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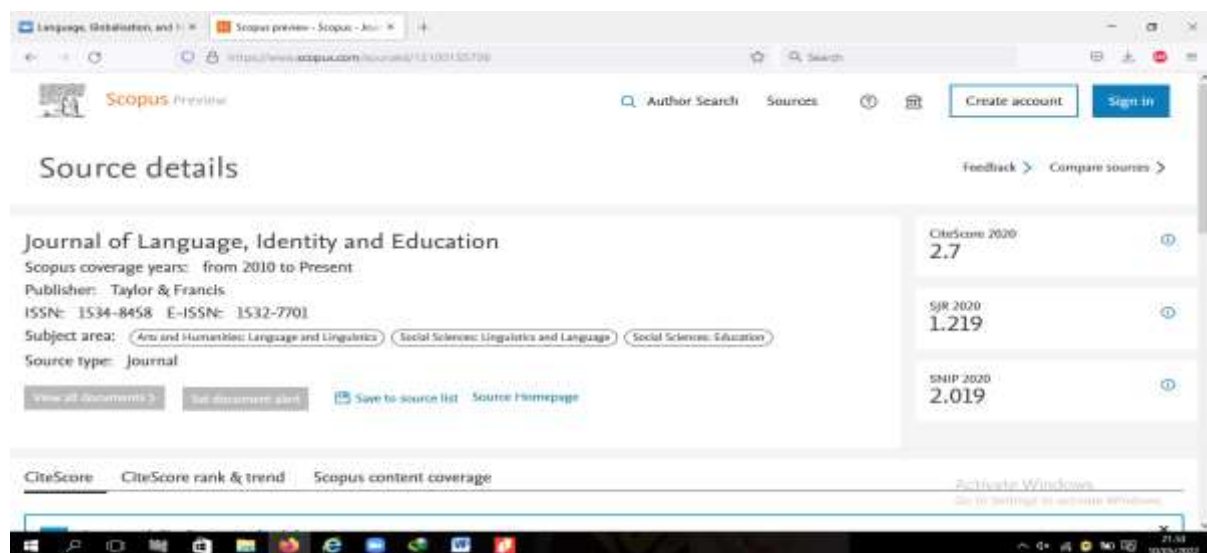
### ARTIKEL JURNAL INTERNASIONAL BEREPUTASI

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

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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**



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

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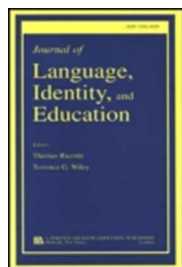
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## Language and Identity in Education: An Example from Indonesia

Journal:	<i>Journal of Language, Identity &amp; Education</i>
Manuscript ID	Draft
Manuscript Type:	Original Article
Keywords:	Language Policy, Nationalism, Cultural Identities, Indonesia, English as a medium of instruction
Abstract:	<p>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.</p>

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

### 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 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

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3 Korea (Bax, 2010; Lee, 2010), the Phillipines (Martin, 2011), and Pakistan (Channa, 2012)  
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5 are attempting to fast-track their entrance into the global economy. The status of English as  
6  
7 the *lingua franca* (Pan & Block, 2011) exerts pressure on governments to provide education  
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9 in English as a language of instruction and communication; that is, a language that can be  
10  
11 used, rather than as one of a number of languages offered to students as a subject for study. In  
12  
13 almost all of these countries, the policy has been withdrawn or falters along.  
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18 The account of the Indonesian study enables us to explain how teachers responded to  
19  
20 government initiatives to encourage the use of English as a medium of instruction  
21  
22 (henceforth, EMOI) in public schools and in higher education institutions. This explanation  
23  
24 leads to a discussion of the role of language in nation-building, specifically as the means by  
25  
26 which the imaginary significations of a modern nation-state are created (Anderson, 1983).  
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28 We are able to ask, what happens when the balance between two imaginary significations  
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30 (Castiordias, 1987), one that is globally focussed and economically justified and that other, a  
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32 national identity signification with a focus on social cohesion, is disturbed. We argue that the  
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34 policy upset this balance, thereby contributing to its failure.  
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43 The impetus for the policy initiative, and for its subsequent failure can be traced to the  
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45 influence of geopolitical forces on nation-state policy, and in the case we refer to, on  
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47 education policy specifically. These forces, which enable the acceptance of the neoliberal  
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49 market ideology of an aggressive global capitalism by independent nation-states (Piketty,  
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51 2014), are played out in developing countries with rapidly expanding middle classes. In  
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53 Indonesia, “middle class affluent consumers (MACs) represent about 30 percent of the  
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55 population, or 74 million people. About 8 million to 9 million people currently enter the  
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3 MAC segment each year, and by 2020, this group will reach a total of 141 million people, or  
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5 53 percent of the population” (Rastogi, Tamboto, Tong, & Sinburimsit, 2013). These well-  
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7 educated professionals in Indonesia and other South-East Asian countries support their  
8  
9 various governments’ moves into the global economy. With those moves come a degree of  
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11 acceptance of the English language (Pan & Block, 2011). However, they are the class that  
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13 benefitted from the rising nationalism which accompanied the various independence  
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15 movements in South-East Asia following the Second World War. For Indonesia, it is a  
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17 nationalism that places the Indonesian language as the imaginary signification at the centre of  
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19 its identity.  
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25 Prior to the turn of this century, the developing countries in South-East Asia, including  
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27 Indonesia, were a source of cheap labour for global corporations. However in the last two  
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29 decades, countries like Indonesia are acquiring a new position on the world economic stage,  
30  
31 mainly through the growing influence of the Association of South-East Asian Nations  
32  
33 (ASEAN) regional bloc. The region is shifting from providing cheap labour for global  
34  
35 corporations to providing a huge, middle-class consumer base. One of the observable effects  
36  
37 of this expansive economic development can be seen in higher education policy. Universities,  
38  
39 such as those in Indonesia, are looking outward to the world, seeking “world class university”  
40  
41 status in the global higher education market (Sakhiyya, 2018). The English language is a  
42  
43 crucial part of this globalising strategy, not only for the higher education “business” (Shore &  
44  
45 Wright, 2017) but for the economy more broadly.  
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52 The governments of these South-East Asian nations that are increasingly facing outwards to  
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54 the global economy justify the inclusion of English in their respective education systems by  
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56 claiming that they are preparing young people for a globalised future (Permendiknas, 2009;  
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3 Hadisantosa, 2010). And yet there is ambiguity in this position. On the one hand, they face  
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5 outwards using assertive internationalisation strategies (Sakhiyya, 2018). On the other hand,  
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7 the nationalism which benefits from that assertion is not only about the economy. It is about  
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9 the nation's cultural identity, its main imaginary signification, one created in large part by a  
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11 unifying language.  
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16 Guibernau and Rex explain how the nation-state, once created “actively promote(s) the  
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18 cultural homogenisation of its members” (1997, pp. 4–5). The emergence of the Indonesian  
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20 language from its Malay history, a process we describe below, can be understood in terms of  
21  
22 this cultural homogenisation imperative. Indeed the cultural identity that is Indonesia is  
23  
24 centred on the Indonesian language. The study indicated that, while there was no opposition  
25  
26 from the teachers to the English language *per se*, there was concern that, by using English as  
27  
28 the medium of instruction, Indonesian identity would be negatively affected. A teacher in the  
29  
30 study captures this idea saying: “Why should we put ourselves out while we can use our own  
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32 language” and “I think each language has its own place” (Author 1, 2015, p. 61).  
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41 The article is structured in the following way. The next section is an account of the  
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43 emergence of the Indonesian language within the independence struggle. Our purpose is to  
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45 show the integral place on the language in the nation's identity. This is followed by an  
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47 overview of countries that, like Indonesia, are implementing English language policies for  
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49 their education systems, and for the same economic reasons. We then describe the English  
50  
51 language policy which was the object of the study to discuss its establishment and its  
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53 withdrawal. This is followed by an account of the study undertaken in the school. It shows  
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55 how the teachers attempted to put the policy into practice but were frustrated, not only by the  
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3 reality that their English language competency was inadequate for the task, but because they  
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5 were committed to language as national identity. They believed that the Indonesian language  
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7 should be the language of Indonesian schools. There was a direct confrontation between this  
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9 belief and the government's justification for switching to English, one made in economic  
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11 instrumental terms. We conclude, in a brief final section by discussing the role of language in  
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13 national identity to argue that this policy in particular touched two of the nation's key  
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15 imaginary significations, placing them in conflict. For Indonesia, these are, on the one hand,  
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17 its self-representation as a cohesive modern nation with an Indonesian identity. On the other  
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19 hand, the nation's self-representation as an internationally recognised member of the global  
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21 economy, a status that brings with it political recognition, promotes an outward looking sense  
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23 of identity—a representation justifying the English language policy.  
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### 29 **Education, language, and identity**

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34 The Indonesian language comes from the struggle against Dutch colonisation which led to the  
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36 establishment of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945. In 1908, Budi Utomo, the first Indonesian  
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38 nationalist organisation, promoted Malay as the national language in order to provide a  
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40 counter to Dutch language policy. Its transformation into “Indonesian” occurred in 1928, in  
41  
42 the manifesto of the “Youth of Indonesia”. *Sumpah Pemuda* (The Oath of The Young People)  
43  
44 “pledged the willingness of every Indonesian to be unified in one nation, one earth, and one  
45  
46 language: Indonesia” (Hallem, 1999, n.p.). The word “Malay” was replaced by “Bahasa  
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48 Indonesia” as the name of the language and the first Indonesia Language Congress was held  
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50 in 1938. With the Japanese occupation in 1942 Indonesians were taught Japanese in all  
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52 schools, a practice which served to reinforce the growing identification of the people to  
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54 Indonesian as their language. Hallem (1999) notes that it was the Japanese who, in 1942 as a  
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3 pragmatic response to the reality of language use, established the first Commission for the  
4 Indonesian Language. The Commission was to make decisions about vocabulary and write a  
5 common grammar. In 1945, Indonesian was declared the official language. The various  
6 indigenous local languages, include Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Maduranese, Baso  
7 Minang and many more continue to be used in homes and communities but, for the first time,  
8 there is a national language that represents the self-representation of Indonesia as a nation.  
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18 The Indonesian language is therefore the result of the Independence movement and the  
19 creation of the nation. The teachers interviewed in the study recognised that the education  
20 system, especially as a public system, has a wider role in, and for, Indonesian society. This  
21 role may be understood in relation to sociological theories about the purpose of national  
22 education systems in modern nation-state building (Ramirez & Boli, 2007). Public education  
23 systems became central institutions in the new nation-states of the 19th and 20th centuries, as  
24 a crucial part of the nation-building enterprise. This applies to those at the beginning of the  
25 era, such as the United States and those in more recent times such as Indonesia (Hobsbawm,  
26 1992). They were to unify ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups into the one imaginary  
27 modern nation (Anderson, 1983).  
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43 It is only in a national education system that the “collective representations” (Durkheim’s  
44 term, 1912/2001) or “imaginary significations” (Castoriadis, 1987) of a society’s symbolic  
45 system are reproduced. These terms refer to the way in which a society understands itself; the  
46 means of communication which enables normative agreement; its source of cohesive identity;  
47 “collective representations” (what Bourdieu describes as “shared reality” [1979, p. 79]) that  
48 integrate diverse groups into a stable and cohesive society with its own identity (not in  
49 references yet). According to Durkheim (1912/2001, cited in Bourdieu, 1979, p. 79), the  
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3 modern symbolic system is “a homogeneous conception of time, space, number and cause  
4 which make agreement possible between intelligences.” He considered that the collective  
5 representations developed and reproduced in the symbolic sphere achieved this purpose  
6 because they provided both the “means of communication required for normative agreement  
7 and the instruments of thought” required to create this shared reality (as cited in Bourdieu,  
8 1979, p. 79).

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

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

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47 The intrusion of something that is not seen to contribute to the nation-building and unifying  
48 role (that of the introduction of a foreign language as a means of instruction) is at odds with  
49 the implicit understanding of what the education system is for. For the Indonesian  
50 government, and for the many other countries that we note in the next section who are also  
51 pursuing this policy, the purpose is to be competitive in the global economy. Therefore we  
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3 argue that the unease, even in some cases hostility, towards using English in this way  
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5 (although not to the English language *per se*) which was expressed by some of the teachers in  
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7 the study can be understood in terms of the tension to the balance between the symbolic and  
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9 the economic. On the one hand, a government looks outward to the global economy. On the  
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11 other, the teachers look to their role in producing well-educated young people for not only a  
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13 prosperous nation, but one that has the means to be unified and stable.  
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### 16 17 18 **English language education in a globalised world** 19

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22 Although the study we refer to in the article was conducted in Indonesia, a number of non-  
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24 English speaking countries are seeking to introduce EMOI into their education systems.  
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26 These countries include Malaysia (Tan, 2011), the Philippines (Martin, 2011), Thailand and  
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28 South Korea (Bax, 2010), Pakistan (Channa, 2012). For example, in 2003 a change in  
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30 language of instruction policy was applied to Mathematics and Science subjects in Malaysia  
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32 with the language of instruction switched from Bahasa Malaysia, to English. It was intended  
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34 to produce a “generation of scientifically and technologically knowledgeable students who  
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36 are fluent in English and able to contribute to the economic growth and development of the  
37  
38 country” (Tan & Lan, 2010, p. 6). Following protests by Chinese schools in Malaysia, a  
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40 compromise was reached. Science and Mathematics were to be taught in English and  
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42 Mandarin, not solely in English (Yang & Ishak, 2012). However, even the compromise could  
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44 not help and the policy was withdrawn in 2008.  
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52 A similar initiative launched in the Philippines in 2003 was also suspended (Martin, 2011). In  
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54 Thailand, the English programme requires that at least two core subjects (out of the total of  
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3 nine subjects) are taught in English. Significantly, the subjects exclude the Thai language and  
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5 social studies with aspects related to Thai culture and national identity (Keyuravong 2008, p.  
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7 3, cited in Bax, 2010, p. 11). However, as with the other countries, Thailand is facing various  
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9 problems related to both teachers who teach the subject of English and those who use English  
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11 as the medium for teaching other content (Bax, 2010).  
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16 The South Korean government's concerns about English language education led to the  
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18 adoption of a bilingual/immersion approach - *mol-ib* which included the teaching of content  
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20 subjects such as Maths and Science using English. A small number of schools (up to 10 in the  
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22 Seoul area, for example) became involved in a *mol-ib* scheme. (Bax, 2010, p. 53) but the  
23  
24 policy was withdrawn in the midst of strong public opposition. In Pakistan, a study conducted  
25  
26 by Channa (2012) showed the use of ELMI (English Language as the Medium of Instruction)  
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28 in teaching Science subjects to the students who studied Science as their major. However the  
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30 policy was also terminated.  
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### 34 35 36 **English language policy in Indonesia** 37

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40 In 2006, the Indonesian MONE published a new educational policy for secondary schools.  
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42 Like the policies we note earlier in other South-East Asian nations the policy was designed to  
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44 include English as the medium of instruction in Science and Mathematics classrooms as part  
45  
46 of the broader internationalisation strategies being pursued in education and other  
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48 government institutions. It was to be achieved by re-designating selected schools as  
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50 International Standard Schools. (Act of Republic of Indonesia No. 20 Year 2003 on National  
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52 Education System, Article 50, clause 3). Following the design of the policy, the government  
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3 nominated hundreds of top public schools to be developed as international schools (Sakhiyya,  
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5 2011; Sundusiyah, 2011).  
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10 The International Standard Schools were to meet the broad goals of preparing Indonesia for  
11  
12 the migration of professionals from Indonesia and also into the country—the “human  
13  
14 resources” of the global knowledge economy. In this way, Indonesia would become more  
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16 competitive in the international job market and an attractive destination for foreign-owned  
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18 companies operating in Indonesia. English plays a major role in the country’s economic  
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20 development (Depdiknas, 2009; Hadisantosa, 2010; Hartoyo, 2009). The tourism industry, in  
21  
22 particular, is a major contributor to the country’s gross domestic product (GDP) by creating  
23  
24 foreign exchange earnings and employment opportunities for Indonesians. This contribution  
25  
26 to employment in particular is not to be understated. Nearly nine percent of Indonesia’s total  
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28 national workforce is employed in the tourism sector ([www.indonesia.investments](http://www.indonesia.investments)), a sector  
29  
30 requiring English language competency (Mahditama, 2012).  
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36 Similarly, the education sector in Indonesia views the English language as a tool for the  
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38 development and dissemination of information and communication technology and science.  
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40 English competencies are considered essential for students to keep up with the latest  
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42 developments (Depdiknas, 2009), hence the implementation of the policy in the re-designated  
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44 public schools named as *Rintisan Sekolah Bertaraf International* (or, Pioneer International  
45  
46 Standard Schools) (Permendiknas, 2009). The intention was to develop teaching and learning  
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48 processes that complied with the international standards of developed countries (MONE,  
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50 2011; Permendiknas, 2009). In 2006, when the policy was introduced, there were 1,305  
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52 Pioneer International Standard Schools in Indonesia; 239 were primary schools. There were  
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54 356 junior high schools, 359 senior high schools, and 351 vocational high schools  
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3 (Sukarelawati, 2012). Students who attended these schools were chosen on the basis of their  
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5 school enrolment test, including an English language test. As a consequence of this enrolment  
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7 criterion and the additional resources, the schools are widely regarded as elite schools  
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10 (Retmono, 2011).

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14 However, there was controversy over the use of English in Mathematics and Science subjects  
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16 in the Pioneer International Standard Schools—especially over the quality of the English-  
17  
18 medium instruction and the lack of bilingual teachers, but most notably because Mathematics  
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20 and Science teachers with little or no English competency were expected to teach their  
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22 subjects in that language (Indradno, 2011; Sundusiyah, 2011). In addition, the schools were  
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24 criticised for reducing the use of the Indonesian language (Retmono, 2011). By 2013, the  
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26 mounting criticism and the obvious failure of the policy at classroom level led to the decree  
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28 of *Mahkamah Konstitusi*, the Indonesian Constitutional Court (Sumintono, 2013, January  
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30 11). This stipulated that the Pioneer International Standard Schools must return to their  
31  
32 original status as regular schools. It required the withdrawal of English-medium instruction  
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34 from the school. Since then, English is no longer used as the medium of instruction to teach  
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36 content subjects. It remains a separate subject as it has long been a compulsory subject in  
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38 secondary schools since Indonesian Independence in 1945 (Lie, 2007).  
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45 The withdrawal of the policy appears a failure. English-medium instruction was promoted  
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47 throughout the country as an important innovation and something that would contribute  
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49 significantly towards Indonesia's emergence as a global "player" (Coleman, 2009). Indeed  
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51 the government initially promoted the policy in these terms. According to MONE (2005,  
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53 2009) and DGPSEM (2007a, 2007b) the schools were to provide education with national and  
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55 international standards that would enable graduates to compete internationally to a level  
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3 higher than, if not equal to, those in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and  
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5 Development (OECD) countries. Government resources were provided to ensure that the  
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7 policy did work. So why did the policy fail so completely that it was withdrawn? In the next  
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9 section we address this question by identifying a fundamental misalignment between  
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11 teachers' attitudes towards the English language and the government's expectations.  
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### 14 15 16 17 **The study** 18

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21 The study (Author 1, 2015) of the English language programme at a public senior high school  
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23 was undertaken in 2012, one year before the policy was rescinded, so at a time when the  
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25 problems had become quite obvious. The school was located in a large city in the province of  
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27 Central Java with a predominantly Javanese population. The researcher shadowed five  
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29 teachers of Geography, Biology, Mathematics, Chemistry, and Information Communication  
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31 Technology (ICT) in their classrooms over two months. Each of the five had a bachelor  
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33 degree majoring in the respective content subjects. They had studied English as a compulsory  
34  
35 subject when they were at junior high school, senior high school, and at university where  
36  
37 English was taught only in one to two semesters. Significantly, none of the teachers had  
38  
39 experienced special training in English-medium instruction during their study at university.  
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41 After the school where they worked was designated a Pioneer International Standard School  
42  
43 in the academic year of 2009/2010, both the Maths and Science teachers were directed by  
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45 school executives to take short English professional development courses. These were  
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47 conducted either by local government officials or the school.  
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55 Data were collected in a variety of ways and were extensive. Collection included whole-  
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57 school observations, participatory observation where the researcher sat in the classroom for  
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3 lengthy periods, field notes, in-depth interviews, reviewing school documents, and audio-  
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5 video recordings of classroom activities. In addition, informal conversations were held during  
6  
7 and after the school hours. These multiple sources of data collection constituted a real  
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9 strength of the study. It meant that the researcher had the opportunity to immerse herself in  
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11 the school and to conduct whole-school observations and classroom observations that  
12  
13 enriched the interviews with the teachers (Palmer, 2011, p. 109).  
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18 These interviews were a revealing source of material about the English language policy. Each  
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20 teacher was interviewed several times and the discussions were in-depth and free-ranging.  
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22 The teachers were encouraged to speak freely and all were happy to do so. They spoke about  
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24 their family's background, friends, and social networks before turning to describe the  
25  
26 languages they used in their daily and teaching lives. These conversations included  
27  
28 describing how they used Javanese, Indonesian, and English in daily interactions, any  
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30 connection with English communities of practice, and broader professional matters  
31  
32 concerning their teaching goals and education in general. However the main topic of each  
33  
34 interview was their experiences in teaching their content subject using English. The  
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36 researcher asked about their perceptions, opinions, views, feelings, and attitudes toward  
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38 English-medium instruction in their classes and to using English the school more widely.  
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40 They were asked in English first to test their level of understanding and communication in the  
41  
42 language. Significantly, all five teachers preferred using either Indonesian or Javanese. This  
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44 gave them the freedom to speak in depth and to explore the nuances and ambiguities that  
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46 arise when people speak of their experiences.  
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3 We have grouped some of the pertinent findings into three main themes of classroom  
4 practice, the teacher, and cultural identity which best demonstrate the points at which the  
5 policy's implementation failed.  
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### 10 11 *Classroom practice*

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16 One finding was the frequency of code-switching practices, rather than the use of English  
17 only. The teachers alternated between Indonesian and English throughout the lesson. It was  
18 used to encourage students to focus on the content and to be more responsive by asking  
19 questions and contributing ideas. The Maths and Geography teachers said that including  
20 Indonesian helped their students understand what was being said.  
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29 Perhaps not all students will understand my explanation if I speak in English all the  
30 time. So, I have to do like that, translating. I used to mixing, Indonesian mixed with  
31 English. They want me not to use much English in my lesson. (Author 1, 2015, p. 78)  
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36 The teachers frequently translated the English they used. An example from a Biology class  
37 where the students were learning about the skeleton showed how the need to translate  
38 scientific terms had the effect of reducing a lesson to a translation class where terms were  
39 constantly repeated rather than it being a lesson about biological concepts and content.  
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49 The teachers frequently switched from English into Indonesian to “save face” when their  
50 linguistic competence failed them. The Biology teacher said that his limited English meant  
51 that he used it only to introduce students to Biology terms and to greet students and check the  
52 roll. The Maths teacher said that she did not dare to say some numbers in English because she  
53 was not sure how to pronounce them. The ICT teacher did not use English at all, not a single  
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3 word, saying his vocabulary and grammar were not good enough. He spoke of “not having  
4 the nerve” to teach in English adding that he felt both hesitant and frightened. However, he  
5 did ask his students to speak in English when presenting their group discussion work, and  
6 interestingly, they did.  
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15 The researcher observed a group of four students presenting their group discussion with  
16 PowerPoint presentations in English. They even answered their friends’ questions in English.  
17 Despite some grammatical mistakes and inappropriate word choice, this group’s effort to  
18 speak in English was commendable, given the difficult nature of the topic “wireless and  
19 wireline.” Why did they use English when their teacher did not? Perhaps they were motivated  
20 by a mixture of their teacher’s encouragement and by the extra marks for those who used  
21 either spoken or written English. The fact that the students prepared their slides prior to class  
22 also helped. A similar negotiation between teacher and students occurred in the Chemistry  
23 class. Initially the students were required to use English. However the teachers allowed them  
24 to speak in Indonesian to present the results of their group discussion. These presentations  
25 were “on the spot” so the students had not prepared them previously; so these involved  
26 stuttering and stumbling. The teacher was aware of the anxiety this created, hence her  
27 decision to allow the students to use Indonesian. This teacher, like the others, were more  
28 concerned with their students’ understanding of the lesson content and of maintaining their  
29 motivation. Using English was secondary to these pedagogical priorities. What the researcher  
30 found was that these were normal subject lessons in Indonesian with the annoying imposition  
31 of English foisted on the teachers from outside.  
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3 The teachers in the programme were subject specialists, not English language users. The  
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5 result was to be expected; a mixture of noticeable inaccuracies in grammar, word choice, and  
6  
7 pronunciation. Often they were unaware of these errors, or they knew they made errors but  
8  
9 did not know when they were correct and when they were not. Several of the teachers said  
10  
11 that it was fine for them to make mistakes because they were still learning English,  
12  
13 mentioning that the students did seem to understand. However, there are a number of  
14  
15 problems with this. In the context of second language acquisition, errors or mistakes in using  
16  
17 a foreign language without any corrective feedback are likely to result in the errors becoming  
18  
19 fixed by the teacher (Ellis, 2008; Fidler, 2006; Gass & Selinker, 2008). Students might  
20  
21 consider the language their teachers used was accurate and adopt this language use, leading to  
22  
23 further confusion. The input into students' language from their teachers' use is their  
24  
25 students' language input has a determining function in language acquisition (Ellis, 2008).  
26  
27 According to Astika and Wahyana (2010), Indonesian students should be exposed to correct  
28  
29 English (p. 19). Inaccurate teacher modelling will lead to incorrect grammar, pronunciation  
30  
31 and word choice by the students. The subject teachers in the study did in fact have an  
32  
33 important role as language models for their students but were unaware of the significance of  
34  
35 this. In addition to the problems specific to language, there are also implications for the  
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37 subjects being taught. When the teacher uses words incorrectly, the meaning of the concepts  
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39 being taught is also compromised.  
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### 49 *The teachers*

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3 Given these problems it is not surprising that the teachers found using English not only  
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5 difficult and a source of anxiety, but also time-consuming. They all said that teaching in  
6  
7 English took double the time as teaching in Indonesian.  
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10 According to one teacher:

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14 If I teach in English, it means double working because I must translate into Indonesian  
15 to make sure my students understand my explanation. It's faster to explain using  
16 Indonesian.  
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20 The Maths teacher agreed:

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24 My students need longer time to understand my explanation if I used English,  
25 compared to when I used Indonesian. They did not comprehend a lesson easily when  
26 delivered in English. Sometimes they asked me, mam, what is it in Indonesian, so I had  
27 to explain it again in Indonesian. It takes longer time and takes my energy.  
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31 Repeating the content knowledge firstly in English then in Indonesian took much of the time  
32 allocated to the lesson, reducing the time for the actual lesson itself.  
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39 The effect of the policy of the teachers' professional wellbeing was considerable with all those  
40 interviewed saying that having to use English-medium instruction made them anxious in  
41 relation to their own work and envious of their colleagues who did not need to use English. It  
42 reduced their confidence and produced a very real sense of carrying an impossible burden.  
43  
44 The burden was two-fold. Not only did they have to learn English themselves but they had to  
45 learn how to teach their subjects in this unfamiliar language. It was not surprising that they  
46 thought the English-medium policy was unattainable. Two of the older teachers, both highly  
47 experienced in their subjects, said it was too late to learn English at their age.  
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3 Students are smarter. They take English private courses after school. And they are still  
4 young. They easily learn a foreign language, whereas I have many things to take care  
5 of. So, it's difficult for me to learn English.  
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7 He added that learning English meant making a considerable "personal sacrifice."  
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9  
10 If I always focus on learning English at all times, my other tasks and responsibility as a  
11 teacher, a father, and in my community will be in a mess. English comes to me very  
12 late. I am above 50 [years old] now, so when can I study English? I do not have time [to  
13 study English].  
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17 Not surprisingly, he compared his predicament to that of the teachers who were not required  
18 to teach using English:  
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22 Ask the teachers who teach English subject to teach Biology. I am sure they cannot do  
23 it. So, what I mean is just teaching as usual. Do not make teachers afraid by asking us  
24 to teach in English. Yes, many colleagues are afraid of teaching in English. Many of  
25 them got stressed complaining their difficulties and inabilities speaking in English.  
26 Students, too. Actually both teachers and students complain.  
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### 32 *Language and identity*

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35 "*Kita punya bahasa sendiri*" (We have our own language) was the phrase most often used by  
36 the teachers when referring to the English language policy.  
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40 According to one:  
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43 I think each language has its own place. When teachers go home seeing their families,  
44 involved in their societies and communities, they absolutely use the languages spoken  
45 by their families and communities.  
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49 He clearly meant that English was not a widely used language so he thought it would be  
50 strange to use English while others did not use the language. Another teacher used similar  
51 sentiments, speaking both Indonesian and Javanese: "*Kenapa sih ndadak repot-repot? Wong*  
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3 *dengan bahasa kita sendiri saja kita bisa.*” [Why should we put ourselves out while we can  
4  
5 use our own language?]. He added:

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8 Our environment is not supportive because our official and national language is  
9 Indonesian and because we are Javanese living in Javanese communities. We speak  
10 Javanese too.  
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14 All members of the school community spoke Indonesian and Javanese. On a very few  
15 occasions they spoke a few words or sentences in English if they were asked in English by  
16 those who taught English as a subject. The teacher in the comment immediately above  
17 claimed that the Indonesian and Javanese languages had a wider range of vocabulary which  
18 could express specific intended meanings which were not possible in his English vocabulary.  
19 He said there were no English equivalents available to him with his lack of English  
20 proficiency for certain Javanese or Indonesian words, certainly none that enabled him to  
21 express nuances and complexities of meaning.  
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36 The teachers discussed the matter of language and identity with one noting that using English  
37 in teaching could cause trouble because it was not the language of the nation. It did not show  
38 his Indonesian identity. Given that “language is an index, symbol and marker of identity”  
39 (Baker, 2011, p. 45) this teacher’s comment that being an Indonesian meant using the  
40 Indonesian language as the symbol of Indonesian national identity made sense for him and  
41 for the others.  
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50 One of the older, experienced teachers was doubtful about the benefits of English in  
51 Indonesia:  
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55 Where are we taking our students to? To what direction? Why do we have to use  
56 English? If they continue their study in universities in Indonesia, we do not need to  
57 insist teaching in English. If students plan to continue to study abroad, English is a  
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3 must. But, if they study at universities in Indonesia, our time to study English can be  
4 used to study additional subject content.  
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9 Other teachers spoke of Indonesian as the country's national language. They saw the school  
10 as a state institution and Indonesian as the official and national language. The comment, "We  
11 have our own language" or similar phrases were used frequently.  
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19 The teachers' comments provided insights into how English was regarded. There was  
20 concern expressed that colleagues might regard teachers who spoke English as strange as it  
21 seemed inappropriate to use English among people of Indonesian nationality.  
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27 If I initiated to speak English, I might be laughed at. They [my colleagues] would think  
28 I was like pretending as if I were an English native speaker and acting as if I were a  
29 Westerner [Javanese: *halah sok keinggris-inggrisan*]. If they don't like, they will talk  
30 behind our back. Actually I can ignore them. It doesn't matter they call me acting like  
31 Westerners [*keinggris-inggrisan*]. But I don't feel comfortable with such a comment. I  
32 should know my position. I am glad if I am addressed in English or asked to chat in  
33 English [by my colleagues] as long as it is not my own initiative because I am not an  
34 English subject teacher.  
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39 *Halah, sok keinggris-inggrisan* (it is like imitating Westerners) is to be avoided, or so this  
40 teacher implies. Others too, were concerned that if they practised English they might be  
41 considered "different" people. This contributed to their reluctance to practise English. The  
42 use of conversational English by mainly young teachers tended to elicit defensiveness from  
43 the mainly older teachers who could not speak, or who had limited, English. Negative  
44 comments would be made, for example, "*Halah sok keinggris-inggrisan*" (imitating  
45 Englishmen or Westerners by speaking English) to teachers who practised English at school,  
46 perhaps even seen as boastful.  
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3 Sometimes when some teachers spoke English as a kind of practice at school, some  
4 colleagues might label them kemlinthi [acting up so proudly]. This expression is not  
5 directly addressed to teachers who spoke English, but it was said to other teachers. And  
6 eventually teachers who spoke English would know that their colleagues have a  
7 negative opinion about them because they practised English. This may be part of our  
8 culture. We sometimes view someone who has skills beyond ours and uses the skills in  
9 everyday practices where not all people can acquire these skills as a person who was  
10 kemlinthi.  
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16 The tendency to criticise, or the fear of criticism, for those who spoke English did have a  
17 discouraging effect. A revealing comment from one of the teachers showed that he stopped  
18 using English so that he would not appear boastful.  
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23 I myself admitted that I became lack of using English. Because if I insisted on using  
24 English, my colleagues would think I am “looking for a face”. (Kalau saya bertahan  
25 nanti saya dikira nggolek rai [Indonesian mixed with Javanese utterances]).  
26

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

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42 We have identified two main reasons why the English as a medium of instruction and  
43 communication policy failed. These reasons operate at different levels. Clearly the policy  
44 failed because teachers could not implement it for all the reasons we identify in the  
45 description of the study earlier. They did not speak English, the professional development  
46 courses were totally inadequate, and they did not believe in the policy the way those who  
47 initiated and designed the policy did. This was the source of the problem. The balance  
48 between two main imaginary significations; those deep self-representations of “who we are,”  
49 the collective identity on the one hand and the idea of “who we will be” were out of  
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3 alignment. The government saw the role of the Indonesian language in terms of its economic  
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5 ambitions. Indonesia was to enter the global economy, specifically the global knowledge  
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7 economy, and the education system was to provide the human resources to enable this. The  
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9 teachers, however, understood the education system that they were committed to, as the  
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11 means to reproduce children into Indonesia, into the nation. For them, the language *is* the  
12  
13 nation. Therefore, we argue that the fairly rapid failure of the English as the medium of  
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15 instruction policy was the result of the confrontation between these two opposing imaginary  
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17 significations about what a national language means for the people who use it in education.  
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For Peer Review Only

**Bukti konfirmasi review dan hasil review pertama**





Sri Wuli Fitriati <[sriwuli.fitriati@mail.unnes.ac.id](mailto:sriwuli.fitriati@mail.unnes.ac.id)>

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

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Journal of Language, Identity & Education <[onbehalfof@manuscriptcentral.com](mailto:onbehalfof@manuscriptcentral.com)>

Sat, Mar 31, 2018 at 5:58 AM

Reply-To: [wewright@purdue.edu](mailto:wewright@purdue.edu)

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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.

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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).

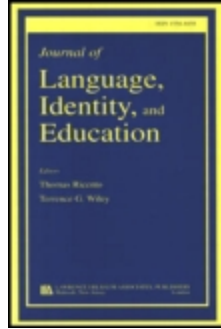
There are some minor language problems throughout which will need editing, just a few examples follow:

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:	<i>Journal of Language, Identity &amp; Education</i>
Manuscript ID	Draft
Manuscript Type:	Original Article
Keywords:	Language And Society, Language and identity, Indonesia
Abstract:	<p>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.</p>

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

**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 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

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3 embedded as social practice. We further argue, that a key factor in the implementation failure  
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5 was that a stronger imaginary signification existed, one which does have widespread legitimacy  
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7 at the level of everyday practice. This is the common understanding of the Indonesian language  
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9 as the means of communication in that modern pluralist society, a legitimation given by the  
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11 role this shared language plays in creating an Indonesian national identity in the post-colonial  
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13 era.  
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## 16 17 18 19 **Methodology** 20

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23 The paper employs a *conceptual methodology* (Author and other author, 2015; Lourie &  
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25 McPhail, 2016) to conceptualise the explanation we have developed about why the language  
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27 policy failed at the implementation stage. A conceptual methodology is noted for the use of  
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29 disciplinary concepts (in the social sciences, these concepts may come from philosophy,  
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31 anthropology, linguistics, sociology and related disciplines) as the tool used to analyse and  
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33 explain a phenomenon that is identified and investigated using empirically obtained data.  
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37 *Social imaginary signification* serves our purpose in explaining the phenomenon of policy  
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39 implementation because the concept contains with it the idea of the connection between how a  
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41 people represents themselves to themselves (the social imaginary) and the means by which this  
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43 imaginary is shared (signifiers or language). The explanatory power of the concept is what  
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45 justifies its use in this paper.  
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51 Like all powerful concepts, the same idea contained in *imaginary significations* is known in  
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53 other ways. For example, Bourdieu uses the term “shared reality” (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 79) to  
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55 refer to the collective consciousness of a social group, one created through a shared means of  
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57 communication, that is, the national language of the modern pluralist nation (Durkheim,  
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3 1912/2001; Author 2, 2017). The *imaginary* of the modern pluralist nation (Anderson, 1983),  
4 one which unites historically distinct ethnic groups, is legitimised and strengthened as the  
5 shared means of communication is accepted as *our language* in everyday practice. As with  
6 other countries in the nation-building project of the twentieth century (Hobsbawn, 1992), the  
7 social glue or collective means of self-representation created by a common national language  
8 justified the acceptance of Bahasa Indonesian in the post-Independence era.  
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19 The usefulness of a conceptual methodological is not confined to the power of disciplinary  
20 concepts. It also enables us to connect the explanation to the problem or phenomenon we wish  
21 to explain. Often the problem is identified empirically as was the case with the English medium  
22 policy failure in Indonesian classrooms although we are aware that a problem may be identified  
23 though philosophical inquiry only (Author, 2012). Unlike interpretivist methodologies where  
24 the explanation is drawn from the empirically obtained data, a conceptual methodology  
25 recognises that it is not possible to generalise from the particular experience (Lourie &  
26 McPhail, 2016). Concepts, on the other hand, allow for the particular (in our case, the  
27 implementation of a policy) to illustrate an argument. Kant (1781/1993) is one of many  
28 philosophers in a tradition from Parmenides and Zeno to Descartes (Lindberg, 1992) who  
29 recognised the limitations of explaining from the particular rather than the explanation being  
30 drawn from the idea and applied to the particular instance. Kant noted that a “concept will not  
31 let itself be limited to experience, because it deals with a cognition ... of which the empirical  
32 is only one part; no actual experience is fully sufficient for it, but every experience belongs to  
33 it” (1781/1993, p. 394).  
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56 How do we connect the conceptually-derived explanation to the empirically identified problem  
57 given that there is no exact correspondence between the idea and experience (Author 2, 2012)?  
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3 According to Nola (2001) a “degree of fit” (p. 429) is all we can hope for in making the  
4 argument that the chosen concept(s) does in fact provide a logical explanation of the problem  
5 or phenomenon. In seeking to justify the connection we make between imaginary  
6 significations and the English-medium policy we have adapted Taylor’s (2004) idea of  
7 “widespread legitimacy” as the methodological device to connect the “imaginary signification”  
8 (p. 23) concept to the data taken from the study. This enables us to ask; What language policy  
9 has sufficient social legitimacy to enable it to be embedded in practice? Our argument is the  
10 response to that question. We claim that Bahasa Indonesian, despite being a relatively recent  
11 national language, does have legitimacy as the nation’s imaginary signifier. In contrast,  
12 English, despite being promoted as necessary for Indonesia’s global economic strategy, has not  
13 acquired sufficient legitimacy in the minds of the people for it to be accepted as a medium of  
14 instruction in schools. When comparing the two significations we also argue that the  
15 dominance of the former in its role as the collective means of a society’s self-representation  
16 contributed to the failure of the latter.

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38 The empirical study which Author 1 (2015) undertook for a doctoral dissertation investigated  
39 how secondary school subject teachers coped with the legislated requirement that they teach  
40 their respective subjects, Mathematics and Science, in the English language. The Indonesian  
41 government had introduced the English language policy for public schools in 2006. Teachers  
42 were to develop their students’ English language skills through English-medium instruction in  
43 Mathematics and Science subjects (*Permendiknas*, 2009) and to promote habitual English use  
44 inside the school (*Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan*  
45 *Menengah*, [Ministry of National Education, MONE], 2011). However the decree of  
46 *Mahkamah Konstitusi*/the Indonesian Constitutional Court, in 2013, revoked the policy  
47 (Sumintono, 2013). The policy lasted a mere eight years. Its failure requires explanation  
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3 especially given the supportive context of a growing commitment by South-East Asian  
4 governments to English language policies as part of the region's economic strategy. This paper  
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6 problematicises that failure.  
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### 10 11 12 **Context of the problem** 13 14

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17 Indonesia is not alone in the experience of top-down English language educational policy  
18 (Hadisantosa, 2010; Hamied, 2012; Margana, 2013; Mariati, 2007). As we discuss in the  
19 section about English language education in South-East Asia below, a number of developing  
20 countries, including Malaysia (Tan, 2011; Tan & Lan, 2010), Thailand (Bax, 2010), South  
21 Korea (Bax, 2010; Lee, 2010), the Phillipines (Martin, 2011), and Pakistan (Channa, 2012) are  
22 attempting to fast-track their entrance into the global economy. The status of English as the  
23 *lingua franca* (Pan & Block, 2011) exerts pressure on governments to provide education in  
24 English as a language of instruction and communication; that is, a language that can be used,  
25 rather than as one of a number of languages offered to students as a subject for study. In almost  
26 all of these countries, the policy has been withdrawn or falters along, suggesting that an  
27 explanation needs to be found beyond the economic sphere. Hence our turn to an explanatory  
28 tool which enabled us to look at the wider role of language in modern society, as more than an  
29 economic instrument. *Imaginary significations* is that tool.  
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49 We use the Indonesian study to illustrate how teachers responded to government initiatives to  
50 encourage the use of English as a medium of instruction (henceforth, EMOI) in public schools  
51 and in higher education institutions. This description leads to a discussion of the role of  
52 language in nation-building, specifically as the means by which the imaginary significations of  
53 a modern nation-state are created (Anderson, 1983). We are able to ask, what happens to the  
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3 associated policies and practices when one signification does not acquire widespread  
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12 The impetus for the policy initiative, and for its subsequent failure can be traced to the influence  
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14 of geopolitical forces on nation-state policy, and in the case we refer to, on education policy  
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16 specifically. These forces, which enable the acceptance of the neoliberal market ideology of an  
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18 aggressive global capitalism by independent nation-states (Piketty, 2014), are played out in  
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20 developing countries with rapidly expanding middle classes. In Indonesia, “middle class  
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22 affluent consumers (MACs) represent about 30 percent of the population, or 74 million people.  
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24 About 8 million to 9 million people currently enter the MAC segment each year, and by 2020,  
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26 this group will reach a total of 141 million people, or 53 percent of the population” (Rastogi,  
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28 Tamboto, Tong, & Sinburimsit, 2013, p. 6). These well-educated professionals in Indonesia  
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30 and other South-East Asian countries support their various governments’ moves into the global  
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32 economy. With those moves come a degree of acceptance of the English language (Pan &  
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34 Block, 2011), or a *growing legitimacy* to use Taylor’s term (2004). However, they are the class  
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36 that benefitted from the rising nationalism which accompanied the various independence  
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38 movements in South-East Asia following the Second World War. For Indonesia, it is a  
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40 nationalism that places Bahasa Indonesian as the *imaginary signification* at the centre of its  
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42 identity. In other words, Bahasa Indonesian has widespread legitimacy as the language of  
43  
44 modern Indonesia. It is possible that the tension between globalisation and nationalism which  
45  
46 is played out in the Bahasa Indonesian – English language conflict explored in this paper echoes  
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48 the same tension illustrated by Brexit nationalism and by that seen in the United States and  
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50 some European nations. The response of nationalist movements to globalisation is the  
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3 expression of two competing significations about how people understand themselves (the  
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5 *imaginary*).

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12 Prior to the turn of this century, developing countries in South-East Asia, including Indonesia,  
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14 were a source of cheap labour for global corporations. However in the last two decades,  
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16 countries like Indonesia are acquiring a new position on the world economic stage, mainly  
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18 through the growing influence of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN)  
19  
20 regional bloc. The region is shifting from providing cheap labour for global corporations to  
21  
22 providing a huge, middle-class consumer base. One of the observable effects of this expansive  
23  
24 economic development can be seen in higher education policy. Universities, such as those in  
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26 Indonesia, are looking outward to the world, seeking world class university status in the global  
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28 higher education market (Sakhiyya, 2018). The English language is a crucial part of this  
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30 globalising strategy, not only for the higher education *business* (Shore & Wright, 2017) but for  
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32 the economy more broadly.

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

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3 Guibernau and Rex explain how the nation-state, once created “actively promote(s) the cultural  
4 homogenisation of its members” (1997, pp. 4–5). The emergence of the Indonesian language  
5 from its Malay history, a process we describe below, can be understood in terms of this cultural  
6 homogenisation imperative. Indeed the cultural identity (the *national imaginary*) that is  
7 Indonesia is centred on the Indonesian language. The study indicated that, while there was no  
8 opposition from the teachers to the English language *per se*, there was concern that, by using  
9 English as the medium of instruction, Indonesian identity would be negatively affected. A  
10 teacher in the study captures this idea saying: “Why should we put ourselves out while we can  
11 use our own language” and “I think each language has its own place” (Author 1, 2015, p. 61).  
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27 The article is structured in the following way. The next section is an account of the emergence  
28 of the Indonesian language within the Independence struggle. Our purpose is to show the  
29 integral place on the language in the nation’s identity, a position supported by the overview of  
30 countries that, like Indonesia, are experiencing difficulties implementing English language  
31 policies in their education systems. Section three is an account of the establishment and  
32 withdrawal of the English-medium language policy. This is followed in section four by an  
33 account of the study undertaken in the school. It shows how the teachers attempted to put the  
34 policy into practice but were frustrated, not only by the reality that their English language  
35 competency was inadequate for the task, but because they were committed to language as the  
36 legitimate national identity; the nation’s *imaginary signifier*. They believed that Bahasa  
37 Indonesian should be the language of Indonesian schools. There was a direct confrontation  
38 between this belief and the government’s justification for switching to English, one made in  
39 economic instrumental terms. It is this confrontation which, we argue, indicates a legitimisation  
40 problem.  
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3 We conclude, in a brief final section, by discussing the role of language in national identity to  
4 argue that this policy in particular touched two of the nation's key *imaginary significations*,  
5 placing them in conflict. For Indonesia, these are, on the one hand, its self-representation as a  
6 cohesive modern nation with an Indonesian identity. On the other hand, the nation's self-  
7 representation as an internationally recognised member of the global economy, a status that  
8 brings with it political recognition, promotes an outward looking sense of identity—a  
9 representation justifying the English language policy.

### 20 21 **Language and national identity**

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26 The Indonesian language comes from the struggle against Dutch colonisation which led to the  
27 establishment of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945. In 1908, Budi Utomo, the first Indonesian  
28 nationalist organisation, promoted Malay as the national language in order to provide  
29 a counter to Dutch language policy. Its transformation into *Indonesian* occurred in  
30 1928, in the manifesto of the Youth of Indonesia. *Sumpah Pemuda* (The Oath of The  
31 Young People) “pledged the willingness of every Indonesian to be unified in one  
32 nation, one earth, and one language: Indonesia” (Hallam, 1997, n.p.). The word *Malay*  
33 was replaced by *Bahasa Indonesia* as the name of the language and the first Indonesia  
34 Language Congress was held in 1938. With the Japanese occupation in 1942  
35 Indonesians were taught Japanese in all schools, a practice which served to reinforce  
36 the growing identification of the people to Indonesian as their language. Hallam  
37 (1997) notes that it was the Japanese who, in 1942 as a pragmatic response to the reality  
38 of language use, established the first Commission for the Indonesian Language. The  
39 Commission was to make decisions about vocabulary and write a common grammar.

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3 In 1945, Indonesian was declared the official language. The various indigenous local  
4 languages, include Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Maduranese, Baso Minang and  
5 many more continue to be used in homes and communities but, for the first time, there  
6 is a national language that represents the self-representation of Indonesia as a nation.  
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16 The Indonesian language is therefore the result of the Independence movement and the creation  
17 of the nation. The teachers interviewed in the study recognised that the education system,  
18 especially as a public system, has a wider role in, and for, Indonesian society. This role may be  
19 understood in relation to sociological theories about the purpose of national education systems  
20 in modern nation-state building (Ramirez & Boli, 2007). Public education systems became  
21 central institutions in the new nation-states of the 19th and 20th centuries, as a crucial part of  
22 the nation-building enterprise. This applies to those at the beginning of the era, such as the  
23 United States, and those in more recent times such as Indonesia (Hobsbawm, 1992). They were  
24 to unify ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups into the one imaginary modern nation  
25 (Anderson, 1983).  
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41 It is only in a national education system that the *collective representations* (Durkheim,  
42 1912/2001) or *imaginary significations* (Castoriadis, 1987) of a society's symbolic system are  
43 reproduced. These terms refer to the way in which a society understands itself; the means of  
44 communication which enables normative agreement; its source of cohesive identity; *collective*  
45 *representations* (what Bourdieu describes as "shared reality" [1979, p. 79]) that integrate  
46 diverse groups into a stable and cohesive society with its own identity. According to Durkheim  
47 (1912/2001, cited in Bourdieu, 1979), the modern symbolic system is "a homogeneous  
48 conception of time, space, number and cause which make agreement possible between  
49 intelligences" (p. 79). He considered that the collective representations developed and  
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3 reproduced in the symbolic sphere achieved this purpose because they provided both the  
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5 “means of communication required for normative agreement and the instruments of thought”  
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8 required to create this shared reality (cited in Bourdieu, 1979, p. 79).  
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12 In the family and community, older, more traditional languages and practices are often  
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14 maintained. However at school, all children are taught in the national language. Bahasa  
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16 Indonesian was developed to serve this purpose, to be the symbolic medium of the new national  
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18 identity. It is for that reason that it is the language of instruction of Indonesian schools. The  
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20 English as a medium of instruction policy confronted that language’s significance; its *meaning*,  
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22 and replaced it with a foreign language chosen for its narrow function as an instrument of the  
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24 economy. By ignoring the primary function of language as the means of symbolic  
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26 representation (or *imaginary signification*), the balance between the economic and symbolic  
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28 dimensions was altered (Bernstein, 2000). As one of the teachers said:  
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35 Where are we taking our students to? To what direction? Why do we have to use English?  
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37 If they continue their study in universities in Indonesia, we do not need to insist teaching in  
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39 English. If students plan to continue to study abroad, English is a must. But, if they study at  
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41 universities in Indonesia, our time to study English can be used to study additional content  
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43 subject. (Author 1, 2015, p. 63)  
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49 The intrusion of something that is not seen to contribute to the nation-building and unifying  
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51 role (that of the introduction of a foreign language as a means of instruction) is at odds with  
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53 the implicit understanding of what the education system is for. For the Indonesian government,  
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55 and for the many other countries that we note in the next section who are also pursuing this  
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57 policy, the purpose is to be competitive in the global economy. Therefore we argue that the  
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3 unease, even in some cases hostility, towards using English in this way (although not to the  
4 English language *per se*) which was expressed by some of the teachers in the study can be  
5 understood in terms of the tension to the balance between the symbolic and the economic. On  
6 the one hand, a government looks outward to the global economy. On the other, the teachers  
7 look to their role in producing well-educated young people for not only a prosperous nation,  
8 but one that has the means to be unified and stable.  
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11 Although the study we refer to in the article was conducted in Indonesia, a number of non-  
12 English speaking countries are seeking to introduce EMOI into their education systems. These  
13 countries include Malaysia (Tan, 2011), the Philippines (Martin, 2011), Thailand and South  
14 Korea (Bax, 2010), Pakistan (Channa, 2012). For example, in 2003 a change in language of  
15 instruction policy was applied to Mathematics and Science subjects in Malaysia with the  
16 language of instruction switched from Bahasa Malaysia, to English. It was intended to produce  
17 a “generation of scientifically and technologically knowledgeable students who are fluent in  
18 English and able to contribute to the economic growth and development of the country” (Tan  
19 & Lan, 2010, p. 6). Following protests by Chinese schools in Malaysia, a compromise was  
20 reached. Science and Mathematics were to be taught in English and Mandarin, not solely in  
21 English (Yang & Ishak, 2012). However, even the compromise could not help and the policy  
22 was withdrawn in 2008.  
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51 A similar initiative launched in the Philippines in 2003 was also suspended (Martin, 2011). In  
52 Thailand, the English programme requires that at least two core subjects (out of the total of  
53 nine subjects) are taught in English. Significantly, the subjects exclude the Thai language and  
54 social studies with aspects related to Thai culture and national identity (Keyuravong 2008, p.  
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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).

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3 The International Standard Schools were to meet the broad goals of preparing Indonesia for the  
4 migration of professionals from Indonesia and also into the country—the *human resources* of  
5 the global knowledge economy. In this way, Indonesia would become more competitive in the  
6 international job market and an attractive destination for foreign-owned companies operating  
7 in Indonesia. English plays a major role in the country's economic development (Depdiknas,  
8 2009; Hadisantosa, 2010; Hartoyo, 2009). The tourism industry, in particular, is a major  
9 contributor to the country's gross domestic product (GDP) by creating foreign exchange  
10 earnings and employment opportunities for Indonesians. This contribution to employment in  
11 particular is not to be understated. Nearly nine percent of Indonesia's total national workforce  
12 is employed in the tourism sector (www.indonesia.investments), a sector requiring English  
13 language competency (Mahditama, 2012).  
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31 Similarly, the education sector in Indonesia views the English language as a tool for the  
32 development and dissemination of information and communication technology and science.  
33 English competencies are considered essential for students to keep up with the latest  
34 developments (Depdiknas, 2009), hence the implementation of the policy in the re-designated  
35 public schools named as *Rintisan Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional* (or, Pioneer International  
36 Standard Schools) (Permendiknas, 2009). The intention was to develop teaching and learning  
37 processes that complied with the international standards of developed countries (MONE, 2011;  
38 Permendiknas, 2009). In 2006, when the policy was introduced, there were 1,305 Pioneer  
39 International Standard Schools in Indonesia; 239 were primary schools. There were 356 junior  
40 high schools, 359 senior high schools, and 351 vocational high schools (Sukarelawati, 2012).  
41 Students who attended these schools were chosen on the basis of their school enrolment test,  
42 including an English language test. As a consequence of this enrolment criterion and the  
43 additional resources, the schools are widely regarded as elite schools (Retmono, 2011).  
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6 However, there was controversy over the use of English in Mathematics and Science subjects  
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8 in the Pioneer International Standard Schools—especially over the quality of the English-  
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10 medium instruction and the lack of bilingual teachers, but most notably because Mathematics  
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12 and Science teachers with little or no English competency were expected to teach their subjects  
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14 in that language (Indradno, 2011; Sundusiyah, 2011). In addition, the schools were criticised  
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16 for reducing the use of the Indonesian language (Retmono, 2011). By 2013, the mounting  
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18 criticism and the obvious failure of the policy at classroom level led to the decree of *Mahkamah*  
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20 *Konstitusi*, the Indonesian Constitutional Court (Sumintono, 2013, January 11). This stipulated  
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22 that the Pioneer International Standard Schools must return to their original status as regular  
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24 schools. It required the withdrawal of English-medium instruction from the school. Since then,  
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26 English is no longer used as the medium of instruction to teach content subjects. It remains a  
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28 separate subject as it has long been a compulsory subject in secondary schools since Indonesian  
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30 Independence in 1945 (Lie, 2007).  
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38 The withdrawal of the policy appears a failure. English-medium instruction was promoted  
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40 throughout the country as an important innovation and something that would contribute  
41  
42 significantly towards Indonesia's emergence as a global player (Coleman, 2009). Indeed the  
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44 government initially promoted the policy in these terms. According to MONE (2005, 2009)  
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46 and DGPSEM (2007a, 2007b) the schools were to provide education with national and  
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48 international standards that would enable graduates to compete internationally to a level higher  
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50 than, if not equal to, those in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development  
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52 (OECD) countries. Government resources were provided to ensure that the policy did work.  
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54 So why did the policy fail so completely that it was withdrawn? In the next section we address  
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3 this question by identifying a fundamental misalignment between teachers' attitudes towards  
4 the English language and the government's expectations.  
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### 10 **The study**

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15 The study (Author 1, 2015) of the English language programme at a public senior high school  
16 was undertaken in 2012, one year before the policy was rescinded, so at a time when the  
17 problems had become quite obvious. Ethnographic methods were used to collect the data  
18 because, according to Creswell (2013) they allow, "the researcher [to rely] on the participants'  
19 views as an insider emic perspective and reports them in verbatim quotes, and then synthesizes  
20 the data filtering it through the researchers' etic scientific perspective to develop an overall  
21 cultural interpretation. This cultural interpretation is a description of the group and themes  
22 related to the theoretical concepts being explored in the study" (p. 92). The collection of the  
23 teachers' views in this way has enabled us to proceed further in this paper and use these views  
24 to illustrate our argument about why the policy failed.  
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41 The school was located in a large city in the province of Central Java with a predominantly  
42 Javanese population. The researcher shadowed five teachers of Geography, Biology,  
43 Mathematics, Chemistry, and Information Communication Technology (ICT) in their  
44 classrooms over two months. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) suggested that ethnographic  
45 research usually has the feature of focusing on a single setting or group of people to facilitate  
46 in-depth study. With the purpose of prioritising detailed insights, the first author included  
47 teacher participants who taught different subjects to enhance the extent and depth of  
48 convictions about English language use.  
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3 Each of the five had a bachelor degree majoring in the respective content subjects. They had  
4 studied English as a compulsory subject when they were at junior high school, senior high  
5 school, and at university where English was taught only in one to two semesters. Significantly,  
6 none of the teachers had experienced special training in English-medium instruction during  
7 their study at university. After the school where they worked was designated a Pioneer  
8 International Standard School in the academic year of 2009/2010, both the Maths and Science  
9 teachers were directed by school executives to take short English professional development  
10 courses. These were conducted either by local government officials or the school.  
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24 Data were collected in a variety of ways and were extensive. Collection included whole-school  
25 observations, participatory observation where the researcher sat in the classroom for lengthy  
26 periods, field notes, in-depth interviews, reviewing school documents, and audio-video  
27 recordings of classroom activities. In addition, informal conversations were held during and  
28 after the school hours. These multiple sources of data collection constituted a real strength of  
29 the study. It meant that the researcher had the opportunity to immerse herself in the school and  
30 to conduct whole-school observations and classroom observations that enriched the interviews  
31 with the teachers (Palmer, 2011, p. 109).  
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45 These interviews were a revealing source of material about the English language policy. Each  
46 teacher was interviewed several times and the discussions were in-depth and free-ranging. The  
47 teachers were encouraged to speak freely and all were happy to do so. They spoke about their  
48 family's background, friends, and social networks before turning to describe the languages they  
49 used in their daily and teaching lives. These conversations included describing how they used  
50 Javanese, Indonesian, and English in daily interactions, any connection with English  
51 communities of practice, and broader professional matters concerning their teaching goals and  
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3 education in general. However the main topic of each interview was their experiences in  
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5 teaching their content subject using English. The researcher asked about their perceptions,  
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7 opinions, views, feelings, and attitudes toward English-medium instruction in their classes and  
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9 to using English the school more widely. They were asked in English first to test their level of  
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11 understanding and communication in the language. Significantly, all five teachers preferred  
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13 using either Indonesian or Javanese. This gave them the freedom to speak in depth and to  
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15 explore the nuances and ambiguities that arise when people speak of their experiences.  
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21 We have grouped some of the pertinent findings into three main themes of classroom practice,  
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23 the teacher, and cultural identity which best demonstrate the points at which the policy's  
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25 implementation failed.  
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### 30 *Classroom practice*

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35 One finding was the frequency of code-switching practices, rather than the use of English only.  
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37 The teachers alternated between Indonesian and English throughout the lesson. It was used to  
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39 encourage students to focus on the content and to be more responsive by asking questions and  
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41 contributing ideas. The Maths and Geography teachers said that including Indonesian helped  
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43 their students understand what was being said.  
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48 Perhaps not all students will understand my explanation if I speak in English all the time.

49 So, I have to do like that, translating. I used to mixing, Indonesian mixed with English.

50 They want me not to use much English in my lesson. (Author 1, 2015, p. 78)  
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3 The teachers frequently translated the English they used. An example from a Biology class  
4 where the students were learning about the skeleton showed how the need to translate scientific  
5 terms had the effect of reducing a lesson to a translation class where terms were constantly  
6 repeated rather than it being a lesson about biological concepts and content.  
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16 The teachers frequently switched from English into Indonesian to save face when their  
17 linguistic competence failed them. The Biology teacher said that his limited English meant that  
18 he used it only to introduce students to Biology terms and to greet students and check the roll.  
19 The Maths teacher said that she did not dare to say some numbers in English because she was  
20 not sure how to pronounce them. The ICT teacher did not use English at all, not a single word,  
21 saying his vocabulary and grammar were not good enough. He spoke of “not having the nerve”  
22 (Author 1, 2015, p. 56) to teach in English adding that he felt both hesitant and frightened.  
23 However, he did ask his students to speak in English when presenting their group discussion  
24 work, and interestingly, they did.  
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41 The researcher observed a group of four students presenting their group discussion with  
42 PowerPoint presentations in English. They even answered their friends’ questions in English.  
43 Despite some grammatical mistakes and inappropriate word choice, this group’s effort to speak  
44 in English was commendable, given the difficult nature of the topic *wireless and wireline*. Why  
45 did they use English when their teacher did not? Perhaps they were motivated by a mixture of  
46 their teacher’s encouragement and by the extra marks for those who used either spoken or  
47 written English. The fact that the students prepared their slides prior to class also helped. A  
48 similar negotiation between teacher and students occurred in the Chemistry class. Initially the  
49 students were required to use English. However the teachers allowed them to speak in  
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3 Indonesian to present the results of their group discussion. The students had not prepared them  
4 previously so these involved stuttering and stumbling. The teacher was aware of the anxiety  
5 this created, hence her decision to allow the students to use Indonesian. This teacher, like the  
6 others, were more concerned with their students' understanding of the lesson content and of  
7 maintaining their motivation. Using English was secondary to these pedagogical priorities.  
8 What the researcher found was that these were normal subject lessons in Indonesian with the  
9 annoying imposition of English foisted on the teachers from outside.  
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23 The teachers in the programme were subject specialists, not English language users. The result  
24 was to be expected; a mixture of noticeable inaccuracies in grammar, word choice, and  
25 pronunciation. Often they were unaware of these errors, or they knew they made errors but did  
26 not know when they were correct and when they were not. Several of the teachers said that it  
27 was fine for them to make mistakes because they were still learning English, mentioning that  
28 the students did seem to understand. However, there are a number of problems with this. In the  
29 context of second language acquisition, errors or mistakes in using a foreign language without  
30 any corrective feedback are likely to result in the errors becoming fixed by the teacher (Ellis,  
31 2008; Fidler, 2006; Gass & Selinker, 2008). Students might consider the language their  
32 teachers used was accurate and adopt this language use, leading to further confusion. The input  
33 into students' language from their teachers' use is their students' language input has a  
34 determining function in language acquisition (Ellis, 2008). According to Astika and Wahyana  
35 (2010), Indonesian students should be exposed to correct English (p. 19). Inaccurate teacher  
36 modelling will lead to incorrect grammar, pronunciation and word choice by the students. The  
37 subject teachers in the study did in fact have an important role as language models for their  
38 students but were unaware of the significance of this. In addition to the problems specific to  
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3 language, there are also implications for the subjects being taught. When the teacher uses words  
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5 incorrectly, the meaning of the concepts being taught is also compromised.  
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### 10 11 *The teachers* 12 13 14 15 16

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18 Given these problems it is not surprising that the teachers found using English not only difficult  
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20 and a source of anxiety, but also time-consuming. They all said that teaching in English took  
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22 double the time as teaching in Indonesian.  
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26 According to the Chemistry teacher:  
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32 If I teach in English, it means double working because I must translate into Indonesian  
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34 to make sure my students understand my explanation. It's faster to explain using  
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36 Indonesian.  
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43 The Maths teacher agreed:  
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49 My students need longer time to understand my explanation if I used English, compared  
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51 to when I used Indonesian. They did not comprehend a lesson easily when delivered in  
52  
53 English. Sometimes they asked me, mam, what is it in Indonesian, so I had to explain it  
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55 again in Indonesian. It takes longer time and takes my energy.  
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3 Repeating the content knowledge firstly in English then in Indonesian took much of the time  
4 allocated to the lesson, reducing the time for the actual lesson itself.  
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11 The effect of the policy of the teachers' profesional wellbeing was considerable with all those  
12 interviewed saying that having to use English-medium instruction made them anxious in  
13 relation to their own work and envious of their colleagues who did not need to use English. It  
14 reduced their confidence and produced a very real sense of carrying an impossible burden. The  
15 burden was two-fold. Not only did they have to learn English themselves but they had to learn  
16 how to teach their subjects in this unfamiliar language. It was not surprising that they thought  
17 the English-medium policy was unattainable. Two of the older teachers, both highly  
18 experienced in their subjects, said it was too late to learn English at their age.  
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31 Students are smarter. They take English private courses after school. And they are still  
32 young. They easily learn a foreign language, whereas I have many things to take care of.  
33 So, it's difficult for me to learn English.  
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39 He added that learning English meant making a considerable "personal sacrifice."  
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42 If I always focus on learning English at all times, my other tasks and responsibility as a  
43 teacher, a father, and in my community will be in a mess. English comes to me very late.  
44 I am above 50 [years old] now, so when can I study English? I do not have time [to study  
45 English].  
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55 Not surprisingly, he compared his predicament to that of the teachers who were not required  
56 to teach using English:  
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3 Ask the teachers who teach English subject to teach Biology. I am sure they cannot do it.  
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5 So, what I mean is just teaching as usual. Do not make teachers afraid by asking us to  
6  
7 teach in English. Yes, many colleagues are afraid of teaching in English. Many of them  
8  
9 got stressed complaining their difficulties and inabilities speaking in English. Students,  
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11 too. Actually both teachers and students complain.  
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### 19 ***Language and identity***

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22 “*Kita punya bahasa sendiri*” (We have our own language) was the phrase most often used by  
23  
24 the teachers when referring to the English language policy.  
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27 According to the ICT teacher:  
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30 I think each language has its own place. When teachers go home seeing their families,  
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32 involved in their societies and communities, they absolutely use the languages spoken by  
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34 their families and communities.  
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41 He clearly meant that English was not a widely used language so he thought it would be strange  
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43 to use English while others did not use the language. The Biology teacher used similar  
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45 sentiments, speaking both Indonesian and Javanese: “*Kenapa sih ndadak repot-repot? Wong*  
46  
47 *dengan bahasa kita sendiri saja kita bisa.*” [Why should we put ourselves out while we can  
48  
49 use our own language?]. He added:  
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53 Our environment is not supportive because our official and national language is  
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55 Indonesian and because we are Javanese living in Javanese communities. We speak  
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57 Javanese too.  
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7 All members of the school community spoke Indonesian and Javanese. On a very few occasions  
8 they spoke a few words or sentences in English if they were asked in English by those who  
9 taught English as a subject. The teacher in the comment immediately above claimed that the  
10 Indonesian and Javanese languages had a wider range of vocabulary which could express  
11 specific intended meanings which were not possible in his English vocabulary. He said there  
12 were no English equivalents available to him with his lack of English proficiency for certain  
13 Javanese or Indonesian words, certainly none that enabled him to express nuances and  
14 complexities of meaning.  
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29 The teachers discussed the matter of language and identity with one noting that using English  
30 in teaching could cause trouble because it was not the language of the nation. It did not show  
31 his Indonesian identity. Given that “language is an index, symbol and marker of identity”  
32 (Baker, 2011, p. 45) this teacher’s comment that being an Indonesian meant using the  
33 Indonesian language as the symbol of Indonesian national identity made sense for him and for  
34 the others.  
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43 One of the older, experienced teachers was doubtful about the benefits of English in Indonesia:  
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46 Where are we taking our students to? To what direction? Why do we have to use English?  
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48 If they continue their study in universities in Indonesia, we do not need to insist teaching  
49 in English. If students plan to continue to study abroad, English is a must. But, if they  
50 study at universities in Indonesia, our time to study English can be used to study  
51 additional subject content.  
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3 Other teachers spoke of Indonesian as the country's national language. They saw the school as  
4 a state institution and Indonesian as the official and national language. The comment, "We  
5 have our own language" or similar phrases were used frequently.  
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14 The teachers' comments provided insights into how English was regarded. There was concern  
15 expressed that colleagues might regard teachers who spoke English as strange as it seemed  
16 inappropriate to use English among people of Indonesian nationality.  
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22 If I initiated to speak English, I might be laughed at. They [my colleagues] would think  
23 I was like pretending as if I were an English native speaker and acting as if I were a  
24 Westerner [Javanese: *halah sok keinggris-inggrisan*]. If they don't like, they will talk  
25 behind our back. Actually I can ignore them. It doesn't matter they call me acting like  
26 Westerners [*keinggris-inggrisan*]. But I don't feel comfortable with such a comment. I  
27 should know my position. I am glad if I am addressed in English or asked to chat in  
28 English [by my colleagues] as long as it is not my own initiative because I am not an  
29 English subject teacher.  
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44 *Halah, sok keinggris-inggrisan* (it is like imitating Westerners) is to be avoided, or so this  
45 teacher implies. Others too, were concerned that if they practised English they might be  
46 considered "different" people. This contributed to their reluctance to practise English. The use  
47 of conversational English by mainly young teachers tended to elicit defensiveness from the  
48 mainly older teachers who could not speak, or who had limited, English. Negative comments  
49 would be made, for example, "*Halah sok keinggris-inggrisan*" (imitating Englishmen or  
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3 Westerners by speaking English) to teachers who practised English at school, perhaps even  
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5 seen as boastful.  
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12 Sometimes when some teachers spoke English as a kind of practice at school, some  
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14 colleagues might label them kemlinthi [acting up so proudly]. This expression is not  
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16 directly addressed to teachers who spoke English, but it was said to other teachers. And  
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18 eventually teachers who spoke English would know that their colleagues have a negative  
19  
20 opinion about them because they practised English. This may be part of our culture. We  
21  
22 sometimes view someone who has skills beyond ours and uses the skills in everyday  
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24 practices where not all people can acquire these skills as a person who was kemlinthi.  
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32 The tendency to criticise, or the fear of criticism, for those who spoke English did have a  
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34 discouraging effect. A revealing comment from one of the teachers showed that he stopped  
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36 using English so that he would not appear boastful.  
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39 I myself admitted that I became lack of using English. Because if I insisted on using  
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41 English, my colleagues would think I am “looking for a face”. (Kalau saya bertahan  
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43 nanti saya dikira nggolek rai [Indonesian mixed with Javanese utterances]).  
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47 *Nggolek rai* is a Javanese idiomatic expression that means expecting other people to  
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49 compliment you. It has been translated literally in English above as “looking for a face” to  
50  
51 capture the idiomatic nuance. The good opinion of his colleagues mattered to this teacher. He  
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53 did not want his colleagues to label him *nggolek rai*, someone who sought compliments from  
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55 those in charge.  
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## 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



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

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

#### 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

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

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28 The paper employs a *conceptual methodology* (Author and other author, 2015; Lourie &  
29 McPhail, 2016) to conceptualise the explanation we have developed about why the language  
30 policy failed at the implementation stage. A conceptual methodology is noted for the use of  
31 disciplinary concepts (in the social sciences, these concepts may come from philosophy,  
32 anthropology, linguistics, sociology and related disciplines) as the tool used to analyse and  
33 explain a phenomenon that is identified and investigated using empirically obtained data.  
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*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 significations* is known in  
other ways. For example, Bourdieu (1979) uses the term “shared reality” (Bourdieu, 1979, p.

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3 79) to refer to the collective consciousness of a social group, one created through a shared  
4 means of communication, that is, the national language of the modern pluralist nation  
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6 (Durkheim, 1912/2001; Author 2, 2017). The *imaginary* of the modern pluralist nation  
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8 (Anderson, 1983), one which unites historically distinct ethnic groups, is legitimised and  
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10 strengthened as the shared means of communication is accepted as *our language* in everyday  
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12 practice. As with other countries in the nation-building project of the twentieth century  
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14 (Hobsbawn, 1992), the social glue or collective means of self-representation created by a  
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16 common national language justified the acceptance of Bahasa Indonesian in the post-  
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18 Independence era.  
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26 The usefulness of a conceptual methodological is not confined to the power of disciplinary  
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28 concepts. It also enables us to connect the explanation to the problem or phenomenon we wish  
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30 to explain. Often the problem is identified empirically as was the case with the English medium  
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32 policy failure in Indonesian classrooms although we are aware that a problem may be identified  
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34 though philosophical inquiry only (Author, 2012). Unlike interpretivist methodologies where  
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36 the explanation is drawn from the empirically obtained data, a conceptual methodology  
37  
38 recognises that it is not possible to generalise from the particular experience (Lourie &  
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40 McPhail, 2016). Concepts, on the other hand, allow for the particular (in our case, the  
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42 implementation of a policy) to illustrate an argument. Kant (1781/1993) is one of many  
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44 philosophers in a tradition from Parmenides and Zeno to Descartes (Lindberg, 1992) who  
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46 recognised the limitations of explaining from the particular rather than the explanation being  
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48 drawn from the idea and applied to the particular instance. He noted that a “concept will not let  
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50 itself be limited to experience, because it deals with a cognition ... of which the empirical is  
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52 only one part; no actual experience is fully sufficient for it, but every experience belongs to it”  
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54 (Kant, 1781/1993, p. 394).  
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6 How do we connect the conceptually-derived explanation to the empirically identified problem  
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8 given that there is no exact correspondence between the idea and experience (Author 2, 2012)?  
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10 According to Nola (2001) a “degree of fit” (p. 429) is all we can hope for in making the  
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12 argument that the chosen concept(s) does in fact provide a logical explanation of the problem  
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14 or phenomenon. In seeking to justify the connection we make between imaginary  
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16 significations and the English-medium policy we have adapted Taylor’s idea of “widespread  
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18 legitimacy” as the methodological device to connect the “imaginary signification” concept to  
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20 the data taken from the study. This enables us to ask; What language policy has sufficient social  
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22 legitimacy to enable it to be embedded in practice? Our argument is the response to that  
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24 question. We claim that Bahasa Indonesian, despite being a relatively recent national language,  
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26 does have legitimacy as the nation’s imaginary signifier. In contrast, English, despite being  
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28 promoted as necessary for Indonesia’s global economic strategy, has not acquired sufficient  
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30 legitimacy in the minds of the people for it to be accepted as a medium of instruction in schools.  
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32 When comparing the two significations we also argue that the dominance of the former in its  
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34 role as the collective means of a society’s self-representation contributed to the failure of the  
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36 latter.  
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45 The empirical study which Author 1 (2015) undertook for a doctoral dissertation investigated  
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47 how secondary school teachers coped with the legislated requirement that they teach their  
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49 respective subjects, Mathematics and Science, in the English language. The Indonesian  
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51 government had introduced the English language policy for public schools in 2006. Teachers  
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53 were to develop their students’ English language skills through English-medium instruction in  
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55 Mathematics and Science subjects (*Permendiknas*, 2009) and to promote habitual English use  
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57 inside the school (*Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan*  
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3 *Menengah*, [Ministry of National Education, MONE], 2011). However the decree of  
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5 *Mahkamah Konstitusi*/the Indonesian Constitutional Court, in 2013, revoked the policy  
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7 (Sumintono, 2013). The policy lasted a mere eight years. *Its failure required explanation*  
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9 *especially given the supportive context of a growing commitment by South-East Asian*  
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11 *governments to English language policies as part of the region's economic strategy. This paper*  
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13 *problematicises that failure.*  
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### 16 17 18 19 **Context of the problem**

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24 Indonesia is not alone in the experience of top-down English language educational policy  
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26 (Hadisantosa, 2010; Hamied, 2012; Margana, 2013; Mariati, 2007). As we discuss in the  
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28 section about English language education in South-East Asia below, a number of developing  
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30 countries, including Malaysia (Tan, 2011; Tan & Lan, 2010), Thailand (Bax, 2010), South  
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32 Korea (Bax, 2010; Lee, 2010), the Phillipines (Martin, 2011), and Pakistan (Channa, 2012) are  
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34 attempting to fast-track their entrance into the global economy. The status of English as the  
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36 *lingua franca* (Pan & Block, 2011) exerts pressure on governments to provide education in  
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38 English as a language of instruction and communication; that is, a language that can be used,  
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40 rather than as one of a number of languages offered to students as a subject for study. In almost  
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42 all of these countries, the policy has been withdrawn or falters along, suggesting that an  
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44 explanation needs to be found beyond the economic sphere. *Hence our turn to an explanatory*  
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46 *tool which enabled us to look at the wider role of language in modern society, as more than an*  
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48 *economic instrument. Imaginary significations is that tool.*  
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56 *We use the* Indonesian study to *illustrate* how teachers responded to government initiatives to  
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58 encourage the use of English as a medium of instruction (henceforth, EMOI) in public schools  
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3 and in higher education institutions. This [description](#) leads to a discussion of the role of  
4 language in nation-building, specifically as the means by which the imaginary significations of  
5 a modern nation-state are created (Anderson, 1983). We are able to ask, [what happens to the](#)  
6 [associated policies and practices when one signification does not acquire widespread](#)  
7 [legitimacy?](#)

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

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3 the same tension illustrated by Brexit nationalism and by that seen in the United States and  
4 some European nations. The response of nationalist movements to globalisation is the  
5 expression of two competing significations about how people understand themselves (the  
6 *imaginary*).  
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17 Prior to the turn of this century, developing countries in South-East Asia, including Indonesia,  
18 were a source of cheap labour for global corporations. However in the last two decades,  
19 countries like Indonesia are acquiring a new position on the world economic stage, mainly  
20 through the growing influence of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN)  
21 regional bloc. The region is shifting from providing cheap labour for global corporations to  
22 providing a huge, middle-class consumer base. One of the observable effects of this expansive  
23 economic development can be seen in higher education policy. Universities, such as those in  
24 Indonesia, are looking outward to the world, seeking world class university status in the global  
25 higher education market (Sakhiyya, 2018). The English language is a crucial part of this  
26 globalising strategy, not only for the higher education *business* (Shore & Wright, 2017) but for  
27 the economy more broadly.  
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45 The governments of these South-East Asian nations that are increasingly facing outwards to  
46 the global economy justify the inclusion of English in their respective education systems by  
47 claiming that they are preparing young people for a globalised future (Permendiknas, 2009;  
48 Hadisantosa, 2010). And yet there is ambiguity in this position. On the one hand, they face  
49 outwards using assertive internationalisation strategies (Sakhiyya, 2018). On the other hand,  
50 the nationalism which benefits from that assertion is not only about the economy. It is about  
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3 the nation's cultural identity, its main *imaginary signification*, one created in large part by a  
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5 unifying language.  
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10 Guibernau and Rex explain how the nation-state, once created “actively promote(s) the cultural  
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12 homogenisation of its members” (1997, pp. 4–5). The emergence of the Indonesian language  
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14 from its Malay history, a process we describe below, can be understood in terms of this cultural  
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16 homogenisation imperative. Indeed the cultural identity (the *national imaginary*) that is  
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18 Indonesia is centred on the Indonesian language. The study indicated that, while there was no  
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20 opposition from the teachers to the English language *per se*, there was concern that, by using  
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22 English as the medium of instruction, Indonesian identity would be negatively affected. A  
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24 teacher in the study captures this idea saying: “Why should we put ourselves out while we can  
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26 use our own language” and “I think each language has its own place” (Author 1, 2015, p. 61).  
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34 The article is structured in the following way. The next section is an account of the emergence  
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36 of the Indonesian language within the Independence struggle. Our purpose is to show the  
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38 integral place on the language in the nation's identity, [a position supported by the](#) overview of  
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40 countries that, like Indonesia, [are experiencing difficulties](#) implementing English language  
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42 policies in their education systems. [Section three is an account of the](#) establishment and  
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44 withdrawal of the English-medium language policy. This is followed [in section four](#) by an  
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46 account of the study undertaken in the school. It shows how the teachers attempted to put the  
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48 policy into practice but were frustrated, not only by the reality that their English language  
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50 competency was inadequate for the task, but because they were committed to language as [the](#)  
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52 [legitimate](#) national identity; [the nation's imaginary signifier](#). They believed that Bahasa  
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54 Indonesian should be the language of Indonesian schools. There was a direct confrontation  
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56 between this belief and the government's justification for switching to English, one made in  
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3 economic instrumental terms. It is this confrontation which, we argue, indicates a legitimisation  
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6 problem.  
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10 We conclude, in a brief final section, by discussing the role of language in national identity to  
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12 argue that this policy in particular touched two of the nation's key *imaginary significations*,  
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14 placing them in conflict. For Indonesia, these are, on the one hand, its self-representation as a  
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16 cohesive modern nation with an Indonesian identity. On the other hand, the nation's self-  
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18 representation as an internationally recognised member of the global economy, a status that  
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20 brings with it political recognition, promotes an outward looking sense of identity—a  
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22 representation justifying the English language policy.  
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### 28 **Language and national identity**

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33 The Indonesian language comes from the struggle against Dutch colonisation which led to the  
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35 establishment of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945. In 1908, Budi Utomo, the first Indonesian  
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37 nationalist organisation, promoted Malay as the national language in order to provide  
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39 a counter to Dutch language policy. Its transformation into *Indonesian* occurred in  
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41 1928, in the manifesto of the Youth of Indonesia. *Sumpah Pemuda* (The Oath of The  
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43 Young People) “pledged the willingness of every Indonesian to be unified in one  
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45 nation, one earth, and one language: Indonesia” (Hallam, 1997, n.p.). The word *Malay*  
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47 was replaced by *Bahasa Indonesia* as the name of the language and the first Indonesia  
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49 Language Congress was held in 1938. With the Japanese occupation in 1942  
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55 Indonesians were taught Japanese in all schools, a practice which served to reinforce  
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57 the growing identification of the people to Indonesian as their language. Hallam  
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3 (1997) notes that it was the Japanese who, in 1942 as a pragmatic response to the reality  
4 of language use, established the first Commission for the Indonesian Language. The  
5 Commission was to make decisions about vocabulary and write a common grammar.  
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10 In 1945, Indonesian was declared the official language. The various indigenous local  
11 languages, include Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Maduranese, Baso Minang and  
12 many more continue to be used in homes and communities but, for the first time, there  
13 is a national language that represents the self-representation of Indonesia as a nation.  
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23 The Indonesian language is therefore the result of the Independence movement and the creation  
24 of the nation. The teachers interviewed in the study recognised that the education system,  
25 especially as a public system, has a wider role in, and for, Indonesian society. This role may be  
26 understood in relation to sociological theories about the purpose of national education systems  
27 in modern nation-state building (Ramirez & Boli, 2007). Public education systems became  
28 central institutions in the new nation-states of the 19th and 20th centuries, as a crucial part of  
29 the nation-building enterprise. This applies to those at the beginning of the era, such as the  
30 United States and those in more recent times such as Indonesia (Hobsbawm, 1992). They were  
31 to unify ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups into the one imaginary modern nation  
32 (Anderson, 1983).  
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48 It is only in a national education system that the *collective representations* (Durkheim,  
49 1912/2001) or *imaginary significations* (Castoriadis, 1987) of a society's symbolic system are  
50 reproduced. These terms refer to the way in which a society understands itself; the means of  
51 communication which enables normative agreement; its source of cohesive identity; *collective*  
52 *representations* (what Bourdieu describes as "shared reality" [1979, p. 79]) that integrate  
53 diverse groups into a stable and cohesive society with its own identity. According to Durkheim  
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3 (1912/2001, cited in Bourdieu, 1979), the modern symbolic system is “a homogeneous  
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6 conception of time, space, number and cause which make agreement possible between  
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8 intelligences” (p. 79). He considered that the collective representations developed and  
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10 reproduced in the symbolic sphere achieved this purpose because they provided both the  
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12 “means of communication required for normative agreement and the instruments of thought”  
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14 required to create this shared reality (cited in Bourdieu, 1979, p. 79).  
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19 In the family and community, older, more traditional languages and practices are often  
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21 maintained. However at school, all children are taught in the national language. Bahasa  
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23 Indonesian was developed to serve this purpose, to be the symbolic medium of the new national  
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25 identity. It is for that reason that it is the language of instruction of Indonesian schools. The  
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27 English as a medium of instruction policy confronted that language’s significance; its *meaning*,  
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29 and replaced it with a foreign language chosen for its narrow function as an instrument of the  
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31 economy. By ignoring the primary function of language as the means of symbolic  
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33 representation (*or imaginary signification*), the balance between the economic and symbolic  
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35 dimensions was altered (Bernstein, 2000). As one of the teachers said:  
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42 Where are we taking our students to? To what direction? Why do we have to use English?  
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44 If they continue their study in universities in Indonesia, we do not need to insist teaching in  
45  
46 English. If students plan to continue to study abroad, English is a must. But, if they study at  
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48 universities in Indonesia, our time to study English can be used to study additional content  
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50 subject. (Author 1, 2015, p. 63)  
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56 The intrusion of something that is not seen to contribute to the nation-building and unifying  
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58 role (that of the introduction of a foreign language as a means of instruction) is at odds with  
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3 the implicit understanding of what the education system is for. For the Indonesian government,  
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5 and for the many other countries that we note in the next section who are also pursuing this  
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7 policy, the purpose is to be competitive in the global economy. Therefore we argue that the  
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9 unease, even in some cases hostility, towards using English in this way (although not to the  
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11 English language *per se*) which was expressed by some of the teachers in the study can be  
12  
13 understood in terms of the tension to the balance between the symbolic and the economic. On  
14  
15 the one hand, a government looks outward to the global economy. On the other, the teachers  
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17 look to their role in producing well-educated young people for not only a prosperous nation,  
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19 but one that has the means to be unified and stable.  
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26 Although the study we refer to in the article was conducted in Indonesia, a number of non-  
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28 English speaking countries are seeking to introduce EMOI into their education systems. These  
29  
30 countries include Malaysia (Tan, 2011), the Philippines (Martin, 2011), Thailand and South  
31  
32 Korea (Bax, 2010), Pakistan (Channa, 2012). For example, in 2003 a change in language of  
33  
34 instruction policy was applied to Mathematics and Science subjects in Malaysia with the  
35  
36 language of instruction switched from Bahasa Malaysia, to English. It was intended to produce  
37  
38 a “generation of scientifically and technologically knowledgeable students who are fluent in  
39  
40 English and able to contribute to the economic growth and development of the country” (Tan  
41  
42 & Lan, 2010, p. 6). Following protests by Chinese schools in Malaysia, a compromise was  
43  
44 reached. Science and Mathematics were to be taught in English and Mandarin, not solely in  
45  
46 English (Yang & Ishak, 2012). However, even the compromise could not help and the policy  
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48 was withdrawn in 2008.  
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3 A similar initiative launched in the Philippines in 2003 was also suspended (Martin, 2011). In  
4  
5 Thailand, the English programme requires that at least two core subjects (out of the total of  
6  
7 nine subjects) are taught in English. Significantly, the subjects exclude the Thai language and  
8  
9 social studies with aspects related to Thai culture and national identity (Keyuravong 2008, p.  
10  
11 3, cited in Bax, 2010, p. 11). However, as with the other countries, Thailand is facing various  
12  
13 problems related to both teachers who teach the subject of English and those who use English  
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15 as the medium for teaching other content (Bax, 2010).  
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22 The South Korean government's concerns about English language education led to the  
23  
24 adoption of a bilingual/immersion approach - *mol-ib* which included the teaching of content  
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26 subjects such as Maths and Science using English. A small number of schools (up to 10 in the  
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28 Seoul area, for example) became involved in a *mol-ib* scheme. (Bax, 2010, p. 53) but the policy  
29  
30 was *withdrawn* in the midst of strong public opposition. In Pakistan, a study conducted by  
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32 Channa (2012) showed the use of ELMI (English Language as the Medium of Instruction) in  
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34 teaching Science subjects to the students who studied Science as their major. However the  
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36 policy was also terminated.  
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### 42 **English language policy in Indonesia**

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47 In 2006, the Indonesian MONE published a new educational policy for secondary schools. Like  
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49 the policies we note earlier in other South-East Asian nations the policy was designed to include  
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51 English as the medium of instruction in Science and Mathematics classrooms as part of the  
52  
53 broader internationalisation strategies being pursued in education and other government  
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55 institutions. It was to be achieved by re-designating selected schools as International Standard  
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57 Schools. (Act of Republic of Indonesia No. 20 Year 2003 on National Education System,  
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3 Article 50, clause 3). Following the design of the policy, the government nominated hundreds  
4 of top public schools to be developed as international schools (Sakhiyya, 2011; Sundusiyah,  
5 2011).  
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12 The International Standard Schools were to meet the broad goals of preparing Indonesia for the  
13 migration of professionals from Indonesia and also into the country—the *human resources* of  
14 the global knowledge economy. In this way, Indonesia would become more competitive in the  
15 international job market and an attractive destination for foreign-owned companies operating  
16 in Indonesia. English plays a major role in the country's economic development (Depdiknas,  
17 2009; Hadisantosa, 2010; Hartoyo, 2009). The tourism industry, in particular, is a major  
18 contributor to the country's gross domestic product (GDP) by creating foreign exchange  
19 earnings and employment opportunities for Indonesians. This contribution to employment in  
20 particular is not to be understated. Nearly nine percent of Indonesia's total national workforce  
21 is employed in the tourism sector ([www.indonesia.investments](http://www.indonesia.investments)), a sector requiring English  
22 language competency (Mahditama, 2012).  
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40 Similarly, the education sector in Indonesia views the English language as a tool for the  
41 development and dissemination of information and communication technology and science.  
42 English competencies are considered essential for students to keep up with the latest  
43 developments (Depdiknas, 2009), hence the implementation of the policy in the re-designated  
44 public schools named as *Rintisan Sekolah Bertaraf International* (or, Pioneer International  
45 Standard Schools) (Permendiknas, 2009). The intention was to develop teaching and learning  
46 processes that complied with the international standards of developed countries (MONE, 2011;  
47 Permendiknas, 2009). In 2006, when the policy was introduced, there were 1,305 Pioneer  
48 International Standard Schools in Indonesia; 239 were primary schools. There were 356 junior  
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3 high schools, 359 senior high schools, and 351 vocational high schools (Sukarelawati, 2012).  
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5 Students who attended these schools were chosen on the basis of their school enrolment test,  
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7 including an English language test. As a consequence of this enrolment criterion and the  
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9 additional resources, the schools are widely regarded as elite schools (Retmono, 2011).  
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15 However, there was controversy over the use of English in Mathematics and Science subjects  
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17 in the Pioneer International Standard Schools—especially over the quality of the English-  
18  
19 medium instruction and the lack of bilingual teachers, but most notably because Mathematics  
20  
21 and Science teachers with little or no English competency were expected to teach their subjects  
22  
23 in that language (Indradno, 2011; Sundusiyah, 2011). In addition, the schools were criticised  
24  
25 for reducing the use of the Indonesian language (Retmono, 2011). By 2013, the mounting  
26  
27 criticism and the obvious failure of the policy at classroom level led to the decree of *Mahkamah*  
28  
29 *Konstitusi*, the Indonesian Constitutional Court (Sumintono, 2013, January 11). This stipulated  
30  
31 that the Pioneer International Standard Schools must return to their original status as regular  
32  
33 schools. It required the withdrawal of English-medium instruction from the school. Since then,  
34  
35 English is no longer used as the medium of instruction to teach content subjects. It remains a  
36  
37 separate subject as it has long been a compulsory subject in secondary schools since Indonesian  
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39 Independence in 1945 (Lie, 2007).  
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47 The withdrawal of the policy appears a failure. English-medium instruction was promoted  
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49 throughout the country as an important innovation and something that would contribute  
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51 significantly towards Indonesia's emergence as a global player (Coleman, 2009). Indeed the  
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53 government initially promoted the policy in these terms. According to MONE (2005, 2009)  
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55 and DGPSEM (2007a, 2007b) the schools were to provide education with national and  
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57 international standards that would enable graduates to compete internationally to a level higher  
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3 than, if not equal to, those in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development  
4 (OECD) countries. Government resources were provided to ensure that the policy did work.  
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8 So why did the policy fail so completely that it was withdrawn? In the next section we address  
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10 this question by identifying a fundamental misalignment between teachers' attitudes towards  
11  
12 the English language and the government's expectations.  
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### 18 **The study**

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22 The study (Author 1, 2015) of the English language programme at a public senior high school  
23 was undertaken in 2012, one year before the policy was rescinded, so at a time when the  
24 problems had become quite obvious. Ethnographic methods were used to collect the data  
25 because, according to Creswell (2013) they allow, "the researcher [to rely] on the participants'  
26 views as an insider emic perspective and reports them in verbatim quotes, and then synthesizes  
27 the data filtering it through the researchers' etic scientific perspective to develop an overall  
28 cultural interpretation. This cultural interpretation is a description of the group and themes  
29 related to the theoretical concepts being explored in the study" (p. 92). The collection of the  
30 teachers' views in this way has enabled us to proceed further in this paper and use these views  
31 to illustrate our argument about why the policy failed.  
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48 The school was located in a large city in the province of Central Java with a predominantly  
49 Javanese population. The researcher shadowed five teachers of Geography, Biology,  
50 Mathematics, Chemistry, and Information Communication Technology (ICT) in their  
51 classrooms over two months. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) suggested that ethnographic  
52 research usually has the feature of focusing on a single setting or group of people to facilitate  
53 in-depth study. With the purpose of prioritising detailed insights, the first author included  
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3 teacher participants who taught different subjects to enhance the extent and depth of  
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5 convictions about English language use.  
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10 Each of the five had a bachelor degree majoring in the respective content subjects. They had  
11 studied English as a compulsory subject when they were at junior high school, senior high  
12 school, and at university where English was taught only in one to two semesters. Significantly,  
13 none of the teachers had experienced special training in English-medium instruction during  
14 their study at university. After the school where they worked was designated a Pioneer  
15 International Standard School in the academic year of 2009/2010, both the Maths and Science  
16 teachers were directed by school executives to take short English professional development  
17 courses. These were conducted either by local government officials or the school.  
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30 Data were collected in a variety of ways and were extensive. Collection included whole-school  
31 observations, participatory observation where the researcher sat in the classroom for lengthy  
32 periods, field notes, in-depth interviews, reviewing school documents, and audio-video  
33 recordings of classroom activities. In addition, informal conversations were held during and  
34 after the school hours. These multiple sources of data collection constituted a real strength of  
35 the study. It meant that the researcher had the opportunity to immerse herself in the school and  
36 to conduct whole-school observations and classroom observations that enriched the interviews  
37 with the teachers (Palmer, 2011, p. 109).  
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51 These interviews were a revealing source of material about the English language policy. Each  
52 teacher was interviewed several times and the discussions were in-depth and free-ranging. The  
53 teachers were encouraged to speak freely and all were happy to do so. They spoke about their  
54 family's background, friends, and social networks before turning to describe the languages they  
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3 used in their daily and teaching lives. These conversations included describing how they used  
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5 Javanese, Indonesian, and English in daily interactions, any connection with English  
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7 communities of practice, and broader professional matters concerning their teaching goals and  
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9 education in general. However the main topic of each interview was their experiences in  
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11 teaching their content subject using English. The researcher asked about their perceptions,  
12  
13 opinions, views, feelings, and attitudes toward English-medium instruction in their classes and  
14  
15 to using English the school more widely. They were asked in English first to test their level of  
16  
17 understanding and communication in the language. Significantly, all five teachers preferred  
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19 using either Indonesian or Javanese. This gave them the freedom to speak in depth and to  
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21 explore the nuances and ambiguities that arise when people speak of their experiences.  
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29 We have grouped some of the pertinent findings into three main themes of classroom practice,  
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31 the teacher, and cultural identity which best demonstrate the points at which the policy's  
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33 implementation failed.  
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### 38 *Classroom practice*

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42 One finding was the frequency of code-switching practices, rather than the use of English only.  
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44 The teachers alternated between Indonesian and English throughout the lesson. It was used to  
45  
46 encourage students to focus on the content and to be more responsive by asking questions and  
47  
48 contributing ideas. The Maths and Geography teachers said that including Indonesian helped  
49  
50 their students understand what was being said.  
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54 Perhaps not all students will understand my explanation if I speak in English all the time.

55 So, I have to do like that, translating. I used to mixing, Indonesian mixed with English.

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58 They want me not to use much English in my lesson. (Author 1, 2015, p. 78)  
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6 The teachers frequently translated the English they used. An example from a Biology class  
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8 where the students were learning about the skeleton showed how the need to translate scientific  
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10 terms had the effect of reducing a lesson to a translation class where terms were constantly  
11  
12 repeated rather than it being a lesson about biological concepts and content.  
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19 The teachers frequently switched from English into Indonesian to save face when their  
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21 linguistic competence failed them. The Biology teacher said that his limited English meant that  
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23 he used it only to introduce students to Biology terms and to greet students and check the roll.  
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25 The Maths teacher said that she did not dare to say some numbers in English because she was  
26  
27 not sure how to pronounce them. The ICT teacher did not use English at all, not a single word,  
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29 saying his vocabulary and grammar were not good enough. He spoke of “not having the nerve”  
30  
31 (Author 1, 2015, p. 56) to teach in English adding that he felt both hesitant and frightened.  
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33 However, he did ask his students to speak in English when presenting their group discussion  
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35 work, and interestingly, they did.  
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44 The researcher observed a group of four students presenting their group discussion with  
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46 PowerPoint presentations in English. They even answered their friends’ questions in English.  
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48 Despite some grammatical mistakes and inappropriate word choice, this group’s effort to speak  
49  
50 in English was commendable, given the difficult nature of the topic *wireless and wireline*. Why  
51  
52 did they use English when their teacher did not? Perhaps they were motivated by a mixture of  
53  
54 their teacher’s encouragement and by the extra marks for those who used either spoken or  
55  
56 written English. The fact that the students prepared their slides prior to class also helped. A  
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3 similar negotiation between teacher and students occurred in the Chemistry class. Initially the  
4 students were required to use English. However the teachers allowed them to speak in  
5 Indonesian to present the results of their group discussion. The students had not prepared them  
6 previously so these involved stuttering and stumbling. The teacher was aware of the anxiety  
7 this created, hence her decision to allow the students to use Indonesian. This teacher, like the  
8 others, were more concerned with their students' understanding of the lesson content and of  
9 maintaining their motivation. Using English was secondary to these pedagogical priorities.  
10 What the researcher found was that these were normal subject lessons in Indonesian with the  
11 annoying imposition of English foisted on the teachers from outside.  
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28 The teachers in the programme were subject specialists, not English language users. The result  
29 was to be expected; a mixture of noticeable inaccuracies in grammar, word choice, and  
30 pronunciation. Often they were unaware of these errors, or they knew they made errors but did  
31 not know when they were correct and when they were not. Several of the teachers said that it  
32 was fine for them to make mistakes because they were still learning English, mentioning that  
33 the students did seem to understand. However, there are a number of problems with this. In the  
34 context of second language acquisition, errors or mistakes in using a foreign language without  
35 any corrective feedback are likely to result in the errors becoming fixed by the teacher (Ellis,  
36 2008; Fidler, 2006; Gass & Selinker, 2008). Students might consider the language their  
37 teachers used was accurate and adopt this language use, leading to further confusion. The input  
38 into students' language from their teachers' use is their students' language input has a  
39 determining function in language acquisition (Ellis, 2008). According to Astika and Wahyana  
40 (2010), Indonesian students should be exposed to correct English (p. 19). Inaccurate teacher  
41 modelling will lead to incorrect grammar, pronunciation and word choice by the students. The  
42 subject teachers in the study did in fact have an important role as language models for their  
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3 students but were unaware of the significance of this. In addition to the problems specific to  
4 language, there are also implications for the subjects being taught. When the teacher uses words  
5 incorrectly, the meaning of the concepts being taught is also compromised.  
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### 13 *The teachers*

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20 Given these problems it is not surprising that the teachers found using English not only difficult  
21 and a source of anxiety, but also time-consuming. They all said that teaching in English took  
22 double the time as teaching in Indonesian.  
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28 According to [the Chemistry teacher](#):  
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34 If I teach in English, it means double working because I must translate into Indonesian  
35 to make sure my students understand my explanation. It's faster to explain using  
36 Indonesian.  
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45 The Maths teacher agreed:  
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51 My students need longer time to understand my explanation if I used English, compared  
52 to when I used Indonesian. They did not comprehend a lesson easily when delivered in  
53 English. Sometimes they asked me, mam, what is it in Indonesian, so I had to explain it  
54 again in Indonesian. It takes longer time and takes my energy.  
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6 Repeating the content knowledge firstly in English then in Indonesian took much of the time  
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8 allocated to the lesson, reducing the time for the actual lesson itself.  
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15 The effect of the policy of the teachers' profesional wellbeing was considerable with all those  
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17 interviewed saying that having to use English-medium instruction made them anxious in  
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19 relation to their own work and envious of their colleagues who did not need to use English. It  
20  
21 reduced their confidence and produced a very real sense of carrying an impossible burden. The  
22  
23 burden was two-fold. Not only did they have to learn English themselves but they had to learn  
24  
25 how to teach their subjects in this unfamiliar language. It was not surprising that they thought  
26  
27 the English-medium policy was unattainable. Two of the older teachers, both highly  
28  
29 experienced in their subjects, said it was too late to learn English at their age.  
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34 Students are smarter. They take English private courses after school. And they are still  
35  
36 young. They easily learn a foreign language, whereas I have many things to take care of.  
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38 So, it's difficult for me to learn English.  
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42 He added that learning English meant making a considerable "personal sacrifice."  
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45 If I always focus on learning English at all times, my other tasks and responsibility as a  
46  
47 teacher, a father, and in my community will be in a mess. English comes to me very late.  
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49 I am above 50 [years old] now, so when can I study English? I do not have time [to study  
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51 English].  
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3 Not surprisingly, he compared his predicament to that of the teachers who were not required  
4 to teach using English:  
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8 Ask the teachers who teach English subject to teach Biology. I am sure they cannot do it.  
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10 So, what I mean is just teaching as usual. Do not make teachers afraid by asking us to  
11 teach in English. Yes, many colleagues are afraid of teaching in English. Many of them  
12 got stressed complaining their difficulties and inabilities speaking in English. Students,  
13 too. Actually both teachers and students complain.  
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### 24 ***Language and identity***

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27 “*Kita punya bahasa sendiri*” (We have our own language) was the phrase most often used by  
28 the teachers when referring to the English language policy.  
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32 According to [the ICT teacher](#):

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35 I think each language has its own place. When teachers go home seeing their families,  
36 involved in their societies and communities, they absolutely use the languages spoken by  
37 their families and communities.  
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47 He clearly meant that English was not a widely used language so he thought it would be strange  
48 to use English while others did not use the language. [The Biology teacher](#) used similar  
49 sentiments, speaking both Indonesian and Javanese: “*Kenapa sih ndadak repot-repot? Wong*  
50 *dengan bahasa kita sendiri saja kita bisa.*” [Why should we put ourselves out while we can  
51 use our own language?]. He added:  
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3 Our environment is not supportive because our official and national language is  
4 Indonesian and because we are Javanese living in Javanese communities. We speak  
5 Javanese too.  
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14 All members of the school community spoke Indonesian and Javanese. On a very few occasions  
15 they spoke a few words or sentences in English if they were asked in English by those who  
16 taught English as a subject. The teacher in the comment immediately above claimed that the  
17 Indonesian and Javanese languages had a wider range of vocabulary which could express  
18 specific intended meanings which were not possible in his English vocabulary. He said there  
19 were no English equivalents available to him with his lack of English proficiency for certain  
20 Javanese or Indonesian words, certainly none that enabled him to express nuances and  
21 complexities of meaning.  
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36 The teachers discussed the matter of language and identity with one noting that using English  
37 in teaching could cause trouble because it was not the language of the nation. It did not show  
38 his Indonesian identity. Given that “language is an index, symbol and marker of identity”  
39 (Baker, 2011, p. 45) this teacher’s comment that being an Indonesian meant using the  
40 Indonesian language as the symbol of Indonesian national identity made sense for him and for  
41 the others.  
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51 One of the older, experienced teachers was doubtful about the benefits of English in Indonesia:  
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54 Where are we taking our students to? To what direction? Why do we have to use English?  
55 If they continue their study in universities in Indonesia, we do not need to insist teaching  
56 in English. If students plan to continue to study abroad, English is a must. But, if they  
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3 study at universities in Indonesia, our time to study English can be used to study  
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5 additional subject content.  
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11 Other teachers spoke of Indonesian as the country's national language. They saw the school as  
12 a state institution and Indonesian as the official and national language. The comment, "We  
13 have our own language" or similar phrases were used frequently.  
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22 The teachers' comments provided insights into how English was regarded. There was concern  
23 expressed that colleagues might regard teachers who spoke English as strange as it seemed  
24 inappropriate to use English among people of Indonesian nationality.  
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30 If I initiated to speak English, I might be laughed at. They [my colleagues] would think  
31 I was like pretending as if I were an English native speaker and acting as if I were a  
32 Westerner [Javanese: *halah sok keinggris-inggrisan*]. If they don't like, they will talk  
33 behind our back. Actually I can ignore them. It doesn't matter they call me acting like  
34 Westerners [*keinggris-inggrisan*]. But I don't feel comfortable with such a comment. I  
35 should know my position. I am glad if I am addressed in English or asked to chat in  
36 English [by my colleagues] as long as it is not my own initiative because I am not an  
37 English subject teacher.  
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52 *Halah, sok keinggris-inggrisan* (it is like imitating Westerners) is to be avoided, or so this  
53 teacher implies. Others too, were concerned that if they practised English they might be  
54 considered "different" people. This contributed to their reluctance to practise English. The use  
55 of conversational English by mainly young teachers tended to elicit defensiveness from the  
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3 mainly older teachers who could not speak, or who had limited, English. Negative comments  
4 would be made, for example, “*Halah sok keinggris-inggrisan*” (imitating Englishmen or  
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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

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3 did not want his colleagues to label him *nggolek rai*, someone who sought compliments from  
4 those in charge.  
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## 10 11 **Conclusion**

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15 We have identified two main reasons why the English as a medium of instruction and  
16 communication policy failed. These reasons operate at different levels. Clearly the policy failed  
17 because teachers could not implement it for all the reasons we identify in the description of the  
18 study above. They did not speak English, the professional development courses were totally  
19 inadequate, and they did not believe in the policy the way those who initiated and designed the  
20 policy did. However, these problems were at the phenomonal level and are all open to  
21 remediation. What is of interest to us is at the deeper level and led to the argument developed  
22 in this paper.  
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37 Given the commitment of Indonesia (its government and middle-class) to the country's global  
38 economic strategy and the recognition of the importance of English language in this strategy,  
39 why did a policy designed to develop English language users fail so completely that the policy  
40 was withdraw. The fact that Indonesia is not alone in the failure of policies to embed a  
41 globalisation strategy in the hearts and minds of the people, including those who would benefit  
42 from it, suggested that a sociological explanation was required. The explanation could not be  
43 found in the empirical material, although the study's findings did enable us to identify the  
44 problem at a phenomonal level and also enabled us to illustrate how the problem was  
45 experienced in the teachers' practice.  
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3 The sociological concept of *imaginary significations* provided the tool with which to  
4 understand the conflict between a language's two roles in the ways a society sees itself (its self-  
5 representation or *imaginary*) and in the way it shares that collective consciousness, that is, the  
6 use of signifiers). In Indonesia the balance between two main imaginary significations; those  
7 deep self-representations of *who we are*, the collective identity on the one hand and the idea of  
8 *who we will be* were out of alignment. The government saw the role of the English language in  
9 terms of its economic ambitions. Indonesia was to enter the global economy, specifically the  
10 global knowledge economy, and the education system was to provide the human resources to  
11 enable this. The teachers, however, understood the education system that they were committed  
12 to, as the means to reproduce children into Indonesia, into the nation. For them, the language  
13 is the nation. Therefore, we argue that the fairly rapid failure of the English as the medium of  
14 instruction policy was the result of the confrontation between these two opposing *imaginary*  
15 *significations* about what a national language means for the people who use it in education.  
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Title: Language, Globalisation, and National Identity : A Study of English-Medium Policy  
and Practice in Indonesia

Reviewer 1

Reviewer's comments	Authors' responses
<p>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.</p>	<p>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.</p>
<p>The second problem is the lack of an overall analytic framework or the lack of application of the two significations in the analysis.</p>	<p>We have increased references to the theoretical framework throughout the paper.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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</p>

	<p>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.</p>
<p>The third problem is the field study, which is not fully documented and whose data use is not transparent.</p>	<p>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.</p> <p>We have added a section in the introduction about conceptual methodology.</p>
<p>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</p>	<p>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.</p> <p>The paper is structured this way:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>1. Introduction</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Argument</li> <li>Methodology</li> <li>Context of the problem</li> </ul> </li> <li>2. Language and national identity</li> <li>3. English language policy</li> <li>4. The empirical study</li> <li>5. Conclusion</li> </ol>
<p>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>	<p>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.</p> <p>So: The theoretical argument is - an imaginary signification that works at the political and policy level (using 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)</p> <p>The specific issue is: Phenomenon: the failure of the language</p>

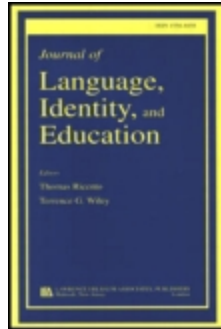
	<p>policy in education practice</p> <p>The analytical device is Taylor's concept of legitimation. It enables us to connect the theretoical to the empirical.</p>
<p>p. 4 Is there any ambiguity about the relationship between nationalism and globalization? From Britain's exit of the European Union and the election of President Trump, nationalism and globalization appear to be contradictory.</p>	<p>Yes – thanks for this point.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>The second signification represents globalisation forces especially the economic instrumentalism which drives these forces, ones to which Indonesia responded with its English language policy.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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>
<p>p. 5-8 Are Sections Three (Education, Language, and Identity) and Four (English Language Education in a Globalized World) the backdrop?</p>	<p>Yes</p>
<p>P. 9-11 What about the section on language policy in Indonesia?</p>	<p>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>
<p>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.</p>	<p>The manuscript has not been published as a journal article or as a monograph.</p>
<p>For your ethnographic work, did you follow any published methodology? If yes, cite your reference.</p>	<p>Yes, the first author did use accepted ethnographic methodology for her empirical study. She used the standard references for such inquiry:</p>

	<p>e.g.</p> <p>Creswell (2013) Hammersley and Atkinson (2007)</p> <p>These references have been included in the text and in the reference list.</p> <p>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.</p>
<p>a. Exactly how many interviews were conducted?</p> <p>b. What kind of interviews?</p> <p>c. How are class observations documented?</p> <p>d. How were the data coded and used?</p>	<p>a. There were five interviews with five subject teachers (Mathematics, Chemistry, Biology, Physics and Geography).</p> <p>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).</p> <p>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.</p> <p>d. The data were analysed by using thematic analysis (Braun &amp; Clarke, 2006).</p> <p>(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>
<p>p. 14 What is the rationale to group the findings into three themes? Are there any criteria?</p>	<p>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.</p> <p>However see the point above.</p>
<p>p. 16-18</p>	<p>We refer to two levels in explainin gthe</p>

<p>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>	<p>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 policy's legitimacy</p>
<p>p. 17 Who is this “one teacher”? The five teachers should be systematically coded or referred to by their subjects.</p>	<p>The Chemistry teacher (See the revised paper)</p>
<p>p. 18 The same problem as that on p. 17.</p>	<p>The ICT teacher (See the revised paper)</p>
<p>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>	<p>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>
<p>p. 22 the first line “The Indonesia language” or the English language?</p>	<p>The English language (See the revised paper)</p>



## **Respon kepada reviewer dan artikel yang diresubmit**



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

Journal:	<i>Journal of Language, Identity &amp; Education</i>
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.

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22 **1. Introduction**  
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26 This paper explores the deeper causes for the misalignment between policy intentions and the  
27 policy implementation by locating that misalignment in the disturbance between two major  
28 national *imaginary significations* (Castoriados, 1987). It draws on a study conducted in  
29 Indonesia (Fitriati, 2015) which found that teachers experienced considerable difficulties when  
30 implementing that nation's English-medium language policy. Our purpose is to use that finding  
31 to explain why support for the English language policy in Indonesia's globalisation strategy  
32 did not translate into support at the level of educational practice. We use Castoriados' *social*  
33 *imaginary signification* (1987) as the conceptual tool to explain how quickly a legislated policy  
34 can fail when it is out of step with a more powerful imaginary signification. The more powerful  
35 signification in the Indonesian case is that of *national identity*.  
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51 Charles Taylor refers to a social imaginary signification as "that common understanding that  
52 makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy" (2004, p. 23). We  
53 argue that the implementation of the English medium instruction policy by the teachers in the  
54 study on which we draw showed that the policy did not tap into common practice, hence it  
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3 failed to acquire wide-spread legitimacy. It is at the implementation stage that the social  
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5 imaginaries which bind societies acquire the legitimacy required for policy to become  
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7 embedded as social practice. We further argue, that a key factor in the implementation failure  
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9 was that a stronger imaginary signification existed, one which does have widespread legitimacy  
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11 in everyday practice. This is the understanding of the Indonesian language as the means of  
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13 communication in that pluralist society, a legitimation given by its role in creating an  
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15 Indonesian national identity in the post-colonial era.  
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21 Section two describes the methodology used in the article and the context of the problem.  
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23 Section three discusses the emergence of the Indonesian language within the Independence  
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25 struggle in order to show the integral place of the language in the nation's identity. An account  
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27 of the establishment and withdrawal of the English-medium language policy follows in section  
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29 four. Section 5 four is an account of the study undertaken in the school. It shows how the  
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31 teachers attempted to put the policy into practice but were frustrated, not only because their  
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33 English language competency was inadequate for the task, but because they believed that  
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35 Bahasa Indonesian should be the language of Indonesian schools.  
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42 We conclude by discussing the role of language in national identity to argue that this policy in  
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44 particular touched two of the nation's key *imaginary significations*, placing them in tension.  
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46 For Indonesia, these are, on the one hand, its self-representation as a cohesive modern nation  
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48 with an Indonesian identity. On the other hand, the nation's self-representation as an  
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50 internationally recognised member of the global economy, a status that brings with it political  
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52 recognition, promotes an outward looking sense of identity—a representation justifying the  
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54 English language policy.  
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## 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 significations* 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

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3 social glue or collective means of self-representation created by a common national language  
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5 justified the acceptance of Bahasa Indonesian in the post-Independence era.  
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10 The usefulness of a conceptual methodological is not confined to the power of disciplinary  
11 concepts. It also enables us to connect the explanation to the problem we wish to explain. Often  
12 the problem is identified empirically as was the case with the English medium policy failure in  
13 Indonesian classrooms although we are aware that a problem may be identified through  
14 philosophical inquiry only (Rata, 2012). Unlike interpretivist methodologies where the  
15 explanation is drawn from the empirically obtained data, a conceptual methodology recognises  
16 that it is not possible to generalise from the particular experience (Lourie & McPhail, 2016).  
17 Concepts, on the other hand, allow for the particular (in our case, the teachers' implementation  
18 of a policy) to illustrate an argument. Kant (1781/1993) is one of many philosophers in a  
19 tradition from Parmenides and Zeno to Descartes (Lindberg, 1992) who recognised the  
20 limitations of explaining from the particular rather than the explanation being drawn from the  
21 idea and applied to the particular instance. Kant (1781/1993) noted that a "concept will not let  
22 itself be limited to experience, because it deals with a cognition ... of which the empirical is  
23 only one part; no actual experience is fully sufficient for it, but every experience belongs to it"  
24 (p. 394).  
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47 How do we connect the conceptually-derived explanation to the empirically identified problem  
48 given that there is no exact correspondence between the idea and experience (Rata, 2012)?  
49 According to Nola (2001) a "degree of fit" (p. 429) is all we can hope for in making the  
50 argument that the chosen concept(s) does in fact provide a logical explanation of the problem  
51 or phenomenon. In seeking to justify the connection we make between imaginary  
52 significations and the English-medium policy we have adapted Taylor's (2004) idea of  
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3 “widespread legitimacy” as the methodological device to connect the “imaginary signification”  
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5 (p. 23) concept to the data taken from the study. This enables us to ask; What language policy  
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7 has sufficient social legitimacy to enable it to be embedded in practice? Our argument is the  
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9 response to that question. We claim that Bahasa Indonesian, despite being a relatively recent  
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11 national language, does have legitimacy as the nation’s imaginary signifier. In contrast,  
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13 English, despite being promoted as necessary for Indonesia’s global economic strategy, has not  
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15 acquired sufficient legitimacy in the minds of the people for it to be accepted as a medium of  
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17 instruction in schools. When comparing the two significations we also argue that the  
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19 dominance of the former in its role as the collective means of a society’s self-representation  
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21 contributed to problems with the latter.  
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29 The empirical study which Author 1 (2015) undertook for a doctoral dissertation investigated  
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31 how secondary school teachers coped with the legislated requirement that they teach their  
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33 respective subjects, Mathematics and Science, in English. The Indonesian government had  
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35 introduced the English language policy for public schools in 2006. Teachers were to develop  
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37 their students’ English language skills through English-medium instruction in Mathematics  
38  
39 and Science subjects (*Permendiknas*, 2009) and to promote habitual English use inside the  
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41 school (*Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Menengah*  
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43 [Ministry of National Education, MONE], 2011). However the decree of *Mahkamah*  
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45 *Konstitusi*/the Indonesian Constitutional Court, in 2013, revoked the policy (Sumintono,  
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47 2013) after eight years. This requires explanation especially given the supportive context of a  
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49 growing commitment by South-East Asian governments to English language policies as part  
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51 of the region’s economic strategy. We problematise that withdrawal.  
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### 58 ***Context of the problem***

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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.

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.



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3 About 8 million to 9 million people currently enter the MAC segment each year, and by 2020,  
4 this group will reach a total of 141 million people, or 53 percent of the population” (Rastogi,  
5 Tamboto, Tong, & Sinburimsit, 2013, p. 6). These well-educated professionals in Indonesia  
6 and other South-East Asian countries support their various governments’ moves into the global  
7 economy. With those moves come a degree of acceptance of the English language (Pan &  
8 Block, 2011), or a *growing legitimacy* to use Taylor’s term (2004).  
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19 They are also the class that benefitted from the rising nationalism which accompanied the  
20 various independence movements in South-East Asia. For Indonesia, it is a nationalism that  
21 places Bahasa Indonesian as the *imaginary signification* at the centre of its identity giving it  
22 widespread legitimacy as the language of modern Indonesia. It is possible that the tension  
23 between globalisation and nationalism which is played out in the Bahasa Indonesian – English  
24 language tension explored in this paper echoes the same tension illustrated by Brexit  
25 nationalism and by that seen in the United States and some European nations. The response of  
26 nationalist movements to globalisation is the expression of two competing significations about  
27 how people understand themselves (the *imaginary*).  
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45 Prior to the turn of this century, developing countries in South-East Asia, including Indonesia,  
46 were a source of cheap labour for global corporations. However in the last two decades, such  
47 countries are acquiring a new position on the world economy, mainly through the growing  
48 influence of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) regional bloc. The region  
49 is shifting from providing cheap labour for global corporations to providing a huge, middle-  
50 class consumer base. One of the observable effects of this expansive economic development  
51 can be seen in higher education policy. Universities are looking outward to the world, seeking  
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3 world class university status in the global higher education market (Sakhiyya, 2018). The  
4 English language is a crucial part of this globalising strategy, not only for the higher education  
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6 *business* (Shore & Wright, 2017) but for the economy more broadly.  
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12 The governments of these expanding South-East Asian nations justify the inclusion of English  
13 in their respective education systems by claiming that they are preparing young people for a  
14 globalised future (Permendiknas, 2009; Hadisantosa, 2010). And yet there is ambiguity in this  
15 position. On the one hand, they face outwards using assertive internationalisation strategies  
16 (Sakhiyya, 2018). On the other hand, the nationalism which benefits from that assertion is not  
17 only about the economy. It is about the nation's cultural identity, its main *imaginary*  
18 *signification*, one created in large part by a unifying language.  
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30 Guibernau and Rex explain how the nation-state, once created “actively promote(s) the cultural  
31 homogenisation of its members” (1997, pp. 4–5). The emergence of the Indonesian language  
32 from its Malay history, a process we describe below, can be understood in terms of this  
33 homogenisation imperative. Indeed the cultural identity (the *national imaginary*) that is  
34 Indonesia is centred on the Indonesian language. The study indicated that, while there was no  
35 opposition from the teachers to the English language *per se*, there was concern that, by using  
36 English as the medium of instruction, Indonesian identity would be negatively affected. A  
37 teacher in the study captures this idea saying: “Why should we put ourselves out while we can  
38 use our own language” and “I think each language has its own place” (Author 1, 2015, p. 61).  
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### 54 **3. Language and national identity**

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3 The Indonesian language comes from the struggle against Dutch colonisation which led to the  
4 establishment of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945. In 1908, Budi Utomo, the first Indonesian  
5 nationalist organisation, promoted Malay as the national language in order to provide a counter  
6 to Dutch language policy. Its transformation into *Indonesian* occurred in 1928, in the manifesto  
7 of the Youth of Indonesia. *Sumpah Pemuda* (The Oath of The Young People) “pledged the  
8 willingness of every Indonesian to be unified in one nation, one earth, and one language:  
9 Indonesia” (Hallam, 1997, n.p.). The word *Malay* was replaced by *Bahasa Indonesia* as the  
10 name of the language and the first Indonesia Language Congress was held in 1938. With the  
11 Japanese occupation in 1942 Indonesians were taught Japanese in all schools, a practice which  
12 served to reinforce the growing identification of the people to Indonesian as their language.  
13 Hallam (1997) notes that it was the Japanese who, in 1942 as a pragmatic response to the reality  
14 of language use, established the first Commission for the Indonesian Language. The  
15 Commission was to make decisions about vocabulary and write a common grammar. In 1945,  
16 Indonesian was declared the official language. The various indigenous local languages, include  
17 Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Maduranese, Baso Minang and many more continue to be used  
18 in homes and communities but, for the first time, there is a national language that represents  
19 the self-representation of Indonesia as a nation.  
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45 The Indonesian language is therefore the result of the Independence movement and the creation  
46 of the nation. The teachers interviewed in the study recognised that the education system,  
47 especially as a public system, has a wider role in, and for, Indonesian society. This role may be  
48 theorised in terms of the purpose of national education systems in modern nation-state building  
49 (Ramirez & Boli, 2007). Public education systems became central institutions in the new  
50 nation-states of the 19th and 20th centuries as of the nation-building enterprise. This applies to  
51 those at the beginning of the era, such as the United States and those in more recent times, such  
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3 as Indonesia (Hobsbawm, 1992). They were to unify ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups  
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5 into the one imaginary modern nation (Anderson, 1983).  
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10 It is only in a national education system that the *collective representations* (Durkheim's term,  
11 1912/2001) or *imaginary significations* (Castoriadis, 1987) of a society's symbolic system are  
12 reproduced. These terms refer to the way in which a society understands itself; the means of  
13 communication which enables normative agreement; its source of cohesive identity; *collective*  
14 *representations* (what Bourdieu describes as "shared reality" [1979, p. 79]) that integrate  
15 diverse groups into a stable and cohesive society with its own identity. According to Durkheim  
16 (1912/2001, cited in Bourdieu, 1979), the modern symbolic system is "a homogeneous  
17 conception of time, space, number and cause which make agreement possible between  
18 intelligences" (p. 79). He considered that the collective representations developed and  
19 reproduced in the symbolic sphere achieved this purpose because they provided both the  
20 "means of communication required for normative agreement and the instruments of thought"  
21 required to create this shared reality (cited in Bourdieu, 1979, p. 79).  
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40 In the family and community, older, more traditional languages and practices are often  
41 maintained. However at school, all children are taught in the national language. Bahasa  
42 Indonesian was developed to serve this purpose, to be the symbolic medium of the new national  
43 identity. The English as a medium of instruction policy confronted that language's significance;  
44 its *meaning*, and replaced it with a foreign language chosen for its narrower function as an  
45 instrument of the economy. By ignoring the primary function of language as the means of  
46 symbolic representation (or *imaginary signification*), the balance between the economic and  
47 symbolic dimensions was altered (Bernstein, 2000). As one of the teachers said:  
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3 Where are we taking our students to? To what direction? Why do we have to use English?  
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5 If they continue their study in universities in Indonesia, we do not need to insist teaching in  
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7 English. If students plan to continue to study abroad, English is a must. But, if they study at  
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9 universities in Indonesia, our time to study English can be used to study additional content  
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11 subject. (Author 1, 2015, p. 63)  
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17 The intrusion of something that is not seen to contribute to the nation-building and unifying  
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19 role is at odds with the implicit understanding of what the education system is for. For the  
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21 Indonesian government, and for the many other countries that we note in the next section who  
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23 are also pursuing this policy, the purpose is to be competitive in the global economy. Therefore  
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25 we argue that the unease, even in some cases hostility, towards using English in this way  
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27 (although not to the English language *per se*) which was expressed by some of the teachers in  
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29 the study can be understood in terms of the tension to the balance between the symbolic and  
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31 the economic. On the one hand, a government looks outward to the global economy. On the  
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33 other, the teachers look to their role in producing well-educated young people for not only a  
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35 prosperous nation, but one that has the means to be unified and stable.  
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42 Although the study we refer to in the article was conducted in Indonesia, a number of non-  
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44 English speaking countries are seeking to introduce EMI into their education systems. These  
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46 countries include Malaysia (Tan, 2011), the Philippines (Martin, 2011), Thailand and South  
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48 Korea (Bax, 2010). For example, in 2003 a change in language of instruction policy was applied  
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50 to Mathematics and Science subjects in Malaysia with the language of instruction switched  
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52 from Bahasa Malaysia, to English. It was intended to produce a “generation of scientifically  
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54 and technologically knowledgeable students who are fluent in English and able to contribute  
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56 to the economic growth and development of the country” (Tan & Lan, 2010, p. 6). Following  
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3 protests by Chinese schools in Malaysia, a compromise was reached. Science and Mathematics  
4 were to be taught in English and Mandarin, not solely in English (Yang & Ishak, 2012).  
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6 However, even the compromise could not help and the policy was withdrawn in 2008.  
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14 A similar initiative launched in the Philippines in 2003 was also suspended (Martin, 2011). In  
15 Thailand, the English programme requires that at least two core subjects (out of the total of  
16 nine subjects) are taught in English. Significantly, the subjects exclude the Thai language and  
17 social studies with aspects related to Thai culture and national identity (Keyuravong 2008, p.  
18 3, cited in Bax, 2010, p. 11). However, as with the other countries, Thailand is facing various  
19 problems related to both teachers who teach the subject of English and those who use English  
20 as the medium for teaching other content (Bax, 2010).  
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33 The South Korean government's concerns about English language education led to the  
34 adoption of a bilingual/immersion approach - *mol-ib* which included the teaching of content  
35 subjects such as Maths and Science using English. A small number of schools (up to 10 in the  
36 Seoul area, for example) became involved in a *mol-ib* scheme. (Bax, 2010, p. 53) but the policy  
37 was withdrawn in the midst of strong public opposition.  
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#### 47 **4. English language policy in Indonesia**

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51 In 2006, the Indonesian MONE published a new educational policy for secondary schools. Like  
52 the policies we note earlier in other South-East Asian nations the policy was designed to include  
53 English as the medium of instruction in Science and Mathematics classrooms. It was to be  
54 achieved by re-designating selected schools as International Standard Schools. (Act of  
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3 Republic of Indonesia No. 20 Year 2003 on National Education System, Article 50, clause 3).  
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5 Following the design of the policy, the government nominated hundreds of top public schools  
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7 to be developed as international schools (Sakhiyya, 2011; Sundusiyah, 2011).  
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12 The International Standard Schools were to meet the broad goals of preparing Indonesia for the  
13  
14 migration of professionals from Indonesia and also into the country. In this way, Indonesia  
15  
16 would become more competitive in the international job market and an attractive destination  
17  
18 for foreign-owned companies operating in Indonesia. English plays a major role in the  
19  
20 country's economic development (Depdiknas, 2009; Hadisantosa, 2010; Hartoyo, 2009). The  
21  
22 tourism industry, in particular, is a major contributor to the country's gross domestic product  
23  
24 (GDP) by creating foreign exchange earnings and employment opportunities for Indonesians.  
25  
26 This contribution to employment in particular is not to be understated. Nearly nine percent of  
27  
28 Indonesia's total national workforce is employed in the tourism sector  
29  
30 ([www.indonesia.investments](http://www.indonesia.investments)), a sector requiring English language competency (Mahditama,  
31  
32 2012).  
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40 Similarly, the education sector in Indonesia views the English language as a tool for the  
41  
42 development and dissemination of information and communication technology and science.  
43  
44 English competencies are considered essential for students to keep up with the latest  
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 processes that complied with the international standards of developed countries (MONE, 2011;  
53  
54 Permendiknas, 2009). In 2006, when the policy was introduced, there were 1,305 Pioneer  
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56 International Standard Schools in Indonesia; 239 were primary schools. There were 356 junior  
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3 high schools, 359 senior high schools, and 351 vocational high schools (Sukarelawati, 2012).  
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5 Students who attended these schools were chosen on the basis of their school enrolment test,  
6  
7 including an English language test. As a consequence of this enrolment criterion and the  
8  
9 additional resources, the schools are widely regarded as elite schools (Retmono, 2011).  
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15 However, there was controversy over the use of English in Mathematics and Science subjects  
16  
17 in the Pioneer International Standard Schools—especially over the quality of the English-  
18  
19 medium instruction and the lack of bilingual teachers, but most notably because Mathematics  
20  
21 and Science teachers with little or no English competency were expected to teach their subjects  
22  
23 in that language (Indradno, 2011; Sundusiyah, 2011). In addition, the schools were criticised  
24  
25 for reducing the use of the Indonesian language (Retmono, 2011). By 2013, the mounting  
26  
27 criticism and the obvious failure of the policy at classroom level led to the decree of *Mahkamah*  
28  
29 *Konstitusi*, the Indonesian Constitutional Court (Sumintono, 2013, January 11). This stipulated  
30  
31 that the Pioneer International Standard Schools must return to their original status as regular  
32  
33 schools. It required the withdrawal of English-medium instruction from the school. Since then,  
34  
35 English is no longer used as the medium of instruction to teach content subjects. It remains a  
36  
37 separate subject as it has been since Indonesian Independence in 1945 (Lie, 2007).  
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45 The withdrawal of the policy appears a failure. English-medium instruction was promoted  
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47 throughout the country as an important innovation and something that would contribute  
48  
49 significantly towards Indonesia's emergence as a global player (Coleman, 2009). Indeed the  
50  
51 government initially promoted the policy in these terms. According to MONE (2005, 2009)  
52  
53 and DGPSEM (2007a, 2007b) the schools were to provide education with national and  
54  
55 international standards that would enable graduates to compete internationally to a level higher  
56  
57 than, if not equal to, those in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development  
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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 a misalignment between teachers' attitudes towards the English language and the  
8  
9 government's expectations.  
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## 15 **5. The study**

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20 The study (Author 1, 2015) of the English language programme at a public senior high school  
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22 was undertaken in 2012, one year before the policy was rescinded, so at a time when the  
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24 problems had become obvious. Ethnographic methods were used to collect the data because,  
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26 they allow, "the researcher [to rely] on the participants' views as an insider emic perspective  
27  
28 and reports them in verbatim quotes, and then synthesizes the data filtering it through the  
29  
30 researchers' etic scientific perspective to develop an overall cultural interpretation. This  
31  
32 cultural interpretation is a description of the group and themes related to the theoretical  
33  
34 concepts being explored in the study" (Creswell, 2013, p. 92). The collection of the teachers'  
35  
36 views in this way has enabled us use these views to illustrate our argument about why the  
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38 policy was withdrawn.  
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45 The school was located in a large city in Central Java with a predominantly Javanese  
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47 population. The researcher shadowed five teachers of Geography, Biology, Mathematics,  
48  
49 Chemistry, and Information Communication Technology (ICT) in their classrooms over two  
50  
51 months. Each of the five had a bachelor degree majoring in the respective content subjects.  
52  
53 They had studied English as a compulsory subject at high school and at university where  
54  
55 English was taught only in one to two semesters. Significantly, none of the teachers had  
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57 experienced special training in English-medium instruction at university. After the school  
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3 where they worked was designated a Pioneer International Standard School in the academic  
4 year of 2009/2010, both the Maths and Science teachers were directed by school executives to  
5 take short English professional development courses. These were conducted either by local  
6 government officials or the school.  
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14 Data were collected in a variety of ways and were extensive. Collection included whole-school  
15 observations, participatory observation where the researcher sat in the classroom for lengthy  
16 periods, field notes, in-depth interviews, reviewing school documents, and audio-video  
17 recordings of classroom activities. In addition, informal conversations were held during and  
18 after the school hours. These multiple sources of data collection. It meant that the researcher  
19 had the opportunity to immerse herself in the school and to conduct whole-school observations  
20 and classroom observations that enriched the interviews with the teachers (Palmer, 2011, p.  
21 109).  
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35 These interviews were a revealing source of material about the English language policy. Each  
36 teacher was interviewed several times and the discussions were in-depth and free-ranging. The  
37 teachers were encouraged to speak freely and all were happy to do so. They spoke about their  
38 family's background, friends, and social networks before turning to describe the languages they  
39 used in their daily and teaching lives. They describes how they used Javanese, Indonesian, and  
40 English in daily interactions, any connection with English communities of practice, and broader  
41 professional matters concerning their teaching goals and education in general. However the  
42 main topic of each interview was their experiences in teaching their content subject using  
43 English. The researcher asked about their perceptions, opinions, views, feelings, and attitudes  
44 toward English-medium instruction in their classes and to using English the school more  
45 widely. They were asked in English first to test their level of understanding and communication  
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3 in the language. Significantly, all five teachers preferred using either Indonesian or Javanese.  
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5 This gave them the freedom to explore the nuances and ambiguities that arise when people  
6  
7 speak of their experiences. The findings are categorised according to: classroom practice, the  
8  
9 teacher, and cultural identity.  
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### 14 *Classroom practice*

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19 One finding was the frequency of code-switching practices, rather than the use of English only.  
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21 The teachers alternated between Indonesian and English throughout the lesson to encourage  
22  
23 students to focus on the content and to be more responsive by asking questions and contributing  
24  
25 ideas. The Maths and Geography teachers said that including Indonesian helped their students  
26  
27 understand what was being said.  
28  
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31  
32 Perhaps not all students will understand my explanation if I speak in English all the time.

33  
34 So, I have to do like that, translating. I used to mixing, Indonesian mixed with English.

35  
36 They want me not to use much English in my lesson. (Author 1, 2015, p. 78)  
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43 The teachers frequently translated the English they used. An example from a Biology class  
44  
45 where the students were learning about the skeleton showed how the need to translate scientific  
46  
47 terms had the effect of reducing a lesson to a translation class where terms were constantly  
48  
49 repeated rather than it being a lesson about biological concepts and content.  
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55 The teachers frequently switched from English into Indonesian to save face when their  
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57 linguistic competence failed them. The Biology teacher said that his limited English meant that  
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3 he used it only to introduce students to Biology terms and to greet students and check the roll.  
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5 The Maths teacher said that she did not dare to say some numbers in English because she was  
6  
7 not sure how to pronounce them. The ICT teacher did not use English at all, not a single word,  
8  
9 saying his vocabulary and grammar were not good enough. He spoke of “not having the nerve”  
10  
11 (Author 1, 2015, p. 56) to teach in English adding that he felt both hesitant and frightened.  
12  
13 However, he did ask his students to speak in English when presenting their group discussion  
14  
15 work, and interestingly, they did.  
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23 The researcher observed four students presenting their group discussion with PowerPoint  
24  
25 presentations in English. They even answered their friends’ questions in English. Despite some  
26  
27 grammatical mistakes and inappropriate word choice, this group’s effort to speak in English  
28  
29 was commendable, given the difficult nature of the topic *wireless and wireline*. Why did they  
30  
31 use English when their teacher did not? Perhaps they were motivated by a mixture of their  
32  
33 teacher’s encouragement and by the extra marks for those who used either spoken or written  
34  
35 English. The fact that the students prepared their slides prior to class also helped. A similar  
36  
37 negotiation between teacher and students occurred in the Chemistry class. Initially the students  
38  
39 were required to use English. However the teachers allowed them to speak in Indonesian to  
40  
41 present the results of their group discussion. The students had not prepared them previously so  
42  
43 these involved stuttering and stumbling. The teacher was aware of the anxiety this created,  
44  
45 hence her decision to allow the students to use Indonesian. This teacher, like the others, were  
46  
47 more concerned with their students’ understanding of the lesson content and of maintaining  
48  
49 their motivation. Using English was secondary to these pedagogical priorities. What the  
50  
51 researcher found was that these were normal subject lessons in Indonesian with the annoying  
52  
53 imposition of English foisted on the teachers from outside.  
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6 The teachers in the programme were subject specialists, not English language users. The result  
7  
8 was to be expected; a mixture of noticeable inaccuracies in grammar, word choice, and  
9  
10 pronunciation. Often they were unaware of these errors, or they knew they made errors but did  
11  
12 not know when they were correct and when they were not. Several of the teachers said that it  
13  
14 was fine for them to make mistakes because they were still learning English, mentioning that  
15  
16 the students did seem to understand. However, there are a number of problems with this. In the  
17  
18 context of second language acquisition, errors or mistakes in using a foreign language without  
19  
20 any corrective feedback are likely to result in the errors becoming fixed by the teacher (Ellis,  
21  
22 2008; Fidler, 2006; Gass & Selinker, 2008). Students might consider the language their  
23  
24 teachers used was accurate and adopt this language use, leading to further confusion. The input  
25  
26 into students' language from their teachers' use is their students' language input has a  
27  
28 determining function in language acquisition (Ellis, 2008). According to Astika and Wahyana  
29  
30 (2010), Indonesian students should be exposed to correct English (p. 19). Inaccurate teacher  
31  
32 modelling will lead to incorrect grammar, pronunciation and word choice by the students. The  
33  
34 subject teachers in the study did in fact have an important role as language models for their  
35  
36 students but were unaware of the significance of this. In addition to the problems specific to  
37  
38 language, there are also implications for the subjects being taught. When the teacher uses words  
39  
40 incorrectly, the meaning of the concepts being taught is also compromised.  
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### 51 *The teachers*

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3 Given these problems it is not surprising that the teachers found using English not only difficult  
4 and a source of anxiety, but also time-consuming. They all said that teaching in English took  
5 double the time as teaching in Indonesian.  
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11 According to the Chemistry teacher:  
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17 If I teach in English, it means double working because I must translate into Indonesian  
18 to make sure my students understand my explanation. It's faster to explain using  
19 Indonesian.  
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28 The Maths teacher agreed:  
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34 My students need longer time to understand my explanation if I used English, compared  
35 to when I used Indonesian. They did not comprehend a lesson easily when delivered in  
36 English. Sometimes they asked me, mam, what is it in Indonesian, so I had to explain it  
37 again in Indonesian. It takes longer time and takes my energy.  
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47 Repeating the content knowledge firstly in English then in Indonesian took much of the time  
48 allocated to the lesson, reducing the time for the actual lesson itself.  
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55 The effect of the policy of the teachers' profesional wellbeing was considerable with all those  
56 interviewed saying that having to use English-medium instruction made them anxious in  
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3 relation to their own work and envious of their colleagues who did not need to use English. It  
4  
5 reduced their confidence and produced a very real sense of carrying an impossible burden. The  
6  
7 burden was two-fold. Not only did they have to learn English themselves but they had to learn  
8  
9 how to teach their subjects in this unfamiliar language. It was not surprising that they thought  
10  
11 the English-medium policy was unattainable. Two of the older teachers, both highly  
12  
13 experienced in their subjects, said it was too late to learn English at their age.  
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17  
18 Students are smarter. They take English private courses after school. And they are still  
19  
20 young. They easily learn a foreign language, whereas I have many things to take care of.  
21  
22 So, it's difficult for me to learn English.  
23  
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25  
26 He added that learning English meant making a considerable "personal sacrifice."  
27

28  
29 If I always focus on learning English at all times, my other tasks and responsibility as a  
30  
31 teacher, a father, and in my community will be in a mess. English comes to me very late.  
32  
33 I am above 50 [years old] now, so when can I study English? I do not have time [to study  
34  
35 English].  
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42 Not surprisingly, he compared his predicament to that of the teachers who were not required  
43  
44 to teach using English:  
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47 Ask the teachers who teach English subject to teach Biology. I am sure they cannot do it.  
48  
49 So, what I mean is just teaching as usual. Do not make teachers afraid by asking us to  
50  
51 teach in English. Yes, many colleagues are afraid of teaching in English. Many of them  
52  
53 got stressed complaining their difficulties and inabilities speaking in English. Students,  
54  
55 too. Actually both teachers and students complain.  
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### *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



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3 were no English equivalents available to him with his lack of English proficiency for certain  
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5 Javanese or Indonesian words, certainly none that enabled him to express nuances and  
6  
7 complexities of meaning.  
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14 The teachers discussed the matter of language and identity with one noting that using English  
15  
16 in teaching could cause trouble because it was not the language of the nation. It did not show  
17  
18 his Indonesian identity. Given that “language is an index, symbol and marker of identity”  
19  
20 (Baker, 2011, p. 45) this teacher’s comment that being an Indonesian meant using the  
21  
22 Indonesian language as the symbol of Indonesian national identity made sense for him and for  
23  
24 the others.  
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29 One of the older, experienced teachers was doubtful about the benefits of English in Indonesia:  
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32 Where are we taking our students to? To what direction? Why do we have to use English?  
33  
34 If they continue their study in universities in Indonesia, we do not need to insist teaching  
35  
36 in English. If students plan to continue to study abroad, English is a must. But, if they  
37  
38 study at universities in Indonesia, our time to study English can be used to study  
39  
40 additional subject content.  
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48 Other teachers spoke of Indonesian as the country’s national language. They saw the school as  
49  
50 a state institution and Indonesian as the official and national language. The comment, “We  
51  
52 have our own language” or similar phrases were used frequently.  
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3 The teachers' comments provided insights into how English was regarded. There was concern  
4 expressed that colleagues might regard teachers who spoke English as strange as it seemed  
5 inappropriate to use English among people of Indonesian nationality.  
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11 If I initiated to speak English, I might be laughed at. They [my colleagues] would think  
12 I was like pretending as if I were an English native speaker and acting as if I were a  
13 Westerner [Javanese: *halah sok keinggris-inggrisan*]. If they don't like, they will talk  
14 behind our back. Actually I can ignore them. It doesn't matter they call me acting like  
15 Westerners [*keinggris-inggrisan*]. But I don't feel comfortable with such a comment. I  
16 should know my position. I am glad if I am addressed in English or asked to chat in  
17 English [by my colleagues] as long as it is not my own initiative because I am not an  
18 English subject teacher.  
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33 *Halah, sok keinggris-inggrisan* (it is like imitating Westerners) is to be avoided, or so this  
34 teacher implies. Others too, were concerned that if they practised English they might be  
35 considered "different" people. This contributed to their reluctance to practise English. The use  
36 of conversational English by mainly young teachers tended to elicit defensiveness from the  
37 mainly older teachers who could not speak, or who had limited, English. Negative comments  
38 would be made, for example, "*Halah sok keinggris-inggrisan*" (imitating Westerners by  
39 speaking English) to teachers who practised English at school, perhaps even seen as boastful.  
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53 Sometimes when some teachers spoke English as a kind of practice at school, some  
54 colleagues might label them *kemlinthi* [acting up so proudly]. This expression is not  
55 directly addressed to teachers who spoke English, but it was said to other teachers. And  
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3 eventually teachers who spoke English would know that their colleagues have a negative  
4  
5 opinion about them because they practised English. This may be part of our culture. We  
6  
7 sometimes view someone who has skills beyond ours and uses the skills in everyday  
8  
9 practices where not all people can acquire these skills as a person who was kemlinthi.  
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16 The tendency to criticise, or the fear of criticism, for those who spoke English did have a  
17  
18 discouraging effect. A revealing comment from one of the teachers showed that he stopped  
19  
20 using English so that he would not appear boastful.  
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24 I myself admitted that I became lack of using English. Because if I insisted on using  
25  
26 English, my colleagues would think I am “looking for a face”. (Kalau saya bertahan  
27  
28 nanti saya dikira nggolek rai [Indonesian mixed with Javanese utterances]).  
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32 *Nggolek rai* is a Javanese idiomatic expression that means expecting other people to  
33  
34 compliment you. It has been translated literally in English above as “looking for a face” to  
35  
36 capture the idiomatic nuance. The good opinion of his colleagues mattered to this teacher. He  
37  
38 did not want his colleagues to label him *nggolek rai*, someone who sought compliments from  
39  
40 those in charge.  
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## 47 **6. Conclusion**

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50 We have identified two main reasons<sup>1</sup> why the English as a medium of instruction and  
51  
52 communication policy was withdrawn. These reasons operate at different levels. The teachers  
53  
54 could not implement it for all the reasons we identify in the description of the study above.  
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56 They did not speak English, the professional development courses were totally inadequate, and  
57  
58 they did not believe in the policy the way those who initiated and designed the policy did.  
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3 However, these problems were at the phenomonal level and are all open to remediation. What  
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5 is of interest to us is at the deeper level and led to the argument developed in this paper.  
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11 Given the commitment of Indonesia (its government and middle-class) to the country's global  
12 economic strategy and the importance of English language in this strategy, why was a policy  
13 designed to develop English language users withdrawn. The fact that Indonesia is not alone in  
14 withdrawng or modifying these suggested that a sociological explanation was required. The  
15 explanation could not be found in the empirical material, although the study's findings did  
16 enable us to *identify* the problem at a phenomonal level and also enabled us to *illustrate* how  
17 the problem was experienced in the teachers' practice.  
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32 The sociological concept of *imaginary significations* provided the tool with which to  
33 understand the tension between a language's two roles in the ways a society sees itself (its self-  
34 representation or *imaginary*) and in the way it shares that collective consciousness, that is, the  
35 use of signifiers). In Indonesia the balance between two main imaginary significations; those  
36 deep self-representations of *who we are*, the collective identity on the one hand and the idea of  
37 *who we will be* was out of alignment. The government saw the role of the English language in  
38 terms of its economic ambitions. Indonesia was to enter the global economy, specifically the  
39 global knowledge economy, and the education system was to provide the human resources to  
40 enable this. The teachers, however, understood the education system that they were committed  
41 to, as the means to reproduce children into Indonesia, into the nation. For them, the language  
42 *is* the nation. Therefore, we argue that the policy's withdrawal was the result of the tension  
43 between these two opposing *imaginary significations* about what a national language means  
44 for the people who use it in education.  
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27  
28 <sup>1</sup> We thank one of the reviewers of this paper for reminding us that there are other possible reasons for the  
29 withdrawal of the school EMI policy. These include the policy's role in the creation of elite state schools,  
30 abandoned as a result of parental complaints that it was discriminatory and redirected resources away from the  
31 poorer sectors. Our focus on the implementation difficulties experienced by the teachers should not be taken as  
32 excluding these other reasons.  
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## Article Ready

3 messages

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**Carrick, Jacqueline** <[Jacqueline.Carrick@taylorandfrancis.com](mailto: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](mailto: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

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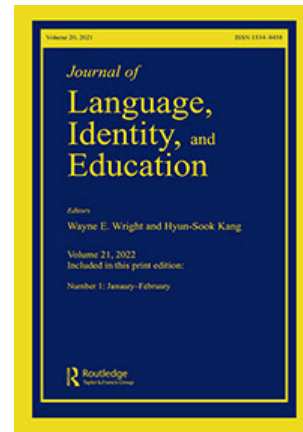
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