Recultured language in Indonesian English Language Teaching

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Abstract

While historically language and culture had been seen as separable, since Whorfianism they have commonly been viewed as intertwined. Today however, opposing political ideologies surprisingly work together to dissociate English language in ELT in Indonesia from its cultural background. They are the influence of globalist critical theory/political correctness which seeks not to oppressively impose Westernization, and the rise of nationalism, with its traditionalist education reemphasizing religion and the nation and disidentifying with Western values, fearing them a threat to local ones. The trend can be seen in the 2013 curriculum with its character-based curriculum, Indonesian teaching practice, and use of locally produced materials. Assessment using Purnell's cultural competence model of widely used locally produced textbooks, *Scaffolding* (2008), *Bright* (2014), and *Bahasa Inggris* (2014), shows English in Indonesian ELT being stripped of liberal Anglo-American Western culture and values and recultured with Indonesian. The varieties of Englishes coming out of the process, Indonesian English and Islamic English, are not threatening to local language and culture as some have feared English is. Recultured English seems to put ELT at the service of nationalism, something English teaching may be caught off guard by. TESOL may prepare by becoming aware of traditionalist approaches to education.

Keywords: nationalism, traditionalism, critical theory, political correctness, Islamic English

Introduction

The relation between language and culture has been a subject of reflection since Ancient times. In the *Meno*, Plato teaches geometry to a slave boy, words and ideas transcend class, age, and probably language and ethnicity. Plato believed in a timeless and eternal truth and that that truth could be communicated. While the Ancient Greeks rarely learned foreign languages (Green, 2013), Plato may none-the-less have disagreed with those

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who see certain words as untranslatable, for instance Arabic Islamic terms (Iqbal, 2012). The Platonic position is also found in Aristotle,

> spoken sounds are symbols of affections in the soul and written marks symbols of spoken sounds. And just as written marks are not the same for all men, neither are spoken sounds. But what these are in the first place signs of affections of the soul are the same for all; and what these affections are likenesses of actual things are also the same. (*De Interpretatione*, 16a3)

The contrary view is espoused by the Plato's interlocutor, Gorgias, that we see the world through a lens of language, presaging the views of "deconstructionists, post-moderns and neopragmatists" (Soupios, 2013, p.95). Gorgias's perspective is today identified with Whorfianism, an outlook often seen as emerging with the rise of ethnolinguistic nationalism in the German Romantic period. Wilhelm von Humboldt, a leader in the movement, saw language as an expression of the unique "spirit of a nation" (Trabant, 2000, p.34). "The diversity of languages is not a diversity of signs and sounds but a diversity of views of the world" (von Humboldt, 1903-1936, IV, p.27).

Medieval Muslim sociologist Ibn Khaldun held much the same. In Islamic doctrine, an angel dictated the *Quran* to Muhammad in Arabic (19 : 97), so for Ibn Khaldun, specifically the Arabic of the region of Mecca and Medina, the Quraysh dialect, is the most perfect and true language (Ch.VI : 45), and Islam can only truly be understood in Arabic. Therefore, of Muslims whose L1 is not Arabic, Ibn Khaldun writes, unless someone

> grow[s] up with Arabs before their (habit) of speaking a non-Arab language is firmly established…[that] person whose first language was not Arabic finds it harder than the (native) speaker of Arabic to acquire the [Islamic] sciences (Ch.VI:43).

Whorfianism can be stated in either a weak sense, "structural differences between language systems will, in general, be paralleled by nonlinguistic…differences… in the native speakers of the language" or a strong form, "the structure of anyone's native language strongly influences or fully determines the worldview he will acquire as he learns the language (Brown, 1976, p.158). Benjamin Whorf himself is commonly said to have subscribed to the weak version (Alford, 1980). Early evidence for the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that drew on Hopi color terminology and claimed experience of non-linear time has since been heavily criticized (Yuan, 2013). More recent potential empirical support for the hypothesis in variant

survey response depending on the language conducted in has however been interpreted varyingly: maybe there is a desire to conform to the norms of dominant language communities as opposed to worldviews shaped by Whorfianism (Harzing, 2002).

So while it is common to hear it said that language and culture are intertwined, in the absence of significant evidence supporting Whorfianism, the long established Ancient view should not be forgotten. Indeed, reservations are also held by major figures in the field such as Franz Boas (1911), Noam Chomsky (1973), or Steven Pinker (1994). Mixed positions are possible too, Jürgen Habermas (1970) suggests while there is an apparatus of constructed subjectivity that changes the objects it perceives, there is also a substratum of "semantic universals which precede all socialization" allowing pure communication without residue or distortion (1970).

How then should language be defined so that culture is related but also separable? Edward Sapir (1921) writes that "language does not exist apart from culture,…from the socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs" (p. 1). By comparison, Ronald Wardhaugh's (2013) understanding of language is purist, he calls language "a system of linguistic communication particular to a group; this includes spoken, written, and signed modes of communication…[for]…which to carry out its purposes" (p.2). Like language for Wardhaugh, Bronisław Malinowski (1960) sees culture as an integrated system for meeting needs, and notes, "there is nothing loose within a culture: it is all inter-connected" (Majumdar & Madan, 1956, p.28). Languages invariably change over time (Anthony, 2007), and new ones may be learned, but cultures and their trajectories tend to resist change (Kuran, 2008). Therefore, when new languages are introduced into a culture, they become co-opted for the functioning of the underlying material substratum and cultural superstructure, hence for Michael Halliday's (2014) systemic functional linguistics, culture is seen as informing the language system.

World Englishes are sorts of languacultures, a term coined by Michael Agar (2006). English language can be modularly joined with other cultures to form Indian English, Japanese English, Indonesian English, or even an Islamic English so that the language is repurposed and "recultured" to new local cultural contexts.

Ideologies of English: Critical Theory/Political Correctness in ELT

Critical theory/political correctness (CT/PC) has become "the dominant ideology of the West", all the major critiques of ELT in the past few decades have come out of the CT/PC movement (Waters, 2007, p.354). CT/PC approaches to ELT seek to expose the hegemonic power structures

of education and society and develop in its place local context-sensitive methodology (Waters, 2007).

Figure 1
Hallidayan model of language (Osinovskaya, 2011, p.8)
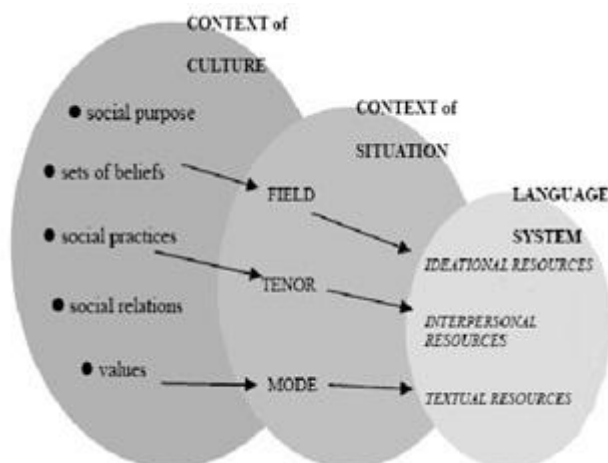
"Critical" derives from Ancient Greek κριτικός for "discern, reflect, and judge" (Kellner, 2003, p.2). Critique really enters the Western mind with Kant in 1781 when he wrote, "our age is, in every sense of the word, the age of criticism, and everything must submit to it" (A xi). Marx (1844) followed this line of thinking, calling for "a ruthless criticism of everything". Marx, of course, concluded it was institutions of class domination that are to blame for oppression. Post-structuralist thinking added to this by emphasizing, "groups and voices that have been suppressed … which includes engagement with class, gender, race, sexuality, and other important components of identity" (Kellner, 2003, p.6).

Critical TESOL theorist Alastair Pennycook's (1997) comments on Whorfianism saying, language is not "a neutral medium through which meanings pass" (p.257). Instead, "language use is determined by broader social and ideological relations and in turn reinforces those relations" (p.264), for English, including the discourses of colonialism (Pennycook, 2002). The result of critical theorists' work in TESOL has therefore been an effort to separate the English language, from its allegedly oppressive discourses and cultural background so as not to "thrust upon an unwitting student population…inappropriate…forms of Western culture and knowledge" (Pennycook, 1997, p.262).

CT/PC, of course, has not been without its critics. Some saw Edward Said's *Orientalism* which Pennycook draws on as "overly self-critical" (Ibn

Warraq, 2007, p. 246), and selling a simplistic "binary of Western wrongs and non-Western rights" (Zarnett, 2008, p.54). Pennycook's interpretation of colonial policies might be seen as a *catch-22* where if English education was implemented it was an example of linguistic imperialism, but if education in English was not provided then it was a conspiracy to keep the local population ignorant. Evans (2006) has compiled textual and statistical data to provide "a corrective to the claim that the British imposed English on their colonial subjects" and meanwhile that, "Hong Kong's education system provided opportunities for native students to attend purely Chinese schools, purely English schools or mixed-medium schools" (p.293).

The flaw with CT/PC in TESOL, according to Waters (2007), is it approaches everything with the same conceptual template; for example, Nunan (1999) advancing the idea that task-based learning is a defense against the oppressive teacher-centric classroom. Another is the assigning of native speakers as persecutors and non-native speakers as victims. Or an experimental Brazilian English class for 10 and 11-year-olds in Fabrício and Santos (2006) who are taught, above all, the "socio-cultural and political dimensions", an approach likely to contribute little to language acquisition (Waters, 2009, p.604).

CT/PC with its World Englishes, and pragmatism together with ELF, have often been presented as opposite positions in TESOL (Hamied, McBride & Holzman, 2017). Pennycook (1997) came to a sort of compromise position with his notion of "critical pragmatism" (p.256), and Canagarajah (2006) looked at how ELF and local Englishes might interact. However, both are progressive, and so are both opposites to traditionalism.

Contested Identity in the History and Legal Basis of ELT in Indonesia

English education in Indonesia might be traced back to about 1900 when it replaced French as a foreign language in the Dutch schooling system (Groeneboer, 1998). Following the Japanese surrender at the end of the Pacific War, Anglo-Dutch operations to re-establish colonial control were not locally popular and English becoming a future national language was hence out of the question (Mistar, 2005). Even still, Indonesia's first language policy theorist, Frits Wachendorff, advised English, not Dutch, be the first foreign language (Mistar, 2005). Robert Phillipson's (1998) *Linguistic Imperialism* spells out how both the US State Department and UK British Council advance their interests by promoting English; hence from 1953, the American Ford Foundation was laying the infrastructure for a future English education system (Lie, 2007). As the dictatorship period came to an end, the National Education System Law 2 of 1989 gave significant control of curricular implementation to local regions and schools (World data, 2011); in fact a radical move at the time, the education

department faced accusations of stoking separatist movements (Lie, 2007). A distinction between core and elective subjects is introduced into policy too (Bire, 2010), the unexpected result according to Lamb and Coleman (2008) is that rather than local languages, English was very often chosen as the local content so English education expanded, including into elementary curriculum despite not having been a core subject (Yulia, 2014).

The Rise of Nationalism in ELT

Lie (2007) finds that from the beginning of the new millennium, planners began to give consideration to "developing understanding of the interrelation of language and culture as well as cross-cultural understanding" (p.6). The National Education System Law 20 of 2003, Article 36 required "enhancement of faith and piety" (World data, 2011, p.11), and "the curriculum strongly emphasize[d] the teaching of subject matters that will inculcate the state ideology and beliefs (Pancasila) and develop in the students the spirit of nationalism, patriotism and unity" (World data, 2011, p.9). Development of character-based curriculum appears too from this time (Yulia, 2014).

Ethnolinguistic Nationalism

The early independence figures believed a national language would benefit their movement for the creation of an independent state (Lie, 2017a). They believed in the relationship between language and a nation (Paauw, 2009), so in 1928 Bahasa Indonesia was pledged as the national language (Lie, 2017a), linking Indonesian language with Indonesian nationalism (Idris, 2010). Indonesian language has been called a symbol of national pride, a symbol of national identity, a means for achieving unity, and a medium of national communication (Halim, 1976). Contrarily, Gordon (2005) reports that Indonesians do not typically express significant pride in Indonesian, seeing it as a simple language and not a core part of their identity.

Lauder (2008) suggests a kind of love-hate relationship or "language schizophrenia" exists as far as the Indonesian attitude towards English goes (p.14): on the one hand, its usefulness is appreciated, but on the other, English is seen as a threat to national culture and language, there is especially a fear of "western liberal values" (p.13). Lie (2017a) says the same, "this threat has usually been portrayed as linguistic imperialism and invasion of "Western liberal" values" (p.79). Alwasilah (1997) has written,"*cukup tangguhkah nasionalisme kita ini untuk berlaga melawan penetrasi dan imperialisme budaya liberal? ...menangkal budaya liberal*" (p.10). That is, (my translation) "is it enough for our nationalism to fight

against liberal cultural penetration and imperialism? …ward off liberal culture".

In 2000, place names such as housing estates were compelled to remove English (Lie, 2017a). In 2003, Government Regulation 20 permitted English together with Indonesian to be used in international standard schools but was then quickly redacted following mounting controversy (Rahmi, 2015). Efforts were made in 2009 to ban foreign languages from "business names, advertisements, and the print and electronic media" (Paauw, 2009). Indonesian language tests for foreign workers have been repeatedly proposed (Da Costa, 2015).

But Lie (2017a) believes that "English language learning does not interfere with the role of Indonesian as the unifying force….[T]he concerns about negative effects of foreign cultural influence are over-simplistic and based more on cultural chauvinism than a rational examination of the facts" (p.82). For Dardjowidjojo (2003) as well, the Indonesian government has taken an overly emotive attitude, and of English, "the argument that its increased use in society might detract from the development of the national language, Indonesian, is a false one" (p.50).

The Indonesian central authorities would ideally like to see English as a "tool (*alat*)" in service of the people and state (Lauder, 2008, p.12), with functions such as facilitating international communication, science, and technology. That is, an English stripped bare of its potentially threatening cultural baggage.

Ethnoreligious Nationalism

In the struggle against Dutch colonization, Indonesians drew on the power of the anti-Western force of Salafist/Wahhabist Islam (Brown 2003), and this Islamic anti-Western mentality continues to influence the formation of Indonesian identity. Ethnologist Fredrik Barth (1969) came to believe that ethnic identities are created oppositionally, in contradistinction against the other who lives across the border. In Indonesia, disidentification would mean "not merely the opposite of identification … [but] people reacting against things Dutch or Western and developing a so-called reactive or oppositional identity" (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007, p.1450).

Influential Indonesianist Cliford Geertz (1960) set a conception of Indonesian Islam as syncretic, an "Islamic superstructure erected atop a layer of Hindu belief that rests on a foundation of animistic folk religion" (Thomas, 1988, p.898). Menchik and Trost (2018) argue however that there never was a tolerant Muslim Indonesia; Geertz, they claim, long misrepresented the religion. In 2017, Anies Baswedan rode a wave of Islamist support to the Jakarta governorship, leaving the Chinese Christian incumbent imprisoned on religious charges for his comments on Sura 5:51

of the *Quran*. This has widely been seen by commentators as a harbinger of the end of tolerant Indonesian Islam and a slide towards an Islamic state (Otto & Rachman, 2017). Before his election as governor of Jakarta, Anies, as he is locally known, served as minister of education under the Joko Widodo Administration; he was important in implementing the K-2013 curriculum in response to what he called a crisis in Indonesian education (Baswedan, 2012). Prior to that, he was at North Illinois and John Hopkins University where he studied the prospects for political Islam in Indonesia under the mentorship of leftist ideologue Dwight Y. King (Indonesianist, 2015). While more affluent Indonesians are becoming increasingly secular, the larger dynamic, fueled by the frustration and poverty of the Muslim majority, is that Indonesia has "an increasingly pious electorate, (Baswedan, 2004, p.669). Baswedan (2004) predicts, "there will be more Islam-inspired laws and policies (similar to the National Education System Law [2003])" (p.690). Bryner's (2013) analysis seems to corroborate Anies, "Indonesia's engagement with the worldwide revival of Islam ignited…a multiplicity of revivalist efforts to Islamize Indonesia and Indonesians target political and socio-cultural reforms. These piety movements…depend heavily on education" (p.4).

The 2013 Curriculum (K-2013)

Indonesians have an expression, "*ganti menteri, ganti kurikulum*", meaning, "a new minister, a new curriculum". Some critics have wondered if there ever really was an educational crisis as Anies claimed or if that was part of how rushing in the new curriculum was justified (Widarsa, 2013). The groundwork for the 2013 curriculum changes began while Muhammad Nuh was the minister of education from 2011 under president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Anies succeded Nuh in 2014 under Jokowi, as the president is popularly known, and began implementation. It was feared by some that, "the curriculum overhaul [would] eliminate science and social studies as core subjects, emphasize religious education and relegate English language instruction to being an elective" (Kwok, 2013). There was indeed a shift in weight of subjects between the mid-90s curriculum and the 2013. Nationalist education and religion are increased to the detriment of other subjects.

The K-2013 is being called a character-based curriculum (Jazadi, 2016). This can be seen in the top level competencies for grade 10 English which run as follows (my translation),

1. Appreciate and practice religious teachings.
2. …Show an attitude of being part of the solution to various problems of the nation. Interact effectively with the

environment, both social and natural. Stand as a reflection of the nation in association of the world.

3. Understand and apply knowledge both factual, conceptual, and procedural in science, technology, art, culture, and humanities with humanitarian insight into nationality, state, and civilization-related phenomena and events, and applying to solve national problems. (Kurikulum SMA, Kelas X, 2013, p.65-67)

Excerpt 1
2013 Curriculum's matrix

Subject	Primary						Junior secondary		
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
Pancasila [Principles of the State's philosophy] education	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Religious education	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Indonesian language	10	10	10	8	8	8	6	6	6
Mathematics	10	10	10	8	8	8	6	6	6
Sciences	–	–	3	6	6	6	6	6	6
Social sciences	–	–	3	5	5	5	6	6	6
Handicraft and arts	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Health and sports	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
English language	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	4	4
Local content	2	2	4	5	7	7	6	6	6
Total weekly periods	30	30	38	40	42	42	42	42	42

Column heading for Primary/Junior secondary block: *Number of weekly periods in each grade*

Discipline		Subjects		Grade											
#	Name	#	Name	Primary school [16]						Middle school [17]			High school [18]		
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	Education	1	Religion			4					3			2	
		2	Pancasila and civics			6					2				
		3	Physical education							4				2	
		4	Home Economics		n/a						2				
2	Language (and literature)	1	Indonesian language			6								4	
		2	English language		n/a						4				
3	Natural sciences	1	Mathematics			6								4	
		2	Physics	n/a		1.5				2			n/a		
		3	Biology	n/a		1.5				2			n/a		
4	Social sciences	1	History	n/a						1			2		
		2	Geography	n/a						1			n/a		
		3	Economics	n/a						1			n/a		
5	Arts	1	Music							1					
		2	Painting							1					
		3	Skill							1			n/a		
		4	Dance							1			n/a		
6	N/A	1	*Peminatan Akademik*							n/a			2		
		2	*Kelompok Peminatan*							n/a			16		
			Total hour subjects			30					36			42		
			Total subjects			6				8		10		14		

Character-based Curriculum

One of the perceived failings of the previous 2006 curriculum was its lack of engagement with social phenomena (Ginanto, Mulyadin & Putra, 2013). In the project of developing a character-based curriculum, Nuh believed that "learners' moral development should be evident in every lesson plan of any subject no matter whether it is citizenship subject, religion subject or other subjects like Maths, English as a subject and Physical education" (Qoyyimah, 2015, p.4). 18 elements of character are identified as schools' responsibility to develop, naturally including: '*religius*' or religiosity, '*semangat Kebangsaan*' or patriotism, and *cinta*

tanah air' or nationalism (Kemendiknas, 2011 in Qoyyimah, 2015, p.6). Qoyyimah (2015) found that in schooling, "values of religiosity become very dominant" post-2000, "sampled schools and teachers tended to prioritize value of 'religiosity' in their schools' in their hidden curriculum and lesson plans" (p.7-9).

Jazadi (2016) gives a character-based take on a story in government produced textbook *Bahasa Inggris Kelas X Semester 1* in which a hired servant is living in a house with a successful business man and does kitchen work. Jazadi (2016) is critical of the story because in Islam he says, a woman should not be alone in a house with a man who is not her family. Jazadi desires schooling in Indonesia promote "religious values, culture, and nationality" (p.325). He laments what he sees as a failure of the government Center of Curriculum and Book Publication to properly integrate into materials the 18 character values.

Teaching Culture

Zacharias (2005) conducted a survey of Indonesian English teachers working in Java; 67% exclusively prefer international materials, only 7% exclusively prefer local (p.29). Teachers explain the international materials being authentic, error free, better looking, and more easily available as the reasons. One is quoted as saying,

> I think materials for skill courses should be taken from English-speaking countries because of the close link between language and culture. If we use materials from Indonesia then we will only present Indonesian culture. By using internationally-published materials students can be exposed to the culture of English-speaking people. If students don't know the culture behind English, they cannot use the language properly. (Zacharias, 2005, p.32)

When Yulia (2014) also investigated cultural content in teaching, looking at explicit teaching about cultural facts, pragmatics, and text/discourse analysis, teachers, she reports, tend heavily towards discourse analysis in culture teaching, missing nearly every opportunity to broach pragmatics, little-c culture such as hairstyles and cuisine, or big-C culture, that is values.

Adding to the trend, many native speaker language teachers have been purged. One major English teaching institute finds itself having lost over half of its native speaking teachers (*Govt told to relax*, 2015). The possibility of those teachers acting as cross-cultural ambassadors for Anglo-American culture is lost.

Materials Culture

Textbooks used in Indonesian schools are produced both by the Ministry of Education and by local private publishers to the specifications of the curriculum. Commonly used private, locally produced textbooks such as *Erlangga*, Asta's *Can do* and *Mandiri* books are available at the local book shop, for less than $5 USD. Munandar and Ulwiyah (2012) analyzed the cultural content of six locally produced high school English textbooks published in 2008. Methodologically they distinguished between appearances of little-c culture and big-C culture. They found "extensive use of local references" and also numerous examples of Western little-c culture in the textbooks they surveyed, but that there were "possible shortcomings… in the exploration of cultural contents", in that teaching of Western values was largely absent (p.72); as a result, any value of pragmatic intercultural competence, or cultural worth, was lost.
Lauder (2008) had written that,

> It is hard to see how in fact a language can be stripped of the cultural and social values that it encodes, not to mention the idea that English can somehow be rewritten in English textbooks for Indonesian school students so that the original cultural values are replaced by Indonesian ones, with the presumed hope that the consumers of such an English will never notice the difference. That might have held for the class of '67 or '75 or even of '85 but it is much less likely to go down with the class of 2006 which has access to films, videos and above all the internet. And even if it were possible to write English textbooks with no undesirable western values and only really desirable Indonesian ones, one wonders what the nature of such an English would be? (Lauder, 2008, p.11)

He continued,

> it is difficult to see how English can be stripped of the socio-cultural values that it encodes which seems to underlie efforts by educational planners to promote locally written English textbooks for schools and not give approval to any of the extremely well-written, widely tested, and successful textbooks from major publishers abroad (Lauder, 2008, p.17).

But that is just what happened.

Research Methodology

As a research question then, how, practically, is Anglo-American Western culture being stripped from Indonesian ELT materials and the language recultured with local values? What does it look like?

As a native English teacher at one of the largest English courses in Jakarta, I see students from a range of schools. I informally surveyed my students to discover commonly used textbooks for the 2017 school year in government secondary schools and chose three that I heard often mentioned.

Figure 3
Cultural competence model (Purnell, 2002, p.194)

Of cultural content analyses on ELT textbooks in Indonesia, a common set of tools has generally been used. Those have been, big-C contra little-c culture, the related surface versus deep culture of Hinkel (2001), Adaskou, Britten, and Fahsi's (1990) aesthetic, pragmatic, semantic, and sociological senses, Cortazzi and Jin's (1999) source culture, target culture, and international culture, Byram's (1993) list of eight cultural contents, or product, practice, perspective, and person (Yuen, 2011).

I have used impressionistic, checklist, and in depth approaches as in McGrath (2002). I have preferred not to quantify, because identifying culture is so subjective, but do expect a significant trend would be observable. To identify and analyze the cultural content of the texts, I relied on Purnell's cultural competence model.

Purnell's model is intended to allow for an ethnographic inventory of cultural factors in a professional setting, "the model is useful for analyzing educational material" (Personal communication, Larry Purnell, 2018). His model is heavily influenced by categories suggested in Hage's (1972) *Techniques and problems of theory construction in sociology*. The 12 domains and their secondary characteristics sit within the context of society, community, family, and person and each domain affects the others.

Findings and discussion

Labeled "Kurikulum 2013", *Bright* (2014) is privately published. The book appears overall to be heavy on grammar. Vocabulary tasks look to be the next most common content. Role plays, group work and individual tasks feature. Readings and activities based on text types are also a major part. Besides names and drawings of characters in the narratives, the content is otherwise generic and does not seem to contain loaded cultural content; of Purnell's categories, moving clockwise: just Indonesian "communication", "biocultural ecology" and "overview/heritage".

Scaffolding: English for junior high school students, Grade VIII (2008) is a government textbook, though published before the K-2013 curriculum, it continues to be widely used in Jakarta government schools. Evaluating its physical appearance, there is quite a bit of text, the images are small and many are black and white. The photographs are of local people, appear to be amateur photography, hijabs appear. Cultural content includes an ancient legend from Majapahit, a historical Hindu-Buddhist kingdom, the legend of the Queen of the South Ocean, and also Banyuwangi; this same chapter also includes a Mexican legend and Little Red Ridinghood. Local Indonesian place names are throughout the book. The back cover has biographies of the authors in Indonesian. Purnell's categories are well filled in with a little Western and other International culture, and much Indonesian content: again, moving clockwise: "communication", "family roles and organization", "workforce issues", "biocultural ecology", "nutrition", "spirituality", and "overview/heritage".

Bahasa Inggris: Kelas X, Semester 1 (2014) is government published to the K-2013 curriculum. The material is competency based, namely the competencies laid out by the Ministry of Education. The grammar in the text is generally of a fairly high standard with some errors with articles,

prepositions, out of date vocabulary ("marque", Bk2, p.26), and awkward phrasing. Using Purnell's cultural competence model, considerable Indonesian content is present, but a few categories are significant when looked at in depth:

"Communication": "Islam" appears in a Chapter 1 pen-pal letter from a girl in Malaysia who explains that she attends an Islamic boarding school and that her favorite singer is Yusuf Islam, formerly known as Cat Stevens (Bk1, p.5). The letter also teaches Islamic English by giving the Islamic letter writing format, it opens with "Assalamu'alaikum" and closes with "Wassalam".

"Spirituality":

Islam is also mentioned multiple times in a biographical text on anti-Dutch Acehnese guerrilla fighter Cut Nyak Dhien (Bk.1, p.37-38). This passage contains the term "holy war". Students are to match holy war to the L1 "jihad" (p.36), and complete the gap-fill sentence: "When people go to _____, their intention is not to get wealth or worldly materials. They do it for the sake of God". The biography of Cut Nyak Dhien valorizes jihadi martyrdom, explaining, Acehnese should "not shed tears for those who have been martyred" (Bk.1 ,p. 38). Islamist content in Indonesian textbooks has also been reported when "parents found that one chapter of a senior high school textbook discussed possible efforts to establish an Islamic State of Indonesia (NII)" (*Education ministry fails*, 2014). Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism nor any other religion is mentioned in either semester 1 or 2 student book or the teacher's book.

"Overview/heritage": Other Indonesian cultural content includes the legend of Malin Kundang, information about an Indonesian pop-star who performs ballad-like love songs, Afgan, and Habibie, a president of the post-dictatorship period. That same chapter, "Chapter 12 Talking about an idol", uses a graphic of Sutomo/Bung Tomo (Bk.2, p. 25), who is infamous for inciting and supervising mass executions of Dutch, Ambonese and Eurasian people during the *Bersiap* period known as Black Monday. There is no mention anywhere of hotdogs, fish and chips nor cricket nor baseball or the like.

My findings mirror those of most other recent analyses of locally produced EFL textbooks which found overwhelming Indonesian cultural content, like Mulfianti (2013), Faris, (2014), Kalish (2016), Gunantar (2017) and Silvia's (2014) online survey of teachers' impressions. The mere fact of majority source of culture isn't only significant here, but also the cultural content chosen.

Closing Remarks

"English…partly under the influence of critical theory, is taught separated from (Anglo/Western) culture" (Personal communication, Wu Siew Mei, 2017). Meanwhile, the ideological opposite, local nationalism, fearing loss of identity (Kubota, 1998), and "pollution" of the language and culture by English and the Western values attached to it (Dovchin, Sultana & Pennycook, 2015, p.5) has contributed to the process. Though the dominant Whorfian view throughout TESOL has it that Western culture and the English language it is embedded in are inseparable. At least one theorist, Takao Suzuki (1975), had prophesized the possibility of "a variety of English that is dissociated from the thought and culture of the UK, the USA and other Anglo-English speaking countries", he called it English (Kubota, 1998, p.302).

It was Kachru's (1976) view that in non-Western local contexts, Englishes are, "used to teach and maintain the indigenous patterns of life and culture" (p.225). Canagarajah (2005) saw Englishes capable of "accommodating local knowledge" and specific backgrounds and needs (p.8). That an English might have certain characteristics of phonology, lexis or even grammar is relatively superficial (Dogancay-Aktuna & Hardman, 2012), more important is that it fits to the contextual pragmatics for its usage and that it "is cable of expressing…values" (Hino, 2012, p.28). Therefore in Indonesia, Lie (2017b) makes the point that Indonesian English wouldn't be defined by issues of pronunciation for instance, but by maintaining the underlying discourses and Indonesian values.

Englishes such as a nationalist recultured English stripped of Western liberal values, or an Islamic English with its own culture and values, are something that may catch TESOL unawares, immersed as it has been in CT/PC.

Islamic English is not yet one of the most discussed varieties of Englishes, though it has appeared in the literature. Iqbal (2012) sees the development of "English as an "Islamic language", [as being] suitable to render key Islamic concepts into English without having to use excessive italicization, transliteration, or explanatory notes". Metcalf (1996) expands the definition, mentioning calligraphic style of writing, halal icons, Islamic fashion, as well as holidays, all of which might intersect with English language as well as new vocabulary such as "azan clock" or a "qiblah compass" (p.4-8). Hodgson (1974) expands the idea "to the social and cultural complex historically associated with Islam and the Muslims, both among Muslims themselves and even when found among non-Muslims"

(p.59). Islamic English may be a variety of English figuring significantly in the future of Indonesian ELT and TESOL generally.

The education system in Indonesia has an ancient basis in the Hindu model and then overlays of Islamic and Western influence (Harits, Chudy, Juvova, & Andrysova, 2016). Chinese tradition also has had influence (Murray, 1964), one of its distinctive features is examination. Western education is influenced by the Classical forms (Kellner, 2003). The distinctive feature of the Ancient Greek system, called *paideia*, was very close personal relationships between *pedagogue* and student. Roman education, known as the *humanities* model was noted for fierce competition and strict discipline. The traditional Hindu educational system was *gurukula*, it puts emphasis also on the teacher-student relationship, extending into the mundane, such as daily chores. "Prior to the 20th Century", the traditional form of Islamic madrasa education in Indonesia were the *pesantren*. They were promoted against the expanding Dutch colonial education system. The distinctive characteristic of the madrasa is Quranic recitation and memorization (Passassung, 2003). TESOL might prepare itself for the rise of local nationalist Englishes through greater awareness of traditional national modes of education and incorporating them into approaches to ELT both in Indonesia and globally.

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