ENGLISH AND IDENTITY IN MULTICULTURAL CONTEXTS: ISSUES, CHALLENGES, AND OPPORTUNITIES

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Abstract: The increasing dominance of English has brought implications in language policy and the teaching of English in the multicultural Indonesia. A high power language such as English is taught in schools as a language of modern communication, while the national language is regarded as a force of unifying the nation and local languages as carriers of 'tradition' or 'historical' identity. Within that context, this article focuses on the increased use of English among an emerging group of young and adolescent learners and their possible identity transformation. This article examines the issues, challenges, and opportunities in English language learning and identity transformation in the multicultural context of Indonesia. A description of the multicultural context and linguistic diversity is presented to understand the language policy and its implications in the functions and degrees of the national language Indonesian, local languages, and English in Indonesia. Issues in the spread of English are explored to understand the challenges and opportunities in transforming cultural identity and achieving performance standards in English.

Keywords: language policy, multilingual context, young and adolescent learners, identity transformation

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.15639/teflinjournal.v28i1/71-92

Issues in English language learning and identity transformation have received more attention recently especially as the spread of English has never been faster and the influence has never been stronger than it is now. In addition to the

exoglossic language policy adopted by some countries to use English as their official language, English is regarded to have such political power, privilege and social prestige that many other countries opt to include English in their school curricula. Furthermore, the dominance of English in the internet accelerates its use among the young people. The overwhelming spread of English ingrained in wider unequal power relations has led to some concerns of language shift and loss (May, Hill, & Tiakiwai, 2004). The phenomena of the pervasive use of English in multicultural contexts and the impact on language attrition or shift in the lingua franca are worth studying and should be taken into consideration in making language policy and developing curriculum.

A high power language such as English is promoted as a language of modern communication, while the national language is regarded as a force of unifying the nation and local languages as carriers of 'tradition' or 'historical' identity. In Indonesia, English has been taught as a foreign language in the formal curriculum in Grades 7 through 12 as well as at the university level. Many private schools have added English in their curriculum as early as pre-Kindergarten. Furthermore, English-medium formal schools and after-school English courses have been flourishing and attracting children of middle class families. Yet, the majority of Indonesians do not demonstrate an adequate command of English. This article, however, will not discuss whether the teaching of English has or has not achieved the goal of English proficiency among the general population. Instead, this article will focus on the increased use of English among an emerging group of young and adolescent learners and their possible identity transformation.

The increasing dominance of English has brought implications in cultural identity transformation among its users. Hall (1997, p. 9) indicates that "as people who belong to the same culture must share a broadly similar conceptual map, so they must also share the same way of interpreting the signs of a language, for only in this way can meanings be effectively exchanged between people." The relationship between language learning and cultural identity formation works both ways (Cairney, 2009; Norton, 2012). The young Indonesians are experiencing the massive Western influence through its popular culture and socio-cultural icons. English has gained an increasing popularity to be used as a language of prestige particularly among the young middle class. The urban young people's preference is to use English, which has gradually replaced the national or local languages as their language of communication as their love of the language is infectious through the help of internet-based communication

channels including the chat applications, social media, podcasts, video conferences, and massive open online courses (MOOC). The prevailing use of English has in some ways changed young people's behaviors, perceptions of themselves, and preferred ways of expressing themselves (Lie, 2017).

This article examines the issues, challenges, and opportunities in English language learning and identity transformation in the multicultural contexts. A description of the multicultural context and linguistic diversity is presented to understand the language policy and its implications in the functions and degrees of the national language Indonesian, local languages, and English in Indonesia. Language policy is also apparent in the design, development, and implementation of the national curriculum while the socio-cultural forces affect the gradual shift in language uses among different communities. Following the description of the context, issues in the spread of English are discussed to understand the two interrelated challenges and to explore opportunities in the future of English language learning in Indonesia.

MULTICULTURAL CONTEXT AND LANGUAGE POLICY IN INDONESIA

Indonesia is a multilingual country with more than 700 languages spoken over about 17,000 islands in Indonesia. The Founding Fathers decided that the Indonesian language serves as a unifying role in the country while local languages are a remarkable wealth of this nation. As a matter of fact, long before political independence in 1945, the 1928 Youth Pledge stated the youth's belief and commitment to One Nation, One People, One Language: Indonesia. The endoglossic national language policy was readily accepted as a symbol of the movement for political independence as well as a vehicle to unify the diverse ethnic groups. One of the most important factors in its acceptance was its role as a unifying language, giving Indonesians a sense of identity and accelerating the building of a nation-state. Anwar (1980) contends that national unity bonded by one national language has been strong. Paauw (2009, p. 5) states that

> "the potential danger of ethnic divisions and conflicts occurring in such a large and diverse nation made it essential to bring the nation together through a shared sense of nationhood, and the Indonesian language was both the symbol and the vehicle of that unity."

This sense of unity is continuously nurtured through the use of Indonesian as the official language of education and the medium of instruction in schools as stipulated by Article 33 of National Education System Law No. 20/2003.

Policies in the area of education also concern the use of languages in schools while the implementation of these policies is also subject to the multicultural context in each region. Indonesian is the language of instruction from primary school through university throughout the country. In addition to designating Indonesian as the official language, Article 33 of the National Education System Law No. 20/2003 also allows the use of local languages in the early years of instruction if necessary and the use of a foreign language in schools. The aim of preserving local languages through formal schooling is not readily achieved due to the linguistic diversity among students in schools and the shortage of teachers from indigenous populations. Industrialization in Indonesia has caused prevalent human migration in many parts of the country and thus students in many schools may not share the same local languages. Most Indonesians are bilingual or multilingual—speaking Indonesian and at least one local language. The constructive role of mother tongue in education as suggested by additive bilingualism (Cummins, 1981) has never been significantly considered as part of teacher preparation discourse and thus teachers are not adequately prepared to teach students from different linguistic backgrounds.

Mastery of Indonesian language is assumed to be a prerequisite in school enrolment. Outside schools, mastery of the national language throughout the country is expedited by the mass media especially television. From the initial programming, which began in 1964, until 1988, all television programming was in the Indonesian language (Paauw, 2009). Currently, local television and radio stations air a few programs in the local vernaculars, but programs in Indonesian by national channels are still dominant and serve as an effective instrument to promote mastery of Indonesian.

After the political and economic turbulence of 1998, Wright (2004) reported that the unity of Indonesia was still supported by most Indonesians but found its domains of use had been invaded by the pressures of global English and she predicted that Indonesian language had reached its peak. For the past two decades, English has gradually pervaded many areas of life in Indonesia amidst the inconsistent language policy. English is used as a foreign language in Indonesia and taught at least from junior high school upward. Elementary schools may choose to include English as part of the local content or extra curriculum. This curriculum policy has put approximately 94 million people as

learners of English in view of the fact that people under 20 years old comprise 37% of the total Indonesian population of over 255 million (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017). The spread of English in Indonesia was reviewed based on the various definitions of bilingualism and on the theoretical framework underlying the establishment of bilingualism (Margana, 2015). She further advocates that the establishment of English-Indonesian bilinguals is urgent in Indonesia.

The policy on the use of English has not always been consistent, neither in the education sector nor outside schools. In 2000, the use of English was seen as a threat to Indonesian language and culture that foreign names attached to businesses—particularly in housing estates—had to be changed into Indonesian. Lauder (2008) notes that the use of English as an international language in Indonesia was ambivalent. Criticisms were launched against members of the elite Indonesians who code-mixed English into their daily use of Indonesian while the majority of people remained "handicapped" by their "less-than-adequate knowledge of English" (Lauder, 2008, p. 17). Huda (2000, p. 69) suggests that the government's reluctance to accord English as an official second language status leads to low attainment among English language learners. It is thought by some that the use of English as a medium of instruction would have a negative impact on Indonesian. Accordingly, achievement in English proficiency level has not been satisfying. My article in TEFLIN journal (Lie, 2007) describes the gap between the commitment to competence as promised in the 2004 Curriculum and the English classroom practices and notes that at that time very few high school graduates were able to communicate comfortably in English. When the use of English was restricted during the era when the internet was still not widely available, the language environment that supported the learning of English as a foreign language was limited to those "coming from the middle and upper socio-economic classes [who] have the easy access and opportunity to enhance their English proficiency beyond that of their peer level through other means such as private courses, computer-aided language instruction, and exposure through Western-influenced TV channels, foreign movies, and networks with expatriate communities" (Lie, 2007, p. 3).

The situation has changed since then. Between 2007 and 2009, the Indonesian government established approximately 170 RSBI (*Rintisan Sekolah Berstandar International* or Pioneer International Standards Schools) primary schools and 700 RSBI secondary schools across the country (Coleman, 2009). These schools received additional funding from the government and were allowed to charge extra fees. English is used as a medium of instruction in these

schools to teach mathematics, science and core vocational subjects. Teachers are expected to have an active mastery of English. The reality, however, indicates that there is still a wide gap between the goal and the implementation. A survey of 27,000 teachers in RSBI junior secondary, senior secondary and vocational secondary schools (Depdiknas, 2009) shows that more than half of all teachers and headteachers possess only a 'novice' proficiency level in English, scoring between 10 and 250 on a 990 point scale. While 45% of teachers and headteachers have an 'elementary' or 'intermediate' level of English, only 0.7% of teachers and 0.2% of headteachers have an 'advanced working' or 'general professional' level of proficiency in English. To make up for their shortcomings, a number of these schools hire native-speakers of English and other international speakers of English from the Philippines and India as teachers and consequently, charge even higher school fees.

In 2013, the Ministry of Education and Culture issued the 2013 Curriculum which reduced the hours of English language instruction from six to four hours a week in general high schools and to only two hours in vocational high schools while increasing Indonesian language from four to six hours a week. The rationale behind this change was to enable students to have a better mastery of the national language. The Indonesian Supreme Court issued a decree to dissolve all international standards public schools as a response to a judicial review suit against the legal ground of those schools—Article 50 of the National Education System Law No. 20/2003. International standards public schools were reported to engender class discrimination as only students from families with means could afford the tuition fees. The Supreme Court decree stipulates that public schools are not permitted to charge fees. This decree does not concern private schools because they do not receive funding from the government. A few private schools still continue to cater to students with means by providing instruction in English and label themselves as international schools. The international label has always been an effective marketing gimmick for middle-class parents in Indonesia.

The government then regulated the school labeling in December 2014 and determined four categories of schools: public schools, regular private schools, SPK (*satuan pendidikan kerjasama* or joint-cooperation schools), and international schools. The joint-cooperation schools use national curriculum as well as adapted curriculum from overseas while international schools can use only international curriculum but are restricted to accept only expatriate students and teachers. This restriction would shrink the international schools because the

majority of their student body are, as a matter of fact, Indonesians. Therefore, the originally international schools too have registered themselves as joint-cooperation schools or SPK to compete with other schools for wealthy Indonesian students. Jakarta International School (JIS) and Surabaya International School (SIS) changed their names to Jakarta Intercultural School and Surabaya Intercultural School respectively. Currently, within the category of the joint-cooperation schools nationwide, there are 178 elementary schools, 157 junior high schools and 94 senior high schools (Direktorat Jendral Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah, 2016).

The joint-cooperation schools have to go through the school accreditation procedures and partake in the national exam. Indonesian students in those schools have to take Indonesian language, civics, and religion. This implies that the remaining subjects can be taught in English or any other foreign language. These joint-cooperation schools use either the International Baccalaureate (IB) Curriculum or Cambridge (Primary, Secondary, and IGCSE) Curriculum. Like the international standards schools, the joint-cooperation schools still face the challenges of finding teachers with an adequate command of English and using English as a language of communication in the school areas while attaining the proficiency standards. Despite these shortcomings, more young people in the big cities seem to speak English more comfortably now than described in my 2007 TEFLIN article.

In spite of the changing policies in the internationalization of education in Indonesia, English has always found its way as a language of prestige and power among the urban middle-class[1]. The closing of international standard schools did not stop the spread of English. The pressures of mastering English go hand in hand with the drive among the middle-class to push their children up the ladder of success in the globalized world. The urban middle-class parents believe that mastery of English would set their children ahead for the global competition. A mother of a bilingual seven-year-old Indonesian says, "Nowadays, English is used everywhere, in business, commerce, negotiation

[1] The ban on the use of English in businesses has been dismissed. English is often used as a tool for marketing segmentation. One residential area, for instance, sells different clusters for different market segments. The more expensive clusters are named Somerset, Fullerton, Raffles, Maxwell, Diamond Hill, and other English names while the less expensive ones are named *Alam Hijau*, *Taman Puspa Raya*, and *Bukit Bali*.

and many more. As parents [sic], I have to stay up to date and follow the trends. If my child can speak English, in the future I believe my child can have a good job and good future" (Prayitno & Lie, 2016). Currently, there is an emerging group of young and adolescent learners—between the ages of three to eighteen—who speak English on a wide range from broken English to near native speaker fluency and proficiency at their respective age groups. While Lauder (2008) found highly educated intellectuals' inability to articulate themselves in English, some of the young learners nowadays converse in English effortlessly with their peers as well as adult interlocutors. Occasionally, personal conversations between children who speak English fluently and their parents can be heard in public places in big cities in Indonesia. Part of the elite group, these emerging young speakers of English are products of either the international standards schools and joint-cooperation schools or the internet-based English language environment, or a combination of both.

Traditionally, learning English in primary and secondary (Grades 1 through 12) schools serves two purposes. First, students need to be prepared to read English texts in their college years. Second, competence in the English language is still used as a determining factor in securing a favorable position in the job market (Lie, 2007). As far as the general population is concerned, attainment in English proficiency has not changed much. Unlike the few privileged learners, as Lauder (2008) notes, the majority of Indonesians still do not demonstrate an adequate command of English. From the young and adolescent learners' perspectives, a new phenomenon has recently surfaced. The third purpose—as well as the mode—of learning English is to get connected to the world of online games, podcasts, social media, mobile applications, and learning management systems. A survey on language preference on social media among 513 respondents across Indonesia shows that 55.17% of respondents use only or mostly Indonesian in social media postings while 45.81% use English. When asked about languages they use regularly when communicating on social media, the survey reveals that people are more inclined to communicate in English over the local vernaculars. Reasons for posting in languages other than Indonesian include practicing the skills outside the classroom (44.05%), easier to express in a different language (39.18%), and friends speaking a language other than Indonesian (27.49%). The age distribution of respondents are 20.94% respondents aged 16-19, 40.12% aged 20-25, and 20.74% aged 26-29 (Arunarsilrakul, 2016).

The increasing dominance of English has also brought implications in cultural identity transformation among its users. The habit of mixing English vocabulary in Indonesian by members of the elite group, from politicians to celebrities, is developed to "foreground a modern identity" (Lowenberg, 1991, p. 136) and this code-mixing habit is increasingly imitated by others (Renandya, 2000, p. 116). My study (Lie, 2017) on the learning of Chinese as a heritage language by two multilingual teenagers finds that the two participants would rather use English than Chinese because "everything sounds better in English" and they can communicate with their peers in ways that are not comfortable or possible in Indonesian or Chinese.

Some individuals and institutions in Indonesia have long worried and regarded the spread of English as a threat to the use of Indonesian and invasion into Indonesian culture, values and behaviors. This threat has usually been portrayed as a linguistic imperialism and invasion of western "liberal values". This concern may have been the underlying reason for the closing of international standards schools and the reduction of English instructional hours in high schools in the 2013 Curriculum. Dardjowidjojo (2003, p. 50) advocates that it would be a mistake to limit the use of English as the argument that its increased use in society might detract from the development of the national language, Indonesian, is a false one. Garvin (1974, p. 72) categorizes the symbolic functions of language as the unifying function, the separatist function, the prestige function, and the participatory function. As a national language, Indonesian is characterized by its unifying and separatist functions. It managed to unify a nation of highly diverse ethnic groups and local languages as well as to separate this nation as a distinct entity from the neighboring countries. The language demonstrates its prestige function when indigenous people strive to use the language at the cost of their local languages in order to gain position and recognition by the wider society. Garvin (1974, p. 76) further defines the participatory function as the function "to facilitate participation in world-wide cultural developments" and points out that in the context of endoglossic official language, the participatory function will be secondary to the search for cultural identity as enclosed in the unifying and separatist functions of the language. In its role to unify a highly diverse nation and establish a strong cultural identity, Indonesian has been successful as a language of wider communication. Paauw (2009) is concerned that the success of Indonesian language is earned at the cost of Indonesia's participation in the political and economic development of

the international community and its delay in more rapid economic development within Indonesia.

Indonesia is facing the dilemma between maintaining its national language as well as its cultural identity and taking part in international development. Issues related to the inevitable spread of English and its implication in the reshaping of the cultural identity need to be addressed. More research studies need to be conducted to investigate the different functions of the national language and English as an international language in Indonesia, the language learning models, and the best practices in learning an international language while maintaining the national as well as local languages. Insights gained through these studies can be used as input in setting the direction and model of language planning and policy and in designing the best possible English language curriculum.

ISSUES IN THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH

Some people may wish to have the role of Indonesian strengthened in the region and in the world. Realistically, however, it will take a while before Indonesia secures enough economic growth and influence to gain the power needed for its language to be used as a lingua franca in the region. Meanwhile, English is essential for development. It is an international language accepted in most parts of the world. It is also the language of technology and science. Everybody should be given every opportunity to learn English. In regard to the lack of English proficiency in Indonesia, Lowenberg (1991) proposes that English should be regarded as an "additional" language or the official second language rather than merely as a "foreign" language. Lowenberg's suggestion was put into practice in certain elite communities and schools. For the past two decades, there have been a growing number of young and adolescent learners who speak English as a second language. Issues related to the inevitable spread of English and its implication in the reshaping of the cultural identity include the tension between nationalism or internationalism, the balance in achieving a mastery of both Indonesian and English equally, and the development of English used in Indonesia.

First, the dynamics between nationalism and internationalism is part of the discourse on the teaching of a foreign language in a country that has taken pride in the success of its national language as a unifying force in a highly multicultural and multilingual nation. For the general population, the strong role of

Indonesian language in the nation-state building process even before the Declaration of Independence in 1945 may have relinquished the urge to learn and master English until the era of open international communication as signified in such events as the Asian Free Trade Agreement (AFTA) and ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). As a result of their exposure to the international community, however, the elite group had felt the need for the internationalization of education and for a mastery of the twenty-first century competences and skills including English proficiency. Therefore, the establishment of the international standards schools and joint-cooperation schools have provided a channel for the drive to equip children with English language proficiency which would enable them to compete in the international community and adopt a modern identity. Parents are attracted to these schools mostly for the promises of English language proficiency and exposure to international partnerships.

By the same token, the emergence of bilingual schools which use English as the medium of instruction has led to fewer opportunities to speak the national language. English is mainly used as the medium of instruction especially for English, Sciences, and Mathematics. These three core subjects are predetermined by the curriculum and have been the main focus of many school stakeholders. Interestingly, parents are more concerned with their children's performance in these three subjects than in other Indonesian-related subjects, such as *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian Language), *Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial* (Social Studies), and *Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan* (Civics). In order to boost performance in English, some schools have decided to add extra hours for instructions in English and consequently, allocate minimal learning hours in those Indonesian-medium subjects. The English language environment established by the schools also limits the students' exposure to speak Indonesian outside class, such as during lunch and break time. Students are mostly found to use English, even in relaxed and fun situations, such as during recess. This phenomenon has led to the possibility that the language preference has gradually shifted from Indonesian to English. Consequently, there is a concern that adoption of English as the language of communication may lead to an erosion of the cultural values and heritage among the young Indonesians (Alwi, 2000). As a result, the unifying function of Indonesian language may be disrupted. Being a young nation still struggling with the issues of unity in diversity and the continuously negotiated sense of nationalism, Indonesia cannot afford any further disruption. If addressed seriously, calls to make English an official second language or international language as expressed by Lowenberg (1991) and Lauder

(2008) respectively may trigger contestation to put forward Arabic or Chinese for a similar status regardless of the fact that English remains the language of science and technology. Such contestations could easily be diverted to provoke emotional sentiments rather than rational argumentations. Yet, on the other hand, the people of Indonesia also need to equip themselves with at least a working command of English to access various knowledge resources—especially on the Internet—and to communicate with the international community.

Dardjowidjojo (2003) and Lauder (2008) argue that English language learning does not interfere with the role of Indonesian as the unifying force. Furthermore, they assert that the concerns about negative effects of foreign cultural influence are over-simplistic and based more on cultural chauvinism than a rational examination of the facts. On the other hand, referring the concerns to cultural chauvinism may also be neglecting sporadic cases of language attrition during the past decade. The dilemma of achieving a mastery of English to take part in international development and maintaining Indonesian national language as well as its cultural identity needs to be further studied and explored. Language shapes culture and is also shaped by culture. Complex variables are involved in the contestation between the first language and the second/foreign language.

The second issue relates to maintaining the balance in achieving mastery of both Indonesian and English equally. In regard to English proficiency attainment, the operation of the international standards and joint-cooperation schools has led to varied results. At best, students in such schools have the opportunities to develop bilingualism effectively and be prepared to exercise their global citizenship through their mastery of English while still maintaining their sense of being Indonesian. At worst, students in schools which actually may not have the capacity as international standards schools receive instructions delivered by teachers who do not demonstrate a working competence of English as found in the survey administered by the Ministry of National Education (Depdiknas, 2009). Consequently, teachers and students may have developed their creolized variant of English while also failing to communicate in Indonesian properly. To enhance the English proficiency attainment, English-only policy may not be an appropriate solution. In a study on Korean English instructors' perspectives and practices at a university English reading program, Ko (2008) cautions that English-only policy has three shortcomings: the possibility of developing an unnatural classroom atmosphere, teachers' lack of pro-

ficiency and students' lack of proficiency. Elsewhere, Ng (2014) reports the shift among speakers of Chinese to English and the fear that Chinese will erode further as more younger Chinese Singaporeans are more reluctant to learn the mother tongue due to the overwhelming presence of English. Of course, what is happening in Singapore is not to be used as a reference or comparison to the recent phenomena in Indonesia. Singapore and Indonesia do not share the same factors in terms of the demographics, history of the languages used, nation-state building processes, and education system. More studies need to be conducted on language attrition, shift, and loss as well as subtractive vs. additive bilingualism in specific areas with different variables.

The last issue is the development of English as an international language in Indonesia. Lauder (2008) puts forward the prospect of developing a specific variant of Indonesian English, like Singlish and Taglish. He questions "which variant (norm) of English is right for Indonesia?" (p. 15) and starts with the fact that Indonesian English is 'norm-dependent'. Referring to Kachru's three circle model, Lauder further explores the possibilities of the inner circle varieties—British, American, Australian English, and the outer circle varieties—Singaporean and Malaysian English to be adopted as references for Indonesia. At this moment, it is still not possible to pinpoint which variety of English is developing in Indonesia. While there are not enough native speakers of the inner circle to develop the British, American, or Australian English in Indonesia, the Singaporean and Malaysian English are considered less prestigious. It is also not viable currently for Indonesia to develop its own variety of English, the same way as in some other countries like Singapore, Philippines, and India. Simatupang (1999, pp. 66-69) points out that the variation in English spoken in Indonesia is due to the interferences from so many different mother tongues and local vernaculars that there is no single variant of English that can be observed in Indonesia. Countries which have used English with its participatory function to facilitate participation in the worldwide cultural developments need to deal with the second issue—adequate mastery of English—prior to the identification of its variety of English used. The type of English used in Indonesia is still not consistent enough to be identified as a distinct variety of English. The pressing issue for the majority of Indonesians currently is to achieve an adequate attainment of English and to demonstrate comprehensibility in English.

TRANSFORMING CULTURAL IDENTITY AND ACHIEVING PERFORMANCE STANDARDS IN ENGLISH: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Mastery of English has become a prerequisite for access of information and technology, economy, culture, and other areas of development. The Ministry of Education and Culture has determined to set English as the official foreign language in the curriculum. This curriculum policy has put approximately 94 million people as learners of English because 37% of the 255 million Indonesian population are school/college-age individuals. In addition to the minimal four hours of English instruction, many high schools add more classroom hours and extracurricular hours in English. Many elementary schools in the cities also include English lessons in their school level curriculum. The current trend among the middle class in the big cities is choosing bilingual schools for their children. This entails challenges and opportunities in transformation of cultural identity and attainment of English proficiency.

The first challenge deals with the transformation of cultural identity. Recent phenomena of emerging English-Indonesian bilingualism among young and adolescent learners may raise concerns about issues of language attrition and cultural identity. These concerns are worth examining and addressing so as to shed light on the direction of the future of English language teaching in Indonesia. The first concern is the possible language attrition and diminished cultural identity among those Indonesian youngsters immersed in English instruction. The second concern is an inevitable divide among schools or students based on social classes. The situation may lead to a society where social stratification is based on linguistic differentiation.

Studies (Khatib & Ghamari, 2011; Lie, 2017; Norton, 2012; Oetomo, 1987) reveal that language has always played an important role in the formation and expression of identity, that language is among the identity markers, and that social identity can be constructed based on those identity markers. Both the learner's identity and his/her language knowledge are continuously constructed and reconstructed in the course of learning and using the language. One interesting issue in bilingual immigrant communities is the differences among generations in terms of language use and their constructed identities. My on-going research on the Indonesian-Americans' use of languages and their identity formation shows that the immigrant generation may see their identity as straightforwardly Indonesian, while their second generation children see

their identity as a combination of their Indonesian descent and the American culture of the country in which they were growing up.

Losing the first language when living in different countries is common, but losing the L1 in its home country is not. Maintaining the language also means maintaining the culture. Most of the studies about first language attrition were conducted among immigrants (Fillmore, 1991; Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992; Hulsen, 2000). Those studies highlighted how these immigrants lost first language and reshaped their cultural identity because of the language used among the majority. While further studies still need to be conducted to investigate cases of first language attrition occurring in Indonesia and the transformation of cultural identity, identity and linguistic/cultural affiliation are not fixed and absolute. Identity is constantly transformed by our relationships, our readings, our use of languages, our observations of social-cultural-political phenomena, and our whole-life experiences. Identity is dynamic, multiple, and fluid. As English is chosen to be a preferred language because it opens doors to educational and other life-improvement resources, our pride in being Indonesian and using the language is also built up by our enduring participation as citizens in the on-going nation-state building processes to nurture this third largest democracy in the world. As the influence of foreign cultures through the internet is inevitable, we can take advantage of the resources to enlarge our world-views and make our identity grow. Our daily interactions and activities will position us to be in constant transformation of our identity as citizens of the country and of the world and humanity. Mastery of a foreign language does not have to diminish our sense of cultural identity. It should provide a bridge to explore the wider world and reflect on our own identity with more mature perspectives. At the home and classroom levels, therefore, the roles of parents and teachers are crucial to teach both languages effectively and equip the young and adolescent learners with code-switching and code-mixing skills to enable them to participate constructively as citizens of the country and of the world.

The second challenge involves attainment of English proficiency. The low attainment of English proficiency may be related to the reluctance to deal with the first challenge of changing cultural identity. The concerns over possible language attrition and diminished cultural identity among Indonesian youngsters may have overshadowed the commitment to overhaul the teaching of English in Indonesia. The government's investment in the teaching of English has not always been consistent as revealed in the changing policies on the internationalization of education described in the previous section on the Multicultural

Context and Language Policy in Indonesia. Interestingly, even when the government's investment is not constant, English has always been regarded as a language of prestige and power among the urban middle-class. Regardless of the government's inconsistent investment in ELT, some parents willingly invest extra money and hours in their children's learning of English both in the more expensive schools which allocate extensive hours to English instruction including study tours to English-speaking countries and in after-school courses. This situation leads to a social gap between the privileged and the underprivileged schools or students. Therefore, the first challenge needs to be thoroughly addressed and studied so as to explore and find the right models of ELT in all schools. Paradigms and practices of additive bilingualism (Cummins, 1981; May, et al., 2004) should be incorporated in learning materials for pre-service and in-service teachers of English. When concerns about the possible diminished Indonesian cultural identity can be addressed, this hindrance to the government's investment in English language policy and practices in schools may be dismissed. Then, the government's commitment to providing quality English language teaching for all schools would ensure that opportunities to learn English effectively are open for all students, regardless of social class.

Since its independence in 1945, Indonesia has gone through a series of English curriculum changes and used different approaches ranging from Grammar Translation, Audio Lingual, Communicative Competence, Genre Approach, and back to Competency-Based (Dardjowidjojo, 2000; Lie, 2007). Historically, the main purpose of the English Curriculum was academic purposes. Students were prepared to be able to read English textbooks in college. Now that the international standards schools and joint-cooperation schools have been tried out, the purpose has expanded into the use of English as a language of communication with those outside Indonesia. The widespread use of the internet technology and communication, particularly by the young people, has enabled the achievement of this extended purpose. However, English performance among Indonesians is still considered low. In EF English Proficiency Index (EPI), Indonesia ranks 32, below Hong Kong at 30 and Vietnam at 31. According to the Proficiency Bands, this rank puts Indonesia at Low Proficiency, meaning the learners still have to progress to achieve the next moderate level—to participate in meetings in one's area of expertise, understand song lyrics, and write professional emails on familiar subjects (English First, 2017). While this EPI test is still questionable in terms of the content, types of assessed tasks, sampling method, and administration procedures, this index is the

only available reference with a considerable number of test-takers to compare countries where English is not a native language.

Madya (2007) proposes three levels of standards in the Cyclone English Curriculum Model aimed at providing every child the opportunity to learn according to their abilities, rates of learning, and situations with opportunities to move between standards. The instrumental standard intended for those who are highly advantaged expects learners to be able to communicate both orally and in written form, both receptively and productively, and both socially/professionally, and/or academically/ intellectually with a high level of fluency, accuracy, and appropriateness. The focus of the functional standard is on the development of a threshold level English communicative competence. With this level of competence, they are ready to function fairly well in English in daily life in the real world. The appreciative standard is intended for the disadvantaged students and aimed at arousing their appreciation for a foreign culture as reflected in their English learning.

In regard to the rights for education and quality education for all, distinguishing learners based on their abilities, resources, and learning environments may be considered undemocratic. In consideration of the complexity of English language teaching in Indonesia, however, the proposed English Curriculum model which covers three levels of standards may be realistically relevant to the highly-diverse student population and the geographical constraints inherent in this archipelago country. To improve the attainment of English Proficiency in Indonesia, teacher quality was often cited as a persistent handicap (Dardjowidjojo, 2000; Lie, 2006; Madya, 2007; Marcellino, 2008). The shortage of English native speakers and the low competence of local teachers of English led to the absence of appropriate language input for learners. While efforts to improve teacher quality all over Indonesia are still underway, English language teaching all over the world can now take advantage of new opportunities in the extensive availability of learning resources in the Internet. In schools and at homes, learners can tap into numerous on-line resources to complement or to substitute for what is missing in the English classrooms. Thus, teachers also need to be developed further and explore other roles such as learning manager and facilitator to be able to design and deliver e-learning or blended learning for more effective English language teaching.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

As our knowledge expands, we should willingly expand our identity. Reciprocally, as our identity expands, our knowledge of the world would certainly expand and enhance our capacity to benefit from the development of that world as well as to make more impact on the world. Learning and using another language provides us with a channel through which to discover ourselves. Language is a site of identity discovery and transformation. Learning that English distinguishes siblings only by the gender, brother and sister, should make an Indonesian (or any speaker of some other languages) appreciate the value of respect for the older members of the family and the value of care for the younger members as denoted in terms of address such as *kakak, adik, mbak, and mas.*

The role of educators is crucial here, because this discovery, this identity formation, sometimes can be confusing and conflicting with established values and norms. It takes a while for a Javanese-bred learner to address an older and/or high-status interlocutor as "you" because that form of address just violates the Javanese sense of politeness and propriety. Growth and transformation are never easy and comfortable. Periods of disequilibrium are necessary parts of the process to develop potentials. Out of this transformation, learners are expected to emerge as individuals with the capacity to understand themselves better, articulate their thoughts and feelings, engage themselves in meaningful interactions with people beyond their comfort zones, understand the differences in those people, and contribute to improving other people's lives.

As Mahatma Gandhi says "I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the culture of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any." Learning a foreign language is using the key to open the doors and windows. As nations are becoming trapped in their own sense of nationalism out of fear of the unknown and building walls to protect themselves from the unknown, language becomes a bridge to reach the unknown and understand hearts.

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