity are mutually constitutive, rather than reciprocal. The more these processes appear to merge, the more the convergence of the embodied and social nature of emotion is highlighted. Thus, the intuitive lens of interpretation should be made more explicit, while the discursive one should be more explicit and more flexible in shifting from individual to community, with one's life course underscoring identity negotiation.

The use of discursive tools in the intrapersonal dialogue for identity negotiation is made clearer when taking a micro view of present situations. Meijers' (2002) model on identity development adopts a more longitudinal perspective, whereas the teachers in this study offered shorter timeframes in which present and near-past events have been meaningful to them. This allowed seeing more clearly the use and significance of discursive tools in teachers' negotiation of emotions at work in light of their professional identity. For example, before becoming part of one's work history, positively and negatively accented emotions may be juxtaposed and evaluated through not only collectively upheld values and concepts, but also one's aims and sense of purpose. Intuitive sense-giving, then, comprises the felt with the perceived and envisioned. To enrich teacher identity with insightful meanings which go beyond contribution at an individual level, discursive practices can create space for mutual understanding by accepting the emotional complexity of CLIL teaching, and by fostering a culture of inclusion and inspiration (see also Moate, 2014). This is all the more important, because while discursive tools can be meaningfully used in teachers' intrapersonal dialogue, their use in interpersonal dialogue embedded in the community yields a broader picture of one's work. Nonetheless, for both dialogues to be fruitful the individual needs to be actively

engaged with the opportunities offered in the – ideally – collaborative community of practitioners (see also Pappa, Moate, Ruohotie-Lyhty, & Eteläpelto, 2017b).

Emotional responses ultimately hold both transformative and regressive potential for one's teacher identity, largely depending on how they are addressed by individual and community alike. As with professional identity research until fairly recently (e.g. Zembylas, 2003), emotions seem to be conceptually regarded in terms of a public-private dichotomy, according to which emotions, in practice, are seen as an individual's own resource or burden. Yet, as the teachers in this study were able to share, in the social networks of the workplace, while positively accented emotions can be a resource for the whole community, negatively accented ones can either inhibit learning and collaboration, or become a resource for collective change. CLIL, with its versatility and flexibility, allows for a range of emotions to be experienced, discussed and acknowledged. While this is important for validating teachers' emotions and, by extension, identity in CLIL teaching, it should also indicate that persistent considerations are a matter of much wider impact. Particularly the matters of time and collegial support invested in response to curricular goals, CLIL practice and CLIL provision across educational contexts are two such topics to reconsider. This extends to reassessing the Finnish school day, when Finnish teachers are expected to fulfill additional professional roles within a traditional system that fails to match effort with compensation. Moreover, while legitimizing the expression of emotional experiences like self-doubt, loneliness and vulnerability among CLIL colleagues may be liberating, their presence should be addressed by both local and national professional communities, as they affect wellbeing, efficacy and efficiency in CLIL teaching.

As far as teacher training is concerned, the connection between emotions and identity should be part of teacher education syllabi. One way of doing this is indirectly, such as by including emotions as a subtheme in courses. However, a more direct approach to this topic could prove more fruitful. This could be effected by lectures specifically on identity and emotions, accompanied by workshops, which would allow student-teachers room for self-exploration and projection. Aside from taking a dialogic approach to lectures, guided discussion sessions or reading circles could take place at the university in a formal or informal manner. Blog posting and subsequent online discussions could be an alternative solution, which would also connect student-teachers across universities, thus building a wide network of expression, inquiry and, possibly, support. The aim of these physical or virtual spaces would be to problematize one's notion of self as a teacher and to help student-teachers recognize emotions as part of their personal and professional life, eventually leading to a general preparedness for the emotional aspect of teaching in the form of openness to new experiences with a critical mind. Moreover, it would serve to make various discursive tools available to student-teachers early on as well as to make them more aware of their current positioning in relation to ongoing discourses in education. Such discourses should be identified, evaluated, and negotiated not only in relation to student-teachers' contemporary context, but also in comparison to foreign educational contexts. A further suggestion would be maintaining a reflective diary from the beginning of the teacher education program, spanning the whole study course. These reflective writings could also be part of student-teachers' portfolio compiled during practicum. Once teachers

have entered the profession with full classroom responsibility, and assuming that not all schools comprise a nurturing collegial environment, tutoring during those early induction years between the newly-appointed teacher and a young, yet more experienced, teacher could prove beneficial in self-regulation and professional self-awareness. Finally, methods or strategies for recognition and constructive management of emotions could be developed as a result of tighter cooperation between the department of teacher education and that of psychology, and made available to both pre- and in-service teachers.

In the future, research with a focus on emotions and identity negotiation could be complemented by classroom observations for a more detailed explanation of the interplay between emotion and identity. It can also be developed by widening the scope of the research, by taking a more explicit emotion-oriented approach to research design. In addition to that, although teaching is a female-dominated profession, male teachers' voices should also be heard within scientific discourse on emotions in teaching. Moreover, this study was conducted within a particular socio-cultural context. Although the emotions expressed might be shared with teachers in general, the participants' background and workplace colored their emotional experience and its interpretation on a personal and interpersonal level. Whether this experience and interpretation holds true for other settings, for example when teachers are obliged to implement a pedagogical innovation, and whether it raises the same issues for successful teaching, may be explored by further research into emotions in teaching under different working circumstances. Last but not least, the extent to which positive and negative emotions influence or are connected to shaping professional identity needs to be studied more in depth. For instance, intrapersonal and interpersonal dialogues need not commence only when negative emotions constitute a boundary experiences that bring the self into question. Positive emotions or experiences should also be critically considered for their intrinsic or applied meaning as well as how aptly they are reflected in teachers' general and day-to-day courses of action. In addition, positive and negative emotions could be researched in light of teachers' years of experience in CLIL teaching. This study could not provide any specific information on the participants' years of CLIL teaching experience. The aim was to examine the emotions present in CLIL teachers' work, which may not necessarily be related to more or less teaching experience in CLIL per se. This, however, needs to be addressed in the future, as meaningful variations in emotional experiences between different career stages can bear on the shaping of teacher identity in CLIL. Despite its limitations, and taking into account what it intended to examine, this study highlights the connection of emotions and identity development in foreign-language mediated teaching. If we are to maintain teachers' job satisfaction and enhance the long-term viability of CLIL or, indeed, any pedagogical investment and professional change in teachers, addressing emotions should be on the agenda of educational and school policy.

## 6 Conclusion

This study does not claim to be comprehensive, but to make more prominent the need for sensitivity toward teachers' emotions and their influence on teachers' identity negotiation, when implementing a pedagogical innovation, such as

CLIL. More than complementary, intrapersonal and interpersonal dialogues serve as shared resources between individual and social elements present at the workplace. With emotions being present in both such dialogues, their expression among colleagues affords CLIL teachers the potential for validation and acknowledgement of their affective experiences, while it also allows for a shift of managing these experiences from the individual teacher to the school community teachers collectively sustain. Emotions are an integral part of CLIL teaching, whose attributed meaning and value affects teacher identity negotiation. Similar to other teaching, CLIL as a context for professional action and identity construction entails emotional experiences whose implications for the understanding and enactment of the professional self merit attention amidst the literary discussion on foreign language teaching.

## Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the CLIL teachers for participating and sharing their experiences. In addition, they would like to thank the reviewers for their constructive feedback. This research did not receive any specific grant from funding agencies in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors. Permission for the use of the figure 'Identity as a learning process' has been granted by Dr. Frans Meijers (frans@fransmeijers.nl) via electronic correspondence.

## References

Akkerman, S. F., & Meijer, P. C. (2011). A dialogical approach to conceptualizing teacher identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *27*(2), 308–319. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2010.08.013

Ashkanasy, N. M. (2015). Emotions and Work. In J. D. Wright (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 507–512). Amsterdam: Elsevier. http://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.22037-0

Banegas, D. (2016). Teachers develop CLIL materials in Argentina: A workshop experience. *LACLIL*, *9*(1), 17–36. http://dx.doi.org/10.5294/laclil.2016.9.1.2

Becker, E. S., Goetz, T., Morger, V., & Ranellucci, J. (2014). The importance of teachers' emotions and instructional behavior for their students' emotions – An experience sampling analysis. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *43*, 15–26. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2014.05.002

Bednarek, M. (2009). Emotion talk and emotional talk: Cognitive and discursive perspectives. In H. Pishwa (Ed.), *Language and Social Cognition: Expression of the Social Mind* (pp. 395–431). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Beijaard, D., Meijer, P. C., & Verloop, N. (2004). Reconsidering research on teachers' professional identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *20*(2), 107–128. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2003.07.001

Bergroth, M. (2016). Reforming the national core curriculum for bilingual education in Finland. *Journal of Immersion and Content-Based Language Education*, *4*(1), 86–107. http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/jicb.4.1.04ber

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. http://dx.doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Bukor, E. (2015) Exploring teacher identity from a holistic perspective: Reconstructing and reconnecting personal and professional selves. *Teachers and Teaching*, *21*(3), 305–327. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2014.953818

Coward, F. L., Hamma, D., Johnson, L., Lambert, M., Indiatsi, J., & Zhou, L. (2015). Centrality of enactive experiences, framing, and motivation to student teachers' emerging professional identity. *Teaching Education*, *26*(2), 196–221. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10476210.2014.996741

Cowie, N. (2011). Emotions that experienced English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teachers feel about their students, their colleagues and their work. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *27*(1), 235–242. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2010.08.006

Coyle, D. (2007). Content and Language Integrated Learning: Towards a connected research agenda for CLIL pedagogies. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *10*(5), 543–562. http://dx.doi.org/10.2167/beb459.0

Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into Practice*, *39*(3), 124–130, http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15430421tip3903_2

Cross, D. I., & Hong, J. Y. (2012). An ecological examination of teachers' emotions in the school context. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *28*(7), 957–967. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2012.05.001

Day, C., & Kington, A. (2008). Identity, well-being and effectiveness: The emotional contexts of teaching. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, *16*(1), 7–23. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14681360701877743

Giovanelli, M. (2015). Becoming an English language teacher: Linguistic knowledge, anxieties and the shifting sense of identity. *Language and Education*, *29*(5), 416–429. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2015.1031677

Goleman, D. P. (1995). *Emotional intelligence: Why it can matter more than IQ for character, health and lifelong achievement*. New York: Bantam.

Golombek, P., & Doran, M. (2014). Unifying cognition, emotion, and activity in language teacher professional development. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *39*, 102–111. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2014.01.002

Gu, M., & Benson, P. (2015). The Formation of English Teacher Identities: A Cross-Cultural Investigation. *Language Teaching Research*, *19*(2), 187–206. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1362168814541725

Hargreaves, A. (2001). The emotional geographies of teachers' relations with colleagues. *International Journal of Educational Research*, *35*(2001), 503–527.

Hong, J. Y. (2012). Why do some beginning teachers leave the school, and others stay? Understanding teacher resilience through psychological lenses. *Teachers and Teaching*, *18*(4), 417–440. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2012.696044

Huhtala, A. (2015). Becoming a language teacher: A dream come true or a source of anxiety? *Apples – Journal of Applied Language Studies*, *9*(1), 53–69. http://dx.doi.org/10.17011/apples/2015090103

Ikeda, M. (2013). Does CLIL work for Japanese secondary school students? Potential for the 'weak' version of CLIL. *International CLIL Research Journal*, *2*(1). http://www.icrj.eu/21/article3.html

Kelchtermans, G. (2005). Teachers' emotions in educational reforms: Self-understanding, vulnerable commitment and micropolitical literacy. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *21*(8), 995–1006. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2005.06.009

Labuschagne, A. (2003). Qualitative research – Airy fairy or fundamental? *The Qualitative Report*, *8*(1), 100–103. http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol8/iss1/7

Meijers, F. (2002). Career learning in a changing world: The role of emotions. *International Journal for Advancement of Counselling*, *24*(3), 149–167. http://dx.doi.org/10.1023/A:1022970404517

Meijers, F., & Lengelle, R. (2012). Narratives at work: The development of career identity. *British Journal of Guidance and Councelling*, *40*(2), 157–176. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03069885.2012.665159

Moate, J. (2011). The impact of foreign language mediated teaching on teachers' sense of professional integrity in the CLIL classroom. *European Journal of Teacher Education*, *34*(3), 333–346. doi:10.1080/02619768.2011.585023

Moate, J. (2014). A narrative account of a teacher community. *Teacher Development: An international journal of teachers' professional development*, *18*(3), 384–402. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13664530.2014.931294

Moate, J., & Ruohotie-Lyhty, M. (2017). The emotional journey of being and becoming bilingual. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2017.1348464

Mora, A., Trejo, P., & Roux, R. (2016). The complexities of being and becoming language teachers: issues of identity and investment. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, *16*(2), 182–198, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2015.1136318

Nias, J. (1996). Thinking about feeling: the emotions in teaching. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, *26*(3), 293–306. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0305764960260301

Nichols, S. L., Schutz, P. A., Rodgers, K., & Bilica, K. (2016). Early career teachers' emotion and emerging teacher identities. *Teachers and Teaching*, *23*(4), 406–421. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2016.1211099

Nikula, T., Llinares, A., & Dalton-Puffer, C. (2013). European research on CLIL classroom discourse. *International Journal of Immersion and Content Based Edcuation*, *1*(1), 70–100.

Nilsson, M., Ejlertsson, G., Anderson, I., & Blomqvist, K. (2015). Caring as a salutogenic aspect in teachers' lives. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *45*, 51–61. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2014.10.009

Pappa, S., Moate, J., Ruohotie-Lyhty, M., & Eteläpelto, A. (2017a). Teacher agency within the Finnish CLIL context: Tensions and resources. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2017.1286292

Pappa, S., Moate, J., Ruohotie-Lyhty, M., & Eteläpelto, A. (2017b). Teachers' pedagogical and relational identity negotiation in the Finnish CLIL context. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *65*, 61–70. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2017.03.008

Ruohotie-Lyhty, M., Korppi, A., Moate, J., & Nyman, T. (2016). Seeking understanding of foreign language teachers' shifting emotions in relation to pupils. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* (advance access). http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00313831.2016.1258659

Schutz, P. A., & Lee, M. (2014). Teacher emotion, emotional labor and teacher identity. In J. de Dios Martinez Agudo (Ed.), *English as a Foreign Language Teacher Education: Current Perspectives and Challenges* (pp. 169–186). Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Shapiro, S. (2010). Revisiting the teachers' lounge: Reflections on emotional experience and teacher identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *26*(3), 616–621. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2009.09.009

Skinnari, K. (2014). Silence and resistance as experiences and presentations of pupil agency in Finnish elementary school English lessons. *Journal of Applied Language Studies*, *8*(1), 47–64.

Song, J. (2016). Emotions and language teacher identity: Conflicts, vulnerability, and transformation. *TESOL Quarterly*, *50*(3), 631–654. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/tesq.312

Uitto, M., Jokikokko, K., & Estola, E. (2015). Virtual special issue on teachers and emotions in Teaching and teacher education (TATE) in 1985–2014. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *50*, 124–135. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2015.05.008

Vaismoradi, M., Jones, J., Turunen, H., & Snelgrove, S. (2016). Theme development in qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis. *Journal of Nursing Education and Practice*, *6*(5), 100–110. http://dx.doi.org/10.5430/jnep.v6n5p100

Van Veen, K. V., & Sleegers, P. (2006). How does it feel? Teachers' emotions in a context of change. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *38*(1), 85–111. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00220270500109304

Varghese, M. M., Motha, S., Park, G., Reeves, J., & Trent, J. (2016). Editorial. *TESOL Quarterly*, *50*(3), 545–571. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/tesq.333

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind and Society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Watkins, M. (2011). Teachers' tears and the affective geography of the classroom. *Emotion, Space and Society*, *4*(3), 137–143. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2010.03.001

Wolff, D., & De Costa, P. I. (2017) Expanding the language teacher identity landscape: An investigation of the emotions and strategies of a NNEST. *Modern Language Journal*, *101*(l), 76–90. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/modl.12370

Yang, W., & Gosling, M. (2013). National appraisal and stakeholder perceptions of a Tertiary CLIL programme in Taiwan. *International CLIL Research Journal*, *2*(1). http://www.icrj.eu/21/article6.html

Yin, H.-B., Lee, J. C. K., Zhang, Z.-H., & Jin, Y.-L. (2013). Exploring the relationship among teachers' emotional intelligence, emotional labor strategies and teaching satisfaction. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *35*, 137–145. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2013.06.006

Yuan, R., & Lee, I. (2015). The cognitive, social and emotional processes of teacher identity construction in a pre-service teacher education programme. *Research Papers in Education*, *30*(4), 469–491. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02671522.2014.932830

Zembylas, M. (2003). Emotions and teacher identity: A poststructural perspective. *Teachers and Teaching*, *9*(3), 213–238. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13540600309378

Zembylas, M. (2005). Beyond teacher cognition and teacher beliefs: The value of the ethnography of emotions in teaching. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *18*(4), 465–487. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09518390500137642

Zembylas, M., Charalambous, P., & Charalambous, C. (2012). Manifestations of Greek-Cypriot teachers' discomfort toward a peace education initiative: Engaging with discomfort pedagogically. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *28*(8), 1071–1082. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2012.06.001

Received August 4, 2017
Revision received October 13, 2017
Accepted October 27, 2017