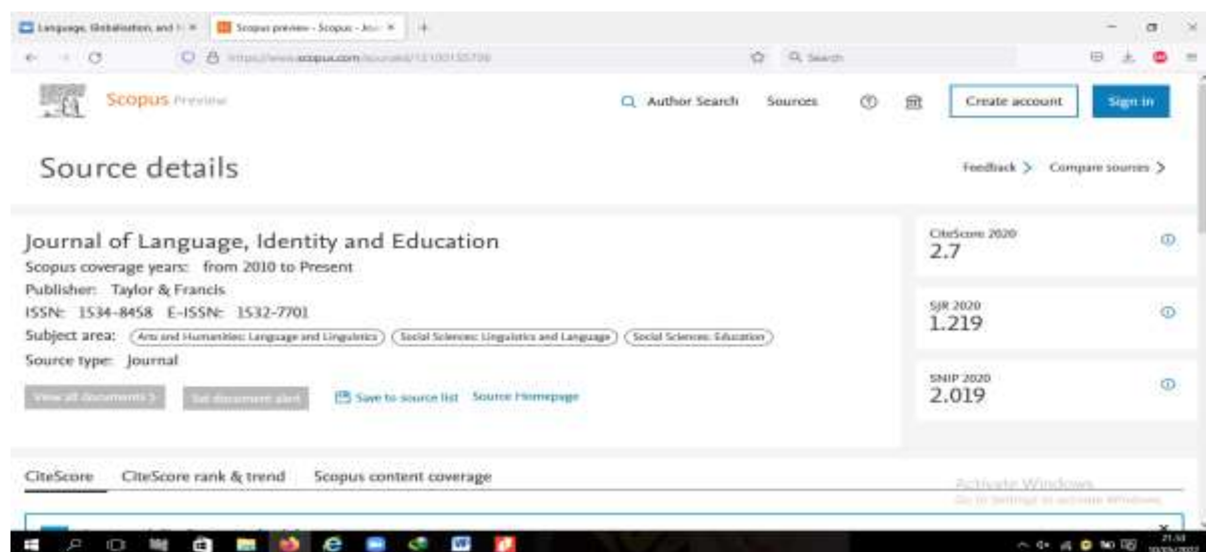
# BUKTI KORESPONDENSI

# ARTIKEL JURNAL INTERNASIONAL BEREPUTASI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Judul Artikel | : | Language, Globalisation, and National Identity: A Study of English-Medium Policy and Practice in Indonesia |
| Penulis | : | Sri Wuli Fitriati dan Elizabeth Rata |
| Jurnal | : | Journal of Language, Identity & Education |
| | | Published online: 09 July 2020 |
| Indeksasi Jurnal | : | Scopus Q1 dengan SJR 1.219 |




| No. | Perihal | Tanggal |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Bukti konfirmasi submit artikel dan artikel yang disubmit | 10 Oktober 2017 |
| 2 | Bukti konfirmasi review dan hasil review pertama | 31 Maret 2018 |
| 3 | Respon kepada reviewer dan artikel yang diresubmit | 3 Desember 2018 |
| 4 | Respon kepada reviewer dan artikel yang diresubmit | 22 Agustus 2019 |
| 5 | Bukti konfirmasi artikel accepted | 7 Juli 2020 |
| 6 | Bukti konfirmasi artikel published online | 10 Juli 2020 |

**Bukti konfirmasi submit artikel dan artikel yang disubmit**

Sri Wuli Fitriati <sriwuli.fitriati@mail.unnes.ac.id>

# Journal of Language, Identity & Education - Manuscript ID HLIE-2017-OA-0207 has been submitted online

1 message

**Journal of Language, Identity & Education** <onbehalfof+yakanno+bu.edu@manuscriptcentral.com> Tue, Oct 10, 2017 at 11:29 AM
Reply-To: yakanno@bu.edu
To: SriWuli.Fitriati@mail.unnes.ac.id
Cc: SriWuli.Fitriati@mail.unnes.ac.id, e.rata@auckland.ac.nz

10-Oct-2017

Dear Dr Fitriati:

Your manuscript entitled "Language and Identity in Education: An Example from Indonesia" has been successfully submitted online and is presently being given full consideration for publication in Journal of Language, Identity & Education.

Your manuscript ID is HLIE-2017-OA-0207.

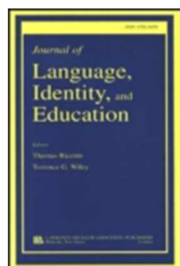
Please mention the above manuscript ID in all future correspondence or when calling the office for questions. If there are any changes in your street address or e-mail address, please log in to ScholarOne Manuscripts at https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie and edit your user information as appropriate.

If you haven't already done so, Journal of Language, Identity & Education would like to encourage you to add an ORCiD ID to this submission. Please log in to Manuscript Central at https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie to add your ORCiD ID to the article's information by adjusting your account settings.

You can also view the status of your manuscript at any time by checking your Author Center after logging in to https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie.

Thank you for submitting your manuscript to Journal of Language, Identity & Education.

Sincerely,
Journal of Language, Identity & Education




For Peer Review Only

# Language and Identity in Education: An Example from Indonesia

| | |
|---|---|
| Journal: | *Journal of Language, Identity & Education* |
| Manuscript ID | Draft |
| Manuscript Type: | Original Article |
| Keywords: | Language Policy, Nationalism, Cultural Identities, Indonesia, English as a medium of instruction |
| Abstract: | The paper uses an account of an Indonesian study about the failure of English as a medium of instruction in schools to examine the role of language in nation-building, specifically as the means for the creation of the identity of a modern nation-state. Examples of the failure of similar policies in other south-east Asian nations are referred to. The main reason for the failure is located in the confrontation between conflicting two main imaginary significations of the nation's identity. The government saw Indonesia in terms of its economic ambitions. Indonesia was to enter the global knowledge economy, and the education system was to provide the human resources to do so. The teachers understood the education system as the means to reproduce children into Indonesia into the nation. The failure of the English as the medium of instruction policy was the result of the tension between these two opposing representations of national identity. |
| | |

SCHOLARONE™
Manuscripts

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

# Language and Identity in Education: An Example from Indonesia

## Introduction

For Peer Review Only

This paper explores the deeper causes for the misalignment between policy intentions and the implementation of the policy by locating that misalignment in the disturbance of two major "imaginary significations" (Castoriados, 1987) of a nation. We use a study conducted in Indonesia by Author 1 (2015) to illustrate how quickly a legislated policy can fail when it is out of step with the imaginary signification of what "national identity" means to people. The study investigated how secondary school subject teachers coped with the legislated requirement that they teach their respective subjects, Mathematics and Science, in the English language. The Indonesian government introduced the English language policy for public schools in 2006. Teachers were to develop their students' English language skills through English-medium instruction in Mathematics and Science subjects (*Permendiknas*, 2009) and to promote habitual English use inside school (*Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Menengah*, [Ministry of National Education, MONE], 2011). However the decree of *Mahkamah Konstitusi*/the Indonesian Constitutional Court, in 2013, revoked the policy (Sumintono, 2013). The policy lasted a mere eight years.

Indonesia is not alone in the experience of top-down English language educational policy (Hadisantosa, 2010; Hamied, 2012; Margana, 2013; Mariati, 2007). As we discuss in the section about English language education in South-East Asia below, a number of developing countries, including Malaysia (Tan, 2011; Tan & Lan, 2010), Thailand (Bax, 2010), South

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

Korea (Bax, 2010; Lee, 2010), the Phillipines (Martin, 2011), and Pakistan (Channa, 2012) are attempting to fast-track their entrance into the global economy. The status of English as the *lingua franca* (Pan & Block, 2011) exerts pressure on governments to provide education in English as a language of instruction and communication; that is, a language that can be used, rather than as one of a number of languages offered to students as a subject for study. In almost all of these countries, the policy has been withdrawn or falters along.

The account of the Indonesian study enables us to explain how teachers responded to government initiatives to encourage the use of English as a medium of instruction (henceforth, EMOI) in public schools and in higher education institutions. This explanation leads to a discussion of the role of language in nation-building, specifically as the means by which the imaginary significations of a modern nation-state are created (Anderson, 1983). We are able to ask, what happens when the balance between two imaginary significations (Castiordias, 1987), one that it globally focussed and economically justified and that other, a national identity signification with a focus on social cohesion, is disturbed. We argue that the policy upset this balance, thereby contributing to its failure.

The impetus for the policy initiative, and for its subsequent failure can be traced to the influence of geopolitical forces on nation-state policy, and in the case we refer to, on education policy specifically. These forces, which enable the acceptance of the neoliberal market ideology of an aggressive global capitalism by independent nation-states (Piketty, 2014), are played out in developing countries with rapidly expanding middle classes. In Indonesia, "middle class affluent consumers (MACs) represent about 30 percent of the population, or 74 million people. About 8 million to 9 million people currently enter the



For Peer Review Only

MAC segment each year, and by 2020, this group will reach a total of 141 million people, or 53 percent of the population" (Rastogi, Tamboto, Tong, & Sinburimsit, 2013). These well-educated professionals in Indonesia and other South-East Asian countries support their various governments' moves into the global economy. With those moves come a degree of acceptance of the English language (Pan & Block, 2011). However, they are the class that benefitted from the rising nationalism which accompanied the various independence movements in South-East Asia following the Second World War. For Indonesia, it is a nationalism that places the Indonesian language as the imaginary signification at the centre of its identity.

Prior to the turn of this century, the developing countries in South-East Asia, including Indonesia, were a source of cheap labour for global corporations. However in the last two decades, countries like Indonesia are acquiring a new position on the world economic stage, mainly through the growing influence of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) regional bloc. The region is shifting from providing cheap labour for global corporations to providing a huge, middle-class consumer base. One of the observable effects of this expansive economic development can be seen in higher education policy. Universities, such as those in Indonesia, are looking outward to the world, seeking "world class university" status in the global higher education market (Sakhiyya, 2018). The English language is a crucial part of this globalising strategy, not only for the higher education "business" (Shore & Wright, 2017) but for the economy more broadly.

The governments of these South-East Asian nations that are increasingly facing outwards to the global economy justify the inclusion of English in their respective education systems by claiming that they are preparing young people for a globalised future (Permendiknas, 2009;





For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Hadisantosa, 2010). And yet there is ambiguity in this position. On the one hand, they face outwards using assertive internationalisation strategies (Sakhiyya, 2018). On the other hand, the nationalism which benefits from that assertion is not only about the economy. It is about the nation's cultural identity, its main imaginary signification, one created in large part by a unifying language.

For Peer Review Only

Guibernau and Rex explain how the nation-state, once created "actively promote(s) the cultural homogenisation of its members" (1997, pp. 4–5). The emergence of the Indonesian language from its Malay history, a process we describe below, can be understood in terms of this cultural homogenisation imperative. Indeed the cultural identity that is Indonesia is centred on the Indonesian language. The study indicated that, while there was no opposition from the teachers to the English language *per se*, there was concern that, by using English as the medium of instruction, Indonesian identity would be negatively affected. A teacher in the study captures this idea saying: "Why should we put ourselves out while we can use our own language" and "I think each language has its own place" (Author 1, 2015, p. 61).

The article is structured in the following way. The next section is an account of the emergence of the Indonesian language within the independence struggle. Our purpose is to show the integral place on the language in the nation's identity. This is followed by an overview of countries that, like Indonesia, are implementing English language policies for their education systems, and for the same economic reasons. We then describe the English language policy which was the object of the study to discuss its establishment and its withdrawal. This is followed by an account of the study undertaken in the school. It shows how the teachers attempted to put the policy into practice but were frustrated, not only by the

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

reality that their English language competency was inadequate for the task, but because they were committed to language as national identity. They believed that the Indonesian language should be the language of Indonesian schools. There was a direct confrontation between this belief and the government's justification for switching to English, one made in economic instrumental terms. We conclude, in a brief final section by discussing the role of language in national identity to argue that this policy in particular touched two of the nation's key imaginary significations, placing them in conflict. For Indonesia, these are, on the one hand, its self-representation as a cohesive modern nation with an Indonesian identity. On the other hand, the nation's self-representation as an internationally recognised member of the global economy, a status that brings with it political recognition, promotes an outward looking sense of identity—a representation justifying the English language policy.

**Education, language, and identity**

The Indonesian language comes from the struggle against Dutch colonisation which led to the estabishment of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945. In 1908, Budi Utomo, the first Indonesian nationalist organisation, promoted Malay as the national language in order to provide a counter to Dutch language policy. Its transformation into "Indonesian" occurred in 1928, in the manifesto of the "Youth of Indonesia". *Sumpah Pemuda* (The Oath of The Young People) "pledged the willingness of every Indonesian to be unified in one nation, one earth, and one language: Indonesia" (Hallem, 1999, n.p.). The word "Malay" was replaced by "Bahasa Indonesia" as the name of the language and the first Indonesia Language Congress was held in 1938. With the Japanese occupation in 1942 Indonesians were taught Japanese in all schools, a practice which served to reinforce the growing identification of the people to Indonesian as their language. Hallem (1999) notes that it was the Japanese who, in 1942 as a





For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

pragmatic response to the reality of language use, established the first Commission for the Indonesian Language. The Commission was to make decisions about vocabulary and write a common grammar. In 1945, Indonesian was declared the official language. The various indigenous local languages, include Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Maduranese, Baso Minang and many more continue to be used in homes and communities but, for the first time, there is a national language that represents the self-representation of Indonesia as a nation.

The Indonesian language is therefore the result of the Independence movement and the creation of the nation. The teachers interviewed in the study recognised that the education system, especially as a public system, has a wider role in, and for, Indonesian society. This role may be understood in relation to sociological theories about the purpose of national education systems in modern nation-state building (Ramirez & Boli, 2007). Public education systems became central institutions in the new nation-states of the 19th and 20th centuries, as a crucial part of the nation-building enterprise. This applies to those at the beginning of the era, such as the United States and those in more recent times such as Indonesia (Hobsbawm, 1992). They were to unify ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups into the one imaginary modern nation(Anderson, 1983).

It is only in a national education system that the "collective representations" (Durkheim's term, 1912/2001) or "imaginary significations" (Castoriadis, 1987) of a society's symbolic system are reproduced. These terms refer to the way in which a society understands itself; the means of communication which enables normative agreement; its source of cohesive identity; "collective representations" (what Bourdieu describes as "shared reality" [1979, p. 79]) that integrate diverse groups into a stable and cohesive society with its own identity (not in references yet). According to Durkheim (1912/2001, cited in Bourdieu, 1979, p. 79), the

For Peer Review Only

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

modern symbolic system is "a homogeneous conception of time, space, number and cause which make agreement possible between intelligences." He considered that the collective representations developed and reproduced in the symbolic sphere achieved this purpose because they provided both the "means of communication required for normative agreement and the instruments of thought" required to create this shared reality (as cited in Bourdieu, 1979, p. 79).

In the family and community, older, more traditional languages and practices are often maintained. However at school, all children are taught in the national language. Bhasa Indonesian was developed to serve this purpose, to be the symbolic medium of the new national identity. It is for that reason that it is the language of instruction of Indonesian schools. The English as a medium of instruction policy confronted that language's significance; its "meaning," and replaced it with a foreign language chosen for its narrow function as an instrument of the economy. By ignoring the primary function of language as the means of symbolic representation, the balance between the economic and symbolic dimensions was altered (Bernstein, 2000). As one of the teachers said:

> Where are we taking our students to? To what direction? Why do we have to use English? If they continue their study in universities in Indonesia, we do not need to insist teaching in English. If students plan to continue to study abroad, English is a must. But, if they study at universities in Indonesia, our time to study English can be used to study additional content subject. (Author 1, 2015, p. 63)

The intrusion of something that is not seen to contribute to the nation-building and unifying role (that of the introduction of a foreign language as a means of instruction) is at odds with the implicit understanding of what the education system is for. For the Indonesian government, and for the many other countries that we note in the next section who are also pursuing this policy, the purpose is to be competitve in the global economy. Therefore we



URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

argue that the unease, even in some cases hostility, towards using English in this way (although not to the English language *per se*) which was expressed by some of the teachers in the study can be understood in terms of the tension to the balance between the symbolic and the economic. On the one hand, a government looks outward to the global economy. On the other, the teachers look to their role in producing well-educated young people for not only a prosperous nation, but one that has the means to be unified and stable.

For Peer Review Only

**English language education in a globalised world**

Although the study we refer to in the article was conducted in Indonesia, a number of non-English speaking countries are seeking to introduce EMOI into their education systems. These countries include Malaysia (Tan, 2011), the Philippines (Martin, 2011), Thailand and South Korea (Bax, 2010), Pakistan (Channa, 2012). For example, in 2003 a change in language of instruction policy was applied to Mathematics and Science subjects in Malaysia with the language of instruction switched from Bahasa Malaysia, to English. It was intended to produce a "generation of scientifically and technologically knowledgeable students who are fluent in English and able to contribute to the economic growth and development of the country" (Tan & Lan, 2010, p. 6). Following protests by Chinese schools in Malaysia, a compromise was reached. Science and Mathematics were to be taught in English and Mandarin, not solely in English (Yang & Ishak, 2012). However, even the compromise could not help and the policy was withdrawn in 2008.

A similar initiative launched in the Philippines in 2003 was also suspended (Martin, 2011). In Thailand, the English programme requires that at least two core subjects (out of the total of

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

nine subjects) are taught in English. Significantly, the subjects exclude the Thai language and social studies with aspects related to Thai culture and national identity (Keyuravong 2008, p. 3, cited in Bax, 2010, p. 11). However, as with the other countries, Thailand is facing various problems related to both teachers who teach the subject of English and those who use English as the medium for teaching other content (Bax, 2010).

The South Korean government's concerns about English language education led to the adoption of a bilingual/immersion approach - *mol-ib* which included the teaching of content subjects such as Maths and Science using English. A small number of schools (up to 10 in the Seoul area, for example) became involved in a *mol-ib* scheme. (Bax, 2010, p. 53) but the policy was withdrawn in the midst of strong public opposition. In Pakistan, a study conducted by Channa (2012) showed the use of ELMI (English Language as the Medium of Instruction) in teaching Science subjects to the students who studied Science as their major. However the policy was also terminated.

For Peer Review Only

**English language policy in Indonesia**

In 2006, the Indonesian MONE published a new educational policy for secondary schools. Like the policies we note earlier in other South-East Asian nations the policy was designed to include English as the medium of instruction in Science and Mathematics classrooms as part of the broader internationalisation strategies being pursued in education and other government institutions. It was to be achieved by re-designating selected schools as International Standard Schools. (Act of Republic of Indonesia No. 20 Year 2003 on National Education System, Article 50, clause 3). Following the design of the policy, the government

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

nominated hundreds of top public schools to be developed as international schools (Sakhiyya, 2011; Sundusiyah, 2011).

The International Standard Schools were to meet the broad goals of preparing Indonesia for the migration of professionals from Indonesia and also into the country—the "human resources" of the global knowledge economy. In this way, Indonesia would become more competitive in the international job market and an attractive destination for foreign-owned companies operating in Indonesia. English plays a major role in the country's economic development (Depdiknas, 2009; Hadisantosa, 2010; Hartoyo, 2009). The tourism industry, in particular, is a major contributor to the country's gross domestic product (GDP) by creating foreign exchange earnings and employment opportunities for Indonesians. This contribution to employment in particular is not to be understated. Nearly nine percent of Indonesia's total national workforce is employed in the tourism sector (www.indonesia.investments), a sector requiring English language competency (Mahditama, 2012).

Similarly, the education sector in Indonesia views the English language as a tool for the development and dissemination of information and communication technology and science. English competencies are considered essential for students to keep up with the latest developments (Depdiknas, 2009), hence the implementation of the policy in the re-designated public schools named as *Rintisan Sekolah Bertaraf International* (or, Pioneer International Standard Schools) (Permendiknas, 2009). The intention was to develop teaching and learning processes that complied with the international standards of developed countries (MONE, 2011; Permendiknas, 2009). In 2006, when the policy was introduced, there were 1,305 Pioneer International Standard Schools in Indonesia; 239 were primary schools. There were 356 junior high schools, 359 senior high schools, and 351 vocational high schools

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

(Sukarelawati, 2012). Students who attended these schools were chosen on the basis of their school enrolment test, including an English language test. As a consequence of this enrolment criterion and the additional resources, the schools are widely regarded as elite schools (Retmono, 2011).

However, there was controversy over the use of English in Mathematics and Science subjects in the Pioneer International Standard Schools—especially over the quality of the English-medium instruction and the lack of bilingual teachers, but most notably because Mathematics and Science teachers with little or no English competency were expected to teach their subjects in that language (Indradno, 2011; Sundusiyah, 2011). In addition, the schools were criticised for reducing the use of the Indonesian language (Retmono, 2011). By 2013, the mounting criticism and the obvious failure of the policy at classroom level led to the decree of *Mahkamah Konstitusi*, the Indonesian Constitutional Court (Sumintono, 2013, January 11). This stipulated that the Pioneer International Standard Schools must return to their original status as regular schools. It required the withdrawal of English-medium instruction from the school. Since then, English is no longer used as the medium of instruction to teach content subjects. It remains a separate subject as it has long been a complusory subject in secondary schools since Indonesian Independence in 1945 (Lie, 2007).

The withdrawal of the policy appears a failure. English-medium instruction was promoted throughout the country as an important innovation and something that would contribute significantly towards Indonesia's emergence as a global "player" (Coleman, 2009). Indeed the government initially promoted the policy in these terms. According to MONE (2005, 2009) and DGPSEM (2007a, 2007b) the schools were to provide education with national and international standards that would enable graduates to compete internationally to a level

For Peer Review Only

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

higher than, if not equal to, those in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. Government resources were provided to ensure that the policy did work. So why did the policy fail so completely that it was withdrawn? In the next section we address this question by identifying a fundamental misalignment between teachers' attitudes towards the English language and the government's expectations.

For Peer Review Only

**The study**

The study (Author 1, 2015) of the English language programme at a public senior high school was undertaken in 2012, one year before the policy was rescinded, so at a time when the problems had become quite obvious. The school was located in a large city in the province of Central Java with a predominantly Javanese population. The researcher shadowed five teachers of Geography, Biology, Mathematics, Chemistry, and Information Communication Technology (ICT) in their classrooms over two months. Each of the five had a bachelor degree majoring in the respective content subjects. They had studied English as a compulsory subject when they were at junior high school, senior high school, and at university where English was taught only in one to two semesters. Significantly, none of the teachers had experienced special training in English-medium instruction during their study at university. After the school where they worked was designated a Pioneer International Standard School in the academic year of 2009/2010, both the Maths and Science teachers were directed by school executives to take short English professional development courses. These were conducted either by local government officials or the school.

Data were collected in a variety of ways and were extensive. Collection included whole-school observations, participatory observation where the researcher sat in the classroom for

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

lengthy periods, field notes, in-depth interviews, reviewing school documents, and audio-video recordings of classroom activities. In addition, informal conversations were held during and after the school hours. These multiple sources of data collection constituted a real strength of the study. It meant that the researcher had the opportunity to immerse herself in the school and to conduct whole-school observations and classroom observations that enriched the interviews with the teachers (Palmer, 2011, p. 109).

These interviews were a revealing source of material about the English language policy. Each teacher was interviewed several times and the discussions were in-depth and free-ranging. The teachers were encouraged to speak freely and all were happy to do so. They spoke about their family's background, friends, and social networks before turning to describe the languages they used in their daily and teaching lives. These conversations included describing how they used Javanese, Indonesian, and English in daily interactions, any connection with English communities of practice, and broader professional matters concerning their teaching goals and education in general. However the main topic of each interview was their experiences in teaching their content subject using English. The researcher asked about their perceptions, opinions, views, feelings, and attitudes toward English-medium instruction in their classes and to using English the school more widely. They were asked in English first to test their level of understanding and communication in the language. Significantly, all five teachers preferred using either Indonesian or Javanese. This gave them the freedom to speak in depth and to explore the nuances and ambiguities that arise when people speak of their experiences.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

We have grouped some of the pertinent findings into three main themes of classroom practice, the teacher, and cultural identity which best demonstrate the points at which the policy's implementation failed.

***Classroom practice***

For Peer Review Only

One finding was the frequency of code-switching practices, rather than the use of English only. The teachers alternated between Indonesian and English throughout the lesson. It was used to encourage students to focus on the content and to be more responsive by asking questions and contributing ideas. The Maths and Geography teachers said that including Indonesian helped their students understand what was being said.

> Perhaps not all students will understand my explanation if I speak in English all the time. So, I have to do like that, translating. I used to mixing, Indonesian mixed with English. They want me not to use much English in my lesson. (Author 1, 2015, p. 78)

The teachers frequently translated the English they used. An example from a Biology class where the students were learning about the skeleton showed how the need to translate scientific terms had the effect of reducing a lesson to a translation class where terms were constantly repeated rather than it being a lesson about biological concepts and content.

The teachers frequently switched from English into Indonesian to "save face" when their linguistic competence failed them. The Biology teacher said that his limited English meant that he used it only to introduce students to Biology terms and to greet students and check the roll. The Maths teacher said that she did not dare to say some numbers in English because she was not sure how to pronounce them. The ICT teacher did not use English at all, not a single

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

word, saying his vocabulary and grammar were not good enough. He spoke of "not having the nerve" to teach in English adding that he felt both hesitant and frightened. However, he did ask his students to speak in English when presenting their group discussion work, and interestingly, they did.

The researcher observed a group of four students presenting their group discussion with PowerPoint presentations in English. They even answered their friends' questions in English. Despite some grammatical mistakes and inappropriate word choice, this group's effort to speak in English was commendable, given the difficult nature of the topic "wireless and wireline." Why did they use English when their teacher did not? Perhaps they were motivated by a mixture of their teacher's encouragement and by the extra marks for those who used either spoken or written English. The fact that the students prepared their slides prior to class also helped. A similar negotiation between teacher and students occurred in the Chemistry class. Initially the students were required to use English. However the teachers allowed them to speak in Indonesian to present the results of their group discussion. These presentations were "on the spot" so the students had not prepared them previously; so these involved stuttering and stumbling. The teacher was aware of the anxiety this created, hence her decision to allow the students to use Indonesian. This teacher, like the others, were more concerned with their students' understanding of the lesson content and of maintaining their motivation. Using English was secondary to these pedagogical priorities. What the researcher found was that these were normal subject lessons in Indonesian with the annoying imposition of English foisted on the teachers from outside.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

The teachers in the programme were subject specialists, not English language users. The result was to be expected; a mixture of noticeable inaccuracies in grammar, word choice, and pronunciation. Often they were unaware of these errors, or they knew they made errors but did not know when they were correct and when they were not. Several of the teachers said that it was fine for them to make mistakes because they were still learning English, mentioning that the students did seem to understand. However, there are a number of problems with this. In the context of second language acquisition, errors or mistakes in using a foreign language without any corrective feedback are likely to result in the errors becoming fixed by the teacher (Ellis, 2008; Fidler, 2006; Gass & Selinker, 2008). Students might consider the language their teachers used was accurate and adopt this language use, leading to further confusion. The imput into students' language from their teachers' use is their students' language input has a determining function in language acquisition (Ellis, 2008). According to Astika and Wahyana (2010), Indonesian students should be exposed to correct English (p. 19). Inaccurate teacher modelling will lead to incorrect grammar, pronunciation and word choice by the students. The subject teachers in the study did in fact have an important role as language models for their students but were unaware of the significance of this. In addition to the problems specific to language, there are also implications for the subjects being taught. When the teacher uses words incorrectly, the meaning of the concepts being taught is also compromised.

For Peer Review Only

***The teachers***

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Given these problems it is not surprising that the teachers found using English not only difficult and a source of anxiety, but also time-consuming. They all said that teaching in English took double the time as teaching in Indonesian.

According to one teacher:

> If I teach in English, it means double working because I must translate into Indonesian to make sure my students understand my explanation. It's faster to explain using Indonesian.

The Maths teacher agreed:

> My students need longer time to understand my explanation if I used English, compared to when I used Indonesian. They did not comprehend a lesson easily when delivered in English. Sometimes they asked me, mam, what is it in Indonesian, so I had to explain it again in Indonesian. It takes longer time and takes my energy.

Repeating the content knowledge firstly in English then in Indonesian took much of the time allocated to the lesson, reducing the time for the actual lesson itself.

The effect of the policy of the teachers' profesional wellbeing was considerable with all those interviewed saying that having to use English-medium instruction made them anxious in relation to their own work and envious of their colleagues who did not need to use English. It reduced their confidence and produced a very real sense of carrying an impossible burden. The burden was two-fold. Not only did they have to learn English themselves but they had to learn how to teach their subjects in this unfamiliar language. It was not surprising that they thought the English-medium policy was unattainable. Two of the older teachers, both highly experienced in their subjects, said it was too late to learn English at their age.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

> Students are smarter. They take English private courses after school. And they are still young. They easily learn a foreign language, whereas I have many things to take care of. So, it's difficult for me to learn English.

He added that learning English meant making a considerable "personal sacrifice."

> If I always focus on learning English at all times, my other tasks and responsibility as a teacher, a father, and in my community will be in a mess. English comes to me very late. I am above 50 [years old] now, so when can I study English? I do not have time [to study English].

Not surprisingly, he compared his predicament to that of the teachers who were not required to teach using English:

> Ask the teachers who teach English subject to teach Biology. I am sure they cannot do it. So, what I mean is just teaching as usual. Do not make teachers afraid by asking us to teach in English. Yes, many colleagues are afraid of teaching in English. Many of them got stressed complaining their difficulties and inabilities speaking in English. Students, too. Actually both teachers and students complain.

***Language and identity***

"*Kita punya bahasa sendiri*" (We have our own language) was the phrase most often used by the teachers when referring to the English language policy.

According to one:

> I think each language has its own place. When teachers go home seeing their families, involved in their societies and communities, they absolutely use the languages spoken by their families and communities.

He clearly meant that English was not a widely used language so he thought it would be strange to use English while others did not use the language. Another teacher used similar sentiments, speaking both Indonesian and Javanese: "*Kenapa sih ndadak repot-repot? Wong*





For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

*dengan bahasa kita sendiri saja kita bisa."* [Why should we put ourselves out while we can use our own language?]. He added:

> Our environment is not supportive because our official and national language is Indonesian and because we are Javanese living in Javanese communities. We speak Javanese too.

All members of the school community spoke Indonesian and Javanese. On a very few occasions they spoke a few words or sentences in English if they were asked in English by those who taught English as a subject. The teacher in the comment immediately above claimed that the Indonesian and Javanese languages had a wider range of vocabulary which could express specific intended meanings which were not possible in his English vocabulary. He said there were no English equivalents available to him with his lack of English proficiency for certain Javanese or Indonesian words, certainly none that enabled him to express nuances and complexities of meaning.

The teachers discussed the matter of language and identity with one noting that using English in teaching could cause trouble because it was not the language of the nation. It did not show his Indonesian identity. Given that "language is an index, symbol and marker of identity" (Baker, 2011, p. 45) this teacher's comment that being an Indonesian meant using the Indonesian language as the symbol of Indonesian national identity made sense for him and for the others.

One of the older, experienced teachers was doubtful about the benefits of English in Indonesia:

> Where are we taking our students to? To what direction? Why do we have to use English? If they continue their study in universities in Indonesia, we do not need to insist teaching in English. If students plan to continue to study abroad, English is a



For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

> must. But, if they study at universities in Indonesia, our time to study English can be used to study additional subject content.

Other teachers spoke of Indonesian as the country's national language. They saw the school as a state institution and Indonesian as the official and national language. The comment, "We have our own language" or similar phrases were used frequently.

The teachers' comments provided insights into how English was regarded. There was concern expressed that colleagues might regard teachers who spoke English as strange as it seemed inappropriate to use English among people of Indonesian nationality.

> If I initiated to speak English, I might be laughed at. They [my colleagues] would think I was like pretending as if I were an English native speaker and acting as if I were a Westerner [Javanese: halah sok keinggris-inggrisan]. If they don't like, they will talk behind our back. Actually I can ignore them. It doesn't matter they call me acting like Westerners [*keinggris-inggrisan*]. But I don't feel comfortable with such a comment. I should know my position. I am glad if I am addressed in English or asked to chat in English [by my colleagues] as long as it is not my own initiative because I am not an English subject teacher.

*Halah, sok keinggris-inggrisan* (it is like imitating Westerners) is to be avoided, or so this teacher implies. Others too, were concerned that if they practised English they might be considered "different" people. This contributed to their reluctance to practise English. The use of conversational English by mainly young teachers tended to elicit defensiveness from the mainly older teachers who could not speak, or who had limited, English. Negative comments would be made, for example, "*Halah sok keinggris-inggrisan*" (imitating Englishmen or Westerners by speaking English) to teachers who practised English at school, perhaps even seen as boastful.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

> Sometimes when some teachers spoke English as a kind of practice at school, some colleagues might label them kemlinthi [acting up so proudly]. This expression is not directly addressed to teachers who spoke English, but it was said to other teachers. And eventually teachers who spoke English would know that their colleagues have a negative opinion about them because they practised English. This may be part of our culture. We sometimes view someone who has skills beyond ours and uses the skills in everyday practices where not all people can acquire these skills as a person who was kemlinthi.

For Peer Review Only

The tendency to criticise, or the fear of criticism, for those who spoke English did have a discouraging effect. A revealing comment from one of the teachers showed that he stopped using English so that he would not appear boastful.

> I myself admitted that I became lack of using English. Because if I insisted on using English, my colleagues would think I am "looking for a face". (Kalau saya bertahan nanti saya dikira nggolek rai [Indonesian mixed with Javanese utterances]).

*Nggolek rai* is a Javanese idiomatic expression that means expecting other people to compliment you. It has been translated literally in English above as "looking for a face" to capture the idiomatic nuance. The good opinion of his colleagues mattered to this teacher. He did not want his colleagues to label him *nggolek rai*, someone who sought compliments from those in charge.

**Conclusion**

We have identified two main reasons why the English as a medium of instruction and communication policy failed. These reasons operate at different levels. Clearly the policy failed because teachers could not implement it for all the reasons we identify in the description of the study earlier. They did not speak English, the professional development courses were totally inadequate, and they did not believe in the policy the way those who initiated and designed the policy did. This was the source of the problem. The balance between two main imaginary significations; those deep self-representations of "who we are," the collective identity on the one hand and the idea of "who we will be" were out of

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

alignment. The government saw the role of the Indonesian language in terms of its economic ambitions. Indonesia was to enter the global economy, specifically the global knowledge economy, and the education system was to provide the human resources to enable this. The teachers, however, understood the education system that they were committed to, as the means to reproduce children into Indonesia, into the nation. For them, the language *is* the nation. Therefore, we argue that the fairly rapid failure of the English as the medium of instruction policy was the result of the confrontation between these two opposing imaginary significations about what a national language means for the people who use it in education.

For Peer Review Only

**References**

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism*. London, UK: Verso.

Astika, G., & Wahyana, A. (2010). *Model pembelajaran MIPA bilingual dalam rangka mendukung keberhasilan program Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional di Jawa Tengah* [Model of Mathematics and Science bilingual lessons in support of the success of International Standard School program in Central Java]. Salatiga: Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana.

Baker, C. (2011). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (5th ed.). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Bax, S. (2010). *Researching English bilingual education in Thailand, Indonesia and South Korea*. P. Powell-Davies (Ed.). Retrieved from http://www.britishcouncil.org/publication_2_-_researching_english_bilingual_education.pdf

Bernstein, B. (2000). *Pedagogy, symbolic control and identity* (Rev. ed.). New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

Bourdieu, P. (1979). Symbolic power. *Critique of Anthropology*, *4*, 77–85.

Castoriadis, C. (1987). *The imaginary institution of society*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Channa, M. A. (2012). Teachers' perceptions towards English language as medium of instruction in Pakistan. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*. (September), *4*,(5), pp. 759-764.

Coleman, H. (2009). Indonesia's international standard schools': What are they for? Paper presented at the The 8th Language and Development Conference, Dhaka. http://www.acsa.edu.au/pages/images/Simone%20Smala%20-%20Introducing%20content%20and%20language.pdf

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design : choosing among five approaches* (3rd edition. ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Depdiknas. (2009). *Rencana Strategies Departemen Pendidikan Nasional Tahun 2010-2014* [Ministry of National Education Strategic Planning of 2010-2014]. Jakarta, Indonesia: Departemen Pendidikan Nasional.

DGPSEM. (2007a). *Panduan penyelenggaraan rintisan SMA bertaraf internasional* [Guideline for the implementation of international standard high school]. Jakarta: Directorate General for Primary and Secondary Education Management (DGPSEM).

DGPSEM. (2007b). *Sistem penyelenggaraan Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional untuk pendidikan dasar dan menengah* [Implementation system for international standard school in primary and secondary education]. Jakarta: Directorate General for Primary and Secondary Education Management (DGPSEM).

Durkheim, E. (1912/2001). *The elementary forms of religious life.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Ellis, R. (2008). *The study of second language acquisition* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fidler, A. (2006). Reconceptualizing fossilization in second language acquisition: a review. *Second Language Research*, 22(3), 398-411. doi: 10.1191/0267658306sr273ra

Gass, S. M., & Selinker, L. (2008). *Second language acquisition an introductory course* Retrieved from http://ezproxy.usq.edu.au/login?url=http://www.USQ.eblib.com.au/EBLWeb/patron?target=patron&extendedid=P_325577_0&

Guibernau, M., & Rex, J. (Eds.). (1997). *The ethnicity reader: Nationalism, multiculturalism and migration*. London, UK: Polity Press.

For Peer Review Only

Hadisantosa, N. (2010). *Learning through English: Policies, challenges and prospects: Insights from East Asia.* R. Johnstone (Ed.). Malaysia: British Council.

Hallen, C. H. (1999). *Language contact and its influence in Bahasa Indonesia's phonemic system.* Retrieved from http://linguistics.byu.edu/classes/Ling450ch/reports/bahasa.htm

Hamied, F. A. (2012). English in multicultural and multilingual Indonesian education. In A. Kirkpatrick & R. Sussex (Eds.), *English as an international language in Asia: Implications for language education* (Vol. 1, pp. 63–78). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer.

Hartoyo. (2009). Menggagas Madrasah Aliyah bertaraf internasional [Pursuing international-based Islamic Senior High School]. Retrieved from http://hartoyo.wordpress.com/category/seminar-articles/seminardepag-jateng/

Haryanto, E. (2012). Listening to students' voice: A survey of implementation of English as a medium of instruction in an international standard school in Indonesia. *Journal of Education and Practice*, *3*(15), 111–119.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1992). *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Indradno, J. (2011). *Model pengembangan kompetensi guru Rintisan Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional (RSBI) di Jawa Tengah* [Model of Developing Teachers' Competences in International Standard Schools]. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation)), Universitas Negeri Semarang, Semarang.

Kustulasari. (2009). *The international standard school project in Indonesia: A policy document analysis* (Unpublished master's thesis), The Ohio State University. Retrieved from http://etd.ohiolink.edu/view.cgi/ Kustulasari%20Ag.pdf?acc_num=osu1 242851740

Lee, J. (2010). *Ideologies of English in the South Korean "English Immersion" debate*. Selected Proceedings of the 2008 Second Language Research Forum. (Matthew T. Prior et al. Ed.). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. pp. 246-260.

Lie, A. (2007). Education policy and EFL curriculum in Indonesia: Between the commitment to competence and the quest for higher test scores. *Teaching English as a Foreign Language in Indonesia (TEFLIN) Journal*, *18*(1), 1–14.





For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Mahditama, I. (2012, October 29). Interview: On the importance of English language education for students, *The Jakarta Post.* Retrieved from http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2012/10/29/on-importanceenglish-language-education-students.html

Margana. (2013). *Theoretical justification of bilingual education program in Indonesia*. Retrieved from http://www.fllt2013.org/private_folder/Proceeding/772.pdf

Mariati. (2007, July). Menyoal profil sekolah bertaraf internasional [Evaluating the profile of International Standard Schools]. *Journal Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan*, *67*(Tahun ke-13), 566–597.

Martin, R. Y. *English as a Medium of Instruction in the Philippines*. http://www.ue.edu.ph/manila/uetoday/index.php?nav=27.htm&archive=200808

Ministry of National Education (MONE). (2009). *MONE Strategic Planning of 2010-2014*. Jakarta: Information and Public Relation, MONE.

Ministry of National Education (MONE). (2011). *Penyelenggaraan Rintisan SMA Bertaraf Internasional* [Implementation of International Standard School Pilot Project]. Jakarta, Indonesia: Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Menengah.

Palmer, D. (2011). The discourse of transition: Teachers' language ideologies within transitional bilingual education programs. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, *5*(2), 103–122. doi:10.1080/19313152.2011.594019

Pan, L., & Block, D. (2011). English as a "global language" in China: An investigation into learners' and teachers' language beliefs. *System, 39,* 391–402

Permendiknas. (2009). *Penyelenggaraan Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional Pada Jenjang Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah* [Guideline for the implementation of international standard school at primary and secondary levels]. Jakarta, Indonesia: Departemen Pendidikan Nasional.

Piketty, T. (2014). *Capital in the twenty-first century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ramirez, F. O., & Boli, J. (2007). The political construction of mass schooling: European origins and worldwide institutionalisation. In A. R. Sadovnik (Ed.), *Sociology of education: A critical reader* (pp. 199–217). London, UK: Routledge.

For Peer Review Only

Rastogi, V., Tamboto, E., Tong, D., & Sinburimsit, T. (2013). Indonesia's rising middle class and affluent consumers. https://www.google.co.nz/search?q=indonesian+middle+class+growth&oq=indonesian+middle+class&gs_l=psy-ab.1.1.0l3j0i22i30

Retmono. (2011). Bahasa Inggris bukan standar RSBI, Suara Merdeka [English language is not the standard of International Standard School]. Retrieved from http://www.suaramerdeka.com/smcetak/index.php?fuseaction=beritacetak.detailberitacetak&id_beritacetak=140493

Sakhiyya, Z. (2011). Interrogating identity: The International Standard School in Indonesia. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, *19*(3), 345–365.

Sakhiyya, Z. (2018). The Internationalisation of Indonesian Education. Unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Auckland.

Shore, C., & Wright, S. (2017). Privatizing the Public University Key Trends , Countertrends and Alternatives. In S. Wright & C. Shore (Eds.), *Death of the Public University: Uncertain futures for higher education in the knowledge economy* (pp. 1–27). Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Sukarelawati, E. (2012, October 11). *Disdik Malang: RSBI wajib gunakan bahasa Inggris* [Malang City Bureau of Education: RSBI must use English [http://www.antarajatim.com/lihat/berita/96784/disdik-malang-rsbi-wajib-gunakan-bahasa-inggris

Sumintono, B. (2013, January 11). *RSBI: Problems seen in hindsight*. Retrieved from http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/01/11/rsbi-problems-seen-hindsight.html

Sundusiyah, A. (2011). Teachers in international-standard schools: What is missing? What can be improved? What does it take? In Z. Sakhiyya, I. M. A., Arsana, & M. Ramadewi (Eds.), *Education counts! The contribution of Indonesian students studying overseas for education in Indonesia* (pp. 87–108). Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Insight Media.

Tan, M. (2011). Mathematics and science teachers' beliefs and practices regarding the teaching of language in content learning. *Language Teaching Research*, *15*(3), 325–342. doi:10.1177/1362168811401153

Tan, M., & Lan, O. S. (2010). Teaching mathematics and science in English in Malaysian classrooms: The impact of teacher beliefs on classroom practices and student learning.





For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

*Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *10*(1), 5–16. doi:10.1016/j.jeap.2010.11.001

Yang, L. F. & Ishak, M. S. A. (2012). Framing controversy over language policy in Malaysia: the coverage of PPSMI reversal (teaching of mathematics and science in English) by Malaysian newspapers. *Asian Journal of Communication*. Vol. 22 Issue 5 pp. 449-473

For Peer Review Only

# Bukti konfirmasi review dan hasil review pertama

**Sri Wuli Fitriati <sriwuli.fitriati@mail.unnes.ac.id>**

# Journal of Language, Identity & Education - Decision on Manuscript ID HLIE-2017-OA-0207

**Journal of Language, Identity & Education** <onbehalfof@manuscriptcentral.com> Sat, Mar 31, 2018 at 5:58 AM

Reply-To: wewright@purdue.edu
To: SriWuli.Fitriati@mail.unnes.ac.id
Cc: yakanno@bu.edu, wewright@purdue.edu, lilliek@fredonia.edu, gao400@purdue.edu

30-Mar-2018

Dear Dr. Fitriati:

Thank you again for submitting your manuscript "Language and Identity in Education: An Example from Indonesia" to the Journal of Language, Identity & Education. The review process is now complete. The reviewers' comments are included at the bottom of this letter.

We regret to inform you that the reviewers have raised some more major concerns, and therefore your paper cannot be accepted as it currently stands for publication in the Journal of Language, Identity & Education.

However, since the reviewers do find strong potential for the paper, we would be willing to reconsider if you wish to undertake these major revisions and re-submit, addressing the reviewers' concerns. Thus, our decision is Reject: Revise and Resubmit.

Note that one major concern, as raised by one of the reviews, is you frae this paper as essentially a commentary or extension off of a 2015 study you conducted. This is really unusual. As the reviewer notes, if this is a published study, then this article must be rejected. However, we suspect you are simply making reference to your dissertation, which would be totally fine. Please clarify if this is indeed the case. And if so, then please do make make reference to a 2015 study. Simply state the same methods for your dissertation study here. You can make reference this paper being part of a larger study. You can look at other JLIE articles to see how authors describe their articles as part of larger studies. The reviewers make other comments and suggestions for revisions. Please carefully read and address these to strengthen your paper.

Please note that resubmitting your manuscript does not guarantee eventual acceptance, and that your resubmission will be subject to re-review before a decision is rendered.

You will be unable to make your revisions on the originally submitted version of your manuscript. Instead, revise your manuscript using a word processing program and save it on your computer. Should you choose to resubmit a revised version to us, we ask that you please highlight the changes you make in the manuscript by using the track changes mode in MS Word or by using bold or colored text.

Further, we ask that you stay within our manuscript submission guidelines as outlined, including word count. This means that you must keep the manuscript total word count, including all references and appendices, to be within our 5,000-9,000 word count guideline.

To start your resubmission, please click on the link below:

*** PLEASE NOTE: This is a two-step process. After clicking on the link, you will be directed to a webpage to confirm. ***

https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie?URL_MASK=fc4ad9a43e4d45da90c2981e68dfe5d9

This link will remain active until you have submitted your revised manuscript. If you begin a resubmission and intend to finish it at a later time, please note that your draft will appear in ‘Resubmitted Manuscripts in Draft” queue in your Author Center.

Because we are trying to facilitate timely publication of manuscripts submitted to Journal of Language, Identity & Education, your revised manuscript should be uploaded by 30-Mar-2019. If it is not possible for you to submit your revision by this date, we may have to consider your paper as a new submission.

We look forward to your resubmission.

Sincerely,

Wayne E. Wright & Yasuko Kanno
Editors
Journal of Language, Identity & Education

Reviewer(s)' Comments to Author:

Reviewer: 1

This manuscript deals with an issue that is of general interest to the international scholarly community. However, it suffers from several problems. First, it appears to be based on the author's published study or part of it. If this is the case, the manuscript should be rejected. If not, the authors may be encouraged to address the following problems and resubmit the revised manuscript to this journal or other journals. The second problem is the lack of an overall analytic framework or the lack of application of the two significations in the analysis. The third problem is the field study, which is not fully documented and whose data use is not transparent. The fourth problem is the overall organization of the manuscript, e.g. the lack of systematic literature review (see similar and published research in this journal).

Specific comments:

The introduction needs some reorganization. For example, when "the two major imaginary significations" are introduced on page 1, the definition of the two should appear there, instead on page 2. What is the larger issue? What is the specific issue? How do you answer these questions or what is your analytic framework?

p. 4 Is there any ambiguity about the relationship between nationalism and globalization? From Britain's exit of the European Union and the election of President Trump, nationalism and globalization appear to be contradictory.

p. 5-8 Are Sections Three (Education, Language, and Identity) and Four (English Language Education in a Globalized World) the backdrop?

P. 9-11 What about the section on language policy in Indonesia?

p. 12-13 Is this based on a published study or part of a published study? If yes, it cannot be published again in this journal.

For your ethnographic work, did you follow any published methodology? If yes, cite your reference.

Exactly how many interviews were conducted? What kind of interviews?
How are class observations documented?
How were the data coded and used?

P. 14 What is the rationale to group the findings into three themes? Are there any criteria?

p. 16-18

In addition to identity issues, the teachers opposed the use of English as the medium of instruction because they actually lacked the proficiency to do so. What is the relationship between their identity and their proficiency?

P. 17 Who is this "one teacher"? The five teachers should be systematically coded or referred to by their subjects.

p. 18 The same problem as that on p. 17.

p. 21 This study did not establish any causal relationship between identity and the lack of English proficiency. Thus,

there is no base to make the claim that one problem is the source of other problems.

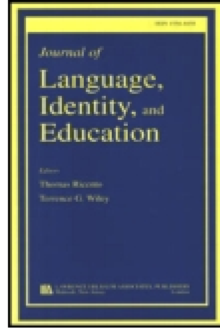
p. 22 the first line

“The Indonesia language” or the English language?

Reviewer: 2

Comments to the Author
This is an interesting paper about an important topic, the use of an in appropriate second language as the medium of instruction in secondary education. The paper sets out an intriguing thesis, that the failure of the policy in Indonesia over the period 2006-13 was due to the tensions between two opposing visions of the place of language in national identity: the privileged position of Indonesian as integral to the forging of a nation state vs the drive to improve the English competence of young Indonesians so that they can help the nation engage fully in the global economy in the 21st century. The paper is apparently based on a substantial empirical study and the authors appear to have some fascinating interview and observational data. I would like to think that this could be put into publishable form eventually, but at the moment it is a long way from that.
Part of the problem is organizational. Instead of beginning by setting up the ‘problem’ through a description of the education/policy context and of existing literature on EMI, the paper explains its main thesis, even introducing data (p4, p7) to support the argument (bizarrely, the quotation on p7 is repeated on p19-20). By the time the reader gets to the empirical study, we already know what is going to be found out.
An even more fundamental problem though is that the data doesn’t actually support the main argument. For example I don’t see any comments from teachers about the purpose of the Indonesian education system, and how use of English compromises this aspect of national identity – this seems to be an inference drawn out by the researcher. In contrast, there are several comments about personal identity being compromised i.e. teachers feeling uncomfortable using English with other Indonesians because it is ‘unnatural’ or simply inefficient, and therefore, following Grice’s pragmatic maxims, carries an implicature about speaker purpose (i.e. that it’s being used to ‘show off’). This finding is potentially very interesting and could be developed much further, perhaps by contrast with other studies of EMI teachers e.g. is this phenomenon unique to Indonesia? If so, what is it about Indonesian society that makes it a salient issue?
There are some other ways the paper could be improved. The background section gives the impression that EMI programmes are folding all over Asia. But is that true? Aren’t they flourishing in the private sector in many countries (globally)? This is surely worth a mention. There is also a more extensive literature on EMI which needs to be acknowledged – see for example of recent British Council research reports, and work by Macaro and colleagues at Oxford. It would also be good to hear more about the official response to this policy. Have there been any official reports on what caused the reform to fail? Is it even admitted to be a ‘failure’ in official circles?
The description of the study on p13 is vague. What were the research questions? How were the participants selected and how representative are they of Indonesian EMI teachers? How were the interviews (semi-)structured to elicit relevant data? How was the data analysed? Which ‘themes’ are you selecting for presentation in this paper and why? (it’s fine to be selective about what you present in a particular article but the reader needs to have a rough idea of what is being excluded too).
There are some minor language problems throughout which will need editing, just a few examples follow:
p2 the opening sentence is off-puttingly dense.
p6 a language that represents the self-representation of the nation??
At the bottom of p20, it’s not clear whether the teachers were accused of ‘pretending to be westerners’, or they were just worried about that happening and so felt awkward.

**Respon kepada reviewer dan artikel yang diresubmit**




# Language, Globalisation, and National Identity : A Study of English-Medium Policy and Practice in Indonesia



| | |
|---|---|
| Journal: | *Journal of Language, Identity & Education* |
| Manuscript ID | Draft |
| Manuscript Type: | Original Article |
| Keywords: | Language And Society, Language and identity, Indonesia |





| | |
|---|---|
| Abstract: | A study conducted in Indonesia found that teachers were unable to implement the English-medium language policy. The misalignment between policy intentions and its implementation is located in a conflict between two social imaginary significations; a society's collective consciousness created and shared in language. The more powerful signification is 'national identity'. The secondary one is the idea of Indonesia as a major force in the global economy. The country's global economic ambitions justified the English language policy but failed to acquire wide-spread legitimacy. We use the study's findings to illustrate the conflict between the deeper commitment to language for its role in creating a national identity and the role of language in globalisation processes. The concept of imaginary significations is useful outside the Indonesian case, providing as it does, a theoretical tool for understanding the role of language in the globalisation-nationalisation conflict currently emerging in a number of countries. |



SCHOLARONE™
Manuscripts

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

# Language, Globalisation, and National Identity: A Study of English-Medium Policy and Practice in Indonesia

## Introduction

For Peer Review Only

This paper explores the deeper causes for the misalignment between policy intentions and the implementation of the policy by locating that misalignment in the disturbance between two major *imaginary significations* (Castoriados, 1987) of a nation. It draws on a study conducted in Indonesia by Author 1 (2015) which found that teachers experienced considerable difficulties when attempting to implement that nation's English-medium language policy in their classrooms. The purpose of this paper is to use that finding to explain why support for the English language policy in Indonesia's globalisation strategy did not translate into support at the level of educational practice. We use Castoriados' *social imaginary signification* (1987) as the conceptual tool to explain how quickly a legislated policy can fail when it is out of step with a more powerful imaginary signification. The more powerful signification in the Indonesian case is that of *national identity*.

Charles Taylor refers to a social imaginary signification as "that common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy" (2004, p. 23). We argue that the implementation of the English medium instruction policy by the teachers in the study on which we draw showed that the policy did not tap into common practice, hence it failed to acquire wide-spread legitimacy. It is at the implementation stage that the social imaginaries which bind societies acquire the legitimacy required for policy to become

embedded as social practice. We further argue, that a key factor in the implementation failure was that a stronger imaginary signification existed, one which does have widespread legitimacy at the level of everyday practice. This is the common understanding of the Indonesian language as the means of communication in that modern pluralist society, a legitimation given by the role this shared language plays in creating an Indonesian national identity in the post-colonial era.

**Methodology**

The paper employs a *conceptual methodology* (Author and other author, 2015; Lourie & McPhail, 2016)to conceptualise the explanation we have developed about why the language policy failed at the implementation stage. A conceptual methodology is noted for the use of disciplinary concepts (in the social sciences, these concepts may come from philosophy, anthropology, linguistics, sociology and related disciplines) as the tool used to analyse and explain a phenomenon that is identified and investigated using empirically obtained data. *Social imaginary signification* serves our purpose in explaining the phenomenon of policy implementation because the concept contains with it the idea of the connection between how a people represents themselves to themselves (the social imaginary) and the means by which this imaginary is shared (signifiers or language). The explanatory power of the concept is what justifies its use in this paper.

Like all powerful concepts, the same idea contained in *imaginary signifiications* is known in other ways. For example, Bourdieu uses the term “shared reality” (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 79) to refer to the collective consciousness of a social group, one created through a shared means of communication, that is, the national language of the modern pluralist nation (Durkheim,

For Peer Review Only

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

1912/2001; Author 2, 2017). The *imaginary* of the modern pluralist nation (Anderson, 1983), one which unites historically distinct ethnic groups, is legitimised and strengthened as the shared means of communication is accepted as *our language* in everyday practice. As with other countries in the nation-building project of the twentieth century (Hobsbawn, 1992), the social glue or collective means of self-representation created by a common national language justified the acceptance of Bahasa Indonesian in the post-Independence era.

The usefulness of a conceptual methodological is not confined to the power of disciplinary concepts. It also enables us to connect the explanation to the problem or phenomenon we wish to explain. Often the problem is identified empirically as was the case with the English medium policy failure in Indonesian classrooms although we are aware that a problem may be identified though philosophical inquiry only (Author, 2012). Unlike interpretivist methodologies where the explanation is drawn from the empirically obtained data, a conceptual methodology recognises that it is not possible to generalise from the particular experience (Lourie & McPhail, 2016). Concepts, on the other hand, allow for the particular (in our case, the implementation of a policy) to illustrate an argument. Kant (1781/1993) is one of many philosophers in a tradition from Parmenides and Zeno to Descartes (Lindberg, 1992) who recognised the limitations of explaining from the particular rather than the explanation being drawn from the idea and applied to the particular instance. Kant noted that a "concept will not let itself be limited to experience, because it deals with a cognition … of which the empirical is only one part; no actual experience is fully sufficient for it, but every experience belongs to it" (1781/1993, p. 394).

How do we connect the conceptually-derived explanation to the empirically identified problem given that there is no exact correspondence between the idea and experience (Author 2, 2012)?

For Peer Review Only

According to Nola (2001) a "degree of fit" (p. 429) is all we can hope for in making the argument that the chosen concept(s) does in fact provide a logical explanation of the problem or phenomenon. In seeking to justify the connnection we make between imaginary significations and the English-medium policy we have adapted Taylor's (2004) idea of "widespread legitimacy" as the methodological device to connect the "imaginary signification" (p. 23) concept to the data taken from the study. This enables us to ask; What language policy has sufficient social legitimacy to enable it to be embedded in practice? Our argument is the response to that question. We claim that Bahasa Indonesian, despite being a relatively recent national language, does have legitimacy as the nation's imaginary signifier. In contrast, English, despite being promoted as necessary for Indonesia's global economic strategy, has not acquired sufficient legitimacy in the minds of the people for it to be accepted as a medium of instruction in schools. When comparing the two significations we also argue that the dominance of the former in its role as the collective means of a society's self-representation contributed to the failure of the latter.

The empirical study which Author 1 (2015) undertook for a doctoral dissertation investigated how secondary school subject teachers coped with the legislated requirement that they teach their respective subjects, Mathematics and Science, in the English language. The Indonesian government had introduced the English language policy for public schools in 2006. Teachers were to develop their students' English language skills through English-medium instruction in Mathematics and Science subjects (*Permendiknas*, 2009) and to promote habitual English use inside the school (*Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Menengah*, [Ministry of National Education, MONE], 2011). However the decree of *Mahkamah Konstitusi*/the Indonesian Constitutional Court, in 2013, revoked the policy (Sumintono, 2013). The policy lasted a mere eight years. Its failure requires explanation



For Peer Review Only

especially given the supportive context of a growing commitment by South-East Asian governments to English language policies as part of the region's economic strategy. This paper problematicises that failure.

**Context of the problem**

Indonesia is not alone in the experience of top-down English language educational policy (Hadisantosa, 2010; Hamied, 2012; Margana, 2013; Mariati, 2007). As we discuss in the section about English language education in South-East Asia below, a number of developing countries, including Malaysia (Tan, 2011; Tan & Lan, 2010), Thailand (Bax, 2010), South Korea (Bax, 2010; Lee, 2010), the Phillipines (Martin, 2011), and Pakistan (Channa, 2012) are attempting to fast-track their entrance into the global economy. The status of English as the *lingua franca* (Pan & Block, 2011) exerts pressure on governments to provide education in English as a language of instruction and communication; that is, a language that can be used, rather than as one of a number of languages offered to students as a subject for study. In almost all of these countries, the policy has been withdrawn or falters along, suggesting that an explanation needs to be found beyond the economic sphere. Hence our turn to an explanatory tool which enabled us to look at the wider role of language in modern society, as more than an economic instrument. *Imaginary significations* is that tool.

We use the Indonesian study to illustrate how teachers responded to government initiatives to encourage the use of English as a medium of instruction (henceforth, EMOI) in public schools and in higher education institutions. This description leads to a discussion of the role of language in nation-building, specifically as the means by which the imaginary significations of a modern nation-state are created (Anderson, 1983). We are able to ask, what happens to the



URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com

associated policies and practices when one signification does not acquire widespread legitimacy?

The impetus for the policy initiative, and for its subsequent failure can be traced to the influence of geopolitical forces on nation-state policy, and in the case we refer to, on education policy specifically. These forces, which enable the acceptance of the neoliberal market ideology of an aggressive global capitalism by independent nation-states (Piketty, 2014), are played out in developing countries with rapidly expanding middle classes. In Indonesia, "middle class affluent consumers (MACs) represent about 30 percent of the population, or 74 million people. About 8 million to 9 million people currently enter the MAC segment each year, and by 2020, this group will reach a total of 141 million people, or 53 percent of the population" (Rastogi, Tamboto, Tong, & Sinburimsit, 2013, p. 6). These well-educated professionals in Indonesia and other South-East Asian countries support their various governments' moves into the global economy. With those moves come a degree of acceptance of the English language (Pan & Block, 2011), or a *growing legitimacy* to use Taylor's term (2004). However, they are the class that benefitted from the rising nationalism which accompanied the various independence movements in South-East Asia following the Second World War. For Indonesia, it is a nationalism that places Bahasa Indonesian as the *imaginary signification* at the centre of its identity. In other words, Bahasa Indonesian has widespread legitimacy as the language of modern Indonesia. It is possible that the tension between globalisation and nationalism which is played out in the Bahasa Indonesian – English language conflict explored in this paper echoes the same tension illustrated by Brexit nationalism and by that seen in the United States and some European nations. The response of nationalist movements to globalisation is the



For Peer Review Only

expression of two competing significations about how people understand themselves (the *imaginary*).

Prior to the turn of this century, developing countries in South-East Asia, including Indonesia, were a source of cheap labour for global corporations. However in the last two decades, countries like Indonesia are acquiring a new position on the world economic stage, mainly through the growing influence of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) regional bloc. The region is shifting from providing cheap labour for global corporations to providing a huge, middle-class consumer base. One of the observable effects of this expansive economic development can be seen in higher education policy. Universities, such as those in Indonesia, are looking outward to the world, seeking world class university status in the global higher education market (Sakhiyya, 2018). The English language is a crucial part of this globalising strategy, not only for the higher education *business* (Shore & Wright, 2017) but for the economy more broadly.

The governments of these South-East Asian nations that are increasingly facing outwards to the global economy justify the inclusion of English in their respective education systems by claiming that they are preparing young people for a globalised future (Permendiknas, 2009; Hadisantosa, 2010). And yet there is ambiguity in this position. On the one hand, they face outwards using assertive internationalisation strategies (Sakhiyya, 2018). On the other hand, the nationalism which benefits from that assertion is not only about the economy. It is about the nation's cultural identity, its main *imaginary signification*, one created in large part by a unifying language.

For Peer Review Only

Guibernau and Rex explain how the nation-state, once created "actively promote(s) the cultural homogenisation of its members" (1997, pp. 4–5). The emergence of the Indonesian language from its Malay history, a process we describe below, can be understood in terms of this cultural homogenisation imperative. Indeed the cultural identity (the *national imaginary*) that is Indonesia is centred on the Indonesian language. The study indicated that, while there was no opposition from the teachers to the English language *per se*, there was concern that, by using English as the medium of instruction, Indonesian identity would be negatively affected. A teacher in the study captures this idea saying: "Why should we put ourselves out while we can use our own language" and "I think each language has its own place" (Author 1, 2015, p. 61).

The article is structured in the following way. The next section is an account of the emergence of the Indonesian language within the Independence struggle. Our purpose is to show the integral place on the language in the nation's identity, a position supported by the overview of countries that, like Indonesia, are experiencing difficulties implementing English language policies in their education systems. Section three is an account of the establishment and withdrawal of the English-medium language policy. This is followed in section four by an account of the study undertaken in the school. It shows how the teachers attempted to put the policy into practice but were frustrated, not only by the reality that their English language competency was inadequate for the task, but because they were committed to language as the legitimate national identity; the nation's *imaginary signifier*. They believed that Bahasa Indonesian should be the language of Indonesian schools. There was a direct confrontation between this belief and the government's justification for switching to English, one made in economic instrumental terms. It is this confrontation which, we argue, indicates a legitimation problem.


URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com
For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

We conclude, in a brief final section, by discussing the role of language in national identity to argue that this policy in particular touched two of the nation's key *imaginary significations*, placing them in conflict. For Indonesia, these are, on the one hand, its self-representation as a cohesive modern nation with an Indonesian identity. On the other hand, the nation's self-representation as an internationally recognised member of the global economy, a status that brings with it political recognition, promotes an outward looking sense of identity—a representation justifying the English language policy.

**Language and national identity**

The Indonesian language comes from the struggle against Dutch colonisation which led to the estabishment of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945. In 1908, Budi Utomo, the first Indonesian nationalist organisation, promoted Malay as the national language in order to provide a counter to Dutch language policy. Its transformation into *Indonesian* occurred in 1928, in the manifesto of the Youth of Indonesia. *Sumpah Pemuda* (The Oath of The Young People) "pledged the willingness of every Indonesian to be unified in one nation, one earth, and one language: Indonesia" (Hallam, 1997, n.p.). The word *Malay* was replaced by *Bahasa Indonesia* as the name of the language and the first Indonesia Language Congress was held in 1938. With the Japanese occupation in 1942 Indonesians were taught Japanese in all schools, a practice which served to reinforce the growing identification of the people to Indonesian as their language. Hallam (1997) notes that it was the Japanese who, in 1942 as a pragmatic response to the reality of language use, established the first Commission for the Indonesian Language. The Commission was to make decisions about vocabulary and write a common grammar.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

In 1945, Indonesian was declared the official language. The various indigenous local languages, include Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Maduranese, Baso Minang and many more continue to be used in homes and communities but, for the first time, there is a national language that represents the self-representation of Indonesia as a nation.

The Indonesian language is therefore the result of the Independence movement and the creation of the nation. The teachers interviewed in the study recognised that the education system, especially as a public system, has a wider role in, and for, Indonesian society. This role may be understood in relation to sociological theories about the purpose of national education systems in modern nation-state building (Ramirez & Boli, 2007). Public education systems became central institutions in the new nation-states of the 19th and 20th centuries, as a crucial part of the nation-building enterprise. This applies to those at the beginning of the era, such as the United States, and those in more recent times such as Indonesia (Hobsbawm, 1992). They were to unify ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups into the one imaginary modern nation (Anderson, 1983).

For Peer Review Only

It is only in a national education system that the *collective representations* (Durkheim, 1912/2001) or *imaginary significations* (Castoriadis, 1987) of a society's symbolic system are reproduced. These terms refer to the way in which a society understands itself; the means of communication which enables normative agreement; its source of cohesive identity; *collective representations* (what Bourdieu describes as "shared reality" [1979, p. 79]) that integrate diverse groups into a stable and cohesive society with its own identity. According to Durkheim (1912/2001, cited in Bourdieu, 1979), the modern symbolic system is "a homogeneous conception of time, space, number and cause which make agreement possible between intelligences" (p. 79). He considered that the collective representations developed and

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

reproduced in the symbolic sphere achieved this purpose because they provided both the "means of communication required for normative agreement and the instruments of thought" required to create this shared reality (cited in Bourdieu, 1979, p. 79).

In the family and community, older, more traditional languages and practices are often maintained. However at school, all children are taught in the national language. Bahasa Indonesian was developed to serve this purpose, to be the symbolic medium of the new national identity. It is for that reason that it is the language of instruction of Indonesian schools. The English as a medium of instruction policy confronted that language's significance; its *meaning*, and replaced it with a foreign language chosen for its narrow function as an instrument of the economy. By ignoring the primary function of language as the means of symbolic representation (or *imaginary signification*), the balance between the economic and symbolic dimensions was altered (Bernstein, 2000). As one of the teachers said:

> Where are we taking our students to? To what direction? Why do we have to use English? If they continue their study in universities in Indonesia, we do not need to insist teaching in English. If students plan to continue to study abroad, English is a must. But, if they study at universities in Indonesia, our time to study English can be used to study additional content subject. (Author 1, 2015, p. 63)

The intrusion of something that is not seen to contribute to the nation-building and unifying role (that of the introduction of a foreign language as a means of instruction) is at odds with the implicit understanding of what the education system is for. For the Indonesian government, and for the many other countries that we note in the next section who are also pursuing this policy, the purpose is to be competitve in the global economy. Therefore we argue that the

For Peer Review Only

unease, even in some cases hostility, towards using English in this way (although not to the English language *per se*) which was expressed by some of the teachers in the study can be understood in terms of the tension to the balance between the symbolic and the economic. On the one hand, a government looks outward to the global economy. On the other, the teachers look to their role in producing well-educated young people for not only a prosperous nation, but one that has the means to be unified and stable.

Although the study we refer to in the article was conducted in Indonesia, a number of non-English speaking countries are seeking to introduce EMOI into their education systems. These countries include Malaysia (Tan, 2011), the Philippines (Martin, 2011), Thailand and South Korea (Bax, 2010), Pakistan (Channa, 2012). For example, in 2003 a change in language of instruction policy was applied to Mathematics and Science subjects in Malaysia with the language of instruction switched from Bahasa Malaysia, to English. It was intended to produce a "generation of scientifically and technologically knowledgeable students who are fluent in English and able to contribute to the economic growth and development of the country" (Tan & Lan, 2010, p. 6). Following protests by Chinese schools in Malaysia, a compromise was reached. Science and Mathematics were to be taught in English and Mandarin, not solely in English (Yang & Ishak, 2012). However, even the compromise could not help and the policy was withdrawn in 2008.

A similar initiative launched in the Philippines in 2003 was also suspended (Martin, 2011). In Thailand, the English programme requires that at least two core subjects (out of the total of nine subjects) are taught in English. Significantly, the subjects exclude the Thai language and social studies with aspects related to Thai culture and national identity (Keyuravong 2008, p.



URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com

For Peer Review Only

3, cited in Bax, 2010, p. 11). However, as with the other countries, Thailand is facing various problems related to both teachers who teach the subject of English and those who use English as the medium for teaching other content (Bax, 2010).

The South Korean government's concerns about English language education led to the adoption of a bilingual/immersion approach - *mol-ib* which included the teaching of content subjects such as Maths and Science using English. A small number of schools (up to 10 in the Seoul area, for example) became involved in a *mol-ib* scheme. (Bax, 2010, p. 53) but the policy was *withdrawn* in the midst of strong public opposition. In Pakistan, a study conducted by Channa (2012) showed the use of ELMI (English Language as the Medium of Instruction) in teaching Science subjects to the students who studied Science as their major. However the policy was also terminated.

**English language policy in Indonesia**

In 2006, the Indonesian MONE published a new educational policy for secondary schools. Like the policies we note earlier in other South-East Asian nations the policy was designed to include English as the medium of instruction in Science and Mathematics classrooms as part of the broader internationalisation strategies being pursued in education and other government institutions. It was to be achieved by re-designating selected schools as International Standard Schools. (Act of Republic of Indonesia No. 20 Year 2003 on National Education System, Article 50, clause 3). Following the design of the policy, the government nominated hundreds of top public schools to be developed as international schools (Sakhiyya, 2011; Sundusiyah, 2011).

For Peer Review Only

The International Standard Schools were to meet the broad goals of preparing Indonesia for the migration of professionals from Indonesia and also into the country—the *human resources* of the global knowledge economy. In this way, Indonesia would become more competitive in the international job market and an attractive destination for foreign-owned companies operating in Indonesia. English plays a major role in the country's economic development (Depdiknas, 2009; Hadisantosa, 2010; Hartoyo, 2009). The tourism industry, in particular, is a major contributor to the country's gross domestic product (GDP) by creating foreign exchange earnings and employment opportunities for Indonesians. This contribution to employment in particular is not to be understated. Nearly nine percent of Indonesia's total national workforce is employed in the tourism sector (www.indonesia.investments), a sector requiring English language competency (Mahditama, 2012).

Similarly, the education sector in Indonesia views the English language as a tool for the development and dissemination of information and communication technology and science. English competencies are considered essential for students to keep up with the latest developments (Depdiknas, 2009), hence the implementation of the policy in the re-designated public schools named as *Rintisan Sekolah Bertaraf International* (or, Pioneer International Standard Schools) (Permendiknas, 2009). The intention was to develop teaching and learning processes that complied with the international standards of developed countries (MONE, 2011; Permendiknas, 2009). In 2006, when the policy was introduced, there were 1,305 Pioneer International Standard Schools in Indonesia; 239 were primary schools. There were 356 junior high schools, 359 senior high schools, and 351 vocational high schools (Sukarelawati, 2012). Students who attended these schools were chosen on the basis of their school enrolment test, including an English language test. As a consequence of this enrolment criterion and the additional resources, the schools are widely regarded as elite schools (Retmono, 2011).





For Peer Review Only

However, there was controversy over the use of English in Mathematics and Science subjects in the Pioneer International Standard Schools—especially over the quality of the English-medium instruction and the lack of bilingual teachers, but most notably because Mathematics and Science teachers with little or no English competency were expected to teach their subjects in that language (Indradno, 2011; Sundusiyah, 2011). In addition, the schools were criticised for reducing the use of the Indonesian language (Retmono, 2011). By 2013, the mounting criticism and the obvious failure of the policy at classroom level led to the decree of *Mahkamah Konstitusi*, the Indonesian Constitutional Court (Sumintono, 2013, January 11). This stipulated that the Pioneer International Standard Schools must return to their original status as regular schools. It required the withdrawal of English-medium instruction from the school. Since then, English is no longer used as the medium of instruction to teach content subjects. It remains a separate subject as it has long been a complusory subject in secondary schools since Indonesian Independence in 1945 (Lie, 2007).

The withdrawal of the policy appears a failure. English-medium instruction was promoted throughout the country as an important innovation and something that would contribute significantly towards Indonesia's emergence as a global player (Coleman, 2009). Indeed the government initially promoted the policy in these terms. According to MONE (2005, 2009) and DGPSEM (2007a, 2007b) the schools were to provide education with national and international standards that would enable graduates to compete internationally to a level higher than, if not equal to, those in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. Government resources were provided to ensure that the policy did work. So why did the policy fail so completely that it was withdrawn? In the next section we address





For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

this question by identifying a fundamental misalignment between teachers' attitudes towards the English language and the government's expectations.

## The study

The study (Author 1, 2015) of the English language programme at a public senior high school was undertaken in 2012, one year before the policy was rescinded, so at a time when the problems had become quite obvious. Ehnographic methods were used to collect the data because, according to Creswell (2013) they allow, "the researcher [to rely] on the participants' views as an insider emic perspective and reports them in verbatim quotes, and then synthesizes the data filtering it through the researchers' etic scientific perspective to develop an overall cultural interpretation. This cultural interpretation is a description of the group and themes related to the theoretical concepts being explored in the study" (p. 92). The collection of the teachers' views in this way has enabled us to proceed further in this paper and use these views to illustrate our argument about why the policy failed.

The school was located in a large city in the province of Central Java with a predominantly Javanese population. The researcher shadowed five teachers of Geography, Biology, Mathematics, Chemistry, and Information Communication Technology (ICT) in their classrooms over two months. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) suggested that ethnographic research usually has the feature of focusing on a single setting or group of people to facilitate in-depth study. With the purpose of prioritising detailed insights, the first author included teacher participants who taught different subjects to enhance the extent and depth of convictions about English language use.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Each of the five had a bachelor degree majoring in the respective content subjects. They had studied English as a compulsory subject when they were at junior high school, senior high school, and at university where English was taught only in one to two semesters. Significantly, none of the teachers had experienced special training in English-medium instruction during their study at university. After the school where they worked was designated a Pioneer International Standard School in the academic year of 2009/2010, both the Maths and Science teachers were directed by school executives to take short English professional development courses. These were conducted either by local government officials or the school.

Data were collected in a variety of ways and were extensive. Collection included whole-school observations, participatory observation where the researcher sat in the classroom for lengthy periods, field notes, in-depth interviews, reviewing school documents, and audio-video recordings of classroom activities. In addition, informal conversations were held during and after the school hours. These multiple sources of data collection constituted a real strength of the study. It meant that the researcher had the opportunity to immerse herself in the school and to conduct whole-school observations and classroom observations that enriched the interviews with the teachers (Palmer, 2011, p. 109).

These interviews were a revealing source of material about the English language policy. Each teacher was interviewed several times and the discussions were in-depth and free-ranging. The teachers were encouraged to speak freely and all were happy to do so. They spoke about their family's background, friends, and social networks before turning to describe the languages they used in their daily and teaching lives. These conversations included describing how they used Javanese, Indonesian, and English in daily interactions, any connection with English communities of practice, and broader professional matters concerning their teaching goals and

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

education in general. However the main topic of each interview was their experiences in teaching their content subject using English. The researcher asked about their perceptions, opinions, views, feelings, and attitudes toward English-medium instruction in their classes and to using English the school more widely. They were asked in English first to test their level of understanding and communication in the language. Significantly, all five teachers preferred using either Indonesian or Javanese. This gave them the freedom to speak in depth and to explore the nuances and ambiguities that arise when people speak of their experiences.

We have grouped some of the pertinent findings into three main themes of classroom practice, the teacher, and cultural identity which best demonstrate the points at which the policy's implementation failed.

***Classroom practice***

One finding was the frequency of code-switching practices, rather than the use of English only. The teachers alternated between Indonesian and English throughout the lesson. It was used to encourage students to focus on the content and to be more responsive by asking questions and contributing ideas. The Maths and Geography teachers said that including Indonesian helped their students understand what was being said.

> Perhaps not all students will understand my explanation if I speak in English all the time. So, I have to do like that, translating. I used to mixing, Indonesian mixed with English. They want me not to use much English in my lesson. (Author 1, 2015, p. 78)

For Peer Review Only

The teachers frequently translated the English they used. An example from a Biology class where the students were learning about the skeleton showed how the need to translate scientific terms had the effect of reducing a lesson to a translation class where terms were constantly repeated rather than it being a lesson about biological concepts and content.

The teachers frequently switched from English into Indonesian to save face when their linguistic competence failed them. The Biology teacher said that his limited English meant that he used it only to introduce students to Biology terms and to greet students and check the roll. The Maths teacher said that she did not dare to say some numbers in English because she was not sure how to pronounce them. The ICT teacher did not use English at all, not a single word, saying his vocabulary and grammar were not good enough. He spoke of "not having the nerve" (Author 1, 2015, p. 56) to teach in English adding that he felt both hesitant and frightened. However, he did ask his students to speak in English when presenting their group discussion work, and interestingly, they did.

The researcher observed a group of four students presenting their group discussion with PowerPoint presentations in English. They even answered their friends' questions in English. Despite some grammatical mistakes and inappropriate word choice, this group's effort to speak in English was commendable, given the difficult nature of the topic *wireless and wireline*. Why did they use English when their teacher did not? Perhaps they were motivated by a mixture of their teacher's encouragement and by the extra marks for those who used either spoken or written English. The fact that the students prepared their slides prior to class also helped. A similar negotiation between teacher and students occurred in the Chemistry class. Initially the students were required to use English. However the teachers allowed them to speak in



For Peer Review Only

Indonesian to present the results of their group discussion. The students had not prepared them previously so these involved stuttering and stumbling. The teacher was aware of the anxiety this created, hence her decision to allow the students to use Indonesian. This teacher, like the others, were more concerned with their students' understanding of the lesson content and of maintaining their motivation. Using English was secondary to these pedagogical priorities. What the researcher found was that these were normal subject lessons in Indonesian with the annoying imposition of English foisted on the teachers from outside.

The teachers in the programme were subject specialists, not English language users. The result was to be expected; a mixture of noticeable inaccuracies in grammar, word choice, and pronunciation. Often they were unaware of these errors, or they knew they made errors but did not know when they were correct and when they were not. Several of the teachers said that it was fine for them to make mistakes because they were still learning English, mentioning that the students did seem to understand. However, there are a number of problems with this. In the context of second language acquisition, errors or mistakes in using a foreign language without any corrective feedback are likely to result in the errors becoming fixed by the teacher (Ellis, 2008; Fidler, 2006; Gass & Selinker, 2008). Students might consider the language their teachers used was accurate and adopt this language use, leading to further confusion. The imput into students' language from their teachers' use is their students' language input has a determining function in language acquisition (Ellis, 2008). According to Astika and Wahyana (2010), Indonesian students should be exposed to correct English (p. 19). Inaccurate teacher modelling will lead to incorrect grammar, pronunciation and word choice by the students. The subject teachers in the study did in fact have an important role as language models for their students but were unaware of the significance of this. In addition to the problems specific to





For Peer Review Only

language, there are also implications for the subjects being taught. When the teacher uses words incorrectly, the meaning of the concepts being taught is also compromised.

***The teachers***

Given these problems it is not surprising that the teachers found using English not only difficult and a source of anxiety, but also time-consuming. They all said that teaching in English took double the time as teaching in Indonesian.

According to the Chemistry teacher:

> If I teach in English, it means double working because I must translate into Indonesian to make sure my students understand my explanation. It's faster to explain using Indonesian.

The Maths teacher agreed:

> My students need longer time to understand my explanation if I used English, compared to when I used Indonesian. They did not comprehend a lesson easily when delivered in English. Sometimes they asked me, mam, what is it in Indonesian, so I had to explain it again in Indonesian. It takes longer time and takes my energy.



For Peer Review Only

Repeating the content knowledge firstly in English then in Indonesian took much of the time allocated to the lesson, reducing the time for the actual lesson itself.

The effect of the policy of the teachers' profesional wellbeing was considerable with all those interviewed saying that having to use English-medium instruction made them anxious in relation to their own work and envious of their colleagues who did not need to use English. It reduced their confidence and produced a very real sense of carrying an impossible burden. The burden was two-fold. Not only did they have to learn English themselves but they had to learn how to teach their subjects in this unfamiliar language. It was not surprising that they thought the English-medium policy was unattainable. Two of the older teachers, both highly experienced in their subjects, said it was too late to learn English at their age.

> Students are smarter. They take English private courses after school. And they are still young. They easily learn a foreign language, whereas I have many things to take care of. So, it's difficult for me to learn English.

He added that learning English meant making a considerable "personal sacrifice."

> If I always focus on learning English at all times, my other tasks and responsibility as a teacher, a father, and in my community will be in a mess. English comes to me very late. I am above 50 [years old] now, so when can I study English? I do not have time [to study English].

Not surprisingly, he compared his predicament to that of the teachers who were not required to teach using English:


URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com
For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

> Ask the teachers who teach English subject to teach Biology. I am sure they cannot do it. So, what I mean is just teaching as usual. Do not make teachers afraid by asking us to teach in English. Yes, many colleagues are afraid of teaching in English. Many of them got stressed complaining their difficulties and inabilities speaking in English. Students, too. Actually both teachers and students complain.

***Language and identity***

"*Kita punya bahasa sendiri*" (We have our own language) was the phrase most often used by the teachers when referring to the English language policy.

According to the ICT teacher:

> I think each language has its own place. When teachers go home seeing their families, involved in their societies and communities, they absolutely use the languages spoken by their families and communities.

He clearly meant that English was not a widely used language so he thought it would be strange to use English while others did not use the language. The Biology teacher used similar sentiments, speaking both Indonesian and Javanese: "*Kenapa sih ndadak repot-repot? Wong dengan bahasa kita sendiri saja kita bisa.*" [Why should we put ourselves out while we can use our own language?]. He added:

> Our environment is not supportive because our official and national language is Indonesian and because we are Javanese living in Javanese communities. We speak Javanese too.



URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com

For Peer Review Only

All members of the school community spoke Indonesian and Javanese. On a very few occasions they spoke a few words or sentences in English if they were asked in English by those who taught English as a subject. The teacher in the comment immediately above claimed that the Indonesian and Javanese languages had a wider range of vocabulary which could express specific intended meanings which were not possible in his English vocabulary. He said there were no English equivalents available to him with his lack of English proficiency for certain Javanese or Indonesian words, certainly none that enabled him to express nuances and complexities of meaning.

The teachers discussed the matter of language and identity with one noting that using English in teaching could cause trouble because it was not the language of the nation. It did not show his Indonesian identity. Given that "language is an index, symbol and marker of identity" (Baker, 2011, p. 45) this teacher's comment that being an Indonesian meant using the Indonesian language as the symbol of Indonesian national identity made sense for him and for the others.

One of the older, experienced teachers was doubtful about the benefits of English in Indonesia:

> Where are we taking our students to? To what direction? Why do we have to use English? If they continue their study in universities in Indonesia, we do not need to insist teaching in English. If students plan to continue to study abroad, English is a must. But, if they study at universities in Indonesia, our time to study English can be used to study additional subject content.





For Peer Review Only

Other teachers spoke of Indonesian as the country's national language. They saw the school as a state institution and Indonesian as the official and national language. The comment, "We have our own language" or similar phrases were used frequently.

The teachers' comments provided insights into how English was regarded. There was concern expressed that colleagues might regard teachers who spoke English as strange as it seemed inappropriate to use English among people of Indonesian nationality.

> If I initiated to speak English, I might be laughed at. They [my colleagues] would think I was like pretending as if I were an English native speaker and acting as if I were a Westerner [Javanese: halah sok keinggris-inggrisan]. If they don't like, they will talk behind our back. Actually I can ignore them. It doesn't matter they call me acting like Westerners [*keinggris-inggrisan*]. But I don't feel comfortable with such a comment. I should know my position. I am glad if I am addressed in English or asked to chat in English [by my colleagues] as long as it is not my own initiative because I am not an English subject teacher.

*Halah, sok keinggris-inggrisan* (it is like imitating Westerners) is to be avoided, or so this teacher implies. Others too, were concerned that if they practised English they might be considered "different" people. This contributed to their reluctance to practise English. The use of conversational English by mainly young teachers tended to elicit defensiveness from the mainly older teachers who could not speak, or who had limited, English. Negative comments would be made, for example, "*Halah sok keinggris-inggrisan*" (imitating Englishmen or





For Peer Review Only

Westerners by speaking English) to teachers who practised English at school, perhaps even seen as boastful.

> Sometimes when some teachers spoke English as a kind of practice at school, some colleagues might label them kemlinthi [acting up so proudly]. This expression is not directly addressed to teachers who spoke English, but it was said to other teachers. And eventually teachers who spoke English would know that their colleagues have a negative opinion about them because they practised English. This may be part of our culture. We sometimes view someone who has skills beyond ours and uses the skills in everyday practices where not all people can acquire these skills as a person who was kemlinthi.

The tendency to criticise, or the fear of criticism, for those who spoke English did have a discouraging effect. A revealing comment from one of the teachers showed that he stopped using English so that he would not appear boastful.

> I myself admitted that I became lack of using English. Because if I insisted on using English, my colleagues would think I am "looking for a face". (Kalau saya bertahan nanti saya dikira nggolek rai [Indonesian mixed with Javanese utterances]).

*Nggolek rai* is a Javanese idiomatic expression that means expecting other people to compliment you. It has been translated literally in English above as "looking for a face" to capture the idiomatic nuance. The good opinion of his colleagues mattered to this teacher. He did not want his colleagues to label him *nggolek rai*, someone who sought compliments from those in charge.





For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

**Conclusion**

We have identified two main reasons why the English as a medium of instruction and communication policy failed. These reasons operate at different levels. Clearly the policy failed because teachers could not implement it for all the reasons we identify in the description of the study above. They did not speak English, the professional development courses were totally inadequate, and they did not believe in the policy the way those who initiated and designed the policy did. However, these problems were at the phenomonal level and are all open to remediation. What is of interest to us is at the deeper level and led to the argument developed in this paper.

Given the commitment of Indonesia (its government and middle-class) to the country's global economic strategy and the recognition of the importance of English language in this strategy, why did a policy designed to develop English language users fail so completely that the policy was withdraw. The fact that Indonesia is not alone in the failure of policies to embed a globalisation strategy in the hearts and minds of the people, including those who would benefit from it, suggested that a sociological explanation was required. The explanation could not be found in the empirical material, although the study's findings did enable us to identify the problem at a phenomonal level and also enabled us to illustrate how the problem was experienced in the teachers' practice.

The sociological concept of *imaginary significations* provided the tool with which to understand the conflict between a language's two roles in the ways a society sees itself (its self-representation or *imaginary*) and in the way it shares that collective consciousness, that is, the

For Peer Review Only

use of signifers). In Indonesia the balance between two main imaginary significations; those deep self-representations of *who we are*, the collective identity on the one hand and the idea of *who we will be* were out of alignment. The government saw the role of the English language in terms of its economic ambitions. Indonesia was to enter the global economy, specifically the global knowledge economy, and the education system was to provide the human resources to enable this. The teachers, however, understood the education system that they were committed to, as the means to reproduce children into Indonesia, into the nation. For them, the language *is* the nation. Therefore, we argue that the fairly rapid failure of the English as the medium of instruction policy was the result of the confrontation between these two opposing *imaginary significations* about what a national language means for the people who use it in education.

**References**

Author 1, 2015

Author 2, 2012, 2017

Author and other, 2016

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism*. London, UK: Verso.

Astika, G., & Wahyana, A. (2010). *Model pembelajaran MIPA bilingual dalam rangka mendukung keberhasilan program Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional di Jawa Tengah* [Model of Mathematics and Science bilingual lessons in support of the success of International Standard School program in Central Java]. Salatiga: Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Baker, C. (2011). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (5th ed.). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Bax, S. (2010). *Researching English bilingual education in Thailand, Indonesia and South Korea*. P. Powell-Davies (Ed.). Retrieved from http://www.britishcouncil.org/publication_2_-_researching_english_bilingual_education.pdf

Bernstein, B. (2000). *Pedagogy, symbolic control and identity* (Rev. ed.). New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield.

Bourdieu, P. (1979). Symbolic power. *Critique of Anthropology*, *4*, 77–85.

Castoriadis, C. (1987). *The imaginary institution of society*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Channa, M. A. (2012). Teachers' perceptions towards English language as medium of instruction in Pakistan. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*. (September), *4*,(5), pp. 759-764.

Coleman, H. (2009). Indonesia's international standard schools': What are they for? Paper presented at the The 8th Language and Development Conference, Dhaka. http://www.acsa.edu.au/pages/images/Simone%20Smala%20-%20Introducing%20content%20and%20language.pdf

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design : choosing among five approaches* (3rd edition. ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Depdiknas. (2009). *Rencana Strategies Departemen Pendidikan Nasional Tahun 2010-2014* [Ministry of National Education Strategic Planning of 2010-2014]. Jakarta, Indonesia: Departemen Pendidikan Nasional.

For Peer Review Only

DGPSEM. (2007a). *Panduan penyelenggaraan rintisan SMA bertaraf internasional* [Guideline for the implementation of international standard high school]. Jakarta: Directorate General for Primary and Secondary Education Management (DGPSEM).

DGPSEM. (2007b). *Sistem penyelenggaraan Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional untuk pendidikan dasar dan menengah* [Implementation system for international standard school in primary and secondary education]. Jakarta: Directorate General for Primary and Secondary Education Management (DGPSEM).

Durkheim, E. (1912/2001). *The elementary forms of religious life*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Ellis, R. (2008). *The study of second language acquisition* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fidler, A. (2006). Reconceptualizing fossilization in second language acquisition: a review. *Second Language Research*, 22(3), 398-411. doi: 10.1191/0267658306sr273ra

Gass, S. M., & Selinker, L. (2008). *Second language acquisition an introductory course* Retrieved from http://ezproxy.usq.edu.au/login?url=http://www.USQ.eblib.com.au/EBL Web/patron?target=patron&extendedid=P_325577_0&

Guibernau, M., & Rex, J. (Eds.). (1997). *The ethnicity reader: Nationalism, multiculturalism and migration*. London, UK: Polity Press.

Hadisantosa, N. (2010). *Learning through English: Policies, challenges and prospects: Insights from East Asia.* R. Johnstone (Ed.). Malaysia: British Council.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Hallen, C. H. (1999). *Language contact and its influence in Bahasa Indonesia's phonemic system.* Retrieved from http://linguistics.byu.edu/classes/Ling450ch/reports/bahasa.htm

Hamied, F. A. (2012). English in multicultural and multilingual Indonesian education. In A. Kirkpatrick & R. Sussex (Eds.), *English as an international language in Asia: Implications for language education* (Vol. 1, pp. 63–78). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer.

Hartoyo. (2009). Menggagas Madrasah Aliyah bertaraf internasional [Pursuing international-based Islamic Senior High School]. Retrieved from http://hartoyo.wordpress.com/category/seminar-articles/seminardepag-jateng/

Haryanto, E. (2012). Listening to students' voice: A survey of implementation of English as a medium of instruction in an international standard school in Indonesia. *Journal of Education and Practice*, *3*(15), 111–119.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1992). *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Indradno, J. (2011). *Model pengembangan kompetensi guru Rintisan Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional (RSBI) di Jawa Tengah* [Model of Developing Teachers' Competences in International Standard Schools]. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation)), Universitas Negeri Semarang, Semarang.

Kant, I. ([1781], 1993) *Critique of Pure Reason*, London: Everyman.

Kustulasari. (2009). *The international standard school project in Indonesia: A policy document analysis* (Unpublished master's thesis), The Ohio State University. Retrieved from http://etd.ohiolink.edu/view.cgi/ Kustulasari%20Ag.pdf?acc_num=osu1 242851740

For Peer Review Only

Lee, J. (2010). *Ideologies of English in the South Korean "English Immersion" debate*. Selected Proceedings of the 2008 Second Language Research Forum. (Matthew T. Prior et al. Ed.). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. pp. 246-260.

Lie, A. (2007). Education policy and EFL curriculum in Indonesia: Between the commitment to competence and the quest for higher test scores. *Teaching English as a Foreign Language in Indonesia (TEFLIN) Journal*, *18*(1), 1–14.

Lindberg, D. C. (1992). *The beginnings of Western science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McPhail, G & Lourie, M. (2017). Getting real. Is realism a blind spot in research methodology? *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies.* DOI 10.1007/s40841-017-0087-y Retrieved from *https://link.springer.com/journal/40841*

Mahditama, I. (2012, October 29). Interview: On the importance of English language education for students, *The Jakarta Post.* Retrieved from http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2012/10/29/on-importanceenglish-language-education-students.html

Margana. (2013). *Theoretical justification of bilingual education program in Indonesia*. Retrieved from http://www.fllt2013.org/private_folder/Proceeding/772.pdf

Mariati. (2007, July). Menyoal profil sekolah bertaraf internasional [Evaluating the profile of International Standard Schools]. *Journal Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan*, *67*(Tahun ke-13), 566–597.

Martin, R. Y. *English as a Medium of Instruction in the Philippines*. http://www.ue.edu.ph/manila/uetoday/index.php?nav=27.htm&archive=200808

For Peer Review Only

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

Ministry of National Education (MONE). (2009). *MONE Strategic Planning of 2010-2014*. Jakarta: Information and Public Relation, MONE.

Ministry of National Education (MONE). (2011). *Penyelenggaraan Rintisan SMA Bertaraf Internasional* [Implementation of International Standard School Pilot Project]. Jakarta, Indonesia: Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Menengah.

Moutsios, S. (2018). *Society and Education: An outline of comparison*. London: Routledge.

Nola, R. (2001). Review of Michael Matthews, time for science education. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 33(3&4), 427-430.

Palmer, D. (2011). The discourse of transition: Teachers' language ideologies within transitional bilingual education programs. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, *5*(2), 103–122. doi:10.1080/19313152.2011.594019

Pan, L., & Block, D. (2011). English as a "global language" in China: An investigation into learners' and teachers' language beliefs. *System, 39,* 391–402

Permendiknas. (2009). *Penyelenggaraan Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional Pada Jenjang Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah* [Guideline for the implementation of international standard school at primary and secondary levels]. Jakarta, Indonesia: Departemen Pendidikan Nasional.

Piketty, T. (2014). *Capital in the twenty-first century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ramirez, F. O., & Boli, J. (2007). The political construction of mass schooling: European origins and worldwide institutionalisation. In A. R. Sadovnik (Ed.), *Sociology of education: A critical reader* (pp. 199–217). London, UK: Routledge.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Rastogi, V., Tamboto, E., Tong, D., & Sinburimsit, T. (2013). Indonesia's rising middle class and affluent consumers. https://www.google.co.nz/search?q=indonesian+middle+class+growth&oq=indonesian+middle+class&gs_l=psy-ab.1.1.0l3j0i22i30

Retmono. (2011). Bahasa Inggris bukan standar RSBI, Suara Merdeka [English language is not the standard of International Standard School]. Retrieved from http://www.suaramerdeka.com/smcetak/index.php?fuseaction=beritacetak.detailberitacetak&id_beritacetak=140493

Sakhiyya, Z. (2011). Interrogating identity: The International Standard School in Indonesia. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, *19*(3), 345–365.

Sakhiyya, Z. (2018). The Internationalisation of Indonesian Education. Unpublished PhD

thesis, The University of Auckland.

Shore, C., & Wright, S. (2017). Privatizing the Public University Key Trends , Countertrends

and Alternatives. In S. Wright & C. Shore (Eds.), *Death of the Public University: Uncertain futures for higher education in the knowledge economy* (pp. 1–27). Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Sukarelawati, E. (2012, October 11). *Disdik Malang: RSBI wajib gunakan bahasa Inggris* [Malang City Bureau of Education: RSBI must use English [http://www.antarajatim.com/lihat/berita/96784/disdik-malang-rsbi-wajib-gunakan-bahasa-inggris

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Sumintono, B. (2013, January 11). *RSBI: Problems seen in hindsight*. Retrieved from http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/01/11/rsbi-problems-seen-hindsight.html

Sundusiyah, A. (2011). Teachers in international-standard schools: What is missing? What can be improved? What does it take? In Z. Sakhiyya, I. M. A., Arsana, & M. Ramadewi (Eds.), *Education counts! The contribution of Indonesian students studying overseas for education in Indonesia* (pp. 87–108). Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Insight Media.

Taylor, C. (2004). *Modern social imaginaries*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Tan, M. (2011). Mathematics and science teachers' beliefs and practices regarding the teaching of language in content learning. *Language Teaching Research*, *15*(3), 325–342. doi:10.1177/1362168811401153

Tan, M., & Lan, O. S. (2010). Teaching mathematics and science in English in Malaysian classrooms: The impact of teacher beliefs on classroom practices and student learning. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *10*(1), 5–16. doi:10.1016/j.jeap.2010.11.001

Yang, L. F. & Ishak, M. S. A. (2012). Framing controversy over language policy in Malaysia: the coverage of PPSMI reversal (teaching of mathematics and science in English) by Malaysian newspapers. *Asian Journal of Communication*. Vol. 22 Issue 5 pp. 449-473

For Peer Review Only

# ~~Language and Identity in Education: An Example from Indonesia~~

# Language, Globalisation, and National Identity : A Study of English-Medium Policy and Practice in Indonesia

For Peer Review Only

## 1. Introduction

This paper explores the deeper causes for the misalignment between policy intentions and the implementation of the policy by locating that misalignment in the disturbance between two major *imaginary significations* (Castoriados, 1987) of a nation. It draws on a study conducted in Indonesia by Author 1 (2015) which found that teachers experienced considerable difficulties when attempting to implement that nation's English-medium language policy in their classrooms. The purpose of this paper is to use that finding to explain why support for the English language policy in Indonesia's globalisation strategy did not translate into support at the level of educational practice. We use Castoriados' *social imaginary signification* (1987) as the conceptual tool to explain how quickly a legislated policy can fail when it is out of step with a more powerful imaginary signification. The more powerful signification in the Indonesian case is that of *national identity*.

Charles Taylor refers to a social imaginary signification as "that common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy" (2004, p. 23). We argue that the implementation of the English medium instruction policy by the teachers in the study on which we draw showed that the policy did not tap into common practice, hence it

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

failed to acquire wide-spread legitimacy. It is at the implementation stage that the social imaginaries which bind societies acquire the legitimacy required for policy to become embedded as social practice. We further argue, that a key factor in the implementation failure was that a stronger imaginary signification existed, one which does have widespread legitimacy at the level of everyday practice. This is the common understanding of the Indonesian language as the means of communication in that modern pluralist society, a legitimation given by the role this shared language plays in creating an Indonesian national identity in the post-colonial era.

## Methodology

The paper employs a *conceptual methodology* (Author and other author, 2015; Lourie & McPhail, 2016) to conceptualise the explanation we have developed about why the language policy failed at the implementation stage. A conceptual methodology is noted for the use of disciplinary concepts (in the social sciences, these concepts may come from philosophy, anthropology, linguistics, sociology and related disciplines) as the tool used to analyse and explain a phenomenon that is identified and investigated using empirically obtained data. *Social imaginary signification* serves our purpose in explaining the phenomenon of policy implementation because the concept contains with it the idea of the connection between how a people represents themselves to themselves (the social imaginary) and the means by which this imaginary is shared (signifiers or language). The explanatory power of the concept is what justifies its use in this paper.

Like all powerful concepts, the same idea contained in *imaginary signifiications* is known in other ways. For example, Bourdieu (1979) uses the term "shared reality" (Bourdieu, 1979, p.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

79) to refer to the collective consciousness of a social group, one created through a shared means of communication, that is, the national language of the modern pluralist nation (Durkheim, 1912/2001; Author 2, 2017). The *imaginary* of the modern pluralist nation (Anderson, 1983), one which unites historically distinct ethnic groups, is legitimised and strengthened as the shared means of communication is accepted as *our language* in everyday practice. As with other countries in the nation-building project of the twentieth century (Hobsbawn, 1992), the social glue or collective means of self-representation created by a common national language justified the acceptance of Bahasa Indonesian in the post-Independence era.

The usefulness of a conceptual methodological is not confined to the power of disciplinary concepts. It also enables us to connect the explanation to the problem or phenomenon we wish to explain. Often the problem is identified empirically as was the case with the English medium policy failure in Indonesian classrooms although we are aware that a problem may be identified though philosophical inquiry only (Author, 2012). Unlike interpretivist methodologies where the explanation is drawn from the empirically obtained data, a conceptual methodology recognises that it is not possible to generalise from the particular experience (Lourie & McPhail, 2016). Concepts, on the other hand, allow for the particular (in our case, the implementation of a policy) to illustrate an argument. Kant (1781/1993) is one of many philosophers in a tradition from Parmenides and Zeno to Descartes (Lindberg, 1992) who recognised the limitations of explaining from the particular rather than the explanation being drawn from the idea and applied to the particular instance. He noted that a "concept will not let itself be limited to experience, because it deals with a cognition … of which the empirical is only one part; no actual experience is fully sufficient for it, but every experience belongs to it" (Kant, 1781/1993, p. 394).

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

How do we connect the conceptually-derived explanation to the empirically identified problem given that there is no exact correspondence between the idea and experience (Author 2, 2012)? According to Nola (2001) a "degree of fit" (p. 429) is all we can hope for in making the argument that the chosen concept(s) does in fact provide a logical explanation of the problem or phenomenon. In seeking to justify the connnection we make between imaginary significations and the English-medium policy we have adapted Taylor's idea of "widespread legitimacy" as the methodological device to connect the "imaginary signification" concept to the data taken from the study. This enables us to ask; What language policy has sufficient social legitimacy to enable it to be embedded in practice? Our argument is the response to that question. We claim that Bahasa Indonesian, despite being a relatively recent national language, does have legitimacy as the nation's imaginary signifier. In contrast, English, despite being promoted as necessary for Indonesia's global economic strategy, has not acquired sufficient legitimacy in the minds of the people for it to be accepted as a medium of instruction in schools. When comparing the two significations we also argue that the dominance of the former in its role as the collective means of a society's self-representation contributed to the failure of the latter.

The empirical study which Author 1 (2015) undertook for a doctoral dissertation investigated how secondary school teachers coped with the legislated requirement that they teach their respective subjects, Mathematics and Science, in the English language. The Indonesian government had introduced the English language policy for public schools in 2006. Teachers were to develop their students' English language skills through English-medium instruction in Mathematics and Science subjects (*Permendiknas*, 2009) and to promote habitual English use inside the school (*Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan*

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

*Menengah*, [Ministry of National Education, MONE], 2011). However the decree of *Mahkamah Konstitusi*/the Indonesian Constitutional Court, in 2013, revoked the policy (Sumintono, 2013). The policy lasted a mere eight years. Its failure required explanation especially given the supportive context of a growing commitment by South-East Asian governments to English language policies as part of the region's economic strategy. This paper problematicises that failure.

## Context of the problem

Indonesia is not alone in the experience of top-down English language educational policy (Hadisantosa, 2010; Hamied, 2012; Margana, 2013; Mariati, 2007). As we discuss in the section about English language education in South-East Asia below, a number of developing countries, including Malaysia (Tan, 2011; Tan & Lan, 2010), Thailand (Bax, 2010), South Korea (Bax, 2010; Lee, 2010), the Phillipines (Martin, 2011), and Pakistan (Channa, 2012) are attempting to fast-track their entrance into the global economy. The status of English as the *lingua franca* (Pan & Block, 2011) exerts pressure on governments to provide education in English as a language of instruction and communication; that is, a language that can be used, rather than as one of a number of languages offered to students as a subject for study. In almost all of these countries, the policy has been withdrawn or falters along, suggesting that an explanation needs to be found beyond the economic sphere. Hence our turn to an explanatory tool which enabled us to look at the wider role of language in modern society, as more than an economic instrument. *Imaginary significations* is that tool.

We use the Indonesian study to illustrate how teachers responded to government initiatives to encourage the use of English as a medium of instruction (henceforth, EMOI) in public schools



URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

and in higher education institutions. This description leads to a discussion of the role of language in nation-building, specifically as the means by which the imaginary significations of a modern nation-state are created (Anderson, 1983). We are able to ask, what happens to the associated policies and practices when one signification does not acquire widespread legitimacy?

The impetus for the policy initiative, and for its subsequent failure can be traced to the influence of geopolitical forces on nation-state policy, and in the case we refer to, on education policy specifically. These forces, which enable the acceptance of the neoliberal market ideology of an aggressive global capitalism by independent nation-states (Piketty, 2014), are played out in developing countries with rapidly expanding middle classes. In Indonesia, "middle class affluent consumers (MACs) represent about 30 percent of the population, or 74 million people. About 8 million to 9 million people currently enter the MAC segment each year, and by 2020, this group will reach a total of 141 million people, or 53 percent of the population" (Rastogi, Tamboto, Tong, & Sinburimsit, 201, p. 6). These well-educated professionals in Indonesia and other South-East Asian countries support their various governments' moves into the global economy. With those moves come a degree of acceptance of the English language (Pan & Block, 2011), or a *growing legitimacy* to use Taylor's term (2004). However, they are the class that benefitted from the rising nationalism which accompanied the various independence movements in South-East Asia following the Second World War. For Indonesia, it is a nationalism that places Bahasa Indonesian as the *imaginary signification* at the centre of its identity. In other words, Bahasa Indonesian has widespread legitimacy as the language of modern Indonesia. It is possible that the tension between globalisation and nationalism which is played out in the Bahasa Indonesian – English language conflict explored in this paper echoes

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

the same tension illustrated by Brexit nationalism and by that seen in the United States and some European nations. The response of nationalist movements to globalisation is the expression of two competing significations about how people understand themselves (the *imaginary*).

Prior to the turn of this century, developing countries in South-East Asia, including Indonesia, were a source of cheap labour for global corporations. However in the last two decades, countries like Indonesia are acquiring a new position on the world economic stage, mainly through the growing influence of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) regional bloc. The region is shifting from providing cheap labour for global corporations to providing a huge, middle-class consumer base. One of the observable effects of this expansive economic development can be seen in higher education policy. Universities, such as those in Indonesia, are looking outward to the world, seeking world class university status in the global higher education market (Sakhiyya, 2018). The English language is a crucial part of this globalising strategy, not only for the higher education *business* (Shore & Wright, 2017) but for the economy more broadly.

The governments of these South-East Asian nations that are increasingly facing outwards to the global economy justify the inclusion of English in their respective education systems by claiming that they are preparing young people for a globalised future (Permendiknas, 2009; Hadisantosa, 2010). And yet there is ambiguity in this position. On the one hand, they face outwards using assertive internationalisation strategies (Sakhiyya, 2018). On the other hand, the nationalism which benefits from that assertion is not only about the economy. It is about

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3 the nation's cultural identity, its main *imaginary signification*, one created in large part by a
4
5 unifying language.
6
7
8
9
10 Guibernau and Rex explain how the nation-state, once created "actively promote(s) the cultural
11
12 homogenisation of its members" (1997, pp. 4–5). The emergence of the Indonesian language
13
14 from its Malay history, a process we describe below, can be understood in terms of this cultural
15
16 homogenisation imperative. Indeed the cultural identity (the *national imaginary*) that is
17
18 Indonesia is centred on the Indonesian language. The study indicated that, while there was no
19
20 opposition from the teachers to the English language *per se*, there was concern that, by using
21
22 English as the medium of instruction, Indonesian identity would be negatively affected. A
23
24 teacher in the study captures this idea saying: "Why should we put ourselves out while we can
25
26 use our own language" and "I think each language has its own place" (Author 1, 2015, p. 61).
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34 The article is structured in the following way. The next section is an account of the emergence
35
36 of the Indonesian language within the Independence struggle. Our purpose is to show the
37
38 integral place on the language in the nation's identity, a position supported by the overview of
39
40 countries that, like Indonesia, are experiencing difficulties implementing English language
41
42 policies in their education systems. Section three is an account of the establishment and
43
44 withdrawal of the English-medium language policy. This is followed in section four by an
45
46 account of the study undertaken in the school. It shows how the teachers attempted to put the
47
48 policy into practice but were frustrated, not only by the reality that their English language
49
50 competency was inadequate for the task, but because they were committed to language as the
51
52 legitimate national identity; the nation's *imaginary signifier*. They believed that Bahasa
53
54 Indonesian should be the language of Indonesian schools. There was a direct confrontation
55
56 between this belief and the government's justification for switching to English, one made in
57
58
59
60



For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

economic instrumental terms. It is this confrontation which, we argue, indicates a legitimation problem.

We conclude, in a brief final section, by discussing the role of language in national identity to argue that this policy in particular touched two of the nation's key *imaginary significations*, placing them in conflict. For Indonesia, these are, on the one hand, its self-representation as a cohesive modern nation with an Indonesian identity. On the other hand, the nation's self-representation as an internationally recognised member of the global economy, a status that brings with it political recognition, promotes an outward looking sense of identity—a representation justifying the English language policy.

**Language and national identity**

The Indonesian language comes from the struggle against Dutch colonisation which led to the estabishment of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945. In 1908, Budi Utomo, the first Indonesian nationalist organisation, promoted Malay as the national language in order to provide a counter to Dutch language policy. Its transformation into *Indonesian* occurred in 1928, in the manifesto of the Youth of Indonesia. *Sumpah Pemuda* (The Oath of The Young People) "pledged the willingness of every Indonesian to be unified in one nation, one earth, and one language: Indonesia" (Hallam, 1997, n.p.). The word *Malay* was replaced by *Bahasa Indonesia* as the name of the language and the first Indonesia Language Congress was held in 1938. With the Japanese occupation in 1942 Indonesians were taught Japanese in all schools, a practice which served to reinforce the growing identification of the people to Indonesian as their language. Hallam



URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com

For Peer Review Only

(1997) notes that it was the Japanese who, in 1942 as a pragmatic response to the reality of language use, established the first Commission for the Indonesian Language. The Commission was to make decisions about vocabulary and write a common grammar. In 1945, Indonesian was declared the official language. The various indigenous local languages, include Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Maduranese, Baso Minang and many more continue to be used in homes and communities but, for the first time, there is a national language that represents the self-representation of Indonesia as a nation.

The Indonesian language is therefore the result of the Independence movement and the creation of the nation. The teachers interviewed in the study recognised that the education system, especially as a public system, has a wider role in, and for, Indonesian society. This role may be understood in relation to sociological theories about the purpose of national education systems in modern nation-state building (Ramirez & Boli, 2007). Public education systems became central institutions in the new nation-states of the 19th and 20th centuries, as a crucial part of the nation-building enterprise. This applies to those at the beginning of the era, such as the United States and those in more recent times such as Indonesia (Hobsbawm, 1992). They were to unify ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups into the one imaginary modern nation (Anderson, 1983).

It is only in a national education system that the *collective representations* (Durkheim, 1912/2001) or *imaginary significations* (Castoriadis, 1987) of a society's symbolic system are reproduced. These terms refer to the way in which a society understands itself; the means of communication which enables normative agreement; its source of cohesive identity; *collective representations* (what Bourdieu describes as "shared reality" [1979, p. 79]) that integrate diverse groups into a stable and cohesive society with its own identity. According to Durkheim





For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

(1912/2001, cited in Bourdieu, 1979), the modern symbolic system is "a homogeneous conception of time, space, number and cause which make agreement possible between intelligences" (p. 79). He considered that the collective representations developed and reproduced in the symbolic sphere achieved this purpose because they provided both the "means of communication required for normative agreement and the instruments of thought" required to create this shared reality (cited in Bourdieu, 1979, p. 79).

In the family and community, older, more traditional languages and practices are often maintained. However at school, all children are taught in the national language. Bahasa Indonesian was developed to serve this purpose, to be the symbolic medium of the new national identity. It is for that reason that it is the language of instruction of Indonesian schools. The English as a medium of instruction policy confronted that language's significance; its *meaning*, and replaced it with a foreign language chosen for its narrow function as an instrument of the economy. By ignoring the primary function of language as the means of symbolic representation (or *imaginary signification*), the balance between the economic and symbolic dimensions was altered (Bernstein, 2000). As one of the teachers said:

> Where are we taking our students to? To what direction? Why do we have to use English? If they continue their study in universities in Indonesia, we do not need to insist teaching in English. If students plan to continue to study abroad, English is a must. But, if they study at universities in Indonesia, our time to study English can be used to study additional content subject. (Author 1, 2015, p. 63)

The intrusion of something that is not seen to contribute to the nation-building and unifying role (that of the introduction of a foreign language as a means of instruction) is at odds with

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

the implicit understanding of what the education system is for. For the Indonesian government, and for the many other countries that we note in the next section who are also pursuing this policy, the purpose is to be competitve in the global economy. Therefore we argue that the unease, even in some cases hostility, towards using English in this way (although not to the English language *per se*) which was expressed by some of the teachers in the study can be understood in terms of the tension to the balance between the symbolic and the economic. On the one hand, a government looks outward to the global economy. On the other, the teachers look to their role in producing well-educated young people for not only a prosperous nation, but one that has the means to be unified and stable.

Although the study we refer to in the article was conducted in Indonesia, a number of non-English speaking countries are seeking to introduce EMOI into their education systems. These countries include Malaysia (Tan, 2011), the Philippines (Martin, 2011), Thailand and South Korea (Bax, 2010), Pakistan (Channa, 2012). For example, in 2003 a change in language of instruction policy was applied to Mathematics and Science subjects in Malaysia with the language of instruction switched from Bahasa Malaysia, to English. It was intended to produce a "generation of scientifically and technologically knowledgeable students who are fluent in English and able to contribute to the economic growth and development of the country" (Tan & Lan, 2010, p. 6). Following protests by Chinese schools in Malaysia, a compromise was reached. Science and Mathematics were to be taught in English and Mandarin, not solely in English (Yang & Ishak, 2012). However, even the compromise could not help and the policy was withdrawn in 2008.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

A similar initiative launched in the Philippines in 2003 was also suspended (Martin, 2011). In Thailand, the English programme requires that at least two core subjects (out of the total of nine subjects) are taught in English. Significantly, the subjects exclude the Thai language and social studies with aspects related to Thai culture and national identity (Keyuravong 2008, p. 3, cited in Bax, 2010, p. 11). However, as with the other countries, Thailand is facing various problems related to both teachers who teach the subject of English and those who use English as the medium for teaching other content (Bax, 2010).

The South Korean government's concerns about English language education led to the adoption of a bilingual/immersion approach - *mol-ib* which included the teaching of content subjects such as Maths and Science using English. A small number of schools (up to 10 in the Seoul area, for example) became involved in a *mol-ib* scheme. (Bax, 2010, p. 53) but the policy was *withdrawn* in the midst of strong public opposition. In Pakistan, a study conducted by Channa (2012) showed the use of ELMI (English Language as the Medium of Instruction) in teaching Science subjects to the students who studied Science as their major. However the policy was also terminated.

For Peer Review Only

**English language policy in Indonesia**

In 2006, the Indonesian MONE published a new educational policy for secondary schools. Like the policies we note earlier in other South-East Asian nations the policy was designed to include English as the medium of instruction in Science and Mathematics classrooms as part of the broader internationalisation strategies being pursued in education and other government institutions. It was to be achieved by re-designating selected schools as International Standard Schools. (Act of Republic of Indonesia No. 20 Year 2003 on National Education System,

Article 50, clause 3). Following the design of the policy, the government nominated hundreds of top public schools to be developed as international schools (Sakhiyya, 2011; Sundusiyah, 2011).

The International Standard Schools were to meet the broad goals of preparing Indonesia for the migration of professionals from Indonesia and also into the country—the *human resources* of the global knowledge economy. In this way, Indonesia would become more competitive in the international job market and an attractive destination for foreign-owned companies operating in Indonesia. English plays a major role in the country's economic development (Depdiknas, 2009; Hadisantosa, 2010; Hartoyo, 2009). The tourism industry, in particular, is a major contributor to the country's gross domestic product (GDP) by creating foreign exchange earnings and employment opportunities for Indonesians. This contribution to employment in particular is not to be understated. Nearly nine percent of Indonesia's total national workforce is employed in the tourism sector (www.indonesia.investments), a sector requiring English language competency (Mahditama, 2012).

Similarly, the education sector in Indonesia views the English language as a tool for the development and dissemination of information and communication technology and science. English competencies are considered essential for students to keep up with the latest developments (Depdiknas, 2009), hence the implementation of the policy in the re-designated public schools named as *Rintisan Sekolah Bertaraf International* (or, Pioneer International Standard Schools) (Permendiknas, 2009). The intention was to develop teaching and learning processes that complied with the international standards of developed countries (MONE, 2011; Permendiknas, 2009). In 2006, when the policy was introduced, there were 1,305 Pioneer International Standard Schools in Indonesia; 239 were primary schools. There were 356 junior



For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

high schools, 359 senior high schools, and 351 vocational high schools (Sukarelawati, 2012). Students who attended these schools were chosen on the basis of their school enrolment test, including an English language test. As a consequence of this enrolment criterion and the additional resources, the schools are widely regarded as elite schools (Retmono, 2011).

However, there was controversy over the use of English in Mathematics and Science subjects in the Pioneer International Standard Schools—especially over the quality of the English-medium instruction and the lack of bilingual teachers, but most notably because Mathematics and Science teachers with little or no English competency were expected to teach their subjects in that language (Indradno, 2011; Sundusiyah, 2011). In addition, the schools were criticised for reducing the use of the Indonesian language (Retmono, 2011). By 2013, the mounting criticism and the obvious failure of the policy at classroom level led to the decree of *Mahkamah Konstitusi*, the Indonesian Constitutional Court (Sumintono, 2013, January 11). This stipulated that the Pioneer International Standard Schools must return to their original status as regular schools. It required the withdrawal of English-medium instruction from the school. Since then, English is no longer used as the medium of instruction to teach content subjects. It remains a separate subject as it has long been a complusory subject in secondary schools since Indonesian Independence in 1945 (Lie, 2007).

For Peer Review Only

The withdrawal of the policy appears a failure. English-medium instruction was promoted throughout the country as an important innovation and something that would contribute significantly towards Indonesia's emergence as a global player (Coleman, 2009). Indeed the government initially promoted the policy in these terms. According to MONE (2005, 2009) and DGPSEM (2007a, 2007b) the schools were to provide education with national and international standards that would enable graduates to compete internationally to a level higher

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

than, if not equal to, those in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. Government resources were provided to ensure that the policy did work. So why did the policy fail so completely that it was withdrawn? In the next section we address this question by identifying a fundamental misalignment between teachers' attitudes towards the English language and the government's expectations.

**The study**

The study (Author 1, 2015) of the English language programme at a public senior high school was undertaken in 2012, one year before the policy was rescinded, so at a time when the problems had become quite obvious. Ehnographic methods were used to collect the data because, according to Creswell (2013) they allow, "the researcher [to rely] on the participants' views as an insider emic perspective and reports them in verbatim quotes, and then synthesizes the data filtering it through the researchers' etic scientific perspective to develop an overall cultural interpretation. This cultural interpretation is a description of the group and themes related to the theoretical concepts being explored in the study" (p. 92). The collection of the teachers' views in this way has enabled us to proceed further in this paper and use these views to illustrate our argument about why the policy failed.

The school was located in a large city in the province of Central Java with a predominantly Javanese population. The researcher shadowed five teachers of Geography, Biology, Mathematics, Chemistry, and Information Communication Technology (ICT) in their classrooms over two months. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) suggested that ethnographic research usually has the feature of focusing on a single setting or group of people to facilitate in-depth study. With the purpose of prioritising detailed insights, the first author included





For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

teacher participants who taught different subjects to enhance the extent and depth of convictions about English language use.

Each of the five had a bachelor degree majoring in the respective content subjects. They had studied English as a compulsory subject when they were at junior high school, senior high school, and at university where English was taught only in one to two semesters. Significantly, none of the teachers had experienced special training in English-medium instruction during their study at university. After the school where they worked was designated a Pioneer International Standard School in the academic year of 2009/2010, both the Maths and Science teachers were directed by school executives to take short English professional development courses. These were conducted either by local government officials or the school.

Data were collected in a variety of ways and were extensive. Collection included whole-school observations, participatory observation where the researcher sat in the classroom for lengthy periods, field notes, in-depth interviews, reviewing school documents, and audio-video recordings of classroom activities. In addition, informal conversations were held during and after the school hours. These multiple sources of data collection constituted a real strength of the study. It meant that the researcher had the opportunity to immerse herself in the school and to conduct whole-school observations and classroom observations that enriched the interviews with the teachers (Palmer, 2011, p. 109).

These interviews were a revealing source of material about the English language policy. Each teacher was interviewed several times and the discussions were in-depth and free-ranging. The teachers were encouraged to speak freely and all were happy to do so. They spoke about their family's background, friends, and social networks before turning to describe the languages they



URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com

For Peer Review Only

used in their daily and teaching lives. These conversations included describing how they used Javanese, Indonesian, and English in daily interactions, any connection with English communities of practice, and broader professional matters concerning their teaching goals and education in general. However the main topic of each interview was their experiences in teaching their content subject using English. The researcher asked about their perceptions, opinions, views, feelings, and attitudes toward English-medium instruction in their classes and to using English the school more widely. They were asked in English first to test their level of understanding and communication in the language. Significantly, all five teachers preferred using either Indonesian or Javanese. This gave them the freedom to speak in depth and to explore the nuances and ambiguities that arise when people speak of their experiences.

We have grouped some of the pertinent findings into three main themes of classroom practice, the teacher, and cultural identity which best demonstrate the points at which the policy's implementation failed.

***Classroom practice***

One finding was the frequency of code-switching practices, rather than the use of English only. The teachers alternated between Indonesian and English throughout the lesson. It was used to encourage students to focus on the content and to be more responsive by asking questions and contributing ideas. The Maths and Geography teachers said that including Indonesian helped their students understand what was being said.

> Perhaps not all students will understand my explanation if I speak in English all the time. So, I have to do like that, translating. I used to mixing, Indonesian mixed with English. They want me not to use much English in my lesson. (Author 1, 2015, p. 78)

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

The teachers frequently translated the English they used. An example from a Biology class where the students were learning about the skeleton showed how the need to translate scientific terms had the effect of reducing a lesson to a translation class where terms were constantly repeated rather than it being a lesson about biological concepts and content.

The teachers frequently switched from English into Indonesian to save face when their linguistic competence failed them. The Biology teacher said that his limited English meant that he used it only to introduce students to Biology terms and to greet students and check the roll. The Maths teacher said that she did not dare to say some numbers in English because she was not sure how to pronounce them. The ICT teacher did not use English at all, not a single word, saying his vocabulary and grammar were not good enough. He spoke of "not having the nerve" (Author 1, 2015, p. 56) to teach in English adding that he felt both hesitant and frightened. However, he did ask his students to speak in English when presenting their group discussion work, and interestingly, they did.

For Peer Review Only

The researcher observed a group of four students presenting their group discussion with PowerPoint presentations in English. They even answered their friends' questions in English. Despite some grammatical mistakes and inappropriate word choice, this group's effort to speak in English was commendable, given the difficult nature of the topic *wireless and wireline*. Why did they use English when their teacher did not? Perhaps they were motivated by a mixture of their teacher's encouragement and by the extra marks for those who used either spoken or written English. The fact that the students prepared their slides prior to class also helped. A

similar negotiation between teacher and students occurred in the Chemistry class. Initially the students were required to use English. However the teachers allowed them to speak in Indonesian to present the results of their group discussion. The students had not prepared them previously so these involved stuttering and stumbling. The teacher was aware of the anxiety this created, hence her decision to allow the students to use Indonesian. This teacher, like the others, were more concerned with their students' understanding of the lesson content and of maintaining their motivation. Using English was secondary to these pedagogical priorities. What the researcher found was that these were normal subject lessons in Indonesian with the annoying imposition of English foisted on the teachers from outside.

The teachers in the programme were subject specialists, not English language users. The result was to be expected; a mixture of noticeable inaccuracies in grammar, word choice, and pronunciation. Often they were unaware of these errors, or they knew they made errors but did not know when they were correct and when they were not. Several of the teachers said that it was fine for them to make mistakes because they were still learning English, mentioning that the students did seem to understand. However, there are a number of problems with this. In the context of second language acquisition, errors or mistakes in using a foreign language without any corrective feedback are likely to result in the errors becoming fixed by the teacher (Ellis, 2008; Fidler, 2006; Gass & Selinker, 2008). Students might consider the language their teachers used was accurate and adopt this language use, leading to further confusion. The imput into students' language from their teachers' use is their students' language input has a determining function in language acquisition (Ellis, 2008). According to Astika and Wahyana (2010), Indonesian students should be exposed to correct English (p. 19). Inaccurate teacher modelling will lead to incorrect grammar, pronunciation and word choice by the students. The subject teachers in the study did in fact have an important role as language models for their



For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

students but were unaware of the significance of this. In addition to the problems specific to language, there are also implications for the subjects being taught. When the teacher uses words incorrectly, the meaning of the concepts being taught is also compromised.

### *The teachers*

Given these problems it is not surprising that the teachers found using English not only difficult and a source of anxiety, but also time-consuming. They all said that teaching in English took double the time as teaching in Indonesian.

According to the Chemistry teacher:

> If I teach in English, it means double working because I must translate into Indonesian to make sure my students understand my explanation. It's faster to explain using Indonesian.

The Maths teacher agreed:

> My students need longer time to understand my explanation if I used English, compared to when I used Indonesian. They did not comprehend a lesson easily when delivered in English. Sometimes they asked me, mam, what is it in Indonesian, so I had to explain it again in Indonesian. It takes longer time and takes my energy.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Repeating the content knowledge firstly in English then in Indonesian took much of the time allocated to the lesson, reducing the time for the actual lesson itself.

The effect of the policy of the teachers' profesional wellbeing was considerable with all those interviewed saying that having to use English-medium instruction made them anxious in relation to their own work and envious of their colleagues who did not need to use English. It reduced their confidence and produced a very real sense of carrying an impossible burden. The burden was two-fold. Not only did they have to learn English themselves but they had to learn how to teach their subjects in this unfamiliar language. It was not surprising that they thought the English-medium policy was unattainable. Two of the older teachers, both highly experienced in their subjects, said it was too late to learn English at their age.

> Students are smarter. They take English private courses after school. And they are still young. They easily learn a foreign language, whereas I have many things to take care of. So, it's difficult for me to learn English.

He added that learning English meant making a considerable "personal sacrifice."

> If I always focus on learning English at all times, my other tasks and responsibility as a teacher, a father, and in my community will be in a mess. English comes to me very late. I am above 50 [years old] now, so when can I study English? I do not have time [to study English].

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Not surprisingly, he compared his predicament to that of the teachers who were not required to teach using English:

> Ask the teachers who teach English subject to teach Biology. I am sure they cannot do it. So, what I mean is just teaching as usual. Do not make teachers afraid by asking us to teach in English. Yes, many colleagues are afraid of teaching in English. Many of them got stressed complaining their difficulties and inabilities speaking in English. Students, too. Actually both teachers and students complain.

***Language and identity***

"*Kita punya bahasa sendiri*" (We have our own language) was the phrase most often used by the teachers when referring to the English language policy.

According to the ICT teacher:

> I think each language has its own place. When teachers go home seeing their families, involved in their societies and communities, they absolutely use the languages spoken by their families and communities.

For Peer Review Only

He clearly meant that English was not a widely used language so he thought it would be strange to use English while others did not use the language. The Biology teacher used similar sentiments, speaking both Indonesian and Javanese: "*Kenapa sih ndadak repot-repot? Wong dengan bahasa kita sendiri saja kita bisa.*" [Why should we put ourselves out while we can use our own language?]. He added:

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

> Our environment is not supportive because our official and national language is Indonesian and because we are Javanese living in Javanese communities. We speak Javanese too.

All members of the school community spoke Indonesian and Javanese. On a very few occasions they spoke a few words or sentences in English if they were asked in English by those who taught English as a subject. The teacher in the comment immediately above claimed that the Indonesian and Javanese languages had a wider range of vocabulary which could express specific intended meanings which were not possible in his English vocabulary. He said there were no English equivalents available to him with his lack of English proficiency for certain Javanese or Indonesian words, certainly none that enabled him to express nuances and complexities of meaning.

The teachers discussed the matter of language and identity with one noting that using English in teaching could cause trouble because it was not the language of the nation. It did not show his Indonesian identity. Given that "language is an index, symbol and marker of identity" (Baker, 2011, p. 45) this teacher's comment that being an Indonesian meant using the Indonesian language as the symbol of Indonesian national identity made sense for him and for the others.

One of the older, experienced teachers was doubtful about the benefits of English in Indonesia:

> Where are we taking our students to? To what direction? Why do we have to use English? If they continue their study in universities in Indonesia, we do not need to insist teaching in English. If students plan to continue to study abroad, English is a must. But, if they

For Peer Review Only

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

> study at universities in Indonesia, our time to study English can be used to study additional subject content.

Other teachers spoke of Indonesian as the country's national language. They saw the school as a state institution and Indonesian as the official and national language. The comment, "We have our own language" or similar phrases were used frequently.

For Peer Review Only

The teachers' comments provided insights into how English was regarded. There was concern expressed that colleagues might regard teachers who spoke English as strange as it seemed inappropriate to use English among people of Indonesian nationality.

> If I initiated to speak English, I might be laughed at. They [my colleagues] would think I was like pretending as if I were an English native speaker and acting as if I were a Westerner [Javanese: halah sok keinggris-inggrisan]. If they don't like, they will talk behind our back. Actually I can ignore them. It doesn't matter they call me acting like Westerners [*keinggris-inggrisan*]. But I don't feel comfortable with such a comment. I should know my position. I am glad if I am addressed in English or asked to chat in English [by my colleagues] as long as it is not my own initiative because I am not an English subject teacher.

*Halah, sok keinggris-inggrisan* (it is like imitating Westerners) is to be avoided, or so this teacher implies. Others too, were concerned that if they practised English they might be considered "different" people. This contributed to their reluctance to practise English. The use of conversational English by mainly young teachers tended to elicit defensiveness from the

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

mainly older teachers who could not speak, or who had limited, English. Negative comments would be made, for example, "*Halah sok keinggris-inggrisan*" (imitating Englishmen or Westerners by speaking English) to teachers who practised English at school, perhaps even seen as boastful.

> Sometimes when some teachers spoke English as a kind of practice at school, some colleagues might label them kemlinthi [acting up so proudly]. This expression is not directly addressed to teachers who spoke English, but it was said to other teachers. And eventually teachers who spoke English would know that their colleagues have a negative opinion about them because they practised English. This may be part of our culture. We sometimes view someone who has skills beyond ours and uses the skills in everyday practices where not all people can acquire these skills as a person who was kemlinthi.

The tendency to criticise, or the fear of criticism, for those who spoke English did have a discouraging effect. A revealing comment from one of the teachers showed that he stopped using English so that he would not appear boastful.

> I myself admitted that I became lack of using English. Because if I insisted on using English, my colleagues would think I am "looking for a face". (Kalau saya bertahan nanti saya dikira nggolek rai [Indonesian mixed with Javanese utterances]).

*Nggolek rai* is a Javanese idiomatic expression that means expecting other people to compliment you. It has been translated literally in English above as "looking for a face" to capture the idiomatic nuance. The good opinion of his colleagues mattered to this teacher. He

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

did not want his colleagues to label him *nggolek rai*, someone who sought compliments from those in charge.

## Conclusion

We have identified two main reasons why the English as a medium of instruction and communication policy failed. These reasons operate at different levels. Clearly the policy failed because teachers could not implement it for all the reasons we identify in the description of the study above. They did not speak English, the professional development courses were totally inadequate, and they did not believe in the policy the way those who initiated and designed the policy did. However, these problems were at the phenomonal level and are all open to remediation. What is of interest to us is at the deeper level and led to the argument developed in this paper.

For Peer Review Only

Given the commitment of Indonesia (its government and middle-class) to the country's global economic strategy and the recognition of the importance of English language in this strategy, why did a policy designed to develop English language users fail so completely that the policy was withdraw. The fact that Indonesia is not alone in the failure of policies to embed a globalisation strategy in the hearts and minds of the people, including those who would benefit from it, suggested that a sociological explanation was required. The explanation could not be found in the empirical material, although the study's findings did enable us to identify the problem at a phenomonal level and also enabled us to illustrate how the problem was experienced in the teachers' practice.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

The sociological concept of *imaginary significations* provided the tool with which to understand the conflict between a language's two roles in the ways a society sees itself (its self-representation or *imaginary*) and in the way it shares that collective consciousness, that is, the use of signifers). In Indonesia the balance between two main imaginary significations; those deep self-representations of *who we are*, the collective identity on the one hand and the idea of *who we will be* were out of alignment. The government saw the role of the English language in terms of its economic ambitions. Indonesia was to enter the global economy, specifically the global knowledge economy, and the education system was to provide the human resources to enable this. The teachers, however, understood the education system that they were committed to, as the means to reproduce children into Indonesia, into the nation. For them, the language *is* the nation. Therefore, we argue that the fairly rapid failure of the English as the medium of instruction policy was the result of the confrontation between these two opposing *imaginary significations* about what a national language means for the people who use it in education.

## References

Author 1, 2015

Author 2, 2012, 2017

Author and other, 2016

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism*. London, UK: Verso.

Astika, G., & Wahyana, A. (2010). *Model pembelajaran MIPA bilingual dalam rangka mendukung keberhasilan program Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional di Jawa Tengah* [Model of Mathematics and Science bilingual lessons in support of the success of

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

International Standard School program in Central Java]. Salatiga: Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana.

Baker, C. (2011). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (5th ed.). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Bax, S. (2010). *Researching English bilingual education in Thailand, Indonesia and South Korea*. P. Powell-Davies (Ed.). Retrieved from http://www.britishcouncil.org/publication_2_-_researching_english_bilingual_education.pdf

Bernstein, B. (2000). *Pedagogy, symbolic control and identity* (Rev. ed.). New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield.

Bourdieu, P. (1979). Symbolic power. *Critique of Anthropology*, *4*, 77–85.

Castoriadis, C. (1987). *The imaginary institution of society*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Channa, M. A. (2012). Teachers' perceptions towards English language as medium of instruction in Pakistan. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*. (September), *4*,(5), pp. 759-764.

Coleman, H. (2009). Indonesia's international standard schools': What are they for? Paper presented at the The 8th Language and Development Conference, Dhaka. http://www.acsa.edu.au/pages/images/Simone%20Smala%20-%20Introducing%20content%20and%20language.pdf

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design : choosing among five approaches* (3rd edition. ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Depdiknas. (2009). *Rencana Strategies Departemen Pendidikan Nasional Tahun 2010-2014* [Ministry of National Education Strategic Planning of 2010-2014]. Jakarta, Indonesia: Departemen Pendidikan Nasional.

DGPSEM. (2007a). *Panduan penyelenggaraan rintisan SMA bertaraf internasional* [Guideline for the implementation of international standard high school]. Jakarta: Directorate General for Primary and Secondary Education Management (DGPSEM).

DGPSEM. (2007b). *Sistem penyelenggaraan Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional untuk pendidikan dasar dan menengah* [Implementation system for international standard school in primary and secondary education]. Jakarta: Directorate General for Primary and Secondary Education Management (DGPSEM).

Durkheim, E. (1912/2001). *The elementary forms of religious life*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Ellis, R. (2008). *The study of second language acquisition* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fidler, A. (2006). Reconceptualizing fossilization in second language acquisition: a review. *Second Language Research*, 22(3), 398-411. doi: 10.1191/0267658306sr273ra

Gass, S. M., & Selinker, L. (2008). *Second language acquisition an introductory course* Retrieved from http://ezproxy.usq.edu.au/login?url=http://www.USQ.eblib.com.au/EBL Web/patron?target=patron&extendedid=P_325577_0&

Guibernau, M., & Rex, J. (Eds.). (1997). *The ethnicity reader: Nationalism, multiculturalism and migration*. London, UK: Polity Press.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Hadisantosa, N. (2010). *Learning through English: Policies, challenges and prospects: Insights from East Asia.* R. Johnstone (Ed.). Malaysia: British Council.

Hallen, C. H. (1999). *Language contact and its influence in Bahasa Indonesia's phonemic system.* Retrieved from http://linguistics.byu.edu/classes/Ling450ch/reports/bahasa.htm

Hamied, F. A. (2012). English in multicultural and multilingual Indonesian education. In A. Kirkpatrick & R. Sussex (Eds.), *English as an international language in Asia: Implications for language education* (Vol. 1, pp. 63–78). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer.

Hartoyo. (2009). Menggagas Madrasah Aliyah bertaraf internasional [Pursuing international-based Islamic Senior High School]. Retrieved from http://hartoyo.wordpress.com/category/seminar-articles/seminardepag-jateng/

Haryanto, E. (2012). Listening to students' voice: A survey of implementation of English as a medium of instruction in an international standard school in Indonesia. *Journal of Education and Practice*, *3*(15), 111–119.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1992). *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Indradno, J. (2011). *Model pengembangan kompetensi guru Rintisan Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional (RSBI) di Jawa Tengah* [Model of Developing Teachers' Competences in International Standard Schools]. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation)), Universitas Negeri Semarang, Semarang.

Kant, I. ([1781], 1993) *Critique of Pure Reason*, London: Everyman.

Kustulasari. (2009). *The international standard school project in Indonesia: A policy*

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

*document analysis* (Unpublished master's thesis), The Ohio State University. Retrieved from http://etd.ohiolink.edu/view.cgi/ Kustulasari%20Ag.pdf?acc_num=osu1 242851740

Lee, J. (2010). *Ideologies of English in the South Korean "English Immersion" debate*. Selected Proceedings of the 2008 Second Language Research Forum. (Matthew T. Prior et al. Ed.). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. pp. 246-260.

Lie, A. (2007). Education policy and EFL curriculum in Indonesia: Between the commitment to competence and the quest for higher test scores. *Teaching English as a Foreign Language in Indonesia (TEFLIN) Journal*, *18*(1), 1–14.

Lindberg, D. C. (1992). *The beginnings of Western science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McPhail, G & Lourie, M. (2017). Getting real. Is realism a blind spot in research methodology? *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies.* DOI 10.1007/s40841-017-0087-y Retrieved from *https://link.springer.com/journal/40841*

Mahditama, I. (2012, October 29). Interview: On the importance of English language education for students, *The Jakarta Post.* Retrieved from http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2012/10/29/on-importanceenglish-language-education-students.html

Margana. (2013). *Theoretical justification of bilingual education program in Indonesia*. Retrieved from http://www.fllt2013.org/private_folder/Proceeding/772.pdf

Mariati. (2007, July). Menyoal profil sekolah bertaraf internasional [Evaluating the profile of International Standard Schools]. *Journal Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan*, *67*(Tahun ke-13), 566–597.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Martin, R. Y. *English as a Medium of Instruction in the Philippines*. http://www.ue.edu.ph/manila/uetoday/index.php?nav=27.htm&archive=200808

Ministry of National Education (MONE). (2009). *MONE Strategic Planning of 2010-2014*. Jakarta: Information and Public Relation, MONE.

Ministry of National Education (MONE). (2011). *Penyelenggaraan Rintisan SMA Bertaraf Internasional* [Implementation of International Standard School Pilot Project]. Jakarta, Indonesia: Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Menengah.

Moutsios, S. (2018). *Society and Education: An outline of comparison*. London: Routledge.

Nola, R. (2001). Review of Michael Matthews, time for science education. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 33(3&4), 427-430.

Palmer, D. (2011). The discourse of transition: Teachers' language ideologies within transitional bilingual education programs. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, *5*(2), 103–122. doi:10.1080/19313152.2011.594019

Pan, L., & Block, D. (2011). English as a "global language" in China: An investigation into learners' and teachers' language beliefs. *System, 39,* 391–402

Permendiknas. (2009). *Penyelenggaraan Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional Pada Jenjang Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah* [Guideline for the implementation of international standard school at primary and secondary levels]. Jakarta, Indonesia: Departemen Pendidikan Nasional.

Piketty, T. (2014). *Capital in the twenty-first century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Ramirez, F. O., & Boli, J. (2007). The political construction of mass schooling: European origins and worldwide institutionalisation. In A. R. Sadovnik (Ed.), *Sociology of education: A critical reader* (pp. 199–217). London, UK: Routledge.

Rastogi, V., Tamboto, E., Tong, D., & Sinburimsit, T. (2013). Indonesia's rising middle class and affluent consumers. https://www.google.co.nz/search?q=indonesian+middle+class+growth&oq=indonesian+middle+class&gs_l=psy-ab.1.1.0l3j0i22i30

Retmono. (2011). Bahasa Inggris bukan standar RSBI, Suara Merdeka [English language is not the standard of International Standard School]. Retrieved from http://www.suaramerdeka.com/smcetak/index.php?fuseaction=beritacetak.detailberitacetak&id_beritacetak=140493

Sakhiyya, Z. (2011). Interrogating identity: The International Standard School in Indonesia. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, *19*(3), 345–365.

Sakhiyya, Z. (2018). The Internationalisation of Indonesian Education. Unpublished PhD

thesis, The University of Auckland.

Shore, C., & Wright, S. (2017). Privatizing the Public University Key Trends , Countertrends

and Alternatives. In S. Wright & C. Shore (Eds.), *Death of the Public University: Uncertain futures for higher education in the knowledge economy* (pp. 1–27). Oxford: Berghahn Books.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Sukarelawati, E. (2012, October 11). *Disdik Malang: RSBI wajib gunakan bahasa Inggris* [Malang City Bureau of Education: RSBI must use English [http://www.antarajatim.com/lihat/berita/96784/disdik-malang-rsbi-wajib-gunakan-bahasa-inggris

Sumintono, B. (2013, January 11). *RSBI: Problems seen in hindsight*. Retrieved from http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/01/11/rsbi-problems-seen-hindsight.html

Sundusiyah, A. (2011). Teachers in international-standard schools: What is missing? What can be improved? What does it take? In Z. Sakhiyya, I. M. A., Arsana, & M. Ramadewi (Eds.), *Education counts! The contribution of Indonesian students studying overseas for education in Indonesia* (pp. 87–108). Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Insight Media.

Taylor, C. (2004). *Modern social imaginaries*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Tan, M. (2011). Mathematics and science teachers' beliefs and practices regarding the teaching of language in content learning. *Language Teaching Research*, *15*(3), 325–342. doi:10.1177/1362168811401153

Tan, M., & Lan, O. S. (2010). Teaching mathematics and science in English in Malaysian classrooms: The impact of teacher beliefs on classroom practices and student learning. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *10*(1), 5–16. doi:10.1016/j.jeap.2010.11.001

Yang, L. F. & Ishak, M. S. A. (2012). Framing controversy over language policy in Malaysia: the coverage of PPSMI reversal (teaching of mathematics and science in English) by Malaysian newspapers. *Asian Journal of Communication*. Vol. 22 Issue 5 pp. 449-473

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Title: Language, Globalisation, and National Identity : A Study of English-Medium Policy and Practice in Indonesia

Reviewer 1

| **Reviewer's comments** | **Authors' responses** |
| --- | --- |
| This manuscript deals with an issue that is of general interest to the international scholarly community. However, it suffers from several problems. First, it appears to be based on the author's published study or part of it. If this is the case, the manuscript should be rejected. If not, the authors may be encouraged to address the following problems and resubmit the revised manuscript to this journal or other journals. | The manuscript has not been published as a journal article or as a monograph. We clarify this in the introduction and say that the paper is a discussion of the main finding of the dissertation – the teachers' response in their classroom practice to the English medium policy. The paper's purpose is to theorise this finding by using the concept of 'imaginary significations'. It is not an account of an empirical study but a theoretical argument developed in this paper to explain a finding which emerged from a study. |
| The second problem is the lack of an overall analytic framework or the lack of application of the two significations in the analysis. | We have increased references to the theoretical framework throughout the paper.<br><br>It is a theoretical, rather than an analytical framework because we don't analyse the findings in order to create our argument. Instead we use the study's findings (already analysed) to theorise an explanation for the finding. The theoretical argument is stated in the introduction to make this clear.<br><br>We have also included Taylor's idea of 'widespread legitimacy' as the methodological device to connect the 'imaginary signification' concept to the policy and practice data taken from the study.<br><br>A conceptual methodology is noted for the use of concepts (in the social sciences, these concepts may come from anthropology, linguistics, philosophy, sociology and so on) as the explanatory tool. A methodological device is created to connect the concept(s) to the object being explained. That object may be identified in an empirical study or through philosophical inquiry as a problem requiring explanation. In our case, the problematic object was identified in the dissertation |

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

| | |
|---|---|
| | study. This paper is a 'second study' which explains the problem identified in the empirical study. Author 2 has published about conceptual methodology. Her publications and others are referenced in the paper. |
| The third problem is the field study, which is not fully documented and whose data use is not transparent. | The paper is not an account of the dissertation study. It is a sociological argument which uses a conceptual methodology with the dissertation study illustrating the theoretical argument. See above.<br><br>We have added a section in the introduction about conceptual methodology. |
| The fourth problem is the overall organization of the manuscript, e.g. the lack of systematic literature review (see similar and published research in this journal | The paper is structured around the argument. Its purpose is to build and support that argument using sociological concepts along with illustrative material from an empirical study. Literature is used throughout to support the argument.<br><br>The paper is structured this way:<br>1. **Introduction**<br>The Argument<br>Methodology<br>Context of the problem<br><br>2. Language and national identity<br>3. English language policy<br>4. The empirical study<br>5. Conclusion |
| Specific comments:<br>The introduction needs some reorganization. For example, when "the two major imaginary significations" are introduced on page 1, the definition of the two should appear there, instead on page 2. What is the larger issue? What is the specific issue? How do you answer these questions or what is your analytic framework? | The introduction has been re-written to state that the paper's purpose is to make a theoretical argument in order to explain an empirically observed phenomenon.<br><br>So:<br>The theoretical argument is - an imaginary signification that works at the political and policy level (usiing English language) is seen to lack the required legitimacy to be put into operation at the level of practice when confronted with a stronger and opposing signification (the national language)<br><br>The specific issue is:<br>Phenomenon: the failure of the language |

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

| | |
|---|---|
| | policy in education practice<br><br>The analytical device is Taylor's concept of legitimation. It enables us to connect the theretoical to the empirical. |
| p. 4 Is there any ambiguity about the relationship between nationalism and globalization? From Britain's exit of the European Union and the election of President Trump, nationalism and globalization appear to be contradictory. | Yes – thanks for this point.<br><br>One imaginary signification is the strong one – in Indonesia it is the role of Bahasa Indonesian as the national language in a unified post-colonial nation. One can see Brexit and other examples of growing nationalism in this.<br><br>The second signification represents globalisation forces especially the economic instrumentalism which drives these forces, ones to which Indonesia responded with its English language policy.<br><br>The argument about language in Indonesia which we use this paper to make could well form the basis of another paper which would draw out this larger theoretical point.<br><br>However, it is not the purpose of this paper although we allude to it (p. 6) to suggest that our theoretical explanation about Indonesia does refer to the wider issue of the conflict between imaginary significations associated with globalisation and those associated with nationalisation. Page 7 is about this. |
| p. 5-8 Are Sections Three (Education, Language, and Identity) and Four (English Language Education in a Globalized World) the backdrop? | Yes |
| P. 9-11 What about the section on language policy in Indonesia? | Vital – otherwise how could the development of policy that proved so difficult to implement be understood. This is a sociological account so context is essential to our argument. |
| p. 12-13 Is this based on a published study or part of a published study? If yes, it cannot be published again in this journal. | The manuscript has not been published as a journal article or as a monograph. |
| For your ethnographic work, did you follow any published methodology? If yes, cite your reference. | Yes, the first author did use accepted ethnographic methodology for her empirical study.  She used the standard references for such inquiry: |

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

| | |
|---|---|
| | e.g.<br><br>Creswell (2013)<br>Hammersley and Atkinson (2007)<br><br>These references have been included in the text and in the reference list.<br><br>Although the new methodology section in the introduction makes it clear that this is not an account of an empirical study. We make the point that should an account is limited therefore we use a conceptual methodology for the sociological argument developed in this paper. |
| a. Exactly how many interviews were conducted?<br>b. What kind of interviews?<br>c. How are class observations documented?<br>d. How were the data coded and used? | a. There were five interviews with five subject teachers (Mathematics, Chemistry, Biology, Physics and Geography).<br>b. The interviews were conducted one-by-one depends on the time availability of the teachers. Each teacher was interviewed twice (before classroom observation and after classroom observation with video stimulated recall).<br>c. The class observations were documented through non-participant observation by the first author. The first author sat down quietly at the corner of the class and took notes, while a research assistant helped her to video record the lessons.<br>d. The data were analysed by using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).<br>(We have put the necessary information in the manuscript). However see note above about the study of this paper (ie the sociological argument) is not the empirical study. That empirical study is used to serve the argument. |
| p. 14 What is the rationale to group the findings into three themes? Are there any criteria? | The ethnographic qualitative data were analysed by using thematic analysis as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006). Therefore, the prominent three themes emerged from the data.<br><br>However see the point above. |
| p. 16-18 | We refer to two levels in explainin gthe |

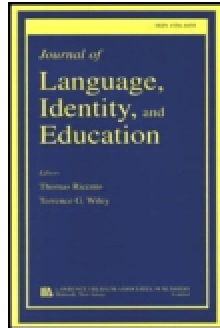
For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

| | |
|---|---|
| In addition to identity issues, the teachers opposed the use of English as the medium of instruction because they actually lacked the proficiency to do so. What is the relationship between their identity and their proficiency? | phenomenon. The first is at the phenomenal level and is about the teachers' proficiency. We note that this is not the source of the policy's failure – remediation at this level is possible if there is truly a commitment to the ppolicy's legitimacy |
| p. 17 Who is this "one teacher"? The five teachers should be systematically coded or referred to by their subjects. | The Chemistry teacher (See the revised paper) |
| p. 18 The same problem as that on p. 17. | The ICT teacher (See the revised paper) |
| p. 21 This study did not establish any causal relationship between identity and the lack of English proficiency. Thus, there is no base to make the claim that one problem is the source of other problems. | We have strengthened the argument which is that a connection exists. It is not possible to make a causal connection between a particular phenomenon (the teachers' practice) and their national identity. A conceptual explanation is required to make this connection hence the need for a strong argument that makes this claim. Therefore we have strengthened the discussion of the argument in the introduction including justifying why the concept of 'imaginary significations' provides the conceptual means by which the connection is made. |
| p. 22 the first line "The Indonesia language" or the English language? | The English language (See the revised paper) |

For Peer Review Only

# Respon kepada reviewer dan artikel yang diresubmit




# Language, Globalisation, and National Identity : A Study of English-Medium Policy and Practice in Indonesia

| | |
|---|---|
| Journal: | *Journal of Language, Identity & Education* |
| Manuscript ID | HLIE-2017-OA-0207.R1 |
| Manuscript Type: | Original Article |
| Keywords: | Language Policy, Nationalism, Cultural Identities, Indonesia, English as a medium of instruction |
| Abstract: | The paper uses a study of the withdrawal of English as a medium of instruction in Indonesian schools to examine the role of language in nation-building using the sociological concept of imaginary signification. The main reason for the withdrawal is located in the tension between two main imaginary significations of the nation's identity. The government saw Indonesia in terms of its economic ambitions. Indonesia was to enter the global knowledge economy, and the education system was to provide the human resources to do so. The teachers understood the use of Bahasa Indonesian in the education system as the means to reproduce children into the nation. We argue that the withdrawal of the English as the medium of instruction policy was the result of the tension between these two different representations of national identity. |
| | |

SCHOLARONE™
Manuscripts

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

# Language, Globalisation, and National Identity : A Study of English-Medium Policy and Practice in Indonesia

For Peer Review Only

## 1. Introduction

This paper explores the deeper causes for the misalignment between policy intentions and the policy implementation by locating that misalignment in the disturbance between two major national *imaginary significations* (Castoriados, 1987). It draws on a study conducted in Indonesia (Fitriati, 2015) which found that teachers experienced considerable difficulties when implementing that nation's English-medium language policy. Our purpose is to use that finding to explain why support for the English language policy in Indonesia's globalisation strategy did not translate into support at the level of educational practice. We use Castoriados' *social imaginary signification* (1987) as the conceptual tool to explain how quickly a legislated policy can fail when it is out of step with a more powerful imaginary signification. The more powerful signification in the Indonesian case is that of *national identity*.

Charles Taylor refers to a social imaginary signification as "that common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy" (2004, p. 23). We argue that the implementation of the English medium instruction policy by the teachers in the study on which we draw showed that the policy did not tap into common practice, hence it

failed to acquire wide-spread legitimacy. It is at the implementation stage that the social imaginaries which bind societies acquire the legitimacy required for policy to become embedded as social practice. We further argue, that a key factor in the implementation failure was that a stronger imaginary signification existed, one which does have widespread legitimacy in everyday practice. This is the understanding of the Indonesian language as the means of communication in that pluralist society, a legitimation given by its role in creating an Indonesian national identity in the post-colonial era.

Section two describes the methodology used in the article and the context of the problem. Section three discusses the emergence of the Indonesian language within the Independence struggle in order to show the integral place of the language in the nation's identity. An account of the establishment and withdrawal of the English-medium language policy follows in section four. Section 5 four is an account of the study undertaken in the school. It shows how the teachers attempted to put the policy into practice but were frustrated, not only because their English language competency was inadequate for the task, but because they believed that Bahasa Indonesian should be the language of Indonesian schools.

We conclude by discussing the role of language in national identity to argue that this policy in particular touched two of the nation's key *imaginary significations*, placing them in tension. For Indonesia, these are, on the one hand, its self-representation as a cohesive modern nation with an Indonesian identity. On the other hand, the nation's self-representation as an internationally recognised member of the global economy, a status that brings with it political recognition, promotes an outward looking sense of identity—a representation justifying the English language policy.


URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

## 2. Methodology and Context

The paper employs a *conceptual methodology* (Lourie & Rata, 2016; Lourie & McPhail, 2017) to conceptualise the explanation we have developed about why the language policy failed at the implementation stage. A conceptual methodology is noted for the use of disciplinary concepts (in the social sciences, these concepts may come from philosophy, anthropology, linguistics, sociology and related disciplines) as the tool used to analyse and explain a phenomenon that is identified and investigated using empirically obtained data. In this article, a study of teachers' attempts to implement Indonesia's English-medium language policy in their classrooms provides the empirical data. (See section five.) *Social imaginary signification* serves our purpose in explaining the phenomenon of policy implementation because the concept contains with it the idea of the connection between how a people represents themselves to themselves (the social imaginary) and the means by which this imaginary is shared (signifiers or language). The explanatory power of the concept is what justifies its use in this paper.

Like all powerful concepts, the same idea contained in *imaginary signifiications* is known in other ways. For example, Bourdieu (1979) uses the term "shared reality" (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 79) to refer to the collective consciousness of a social group, one created through a shared means of communication, that is, the national language of the modern pluralist nation (Durkheim, 1912/2001; Rata, 2017). The *imaginary* of the pluralist nation (Anderson, 1983), one which unites historically distinct ethnic groups, is legitimised and strengthened as the shared means of communication is accepted as *our language* in everyday practice. As with other countries in the nation-building project of the twentieth century (Hobsbawn, 1992), the

For Peer Review Only

social glue or collective means of self-representation created by a common national language justified the acceptance of Bahasa Indonesian in the post-Independence era.

The usefulness of a conceptual methodological is not confined to the power of disciplinary concepts. It also enables us to connect the explanation to the problem we wish to explain. Often the problem is identified empirically as was the case with the English medium policy failure in Indonesian classrooms although we are aware that a problem may be identified though philosophical inquiry only (Rata, 2012). Unlike interpretivist methodologies where the explanation is drawn from the empirically obtained data, a conceptual methodology recognises that it is not possible to generalise from the particular experience (Lourie & McPhail, 2016). Concepts, on the other hand, allow for the particular (in our case, the teachers' implementation of a policy) to illustrate an argument. Kant (1781/1993) is one of many philosophers in a tradition from Parmenides and Zeno to Descartes (Lindberg, 1992) who recognised the limitations of explaining from the particular rather than the explanation being drawn from the idea and applied to the particular instance. Kant (1781/1993) noted that a "concept will not let itself be limited to experience, because it deals with a cognition … of which the empirical is only one part; no actual experience is fully sufficient for it, but every experience belongs to it" (p. 394).

How do we connect the conceptually-derived explanation to the empirically identified problem given that there is no exact correspondence between the idea and experience (Rata, 2012)? According to Nola (2001) a "degree of fit" (p. 429) is all we can hope for in making the argument that the chosen concept(s) does in fact provide a logical explanation of the problem or phenomenon. In seeking to justify the connnection we make between imaginary significations and the English-medium policy we have adapted Taylor's (2004) idea of

"widespread legitimacy" as the methodological device to connect the "imaginary signification" (p. 23) concept to the data taken from the study. This enables us to ask; What language policy has sufficient social legitimacy to enable it to be embedded in practice? Our argument is the response to that question. We claim that Bahasa Indonesian, despite being a relatively recent national language, does have legitimacy as the nation's imaginary signifier. In contrast, English, despite being promoted as necessary for Indonesia's global economic strategy, has not acquired sufficient legitimacy in the minds of the people for it to accepted as a medium of instruction in schools. When comparing the two significations we also argue that the dominance of the former in its role as the collective means of a society's self-representation contributed to problems with the latter.

The empirical study which Author 1 (2015) undertook for a doctoral dissertation investigated how secondary school teachers coped with the legislated requirement that they teach their respective subjects, Mathematics and Science, in English. The Indonesian government had introduced the English language policy for public schools in 2006. Teachers were to develop their students' English language skills through English-medium instruction in Mathematics and Science subjects (*Permendiknas*, 2009) and to promote habitual English use inside the school (*Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Menengah* [Ministry of National Education, MONE], 2011). However the decree of *Mahkamah Konstitusi*/the Indonesian Constitutional Court, in 2013, revoked the policy (Sumintono, 2013) after eight years. This requires explanation especially given the supportive context of a growing commitment by South-East Asian governments to English language policies as part of the region's economic strategy. We problemicise that withdrawal.

***Context of the problem***



URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Indonesia is not alone in the experience of top-down English language educational policy (Hadisantosa, 2010; Hamied, 2012; Margana, 2013; Mariati, 2007). A number of ASEAN countries, including Malaysia (Tan, 2011; Tan & Lan, 2010), Thailand (Bax, 2010), South Korea (Bax, 2010; Lee, 2010), and the Phillipines (Martin, 201) are attempting to fast-track their entrance into the global economy. The status of English as the *lingua franca* (Pan & Block, 2011) exerts pressure on governments to provide education in English as a language of instruction and communication; that is, a language that can be used, rather than as one of a number of languages offered to students as a subject for study. This pressure is in tension with the commitment to national languages in education.

For Peer Review Only

We use the Indonesian study to illustrate how teachers responded to government initiatives to encourage the use of English as a medium of instruction (henceforth, EMI) in public schools and in higher education institutions. This description leads to a discussion of the role of language in nation-building, specifically as the means by which the imaginary significations of a modern nation-state are created (Anderson, 1983). We are able to ask, what happens to the associated policies and practices when one signification does not acquire widespread legitimacy?

The impetus for the policy initiative, and for its subsequent failure can be traced to the influence of geopolitical forces on nation-state policy, and in the case we refer to, on education policy specifically. These forces, which enable the acceptance of the neoliberal market ideology of an aggressive global capitalism by independent nation-states (Piketty, 2014), are played out in developing countries with rapidly expanding middle classes. In Indonesia, "middle class affluent consumers (MACs) represent about 30 percent of the population, or 74 million people.



URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com

About 8 million to 9 million people currently enter the MAC segment each year, and by 2020, this group will reach a total of 141 million people, or 53 percent of the population" (Rastogi, Tamboto, Tong, & Sinburimsit, 2013, p. 6). These well-educated professionals in Indonesia and other South-East Asian countries support their various governments' moves into the global economy. With those moves come a degree of acceptance of the English language (Pan & Block, 2011), or a *growing legitimacy* to use Taylor's term (2004).

They are also the class that benefitted from the rising nationalism which accompanied the various independence movements in South-East Asia. For Indonesia, it is a nationalism that places Bahasa Indonesian as the *imaginary signification* at the centre of its identity giving it widespread legitimacy as the language of modern Indonesia. It is possible that the tension between globalisation and nationalism which is played out in the Bahasa Indonesian – English language tension explored in this paper echoes the same tension illustrated by Brexit nationalism and by that seen in the United States and some European nations. The response of nationalist movements to globalisation is the expression of two competing significations about how people understand themselves (the *imaginary*).

Prior to the turn of this century, developing countries in South-East Asia, including Indonesia, were a source of cheap labour for global corporations. However in the last two decades, such countries are acquiring a new position on the world economy, mainly through the growing influence of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) regional bloc. The region is shifting from providing cheap labour for global corporations to providing a huge, middle-class consumer base. One of the observable effects of this expansive economic development can be seen in higher education policy. Universities are looking outward to the world, seeking



URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com

For Peer Review Only

world class university status in the global higher education market (Sakhiyya, 2018). The English language is a crucial part of this globalising strategy, not only for the higher education *business* (Shore & Wright, 2017) but for the economy more broadly.

The governments of these expanding South-East Asian nations justify the inclusion of English in their respective education systems by claiming that they are preparing young people for a globalised future (Permendiknas, 2009; Hadisantosa, 2010). And yet there is ambiguity in this position. On the one hand, they face outwards using assertive internationalisation strategies (Sakhiyya, 2018). On the other hand, the nationalism which benefits from that assertion is not only about the economy. It is about the nation's cultural identity, its main *imaginary signification*, one created in large part by a unifying language.

Guibernau and Rex explain how the nation-state, once created "actively promote(s) the cultural homogenisation of its members" (1997, pp. 4–5). The emergence of the Indonesian language from its Malay history, a process we describe below, can be understood in terms of this homogenisation imperative. Indeed the cultural identity (the *national imaginary*) that is Indonesia is centred on the Indonesian language. The study indicated that, while there was no opposition from the teachers to the English language *per se*, there was concern that, by using English as the medium of instruction, Indonesian identity would be negatively affected. A teacher in the study captures this idea saying: "Why should we put ourselves out while we can use our own language" and "I think each language has its own place" (Author 1, 2015, p. 61).

## 3. Language and national identity



URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com

1
2
3 The Indonesian language comes from the struggle against Dutch colonisation which led to the
4
5 estabishment of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945. In 1908, Budi Utomo, the first Indonesian
6
7
8 nationalist organisation, promoted Malay as the national language in order to provide a counter
9
10 to Dutch language policy. Its transformation into *Indonesian* occurred in 1928, in the manifesto
11
12 of the Youth of Indonesia. *Sumpah Pemuda* (The Oath of The Young People) "pledged the
13
14
15 willingness of every Indonesian to be unified in one nation, one earth, and one language:
16
17 Indonesia" (Hallam, 1997, n.p.). The word *Malay* was replaced by *Bahasa Indonesia* as the
18
19 name of the language and the first Indonesia Language Congress was held in 1938. With the
20
21
22 Japanese occupation in 1942 Indonesians were taught Japanese in all schools, a practice which
23
24 served to reinforce the growing identification of the people to Indonesian as their language.
25
26 Hallam (1997) notes that it was the Japanese who, in 1942 as a pragmatic response to the reality
27
28
29 of language use, established the first Commission for the Indonesian Language. The
30
31 Commission was to make decisions about vocabulary and write a common grammar. In 1945,
32
33 Indonesian was declared the official language. The various indigenous local languages, include
34
35
36 Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Maduranese, Baso Minang and many more continue to be used
37
38 in homes and communities but, for the first time, there is a national language that represents
39
40 the self-representation of Indonesia as a nation.
41
42
43
44
45 The Indonesian language is therefore the result of the Independence movement and the creation
46
47 of the nation. The teachers interviewed in the study recognised that the education system,
48
49
50 especially as a public system, has a wider role in, and for, Indonesian society. This role may be
51
52 theorised in terms of the purpose of national education systems in modern nation-state building
53
54 (Ramirez & Boli, 2007). Public education systems became central institutions in the new
55
56
57 nation-states of the 19th and 20th centuries as of the nation-building enterprise. This applies to
58
59 those at the beginning of the era, such as the United States and those in more recent times, such
60

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

as Indonesia (Hobsbawm, 1992). They were to unify ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups into the one imaginary modern nation (Anderson, 1983).

It is only in a national education system that the *collective representations* (Durkheim's term, 1912/2001) or *imaginary significations* (Castoriadis, 1987) of a society's symbolic system are reproduced. These terms refer to the way in which a society understands itself; the means of communication which enables normative agreement; its source of cohesive identity; *collective representations* (what Bourdieu describes as "shared reality" [1979, p. 79]) that integrate diverse groups into a stable and cohesive society with its own identity. According to Durkheim (1912/2001, cited in Bourdieu, 1979), the modern symbolic system is "a homogeneous conception of time, space, number and cause which make agreement possible between intelligences" (p. 79). He considered that the collective representations developed and reproduced in the symbolic sphere achieved this purpose because they provided both the "means of communication required for normative agreement and the instruments of thought" required to create this shared reality (cited in Bourdieu, 1979, p. 79).

For Peer Review Only

In the family and community, older, more traditional languages and practices are often maintained. However at school, all children are taught in the national language. Bahasa Indonesian was developed to serve this purpose, to be the symbolic medium of the new national identity. The English as a medium of instruction policy confronted that language's significance; its *meaning*, and replaced it with a foreign language chosen for its narrower function as an instrument of the economy. By ignoring the primary function of language as the means of symbolic representation (or *imaginary signification*), the balance between the economic and symbolic dimensions was altered (Bernstein, 2000). As one of the teachers said:

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

> Where are we taking our students to? To what direction? Why do we have to use English? If they continue their study in universities in Indonesia, we do not need to insist teaching in English. If students plan to continue to study abroad, English is a must. But, if they study at universities in Indonesia, our time to study English can be used to study additional content subject. (Author 1, 2015, p. 63)

The intrusion of something that is not seen to contribute to the nation-building and unifying role is at odds with the implicit understanding of what the education system is for. For the Indonesian government, and for the many other countries that we note in the next section who are also pursuing this policy, the purpose is to be competitve in the global economy. Therefore we argue that the unease, even in some cases hostility, towards using English in this way (although not to the English language *per se*) which was expressed by some of the teachers in the study can be understood in terms of the tension to the balance between the symbolic and the economic. On the one hand, a government looks outward to the global economy. On the other, the teachers look to their role in producing well-educated young people for not only a prosperous nation, but one that has the means to be unified and stable.

Although the study we refer to in the article was conducted in Indonesia, a number of non-English speaking countries are seeking to introduce EMI into their education systems. These countries include Malaysia (Tan, 2011), the Philippines (Martin, 2011), Thailand and South Korea (Bax, 2010). For example, in 2003 a change in language of instruction policy was applied to Mathematics and Science subjects in Malaysia with the language of instruction switched from Bahasa Malaysia, to English. It was intended to produce a "generation of scientifically and technologically knowledgeable students who are fluent in English and able to contribute to the economic growth and development of the country" (Tan & Lan, 2010, p. 6). Following

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

protests by Chinese schools in Malaysia, a compromise was reached. Science and Mathematics were to be taught in English and Mandarin, not solely in English (Yang & Ishak, 2012). However, even the compromise could not help and the policy was withdrawn in 2008.

A similar initiative launched in the Philippines in 2003 was also suspended (Martin, 2011). In Thailand, the English programme requires that at least two core subjects (out of the total of nine subjects) are taught in English. Significantly, the subjects exclude the Thai language and social studies with aspects related to Thai culture and national identity (Keyuravong 2008, p. 3, cited in Bax, 2010, p. 11). However, as with the other countries, Thailand is facing various problems related to both teachers who teach the subject of English and those who use English as the medium for teaching other content (Bax, 2010).

The South Korean government's concerns about English language education led to the adoption of a bilingual/immersion approach - *mol-ib* which included the teaching of content subjects such as Maths and Science using English. A small number of schools (up to 10 in the Seoul area, for example) became involved in a *mol-ib* scheme. (Bax, 2010, p. 53) but the policy was withdrawn in the midst of strong public opposition.

For Peer Review Only

**4. English language policy in Indonesia**

In 2006, the Indonesian MONE published a new educational policy for secondary schools. Like the policies we note earlier in other South-East Asian nations the policy was designed to include English as the medium of instruction in Science and Mathematics classrooms. It was to be achieved by re-designating selected schools as International Standard Schools. (Act of

1
2
3 Republic of Indonesia No. 20 Year 2003 on National Education System, Article 50, clause 3).
4
5 Following the design of the policy, the government nominated hundreds of top public schools
6
7
8 to be developed as international schools (Sakhiyya, 2011; Sundusiyah, 2011).
9
10
11
12
13 The International Standard Schools were to meet the broad goals of preparing Indonesia for the
14
15 migration of professionals from Indonesia and also into the country. In this way, Indonesia
16
17 would become more competitive in the international job market and an attractive destination
18
19 for foreign-owned companies operating in Indonesia. English plays a major role in the
20
21 country's economic development (Depdiknas, 2009; Hadisantosa, 2010; Hartoyo, 2009). The
22
23 tourism industry, in particular, is a major contributor to the country's gross domestic product
24
25 (GDP) by creating foreign exchange earnings and employment opportunities for Indonesians.
26
27
28 This contribution to employment in particular is not to be understated. Nearly nine percent of
29
30 Indonesia's total national workforce is employed in the tourism sector
31
32 (www.indonesia.investments), a sector requiring English language competency (Mahditama,
33
34 2012).
35
36
37
38
39 Similarly, the education sector in Indonesia views the English language as a tool for the
40
41 development and dissemination of information and communication technology and science.
42
43 English competencies are considered essential for students to keep up with the latest
44
45
46 developments (Depdiknas, 2009), hence the implementation of the policy in the re-designated
47
48 public schools named as *Rintisan Sekolah Bertaraf International* (or, Pioneer International
49
50 Standard Schools) (Permendiknas, 2009). The intention was to develop teaching and learning
51
52
53 processes that complied with the international standards of developed countries (MONE, 2011;
54
55 Permendiknas, 2009). In 2006, when the policy was introduced, there were 1,305 Pioneer
56
57 International Standard Schools in Indonesia; 239 were primary schools. There were 356 junior
58
59
60



URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com
For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

high schools, 359 senior high schools, and 351 vocational high schools (Sukarelawati, 2012). Students who attended these schools were chosen on the basis of their school enrolment test, including an English language test. As a consequence of this enrolment criterion and the additional resources, the schools are widely regarded as elite schools (Retmono, 2011).

However, there was controversy over the use of English in Mathematics and Science subjects in the Pioneer International Standard Schools—especially over the quality of the English-medium instruction and the lack of bilingual teachers, but most notably because Mathematics and Science teachers with little or no English competency were expected to teach their subjects in that language (Indradno, 2011; Sundusiyah, 2011). In addition, the schools were criticised for reducing the use of the Indonesian language (Retmono, 2011). By 2013, the mounting criticism and the obvious failure of the policy at classroom level led to the decree of *Mahkamah Konstitusi*, the Indonesian Constitutional Court (Sumintono, 2013, January 11). This stipulated that the Pioneer International Standard Schools must return to their original status as regular schools. It required the withdrawal of English-medium instruction from the school. Since then, English is no longer used as the medium of instruction to teach content subjects. It remains a separate subject as it has been since Indonesian Independence in 1945 (Lie, 2007).

For Peer Review Only

The withdrawal of the policy appears a failure. English-medium instruction was promoted throughout the country as an important innovation and something that would contribute significantly towards Indonesia's emergence as a global player (Coleman, 2009). Indeed the government initially promoted the policy in these terms. According to MONE (2005, 2009) and DGPSEM (2007a, 2007b) the schools were to provide education with national and international standards that would enable graduates to compete internationally to a level higher than, if not equal to, those in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

1
2
3 (OECD) countries. Government resources were provided to ensure that the policy did work.
4
5 So why was the policy withdrawn? In the next section we address this question by identifying
6
7
8 a misalignment between teachers' attitudes towards the English language and the
9
10 government's expectations.
11
12
13
14
15
16 **5. The study**
17
18
19
20 The study (Author 1, 2015) of the English language programme at a public senior high school
21
22 was undertaken in 2012, one year before the policy was rescinded, so at a time when the
23
24
25 problems had become obvious. Ehnographic methods were used to collect the data because,
26
27 they allow, "the researcher [to rely] on the participants' views as an insider emic perspective
28
29 and reports them in verbatim quotes, and then synthesizes the data filtering it through the
30
31
32 researchers' etic scientific perspective to develop an overall cultural interpretation. This
33
34 cultural interpretation is a description of the group and themes related to the theoretical
35
36 concepts being explored in the study" (Creswell, 2013, p. 92). The collection of the teachers'
37
38
39 views in this way has enabled us use these views to illustrate our argument about why the
40
41 policy was withdrawn.
42
43
44
45 The school was located in a large city in Central Java with a predominantly Javanese
46
47
48 population. The researcher shadowed five teachers of Geography, Biology, Mathematics,
49
50 Chemistry, and Information Communication Technology (ICT) in their classrooms over two
51
52
53 months. Each of the five had a bachelor degree majoring in the respective content subjects.
54
55 They had studied English as a compulsory subject at high school and at university where
56
57 English was taught only in one to two semesters. Significantly, none of the teachers had
58
59
60 experienced special training in English-medium instruction at university. After the school

For Peer Review Only

where they worked was designated a Pioneer International Standard School in the academic year of 2009/2010, both the Maths and Science teachers were directed by school executives to take short English professional development courses. These were conducted either by local government officials or the school.

Data were collected in a variety of ways and were extensive. Collection included whole-school observations, participatory observation where the researcher sat in the classroom for lengthy periods, field notes, in-depth interviews, reviewing school documents, and audio-video recordings of classroom activities. In addition, informal conversations were held during and after the school hours. These multiple sources of data collection. It meant that the researcher had the opportunity to immerse herself in the school and to conduct whole-school observations and classroom observations that enriched the interviews with the teachers (Palmer, 2011, p. 109).

These interviews were a revealing source of material about the English language policy. Each teacher was interviewed several times and the discussions were in-depth and free-ranging. The teachers were encouraged to speak freely and all were happy to do so. They spoke about their family's background, friends, and social networks before turning to describe the languages they used in their daily and teaching lives. They describes how they used Javanese, Indonesian, and English in daily interactions, any connection with English communities of practice, and broader professional matters concerning their teaching goals and education in general. However the main topic of each interview was their experiences in teaching their content subject using English. The researcher asked about their perceptions, opinions, views, feelings, and attitudes toward English-medium instruction in their classes and to using English the school more widely. They were asked in English first to test their level of understanding and communication

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

in the language. Significantly, all five teachers preferred using either Indonesian or Javanese. This gave them the freedom to explore the nuances and ambiguities that arise when people speak of their experiences. The findings are categorised according to: classroom practice, the teacher, and cultural identity.

***Classroom practice***

For Peer Review Only

One finding was the frequency of code-switching practices, rather than the use of English only. The teachers alternated between Indonesian and English throughout the lesson to encourage students to focus on the content and to be more responsive by asking questions and contributing ideas. The Maths and Geography teachers said that including Indonesian helped their students understand what was being said.

> Perhaps not all students will understand my explanation if I speak in English all the time. So, I have to do like that, translating. I used to mixing, Indonesian mixed with English. They want me not to use much English in my lesson. (Author 1, 2015, p. 78)

The teachers frequently translated the English they used. An example from a Biology class where the students were learning about the skeleton showed how the need to translate scientific terms had the effect of reducing a lesson to a translation class where terms were constantly repeated rather than it being a lesson about biological concepts and content.

The teachers frequently switched from English into Indonesian to save face when their linguistic competence failed them. The Biology teacher said that his limited English meant that

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

he used it only to introduce students to Biology terms and to greet students and check the roll. The Maths teacher said that she did not dare to say some numbers in English because she was not sure how to pronounce them. The ICT teacher did not use English at all, not a single word, saying his vocabulary and grammar were not good enough. He spoke of "not having the nerve" (Author 1, 2015, p. 56) to teach in English adding that he felt both hesitant and frightened. However, he did ask his students to speak in English when presenting their group discussion work, and interestingly, they did.

For Peer Review Only

The researcher observed four students presenting their group discussion with PowerPoint presentations in English. They even answered their friends' questions in English. Despite some grammatical mistakes and inappropriate word choice, this group's effort to speak in English was commendable, given the difficult nature of the topic *wireless and wireline*. Why did they use English when their teacher did not? Perhaps they were motivated by a mixture of their teacher's encouragement and by the extra marks for those who used either spoken or written English. The fact that the students prepared their slides prior to class also helped. A similar negotiation between teacher and students occurred in the Chemistry class. Initially the students were required to use English. However the teachers allowed them to speak in Indonesian to present the results of their group discussion. The students had not prepared them previously so these  involved stuttering and stumbling. The teacher was aware of the anxiety this created, hence her decision to allow the students to use Indonesian. This teacher, like the others, were more concerned with their students' understanding of the lesson content and of maintaining their motivation. Using English was secondary to these pedagogical priorities. What the researcher found was that these were normal subject lessons in Indonesian with the annoying imposition of English foisted on the teachers from outside.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

The teachers in the programme were subject specialists, not English language users. The result was to be expected; a mixture of noticeable inaccuracies in grammar, word choice, and pronunciation. Often they were unaware of these errors, or they knew they made errors but did not know when they were correct and when they were not. Several of the teachers said that it was fine for them to make mistakes because they were still learning English, mentioning that the students did seem to understand. However, there are a number of problems with this. In the context of second language acquisition, errors or mistakes in using a foreign language without any corrective feedback are likely to result in the errors becoming fixed by the teacher (Ellis, 2008; Fidler, 2006; Gass & Selinker, 2008). Students might consider the language their teachers used was accurate and adopt this language use, leading to further confusion. The imput into students' language from their teachers' use is their students' language input has a determining function in language acquisition (Ellis, 2008). According to Astika and Wahyana (2010), Indonesian students should be exposed to correct English (p. 19). Inaccurate teacher modelling will lead to incorrect grammar, pronunciation and word choice by the students. The subject teachers in the study did in fact have an important role as language models for their students but were unaware of the significance of this. In addition to the problems specific to language, there are also implications for the subjects being taught. When the teacher uses words incorrectly, the meaning of the concepts being taught is also compromised.

***The teachers***

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Given these problems it is not surprising that the teachers found using English not only difficult and a source of anxiety, but also time-consuming. They all said that teaching in English took double the time as teaching in Indonesian.

According to the Chemistry teacher:

> If I teach in English, it means double working because I must translate into Indonesian to make sure my students understand my explanation. It's faster to explain using Indonesian.

The Maths teacher agreed:

> My students need longer time to understand my explanation if I used English, compared to when I used Indonesian. They did not comprehend a lesson easily when delivered in English. Sometimes they asked me, mam, what is it in Indonesian, so I had to explain it again in Indonesian. It takes longer time and takes my energy.

For Peer Review Only

Repeating the content knowledge firstly in English then in Indonesian took much of the time allocated to the lesson, reducing the time for the actual lesson itself.

The effect of the policy of the teachers' profesional wellbeing was considerable with all those interviewed saying that having to use English-medium instruction made them anxious in

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

relation to their own work and envious of their colleagues who did not need to use English. It reduced their confidence and produced a very real sense of carrying an impossible burden. The burden was two-fold. Not only did they have to learn English themselves but they had to learn how to teach their subjects in this unfamiliar language. It was not surprising that they thought the English-medium policy was unattainable. Two of the older teachers, both highly experienced in their subjects, said it was too late to learn English at their age.

> Students are smarter. They take English private courses after school. And they are still young. They easily learn a foreign language, whereas I have many things to take care of. So, it's difficult for me to learn English.

He added that learning English meant making a considerable "personal sacrifice."

> If I always focus on learning English at all times, my other tasks and responsibility as a teacher, a father, and in my community will be in a mess. English comes to me very late. I am above 50 [years old] now, so when can I study English? I do not have time [to study English].

Not surprisingly, he compared his predicament to that of the teachers who were not required to teach using English:

> Ask the teachers who teach English subject to teach Biology. I am sure they cannot do it. So, what I mean is just teaching as usual. Do not make teachers afraid by asking us to teach in English. Yes, many colleagues are afraid of teaching in English. Many of them got stressed complaining their difficulties and inabilities speaking in English. Students, too. Actually both teachers and students complain.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

***Language and identity***

"*Kita punya bahasa sendiri*" (We have our own language) was the phrase most often used by the teachers when referring to the English language policy.

According to the ICT teacher:

> I think each language has its own place. When teachers go home seeing their families, involved in their societies and communities, they absolutely use the languages spoken by their families and communities.

He clearly meant that English was not a widely used language so he thought it would be strange to use English while others did not use the language. The Biology teacher used similar sentiments, speaking both Indonesian and Javanese: "*Kenapa sih ndadak repot-repot? Wong dengan bahasa kita sendiri saja kita bisa.*" [Why should we put ourselves out while we can use our own language?]. He added:

> Our environment is not supportive because our official and national language is Indonesian and because we are Javanese living in Javanese communities. We speak Javanese too.

All members of the school community spoke Indonesian and Javanese. On a very few occasions they spoke a few words or sentences in English if they were asked in English by those who taught English as a subject. The teacher in the comment immediately above claimed that the Indonesian and Javanese languages had a wider range of vocabulary which could express specific intended meanings which were not possible in his English vocabulary. He said there

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

were no English equivalents available to him with his lack of English proficiency for certain Javanese or Indonesian words, certainly none that enabled him to express nuances and complexities of meaning.

The teachers discussed the matter of language and identity with one noting that using English in teaching could cause trouble because it was not the language of the nation. It did not show his Indonesian identity. Given that "language is an index, symbol and marker of identity" (Baker, 2011, p. 45) this teacher's comment that being an Indonesian meant using the Indonesian language as the symbol of Indonesian national identity made sense for him and for the others.

One of the older, experienced teachers was doubtful about the benefits of English in Indonesia:

> Where are we taking our students to? To what direction? Why do we have to use English? If they continue their study in universities in Indonesia, we do not need to insist teaching in English. If students plan to continue to study abroad, English is a must. But, if they study at universities in Indonesia, our time to study English can be used to study additional subject content.

Other teachers spoke of Indonesian as the country's national language. They saw the school as a state institution and Indonesian as the official and national language. The comment, "We have our own language" or similar phrases were used frequently.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

The teachers' comments provided insights into how English was regarded. There was concern expressed that colleagues might regard teachers who spoke English as strange as it seemed inappropriate to use English among people of Indonesian nationality.

> If I initiated to speak English, I might be laughed at. They [my colleagues] would think I was like pretending as if I were an English native speaker and acting as if I were a Westerner [Javanese: halah sok keinggris-inggrisan]. If they don't like, they will talk behind our back. Actually I can ignore them. It doesn't matter they call me acting like Westerners [*keinggris-inggrisan*]. But I don't feel comfortable with such a comment. I should know my position. I am glad if I am addressed in English or asked to chat in English [by my colleagues] as long as it is not my own initiative because I am not an English subject teacher.

*Halah, sok keinggris-inggrisan* (it is like imitating Westerners) is to be avoided, or so this teacher implies. Others too, were concerned that if they practised English they might be considered "different" people. This contributed to their reluctance to practise English. The use of conversational English by mainly young teachers tended to elicit defensiveness from the mainly older teachers who could not speak, or who had limited, English. Negative comments would be made, for example, "*Halah sok keinggris-inggrisan*" (imitating Westerners by speaking English) to teachers who practised English at school, perhaps even seen as boastful.

> Sometimes when some teachers spoke English as a kind of practice at school, some colleagues might label them kemlinthi [acting up so proudly]. This expression is not directly addressed to teachers who spoke English, but it was said to other teachers. And



URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

> eventually teachers who spoke English would know that their colleagues have a negative opinion about them because they practised English. This may be part of our culture. We sometimes view someone who has skills beyond ours and uses the skills in everyday practices where not all people can acquire these skills as a person who was kemlinthi.

The tendency to criticise, or the fear of criticism, for those who spoke English did have a discouraging effect. A revealing comment from one of the teachers showed that he stopped using English so that he would not appear boastful.

> I myself admitted that I became lack of using English. Because if I insisted on using English, my colleagues would think I am "looking for a face". (Kalau saya bertahan nanti saya dikira nggolek rai [Indonesian mixed with Javanese utterances]).

*Nggolek rai* is a Javanese idiomatic expression that means expecting other people to compliment you. It has been translated literally in English above as "looking for a face" to capture the idiomatic nuance. The good opinion of his colleagues mattered to this teacher. He did not want his colleagues to label him *nggolek rai*, someone who sought compliments from those in charge.

For Peer Review Only

## 6. Conclusion

We have identified two main reasons[1] why the English as a medium of instruction and communication policy was withdrawn. These reasons operate at different levels. The teachers could not implement it for all the reasons we identify in the description of the study above. They did not speak English, the professional development courses were totally inadequate, and they did not believe in the policy the way those who initiated and designed the policy did.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

However, these problems were at the phenomonal level and are all open to remediation. What is of interest to us is at the deeper level and led to the argument developed in this paper.

Given the commitment of Indonesia (its government and middle-class) to the country's global economic strategy and the importance of English language in this strategy, why was a policy designed to develop English language users withdrawn. The fact that Indonesia is not alone in withdrwing or modifying these suggested that a sociological explanation was required. The explanation could not be found in the empirical material, although the study's findings did enable us to *identify* the problem at a phenomonal level and also enabled us to *illustrate* how the problem was experienced in the teachers' practice.

The sociological concept of *imaginary significations* provided the tool with which to understand the tension between a language's two roles in the ways a society sees itself (its self-representation or *imaginary*) and in the way it shares that collective consciousness, that is, the use of signifers). In Indonesia the balance between two main imaginary significations; those deep self-representations of *who we are*, the collective identity on the one hand and the idea of *who we will be* was out of alignment. The government saw the role of the English language in terms of its economic ambitions. Indonesia was to enter the global economy, specifically the global knowledge economy, and the education system was to provide the human resources to enable this. The teachers, however, understood the education system that they were committed to, as the means to reproduce children into Indonesia, into the nation. For them, the language *is* the nation. Therefore, we argue that the policy's withdrawal was the result of the tension between these two opposing *imaginary significations* about what a national language means for the people who use it in education.



URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

**References**

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism*. London, UK: Verso.

Astika, G., & Wahyana, A. (2010). *Model pembelajaran MIPA bilingual dalam rangka mendukung keberhasilan program Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional di Jawa Tengah* [Model of Mathematics and Science bilingual lessons in support of the success of International Standard School program in Central Java]. Salatiga: Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana.

Baker, C. (2011). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (5th ed.). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Bax, S. (2010). *Researching English bilingual education in Thailand, Indonesia and South Korea*. P. Powell-Davies (Ed.). Retrieved from http://www.britishcouncil.org/publication_2_-_researching_english_bilingual_education.pdf

Bernstein, B. (2000). *Pedagogy, symbolic control and identity* (Rev. ed.). New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield.

Bourdieu, P. (1979). Symbolic power. *Critique of Anthropology*, *4*, 77–85.

Castoriadis, C. (1987). *The imaginary institution of society*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Coleman, H. (2009). Indonesia's international standard schools': What are they for? Paper presented at the The 8th Language and Development Conference, Dhaka. http://www.acsa.edu.au/pages/images/Simone%20Smala%20-%20Introducing%20content%20and%20language.pdf

For Peer Review Only

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design : choosing among five approaches* (3rd edition. ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Depdiknas. (2009). *Rencana Strategies Departemen Pendidikan Nasional Tahun 2010-2014* [Ministry of National Education Strategic Planning of 2010-2014]. Jakarta, Indonesia: Departemen Pendidikan Nasional.

DGPSEM. (2007a). *Panduan penyelenggaraan rintisan SMA bertaraf internasional* [Guideline for the implementation of international standard high school]. Jakarta: Directorate General for Primary and Secondary Education Management (DGPSEM).

DGPSEM. (2007b). *Sistem penyelenggaraan Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional untuk pendidikan dasar dan menengah* [Implementation system for international standard school in primary and secondary education]. Jakarta: Directorate General for Primary and Secondary Education Management (DGPSEM).

Durkheim, E. (1912/2001). *The elementary forms of religious life.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Ellis, R. (2008). *The study of second language acquisition* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fidler, A. (2006). Reconceptualizing fossilization in second language acquisition: a review. *Second Language Research*, 22(3), 398-411. doi: 10.1191/0267658306sr273ra

Gass, S. M., & Selinker, L. (2008). *Second language acquisition an introductory course* Retrieved from http://ezproxy.usq.edu.au/login?url=http://www.USQ.eblib.com.au/EBLWeb/patron?target=patron&extendedid=P_325577_0&



URL: https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jlie E-mail: JLIEtemp@gmail.com

Guibernau, M., & Rex, J. (Eds.). (1997). *The ethnicity reader: Nationalism, multiculturalism and migration*. London, UK: Polity Press.

Hadisantosa, N. (2010). *Learning through English: Policies, challenges and prospects: Insights from East Asia.* R. Johnstone (Ed.). Malaysia: British Council.

Hallen, C. H. (1999). *Language contact and its influence in Bahasa Indonesia's phonemic system.* Retrieved from http://linguistics.byu.edu/classes/Ling450ch/reports/bahasa.htm

Hamied, F. A. (2012). English in multicultural and multilingual Indonesian education. In A. Kirkpatrick & R. Sussex (Eds.), *English as an international language in Asia: Implications for language education* (Vol. 1, pp. 63–78). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer.

Hartoyo. (2009). Menggagas Madrasah Aliyah bertaraf internasional [Pursuing international-based Islamic Senior High School]. Retrieved from http://hartoyo.wordpress.com/category/seminar-articles/seminardepag-jateng/

Haryanto, E. (2012). Listening to students' voice: A survey of implementation of English as a medium of instruction in an international standard school in Indonesia. *Journal of Education and Practice*, *3*(15), 111–119.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1992). *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Indradno, J. (2011). *Model pengembangan kompetensi guru Rintisan Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional (RSBI) di Jawa Tengah* [Model of Developing Teachers' Competences in International Standard Schools]. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation)), Universitas Negeri Semarang, Semarang.

Kant, I. ([1781], 1993) *Critique of Pure Reason*, London: Everyman.

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Kustulasari. (2009). *The international standard school project in Indonesia: A policy document analysis* (Unpublished master's thesis), The Ohio State University. Retrieved from http://etd.ohiolink.edu/view.cgi/ Kustulasari%20Ag.pdf?acc_num=osu1 242851740

Lee, J. (2010). *Ideologies of English in the South Korean "English Immersion" debate*. Selected Proceedings of the 2008 Second Language Research Forum. (Matthew T. Prior et al. Ed.). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. pp. 246-260.

Lie, A. (2007). Education policy and EFL curriculum in Indonesia: Between the commitment to competence and the quest for higher test scores. *Teaching English as a Foreign Language in Indonesia (TEFLIN) Journal*, *18*(1), 1–14.

Lindberg, D. C. (1992). *The beginnings of Western science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lourie, M. & Rata, E. (2016). Realist Research Methodology in Policy Analysis. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*. 49:1, 17-30

http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2016.1167655

McPhail, G & Lourie, M. (2017). Getting real. Is realism a blind spot in research methodology?

*New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies.* DOI 10.1007/s40841-017-0087-y Retrieved from *https://link.springer.com/journal/40841*

Mahditama, I. (2012, October 29). Interview: On the importance of English language education for students, *The Jakarta Post.* Retrieved from http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2012/10/29/on-importanceenglish-language-education-students.html

Margana. (2013). *Theoretical justification of bilingual education program in Indonesia*. Retrieved from http://www.fllt2013.org/private_folder/Proceeding/772.pdf

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Mariati. (2007, July). Menyoal profil sekolah bertaraf internasional [Evaluating the profile of International Standard Schools]. *Journal Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan*, *67*(Tahun ke-13), 566–597.

Martin, R. Y. *English as a Medium of Instruction in the Philippines*. http://www.ue.edu.ph/manila/uetoday/index.php?nav=27.htm&archive=200808

Ministry of National Education (MONE). (2009). *MONE Strategic Planning of 2010-2014*. Jakarta: Information and Public Relation, MONE.

Ministry of National Education (MONE). (2011). *Penyelenggaraan Rintisan SMA Bertaraf Internasional* [Implementation of International Standard School Pilot Project]. Jakarta, Indonesia: Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Menengah.

Moutsios, S. (2018). *Society and Education: An outline of comparison*. London: Routledge.

Nola, R. (2001). Review of Michael Matthews, time for science education. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 33(3&4), 427-430.

Palmer, D. (2011). The discourse of transition: Teachers' language ideologies within transitional bilingual education programs. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, *5*(2), 103–122. doi:10.1080/19313152.2011.594019

Pan, L., & Block, D. (2011). English as a "global language" in China: An investigation into learners' and teachers' language beliefs. *System, 39,* 391–402

Permendiknas. (2009). *Penyelenggaraan Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional Pada Jenjang Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah* [Guideline for the implementation of international standard school at primary and secondary levels]. Jakarta, Indonesia: Departemen Pendidikan Nasional.

For Peer Review Only

Piketty, T. (2014). *Capital in the twenty-first century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ramirez, F. O., & Boli, J. (2007). The political construction of mass schooling: European origins and worldwide institutionalisation. In A. R. Sadovnik (Ed.), *Sociology of education: A critical reader* (pp. 199–217). London, UK: Routledge.

Rastogi, V., Tamboto, E. Tong, D., and T. Sinburimsit. (2013). Indonesia's Rising Middle-Class and Affluent Consumers: Asia's Next Big Opportunity, 23 March, posted by Boston Consulting Group. Available at:https://www.bcg.com/publications/2013/center-consumer-customer-insight-consumer-products-indonesias-rising-middle-class-affluent-consumers.aspx

Rata, E. (2018) Connecting Knowledge to Democracy In *Knowledge, curriculum and equity: Social realist perspectives***.** In Barrett, B., Hoadley, U. & J. Morgan, (Eds.), Routledge. (pp. 19-32); London: Routledge.

Rata, E. (2012) *The Politics of Knowledge in Education*. London: Routledge.

Retmono. (2011). Bahasa Inggris bukan standar RSBI, Suara Merdeka [English language is not the standard of International Standard School]. Retrieved from http://www.suaramerdeka.com/smcetak/index.php?fuseaction=beritacetak.detailberitacetak&id_beritacetak=140493

Sakhiyya, Z. (2011). Interrogating identity: The International Standard School in Indonesia. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, *19*(3), 345–365.

Sakhiyya, Z. (2018). The Internationalisation of Indonesian Education. Unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Auckland.

Shore, C., & Wright, S. (2017). Privatizing the Public University Key Trends , Countertrends

For Peer Review Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

and Alternatives. In S. Wright & C. Shore (Eds.), *Death of the Public University: Uncertain futures for higher education in the knowledge economy* (pp. 1–27). Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Sukarelawati, E. (2012, October 11). *Disdik Malang: RSBI wajib gunakan bahasa Inggris* [Malang City Bureau of Education: RSBI must use English [http://www.antarajatim.com/lihat/berita/96784/disdik-malang-rsbi-wajib-gunakan-bahasa-inggris

Sumintono, B. (2013, January 11). *RSBI: Problems seen in hindsight*. Retrieved from http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/01/11/rsbi-problems-seen-hindsight.html

Sundusiyah, A. (2011). Teachers in international-standard schools: What is missing? What can be improved? What does it take? In Z. Sakhiyya, I. M. A., Arsana, & M. Ramadewi (Eds.), *Education counts! The contribution of Indonesian students studying overseas for education in Indonesia* (pp. 87–108). Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Insight Media.

Taylor, C. (2004). *Modern social imaginaries*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Tan, M. (2011). Mathematics and science teachers' beliefs and practices regarding the teaching of language in content learning. *Language Teaching Research*, *15*(3), 325–342. doi:10.1177/1362168811401153

Tan, M., & Lan, O. S. (2010). Teaching mathematics and science in English in Malaysian classrooms: The impact of teacher beliefs on classroom practices and student learning. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *10*(1), 5–16. doi:10.1016/j.jeap.2010.11.001

For Peer Review Only

Yang, L. F. & Ishak, M. S. A. (2012). Framing controversy over language policy in Malaysia: the coverage of PPSMI reversal (teaching of mathematics and science in English) by Malaysian newspapers. *Asian Journal of Communication*. Vol. 22 Issue 5 pp. 449-473

For Peer Review Only

---

[1] We thank one of the reviewers of this paper for reminding us that there are other possible reasons for the withdrawal of the school EMI policy. These include the policy's role in the creation of elite state schools, abandoned as a result of parental complaints that it was discriminatory and redirected resources away from the poorer sectors. Our focus on the implementation difficulties experienced by the teachers should not be taken as excluding these other reasons.

# Bukti konfirmasi artikel accepted

**Sri Wuli Fitriati <sriwuli.fitriati@mail.unnes.ac.id>**

## Article Ready
3 messages

**Carrick, Jacqueline** <Jacqueline.Carrick@taylorandfrancis.com> Tue, Jul 7, 2020 at 10:13 PM
To: "SriWuli.Fitriati@mail.unnes.ac.id" <SriWuli.Fitriati@mail.unnes.ac.id>

Dear Professor Fitriati,

I am happy to update you that your article for *The Journal of Language, Identity & Education* is ready for publication. Before posting it, I thought I'd update you on the following:

1. In the proof, we noticed that typesetting mistakenly made an error with the Martin reference and its citation, as well as the MONE 2009/2011 reference & citations. We fixed this by having these reflect as they did in the original submitted document. Thus, all citations for Martin are now 2011, and the sentence below appears as follows. Feel free to let me know if this is acceptable.

According to Ministry of National Education (2009, 2011) and DGPSEM (2007a, 2007b) the schools were to provide education with national and international standards that would enable graduates to compete internationally to a level higher than, if not equal to, those in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries.

2. The journal has now begun including author biographies, so at the end, we added the ones provided with the submission. The attached pdf reflects this addition.

If the above is fine and this is ready to publish, I will post it. Many thanks for everything provided to production in recent weeks.

Best regards,

Jackie

Jacqueline Carrick

Production Editor

Taylor and Francis Group, LLC

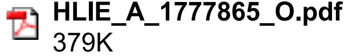
530 Walnut Street, Suite 850

Philadelphia PA, 19106

Phone: 215-606-4268

Email: jacqueline.carrick@taylorandfrancis.com

Information Classification: General



**HLIE_A_1777865_O.pdf**
379K

---

**Sri Wuli Fitriati** <sriwuli.fitriati@mail.unnes.ac.id> Thu, Jul 9, 2020 at 11:35 AM
To: "Carrick, Jacqueline" <Jacqueline.Carrick@taylorandfrancis.com>

Dear Jacqueline,

Thank you very much for your email.

We have checked the article. And, yes, we approve the updates.

Thank you.

Kind regards,
Sri Wuli Fitriati
Universitas Negeri Semarang (UNNES)
[Quoted text hidden]

---

**Carrick, Jacqueline** <Jacqueline.Carrick@taylorandfrancis.com> Fri, Jul 10, 2020 at 4:48 AM
To: Sri Wuli Fitriati <sriwuli.fitriati@mail.unnes.ac.id>

Many thanks!

Jacqueline Carrick

Production Editor

Taylor and Francis Group, LLC

530 Walnut Street, Suite 850

Philadelphia PA, 19106

Phone: 215-606-4268

Email: jacqueline.carrick@taylorandfrancis.com

[Quoted text hidden]
[Quoted text hidden]

> [Quoted text hidden]
> Information Classification: General

# Bukti konfirmasi artikel published online

**Sri Wuli Fitriati <sriwuli.fitriati@mail.unnes.ac.id>**

# Routledge author update: congratulations, your article is published!

1 message

**Taylor & Francis** <noreply@tandfonline.com> Fri, Jul 10, 2020 at 4:25 AM
Reply-To: support@tandfonline.com
To: sriwuli.fitriati@mail.unnes.ac.id

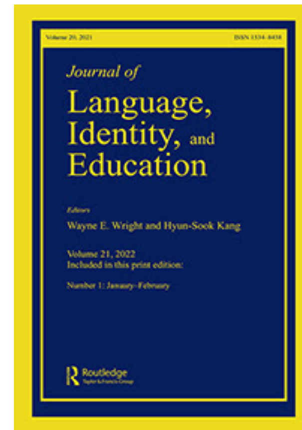
The online platform for Taylor & Francis Group content

**Author Services** | **FAQ** | **Twitter** | **Facebook**

Dear Sri Wuli Fitriati,

Congratulations, we're delighted to let you know that your final published article (the Version of Record) is now on Taylor & Francis Online.

Language, Globalisation, and National Identity : A Study of English-Medium Policy and Practice in Indonesia




Routledge

**Want to tell others you're published? Use your free eprints today**
Every author at Routledge (including all co-authors) gets 50 free online copies of their article to share with friends and colleagues as soon as their article is published. Your eprint link is now ready to use and is:

https://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/MFEJFATTFZENN7AHGYVA/full?target=10.1080/15348458.2020.1777865

You can paste this into your emails, on social media, or anywhere else you'd like others to read your article. Author feedback tells us this is a highly effective way of highlighting your research. Using this link also means we can track your article's downloads and citations, so you can measure its impact. Find out more about **sharing your work**, how you can work with us to **highlight your article**.

**Have you registered to access your Authored Works?**
If you haven't already done so, now is the time to register for your **Authored Works**, our dedicated center for all Taylor & Francis published authors. Authored Works gives you instant access to your article, and is where you can go to see how many people have downloaded it, cited it and access your Altmetric data.

To access your Authored Works, you will need to register with the email address below:

sriwuli.fitriati@mail.unnes.ac.id

Once you've completed the **quick registration** you'll be sent an email asking you to confirm. Click on the verification link and you can then login (using the above email address) whenever you want to by going to **Taylor & Francis Online**. Once you have logged in, click on "**Your Account**" at the top of the page to see the latest updates on your article.

**Next steps**
We'll be in touch as soon as your article is assigned to the latest issue of Journal of Language, Identity & Education, but if you've any queries in the interim don't hesitate to **contact us**.

Kind regards,

Stewart Gardiner
Global Production Director, Journals
Taylor & Francis Group

Interested in insights, tips, and updates for Taylor & Francis authors? Be part of our researcher community on:
**Twitter**
**Facebook**
**Taylor & Francis Author Services**

Please do not reply to this email. To ensure that you receive your alerts and information from Taylor & Francis Online, please add "alerts@tandfonline.com" and "info@tandfonline.com" to your safe senders list.

Taylor & Francis, an Informa business.
Taylor & Francis is a trading name of Informa UK Limited, registered in England under no. 1072954. Registered office: 5

Howick Place, London, SW1P 1WG.