ELT, INTERCULTURALITY AND TEACHER IDENTITY: AN INQUIRY INTO INDONESIAN UNIVERSITY TEACHERS' BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

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Abstract

This research is a critical and reflexive inquiry into the beliefs and practices, and the identity work, of the 'intercultural teaching' of English language teachers in two Indonesian universities. It is concerned with the ways in which teacher beliefs and understandings of the English language, of culture, interculturality and of pedagogy mediate the discourses, classroom practices and professional identity of these teachers.

I have undertaken this study at a time when foreign language education policy in Indonesia, like many education policies across the world, has increasingly emphasised the cultural and intercultural dimensions of language learning. At the higher education level, the 'shift of paradigm' from English language education premised on linguistic competence to communicative competence has been accompanied by the introduction of more theoretical subjects where students are expected to develop a deeper understanding of the interconnections between language and culture. Within the framework of this 'new paradigm', English language teachers are expected to assume the responsibility of facilitating intercultural learning and promoting intercultural understanding. In this study, I examine the notion of interculturality in terms of broader, inclusive notions of *pedagogy* (cf. Giroux, 1988, 1991, 1997), rather than as a single approach to teaching English.

Much research into teacher professional identity has revealed that teacher identity and teachers' work are dynamically and inextricably interconnected with the broader social structures—their biographies, histories and experiences—in which they are situated (e.g., Duff & Uchida, 1997; Tsui, 2007; Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson, 2005). Through the lens of sociocultural perspectives of identity, my study seeks to generate in-depth insights into how teacher identity work is mediated by and intertwines with various personal, professional, institutional and cultural factors. In connecting together these various dimensions, I have utilised a case study research design, with a particular focus on "critical incidents" (Goodson, 2003, p. 61) in the work and experiences of the teachers. This has allowed me space to delve into the complex social, cultural, linguistic and identity issues associated with that work and those experiences.

In line with the sociocultural perspectives of identity that underpin the study, I have drawn on James Gee's (1999, 2011a, 2011b) approach to discourse analysis to understand and unravel the complexity of identity work. Gee's concepts of *'big D' Discourse*, *situated identities* and *cultural models* were employed to highlight the connection between 'micro' (i.e., specific texts and specific details of language) and 'macro' (context) levels of analysis. This has allowed me to articulate fine-grained interpretive perspectives and to construct

multi-faceted and nuanced accounts of the teachers' realities and contextualised understandings.

Data for the study comes from three main sources: in-depth semi-structured interviews with six teachers in two different universities in Indonesia, classroom observation of these teachers' classroom practice and documentation (e.g., curriculum and policy documents). The interviews were conducted in three stages: before, during, and after the period during which I was observing the teachers' classroom teaching, which was undertaken over a period of one semester. The focus of my interviews shuttled between 'the personal', 'the professional', 'the institutional' and 'the cultural'.

Analysis of data involved two major approaches: *thematic theory-driven* and *case-based data-driven* analyses. The former approach, drawing primarily on existing theories of ELT pedagogy, interculturalism and interculturality, was utilised in the analysis of the teachers' perceptions of the English language and their ELT classroom practices as well as in the interpretation of their conceptualisations of culture. The latter approach was used in the exploration of the teachers' individual beliefs, identity work and their subject-specific instructional practices. This approach has enabled me to discuss and analyse the data in a more reflexive way, allowing me not only to generate personalised accounts (including occasional references to my own experiences as an English language teacher in Indonesia) but also to present bigger picture understandings of the teachers' individual and collective experiences.

The study overall demonstrates the complex and dynamic nature of English language teachers' identity work, pointing to the significant role the institution plays in mediating and shaping the teachers' "enacted professionalism" (Hilferty, 2008, p. 162). By unravelling this complexity and illustrating the everyday challenges and dilemmas of teaching interculturalism in Indonesian higher education institutions, I call for a fundamental rethinking of language, culture and intercultural pedagogy and for policy-makers and curriculum planners to be better engaged with teachers' voices and experiences.

Declaration

This is to certify that

    (i)   this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or any other educational institution;

    (ii)   the thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD, except where indicated in the Preface; and

    (iii)   due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used.

The plan for this research was approved by the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (Reference: CF10/0362 – 2010000168).

Signed _____

Isti Siti Saleha Gandana

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Preface

Parts of the text draw on publications by me as a single author and as co-author, as listed below:

- Gandana, I. (under review). Critical thinking, (inter)cultural awareness, and pedagogical dilemmas: Stories of three university teachers in Indonesia. In W.M. Chan, S.K. Bhatt, M. Nagami, & I. Walker (Eds.), *Culture and foreign language education: Insights from research and implications for the practice*. De Gruyter Mouton Publishing.

- Kuswandono, P., Gandana, I., & Rohani, S. (under review). Towards deimperialisation of instructional strategies: Cases of Communicative Language Teaching and Reflective Practice implementation in the Indonesian context. In H. Zhang, P. Chan, & J. Kenway (Eds.), *Asia as method in education studies: A defiant research imagination*. Routledge Publishing.

- Gandana, I., & Parr, G. (2013). Professional identity, curriculum and teaching Intercultural Communication: An Indonesian case study. *Language, Culture and Curriculum, 26*(3), 229-246. doi: 10.1080/07908318.2013.833620

- Kuswandono, P., Gandana, I., Rohani, S., & Zulfikaar, T. (2011). Revisiting local wisdom: Efforts to improve education quality in Indonesia. In J. Wright (Ed.), *AARE 2011 Conference Proceedings* (pp. 1-15). Hobart, Australia: The Australian Association for Research in Education. Available at http://www.aare.edu.au/publications-database.php/6580/revisiting-local-wisdom-efforts-to-improve-education-quality-in-indonesia

- Gandana, I. (2010). Teaching English as an international language in Indonesia: Issues, challenges and classroom implications. *Proceedings of the 2010 LIA International Conference: World Englishes across Cultures* (pp. 122-127). Bali, Indonesia: Lembaga Bahasa & Pendidikan Profesional LIA.

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List of Abbreviations

CCU – Cross-Cultural Understanding

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

DIMS – Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity

EFL – English as a Foreign Language

EIL – English as an International Language

ELT – English Language Teaching

ESL – English a Second Language

FKIP – *Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan* (Faculty of Teacher Training and Education)

IC – Intercultural Competence

ICC – Intercultural Communicative Competence

ICT – Information and Communication Technology

ILT – Intercultural Language Teaching

INU – Indonesia National University

KAT – *Komunitas Adat Terpencil* (Isolated Indigenous Communities)

MUHREC – Monash University Human Research Ethic Committee

PGSLA – *Pendidikan Guru Sekolah Lanjutan Atas* (Teacher Training Programmes for Senior Secondary School)

PGSLP – *Pendidikan Guru Sekolah Lanjutan Pertama* (Teacher Training Programmes for Junior Secondary School)

STC – Standard Training Centres

TEFL – Teaching English as a Foreign Language

TOEFL – Test of English as a Foreign Language

UWJ – University of West Java

By nature we are social,
and it is in the interaction with others
that we develop.

(Alred, Byram, & Flemimg, 2003, p. 3)

Chapter 1

Introduction

How shall I talk of the sea to the frog,

if it has never left his pond?

How shall I talk of the frost to the bird of the summerland,

if it has never left the land of its birth?

How shall I talk of life with the sage,

if he is prisoner of his doctrine?

(Chuang-tsu, 4th Century B.C., in De Nicolás, 1989)

1.1   How It All Came To Be…

It was February 2001, and I was undertaking my second year of study, for a Bachelor of Education in English Language Teaching in my home country, Indonesia. My passion for the teaching profession had flourished long before I could speak any English. Thinking about it now, I don't think I had ever wanted to pursue any career except to become a teacher. I was born into a family of teachers. My paternal grandmother was a school principal during the colonial times in the early forties, and my father had been a chemistry teacher in a secondary school before taking up an inspectorial role in an atomic energy agency. I have learnt how my mother, in her younger years, would gather children in the neighborhood and craft various learning activities for them, creating positive play, encouraging these children to learn through this play, while keeping them entertained. The stories of learning and teaching that my parents spoke of have, in many ways, nurtured within me a love for teaching. As I grew to adulthood and continued my school and then university and research studies, I came to deeply appreciate teachers' work. I saw teaching as a noble profession. For me, as for many other Indonesians, teachers were "*pahlawan tanpa tanda jasa*" ("heroes without medals") (see Surya, 2004). The idea that I, as a teacher in Indonesia, could make a difference in the lives of students was simply inspirational.

My interest in the English language, on the other hand, was prompted by the experience of border-crossing. It is an experience that lies at the heart of this study's understanding of interculturality (Gandana, 2008; Sarup, 1996). When I was twelve, my father took up a position in the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, Austria. The official

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language of Austria is German, but I was sent to an international school, where English was used as the medium of instruction. Although English was initially perceived and experienced merely as a 'survival tool' to understand subjects at the new school, to communicate with 'foreign' teachers and to socialise with school peers of various cultural backgrounds, it eventually opened up new ways of seeing the world. The English language opened doors to new intercultural encounters and offered new possibilities of engaging with and participating in a wider international community. It became an intercultural space that encouraged and enabled me to grow personally, linguistically, socially and culturally. These experiences have also sparked my interest in the issues of culture and identity. While border-crossings have become an increasingly common phenomenon in today's world (Kenway & Fahey, 2008; Parr, Faine, Phan, & Seddon, 2013), crossing national frontiers has made me become increasingly aware of the significant role that culture plays in influencing our ways of being and doing. Above all else, these intercultural experiences have taught me to respect and be sensitive to differences.

In February 2001, one and a half years after my family and I returned to our home on the island of Java, violent communal conflicts erupted in Central Kalimantan. I read and watched with horror through the media the massacre of Madurese peoples by the Dayak ethnic group. More than 400 Madurese died and thousands were driven out of the province (see Cahyono, 2008). Having been away from my home country for so long, I could not help but wonder, "What has happened to the Indonesia that I knew?" For centuries, the peoples of *Nusantara*[1], which constituted hundreds of ethnic groups, had lived in harmonious and peaceful coexistence. I liked to think that this 'spirit of life' had been carried through into contemporary Indonesia. I wanted to believe in "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*" ("Unity in Diversity") as our official national motto. And yet the media continued to report on bitter inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts engulfing a number of regions in Indonesia, such as in Sambas (West Kalimantan), Sampit (Central Kalimantan), Poso (Central Sulawesi), Ambon (South Maluku) and Ternate (North Maluku), all of which occurred in the post-Suharto era (see Abdullah, 2009). These scars on our recent history clearly raised serious questions about the spirit of "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*".

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[1] *Nusantara* is the Indonesian term to refer to the Indonesian archipelago. The word originates from Old Javanese, meaning 'archipelago'.

These conflicts have been attributed to a host of factors, but many observers related the underlying cause to the dynamics of national politics (see Azra, 2010; Bertrand, 2004). They maintained that the process of democratisation had opened up a political space to reconfigure and contest the existing societal relations. As these scholars were 'theorising', educators both from within and outside the country also voiced their concerns about the need to develop and implement education innovations that would better promote tolerance and respect for diversity (see Noel, Shoemake, & Hale, 2006).

As someone who has always been passionate about being a teacher, I have always believed that "ideas, not arms, sustain the hope for ... peace" (Gacel-Ávila, 2005, p. 133). I am convinced that education is central to all the most valuable social change, and that it is critical in bringing about and maintaining intercultural understanding, tolerance, peaceful coexistence and cooperation. These motivations and concerns eventually provided the impetus for my undertaking this study.

1.2 English Language Education, Interculturality and the Role of the Teacher: Making Critical Connections

> Comprehension between humans is the first requirement for intellectual and moral solidarity on earth. (Gacel-Ávila, 2005, p. 126)

Following the recognition of Indonesia's independence as a republic in 1945, English was officially and formally acknowledged as a foreign language that would be incorporated into the national school curriculum. Traditionally the emphasis of foreign language learning in the Indonesian classroom had been on the acquisition of linguistic mastery, consisting of four macrolanguage skills: reading, listening, writing and speaking (Dardjowidjojo, 2000; Lie, 2007; see also Section 3.1). It was not until the early 2000s that Indonesia's English language education policies explicitly recognised the interactive nature between language and culture, where understandings of and an engagement between self and other were given more prominence. A 2004 Curriculum document spelled out the new goals of English language teaching in Indonesia:

> *Bahasa diharapkan membantu siswa mengenal dirinya, budayanya, dan budaya orang lain, mengemukakan gagasan dan perasaan [dan] berpartisipasi dalam masyarakat yang menggunakan bahasa tersebut ....* (*Departemen Pendidikan Nasional*, 2003, p. 5)

> [The English] language is expected to assist learners to gain an understanding
> of themselves, of their own cultures, of the cultures of others, to articulate
> ideas and feelings [and] to participate in the community in which the language
> is used …. (Ministry of National Education, 2003, p. 5, my translation)

At the higher education level, this government policy resulted in a seemingly rapid 'paradigm shift' from English language education premised on linguistic competence to communicative competence. This manifested itself in the introduction of more theoretical subjects where students could investigate and develop a deeper understanding of culture and a concept that was increasingly evident in international research literature and educational policy, 'interculturalism' or 'interculturality' (e.g., Alred, Byram, & Fleming, 2003; Guilherme, 2002; Heyward, 2002; Liddicoat, 2004). In response to this, universities, including the ones that are the sites for my inquiry in this study, 'developed' subjects such as *Intercultural Communication* and *Cross-Cultural Understanding*. These subjects have now become an integral component of language programs in language faculties. For those Indonesian students studying to become teachers of English, the new subjects are expected to encourage deep critical reflection about the influence of learning and using English on one's own cultural identity and vice versa.

Within the framework of this 'new paradigm', students are expected to learn how culture is strongly interconnected with language. Some express this as culture pervading all aspects of 'language use' (see *Departemen Pendidikan Nasional*, 2003). Communication and all dimensions of social practices in another language are thus perceived to involve not only the use of linguistic forms and functions but also the functioning within a cultural context (Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei, & Thurrell, 1995; Sen Gupta, 2003). The kinds of research that prompted the new direction in Indonesian education policy were not always made explicit. Presumably, though, they were persuaded by a range of sociolinguistic and anthropological studies that showed when individuals and groups of people who do not share the same "cultural codes" and "conceptual maps" (Hall, 1997) enter into contact, there is the potential for rich exchange of knowledge and for building shared perspectives on the world. However, there is also strong potential for conflict. Some of these studies focus more on the differing worldviews that lead to misunderstandings and problems in communication (e.g., Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 2007). Perhaps, because significant dimensions of culture are, like the well-known iceberg metaphor, invisible, cultural mores are often taken for granted. Nevertheless, language educators and scholars across the world today maintain that, to have a positive intercultural experience, it is critical that

learners develop the ability to recognise "metarepresentations" (Žegarac, 2007, p. 37) of the 'target culture' and acquire intercultural competence (Bennett, 2004; Mulyana, 2010; Sercu et al., 2005).

Indeed, in the past few decades, the world has witnessed an intensification of global movements and encounters between national cultures. In the education arena, these have, in part, been brought about by an internationalisation of education through various study abroad programs (Risager, 2007). As transnational contacts dramatically increased, so did the need to be able to relate to, understand and empathise with otherness. In the context of foreign language education, this need was markedly shown through a deeper, more genuine interest in the cultural dimension of the target language being taught (Kramsch, 2006), bringing to the fore the sociocultural perspectives of language learning. In relation to this, the foreign language classroom has now been commonly perceived as one of the key sites through which interculturality can be developed (Liddicoat, 2007; Moloney, 2013).

Given this pedagogical shift, Indonesian foreign education policy seeks to ensure that the promotion of intercultural understanding is no longer an optional extra in the English language classroom. Further, due to the current status of English as an international language, these policy discourses have frequently been framed with the view of English as "a capacity-building tool" (Le, 2004, p. 30) that relates to the fulfilment of individual, national and international needs and goals. However, the emergence of English as a "global language" (Crystal, 2003) has also posed serious challenges to ELT teachers worldwide; besides having to decide what kinds of cultural contents they 'need to teach', they are also obliged to address the question: whose target-language culture should I be teaching? And whose English do I teach? The status of English as an international language, as has been widely discussed in the literature, has raised critical questions regarding issues of language ownership (Chamberlin-Quinlisk & Senyshyn, 2012; Hornberger & McKay, 2010; Pennycook, 2008; Rubdy & Saraceni, 2006). It is within these debates and the politics of English that my study is situated.

Moreover, in accommodating these emergent issues, a demand for an expansion of teachers' roles would seem inevitable. Among the responsibilities that teachers are expected to assume are: (1) promoting reflection about cultural perspectives (Göbel & Helmke, 2010); (2) assisting learners in gaining an understanding and appreciation of cultural difference (Yershova, Dejaeghere, & Mestenhauser, 2000); (3) opening up a dialogic space in which the borders between the self and others are explored, and

ultimately (4) creating a negotiated interactional space between cultures (Kostogriz, 2005; Kramsch, 2013; Liddicoat, 2007). However, as Liddicoat and Crozet (1997) have argued, "culture is not as readily describable as decontextualised grammatical rules" (p. 5), and this might present a challenge in the teaching of culture. Further, as this teaching often involves questioning 'the natural' and 'the given', it requires teachers to step out of their own comfortable cultural spaces and to acquire the necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to attain the aforementioned goals. In order to understand the complexity of this work, a number of roles have been associated with the language teacher, such as 'cultural transmitter' (Nault, 2006), 'cultural mediator' (Carr, 1999) and 'transformers of culture' (Le, 2004).

While the literature on intercultural teaching and learning in the English language classroom is abundant, intercultural teachers' identities are dealt with in limited ways (e.g., Dewi, 2007; Menard-Warwick, 2008; Sercu, 2006). As Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) contend, one of the major challenges in understanding identity is "grappling with the notion of how identity shifts and reshapes" (p. 178). Since identity is constantly evolving, being shaped and reshaped in interaction with others, 'identity work' thus needs to be seen as an ongoing process. Research into teacher identity has indicated that teacher discourse and narrative can be a powerful way of understanding teachers' identity work (e.g., Alsup, 2006; Chang, 2011; Cohen, 2008; Connelly & Clandinin, 1999; Gandana & Parr, 2013).

Yet, like any other cultural beings, teachers have their own deeply held beliefs and sets of values. They can transmit, whether consciously or not, these beliefs and values in the act of teaching. Critical studies have acknowledged that "teaching is a profession in which ideologies are a central concern" (Pachler, Makoe, Burns, & Blommaert, 2008; see also Milner, 2010; Moore, 2012), and research into the sociocultural dimensions of teacher identity has revealed that the teacher is not a neutral player in the classroom, merely implementing pre-determined curriculum. Teachers' work, as I will argue in this thesis, is dynamically and inextricably interconnected with the broader sociocultural and political contexts in which the teachers are situated. Meanwhile, research into other dimensions of classroom instruction has shown that the extent to which subjects impact upon students' understandings and beliefs is contingent upon the particular understandings and beliefs of the teachers (Hollingworth, 2009; Saud & Johnston, 2006).

Despite the abundance of studies in the areas of interculturality in education, teacher beliefs and the teaching of English, many of these studies have pursued different and

separate paths. To date, research into the above broad areas in the Indonesian context has been devoted to teachers' and students' perceptions of and beliefs about English (e.g., Dewi, 2011; Siregar, 2010; Zacharias, 2003) and teachers' professional learning (e.g., Dewi, 2007; Manara, 2012; Sari, 2012; Son, Robb, & Charismiadji, 2011; Yuwono & Harbon, 2010). Little attention, if any, has been given to the complex interplay between interculturality, teacher beliefs, teaching practice and teacher identity in regard to the current global politics of English. This study is thus placed at the nexus of all these concerns in an attempt to contribute to the existing literature on this important topic.

1.3   Reseach Aims

In this study, I inquire into the beliefs and practices, and the identity work, of the 'intercultural teaching' of English language teachers assigned to teach theoretical culture subjects in two Indonesian universities. It is an inquiry into the ways in which teacher beliefs and understandings of the English language, of culture, interculturality and of pedagogy mediate the discourses, classroom practices and professional identity of these teachers. Through the lens of sociocultural perspectives of identity, the study explores how teacher identity work is mediated by and intertwined with various personal, professional, institutional and cultural factors. Specifically, the research seeks to generate in-depth insights into the following questions:

1. How do Indonesian teachers of English in Indonesian higher education settings understand themselves and their work within the global politics of English?
2. What are their conceptions of culture and intercultural learning, and how do these conceptions relate to their practice?
3. How are these teachers' practices mediated by their sense of personal and professional identity as well as the wider societal and institutional cultures?

In connecting together the various dimensions of these intercultural teachers' work, I foreground the dynamic and interconnected nature of their teaching selves with the broader social structures—their biographies, histories and experiences—which, needless to say, are always embedded in a particular context and culture. Utilising a case study research design, with a particular focus on "critical incidents" (Goodson, 2003, p. 61) in the work and experiences of the teachers, I highlight the multifarious ethical tensions and dilemmas these teachers have to deal with in their professional spaces, delving into the complex social, cultural, linguistic and identity issues associated with that work and those experiences.

It is important to note that in this study I examine the notion of interculturality in terms of broader, inclusive notions of *pedagogy* (cf. Giroux, 1988, 1991, 1997), rather than as a single approach to teaching English in Indonesian universities. As indicated in the literature, discourses in the field of interculturalism in education are generally framed in relation to a discipline, as manifested in subjects such as 'Intercultural Education' (Coulby, 2006; Gorski, 2008; Leeman & Ledoux, 2003; Portera, 2008); an approach, such as 'Intercultural Language Teaching' (Crozet, Liddicoat, & Lo Bianco, 1999) and 'Intercultural Communicative Language Teaching' (Newton, Yates, Shearn, & Nowitzki, 2010); and/or a pedagogy (Giroux, 1991; Lee, 2005; Moloney, 2013). While these three terms are *not* mutually exclusive, my study emphasises the notion of 'pedagogy', as it examines how interculturalism informs the teaching and learning of a number of subjects taught in Indonesian higher education.

1.4   Discourse Analysis for Investigating Teacher Identity

Different versions of discourse analysis (e.g., Bloome, Carter, Christian, Otto, & Shuart-Faris, 2005; Fairclough, 2003; Gee, 1999; Kumaravadivelu, 1999) have previously been employed in studies involving classroom interactions and teacher identity. Some of this research highlights the linguistic, interactional patterns of classroom talk (e.g., Hollingworth, 2009; Suherdi, 2009; Walsh, 2006), while other research pays greater attention to the contextual aspects that link individuals in the classroom to the macro structures within which they are situated (e.g., Alsup, 2006; Cohen, 2008; Luk & Lin, 2007). In this study, I focus on teachers' discourses both within and outside the classroom contexts.

Consistent with the sociocultural perspectives of identity that underpin the study, I draw on James Gee's (1999, 2011a, 2011b) approach to discourse analysis to understand and unravel the complexity of identity work. His approach highlights individuals as both choice-making agents and norm-driven beings who are dialectically connected to the social relations of the society within which they are situated. Specifically, I utilise three of Gee's "thinking devices" (1999, p. 37) comprising: (1) 'big D' Discourse, (2) situated identities and (3) cultural models. These "tools of inquiry" (p. 6) are particularly helpful in highlighting the connection between 'micro' (i.e., specific texts and specific details of language) and 'macro' (i.e., context) levels of analysis, thus helping to explain how d/Discourses construct and are constructed by contexts.

Gee's 'big D' Discourse has been conceptualised as a way of grouping together the particular ways of being and doing that influence the way others might categorise individuals as a 'certain kind of person'. Consequently, Discourse is not simply a pattern of social interactions, but is intricately intertwined with the ideological and political dimensions of identity construction. This notion of 'Discourse' is closely connected to the concept of 'situated identities', which allows a scrutiny of ways in which individuals enact specific identities within specific contexts through the language they use. The concept of 'cultural models', on the other hand, is useful in making visible some of the underlying beliefs and values that inform individuals' speech and actions.

In the context of the present study, Gee thus offers powerful analytical tools that have enabled me to understand my participants' identity work in more complex ways. These tools have allowed me to generate fine-grained interpretive perspectives and to construct multi-faceted and nuanced accounts of the teachers' realities and contextualised understandings (see Figure 1 for the study's overall analytical framework in Chapter Four).

1.5   Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into nine chapters. Chapter One, the introduction, provides a rationale for and sets the context of the study. It briefly introduces the key theoretical concepts and analytical tools to be used in the study.

Chapter Two and Chapter Three provide a critical review of the literature relevant to the ideas and concepts embraced by the study. In Chapter Two, I discuss the different ways in which the notion of culture has been conceptualised by both Western and Indonesian scholars, linking the discussion to the interconnection of culture to language. The discussion then converges on the concepts of d/Discourse and highlights the classroom as a social institution. The discussion presented in Chapter Two serves as a framework for engaging with the notion of interculturality discussed in the next chapter. In Chapter Three, I focus on the dominant discourses surrounding English Language Teaching (ELT), interculturality and teacher identity. The chapter begins with a description of the development of ELT in Indonesia, taking into account the historical and sociopolitical landscapes in which ELT has evolved from the colonial times through to the present. This opens up a discussion of interculturality in the foreign language classroom and the role of the intercultural teachers, foregrounding the sociocultural perspectives of teacher identity.

Chapter Four, "Methodology", details how the study was conceptualised, approached and carried out. Here, I explain my philosophical stances and provide the rationale for choosing a qualitative case study research design. In so doing, I indicate how this inquiry intersects with my own subjectivity as a researcher and a teacher educator in a university in Indonesia, signaling self-reflexivity in the research process. I then outline the methods I used to collect, analyse and interpret the data, and introduce the research sites and participants.

Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight comprise the analysis chapters. They deal with "Teaching Selves", "Teaching Language", "Teaching Culture" and "Teaching Interculturality" respectively. Chapter Five highlights how the teacher participants' individual philosophies inform their teaching practices. The chapter also examines how these teachers exercise agency in their particular professional spaces, while unravelling the multifarious tensions and dilemmas that exist. In Chapter Six, I inquire into the teacher participants' perceptions of the English language and examine how their perceptions relate to their classroom practices. Chapter Seven explores the various conceptualisations of the notion of culture as perceived by the teachers and homes in on particular constructions or 'layers' of culture to help understand how particular cultural entities operate within their particular contexts. Chapter Eight analyses how the individual teachers, through reflecting and making connections with their own lived experiences, make sense of the concept of interculturality, and examines how this concept relates to their classroom practice.

Chapter Nine draws together the various threads and perspectives that have emerged from the study by revisiting the key issues through the lens of discourse analysis. It closes with some implications and recommendations for intercultural learning.

Chapter 2

Theorising Culture

Culture encompasses complex and multifaceted phenomena. It has been considered as one of the most complicated concepts to work with in research studies (Atkinson, 1999; Hall, 1997; Williams, 1981). This chapter discusses the different ways of understanding culture by drawing on the voices of both Western and Indonesian scholars. In so doing, I am attempting to open up an intercultural dialogue within the field, which I believe has the potential to be enriching, providing a wider range of thinking tools to better understand the concept of culture. This discussion also serves as a framework for engaging with the notion of interculturality that I present in Chapter Three.

2.1   Understandings of Culture

In my quest for finding a reasonable response to the vexed question, 'what is culture?', I have found categorisation of concepts, such as those proposed by Atkinson (2004) and Holliday (2009), particularly useful in untangling the complexity of 'culture'. Any attempt to break down the notion of culture into categories, however, must be approached with caution, for they might be seen as mere choices between opposites and as working against each other. Atkinson (2004) proposes four ways of understanding culture: (1) received culture versus postmodern culture versus cultural studies culture; (2) culture as product versus culture as process; (3) culture in the head versus culture in the world; and (4) big culture versus small culture (p. 277). Atkinson's four-part division of considerations of culture will frame the discussion on culture in this chapter, during which each of the aforementioned terms will be elaborated. While the Atkinson framework does not make an explicit connection to the notion of 'intercultural', its inclusive dimensions of 'culture' nevertheless provide an important conceptual framework for investigating the teacher participants' conceptions of culture.

2.1.1   Received culture versus postmodern culture versus cultural studies culture.

Before detailing Atkinson's categorisation of culture, I would first like to turn to Holliday's (2009) "old thinking" and "new thinking" (pp. 145-6) about culture to better understand Atkinson's conceptualisation. Holliday's "old" and "new" ways of thinking about culture

correspond respectively to the essentialist (or modernist) and non-essentialist (or postmodernist) conceptions of culture (see Kramsch, 2013). The old or the essentialist views tend to see culture as a monolithic, static, discrete entity, which can be described in terms of authentic elements and patterns that represent it. Culture in this sense is commonly regarded as geographically bounded, often pointing to national or ethnic entities. In this view, each culture is believed to have a dominant and relatively homogeneous core of shared meanings, values, traditions and practices, which are thought to be substantial enough to allow for meaningful comparisons between different cultures. This perspective rests largely on the assumption that culture is a historical construct embodying all-embracing systems of rules that significantly determine individuals' behaviour, thought and action (Atkinson, 1999; Wainryb, 2006). This leaves intact the idea that persons are products of culture, who enact and reproduce their culture's main features.

In the study of culture, such a modernist approach has led to identification of cultural patterns such as those put forward by Hofstede (1983). Drawing on large-scale cross-national studies, Hofstede identifies four basic dimensions that, he believes, can be used as a framework to describe and compare cultures: (1) "power distance", which measures a society's level of inequality; (2) "uncertainty avoidance", which refers to a society's tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity; (3) "individualism versus collectivism", which places a culture on a bipolar continuum to measure individuals' tendency to depend on their group; and (4) "masculinity versus femininity", which relates to the distribution of gender traits in a society and its impact on the people's self-concepts. The practice of associating 'culture' with distinct geographical and national entities—or the "received view" as Atkinson (2004, p. 280) calls it—reigned supreme in the human and social sciences for so long throughout the twentieth century that it has been taken to be the default and the commonsensical view. This traditionalist thinking also appears to be content with the simple idea that one culture corresponds to one language (Holliday, 1999, 2009; Kramsch, 2006; Risager, 2007). In Indonesia, such a conception of culture is widespread across time and space. The 1928 Youth Pledge that proclaimed "one motherland, one nation, and one language" ("*Satu nusa, satu bangsa dan satu bahasa*"), for example, could be read as one manifestation of how this modernist perspective of culture

has been taken up to reinforce national ideology[2] (see Alisjahbana, 1986, p. 25). This conception has also been adopted into successive school curricula in Indonesia and taught in subjects such as IPS (*Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial* or social sciences) and PPKN (*Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan* or civic education) at various levels. Close readings of some Indonesian academic textbooks as well as works of the past and present-day Indonesian cultural experts (e.g., Adimihardja, 1983; Alfian, 1985; Alwasilah, 2001; Bachtiar & Sumarjan, 1988; Ekadjati, 2009; Koentjaraningrat, 1982, 1985, 2007; Mihardja & Alisjahbana, 1977; Rosidi, 2009a, 2009b; Sedyawati, 2008; Sumardjo, 2003, 2010), indeed, suggest the pervasiveness of this traditionalist paradigm in the scholarly debates about culture.

There appears to have been little, if any, questioning of such an essentialist view of culture among Indonesian scholars. Indonesia is an archipelago consisting of approximately 17,800 islands and 656 ethnic groups (Azra, 2010). Given this fact, ethnic differences have often been treated as fundamental identity markers among Indonesians. At the same time, various hegemonic national ideologies, such as the one reflected in the official national motto "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*" ("Unity in Diversity") inscribed in the Indonesian national symbol of *Garuda Pancasila* and the Youth Pledge of "one motherland, one nation and one language" mentioned above, also seem to work indirectly to reinforce and 'validate' demarcated ethnic differences. In view of this, an essentialist approach to culture was seen as (and remains) vital for anchoring the idea of cultural diversity existing within the nation. In their discussion of the concept of culture, it is common, therefore, for Indonesian scholars to draw on approaches rooted in anthropological traditions that associate the concept with groups of people and distinct characteristics that define these groups. As such, a number of authors have published works that spell out these distinctive characteristics by means of 'cultural patterning', among the diverse ethnic cultures within the nation (e.g., Ayatrohaedi, 1986; Hidayah, 1996). Due to differing worldviews, these works, however, could easily be interpreted as representing reification and simplification of cultural differences.

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[2] On October 28, 1928, a group of young men and women from distant islands gathered in Jakarta to proclaim that they would be united under one motherland called Indonesia, one nation called Indonesia and one language—*Bahasa Indonesia* (Abas, 1987; Foulcher, 2000). This pledge was initially intended to spark a feeling of unity across all ethnic groups in the then colonised Indonesia, but the idea was eventually taken up in the 1945 Constitution. The Youth Pledge has been commemorated since then every year in the country.

In his essay *"Negara dan Kebudayaan"* ("Nation and Culture"), prominent Indonesian cultural expert Ajip Rosidi (2009a) launched sharp criticism against the Indonesian government at the time for using what he considered to be a narrow view and a shallow understanding of culture. Problematising the conjoining of 'culture' and 'tourism' under one government ministry[3], he remarked:

> Placing Culture under one roof with Tourism only shows that our government sees culture merely as a commodity that can be sold to tourists. There seems to be no awareness that culture is inseparable from the life of a state and nation. … Only recently have voices been heard signalling the idea that the destruction that we are facing may in fact be a result of not taking into account the issue of cultural development. (Rosidi, 2009a, p. 61, my translation)

Indeed, in the last few decades, there appears to have been an awakening among Indonesian scholars, such as Rosidi (2009a) and Alwasilah (2006), who are now voicing their concerns against the marginalisation of ethnic cultures and languages, which have so often been downplayed by the discourses of nation-building, national identity and globalisation. In the context of literacy education, Alwasilah, for instance, urges teachers to prioritise ethnic literature over foreign literature, which in his view "constitutes a practical way of preserving the local 'wisdom'" (2006, p. 96). In spite of this, these voices, are still underpinned by the traditionalist thinking that assumes cultural values are transmitted through participation in cultural practices and the enactment of cultural scripts.

Essentialist conceptions of culture, however, have been rigorously problematised in Western academia, particularly by postmodernist and postcolonial scholars. Adopting an essentialist view has been claimed to result in "reductionist overgeneralization and otherization of 'foreign' … societies" (Holliday, 1999, pp. 237-8). This overgeneralisation and otherisation not only reinforce cultural stereotypes but also diminish richness and variety within societies. A received view of culture, it is argued, overemphasises homogeneity and harmony within cultures and is therefore seen to promote the idea that people within a culture speak in a collective, shared voice, presupposing that they have only one distinctive point of view and overlooking the possibility of finding multiple and

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[3] "The Ministry of Culture and Tourism" has now changed to "The Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economics".

conflicting voices within cultures (Wainryb, 2006). Projecting such a conceptualisation on larger social structures, it is further argued, leads to notions of culture that consist of finite lists of pre-defined characteristics, which tend to over-simplify notions of cultural difference. As postcolonial scholars such as Pennycook (1998) and Said (1978) contend, such a conception has contributed to processes of colonialism and imperialism across the globe.

Under sustained attack from, most notably, Western postmodern critiques, some traditional notions of culture have begun to change, heralding a new way of thinking about culture—the "postmodern culture" (Atkinson, 2004, p. 279). Challenging the concept of culture as static, deterministic, fixed, discrete and pure, non-essentialist conceptions propose, instead, that culture is a contested concept, characterised by diffusion, interconnectedness, heterogeneity, difference, disruption, fragmentation and instability, among others (Atkinson, 2004; Hall, 1997; Kramsch, 2013; Lo Bianco, 2003, Rubdy, 2009). Indeed, much contemporary research about culture foregrounds the fact that boundaries in today's world are increasingly blurred and negotiable, particularly due to global movements and transcultural flows, resulting in the intermixing of cultures and hybridity of identities (Nilan & Feixa, 2006; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Pennycook, 2007).

Although postmodern discourses of culture appear to have rendered the traditional notions 'unprestigious', this is not to say that the latter is unimportant or that it no longer has a place in the human and social sciences. Relating specifically to the field of anthropology, Shore (1996) urges scholars not to eschew the old way of thinking altogether. He maintains:

> One of anthropology's main contributions to the human sciences has always been to foreground the significance of cultural variation in human life. Without a robust concept of culture, anthropology loses its distinctive analytical power, and a significant aspect of human life remains undertheorized and unexamined. The poststructuralist critique of traditional conceptions of culture is potentially of great importance to anthropology, but only if it is used to *refine* the notion of culture rather than to discard it. (Shore, 1996, p. 9, my emphasis)

Likewise, although Indonesian scholars tend to understand the concept of culture as geographically bounded, and thus they tend to focus on cultural patterning, this is not to suggest that they do not recognise the characteristics of the postmodern culture

mentioned above. Indonesian anthropologist Jakob Sumardjo's (2010) *Sunda: Pola Rasionalitas Budaya* (Sundanese: Patterns of Cultural Rationality) is one among many other publications that address the sociocultural tensions arising from globalisation in relation to one's identity formation. Focusing on the Sundanese, one of the largest ethnic groups in Indonesia, constituting 17.46% of the nation's population (Suryadinata, Arifin, & Ananta, 2003), Sumardjo critically examines how globalisation has impacted the Sundanese community and their cultural identity, creating cultural diffusion, instability and discontinuity. In his work, he challenges the concept of culture as fixed and pure and portrays, instead, cultures as ever-changing, constantly infiltrated by outside forces.

In his delineation of *Sunda*, Sumardjo, while still perceiving the notion of culture as a repository of shared values, indicates a move away from a received view of culture that emphasises fixity and homogeneity. At this juncture, it is worth noting that definitions of culture, as I have shown above, do not always fall into a neat, clear-cut, essentialist versus non-essentialist dichotomy. As Risager (2007) also notes, some concepts contain traces of the two perspectives. Here, I would like to use British literary and social critic Raymond Williams' definition as an example. Defining 'culture' as "the ordinary" (Williams & Higgins, 2001, p.10), that is, the everyday lived experience that people take for granted, Williams analyses the interplay between the seemingly ongoing or stable aspects of culture on the one hand and its ongoing dynamism on the other. Among other things, this involves understanding how shared meanings are generated, how they are transmitted and how they undergo change. Williams thus sees the concept of culture as having both traditional/anti-change and creative/dynamic elements centrally within it. That is, Williams' conception of culture encompasses both essentialist and non-essentialist views.

I would therefore argue that, rather than characterising cultures in terms of binary oppositions, it is more useful to see them as complementing one another, each having their own strengths and weaknesses. The diverse cultural understandings that exist in the literature should, on a more positive note, be seen as equipping us with a wider range of thinking tools to better understand the concept. Atkinson (1999) in his article "TESOL and culture" indicates how various well-known Western thinkers, such as Bakhtin, Bourdieu and Foucault, have interrelated seemingly contradictory notions, such as homogeneity versus heterogeneity and social fields versus individual habitus, and yet have shown that they can actually work together. In view of this, it is thus necessary to avoid seeing essentialist versus non-essentialist conceptions of culture as mutually exclusive.

In supporting the above argument, let me refer to Heyward's (2009) study, "The Influence of Societal Culture to School and Classroom Reform", to illustrate ways in which the traditional notions of culture can still be useful in understanding a social phenomenon. Conducting a case study in one Indonesian district, Heyward investigated how the national School-Based Curriculum policy was translated at the school and classroom levels and explored the influence of culture on school reform. Previous studies of school and classroom reforms conducted in Indonesia, Heyward noted, all pointed to a pattern of repeated failure in changing current practices; explanations for reform failure, however, tended to be simplistic, such as blaming teachers for the lack of success, thus overlooking a deeper level issue relating to the critical role of culture. Drawing on what is perceived to be a traditionalist approach to understanding culture, Heyward's analysis underlined that major cultural obstacles prevented significant educational change from taking place, arguing that values embedded in the reform were not aligned with those of the societal culture. She reasoned that ideas driving educational reforms were commonly borrowed from developed nations, and the contexts in which these reforms occurred were generally dissimilar. In the context of study, the idea of autonomy was greatly inhibited by deeply embedded cultural attitudes that highly valued total obedience (even more so to an elder or a superior), social harmony and conflict avoidance, among others. Heyward's study thus exemplifies how traditional conceptions of culture can still be relevant and valuable in helping to explain how social issues may have contributed to the repeated failure of educational reform efforts in Indonesia.

What is, however, important to bear in mind when viewing culture as speaking in a shared, collective voice is the fact that it generally articulates only the *dominant* voice, and surely no culture can ever be sufficiently and accurately described in this way. Such a perspective fails to capture the multiplicity of voices and experiences of individuals within societies, whose interpretations about their culture's norms and practices may well be in conflict with that of the dominant one. Taking the argument one step further, I share Atkinson's (1999, p. 640), view that no "two people [can] be said to share precisely the same cultures" given that every one of us takes up different and multiple social identities and subjectivities, which can internally be inconsistent in themselves or be manifested differently in different social contexts. Drawing on Hofstede's individualistic versus collectivistic orientations to illustrate her point, Wainryb (2006) highlights the fact that individuals across societies prove to alternately foreground the above orientations according to the social contexts, prioritising sometimes autonomy and rights (which are generally seen as the so-called Western values) and sometimes tradition and social harmony (which are commonly associated with values embraced by the 'East'). In light of

this argument, Voronov and Singer (2002) have gone so far as to claim the individualist-collectivist dichotomy as a "myth" (p. 461).

Regardless of the above debate, a review of the literature pertaining to traditional approaches to understanding culture indicates that they often hide or fail to take account of issues of power and downplay the role of individual agency existing within cultures. It is at this juncture that, I believe, it is useful to turn to postmodern understandings and "cultural studies culture" (Atkinson, 2004, p. 279), which scrutinise ideological and hegemonic aspects of culture. Viewed from this angle, culture is regarded as an arena for contestation of meanings and power struggles, where cooperation, negotiation, submission, opposition and subversion coexist and are played out all at once. To gain a more comprehensive insight into the notion of culture, I would argue that it is crucial to go beyond the collective understandings of culture and acknowledge the aforementioned contested cultural landscapes, shifting focus to the interplay of forces constituting cultural constructs.

2.1.2   Culture as product versus culture as process.

Other ways of understanding culture have involved notions of "culture as product" and "culture as process", to borrow Atkinson's terms (2004, p. 282). The former tends to be associated with cultural symbols, values, traditions and practices, while the latter renders processes of meaning making involved within a particular cultural group. In relation to the idea of culture as product, Tomalin and Stempleski (1993) have distinguished two types: "behaviour culture" and "achievement culture". The former specifically refers to a particular group's customs, habits, dress, food, and the like, whereas the latter points to the history, geography, artefacts, literature, art, music, and so on.

Street (1993) uses the terms "culture as a noun" and "culture as a verb" to refer to similar ideas contained within the understandings of "culture as product" and "culture as process". He argues that the question of culture is not so much about what it is but what it *does*. According to Street, culture needs to be seen as an active and dynamic system that gains its significance through activities its group members engage in. Lying at the heart of these activities are constant processes of meaning making and remaking. In this view, having individuals aligning themselves to different cultural systems can be understood as the norm rather than an exception.

In exploring the multiple dimensions and layers of culture, covering different levels of organisations, the present study takes up both views of culture as a noun and culture a

verb. While the former are primarily adopted to reflect on cultural symbols, values, traditions and practices, the latter are drawn on to render the active context-bound process of meaning making and to address issues of power embedded within these processes.

2.1.3 Culture in the head versus culture in the world.

In the discussion of culture, the issue of location, that is, "culture in the head" versus "culture in the world" (Atkinson, 2004, p. 283), has also often been raised. Indonesian etymology reveals that the word culture, *budaya*, stems from the words *budi* (mind) and *daya* (power) (Alisjahbana, 1986; Koentjaraningrat, 1985). Literally translated, 'culture' in *Bahasa Indonesia* then means 'power of the mind'. It comes as no surprise that many Indonesian scholars consider culture as primarily residing in the minds of people. Sumardjo (2010), for instance, contends that culture is fundamentally intangible; it is through cultural products that the abstract becomes tangible. He is one among many who advocate the idea of analysing cultural artefacts as a principal way of studying culture. Similarly, prominent Indonesian culturalist Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana (1986) maintains that it is through the power of the mind that human beings "transcend nature and live in culture" (p. 26), creating environments that are distinct from those of other creatures.

Turning to Western theorisation of culture, Jamaican-born British cultural theorist Stuart Hall (1997), who has drawn on the work of French philosophers, for example, talks of the notion of "conceptual maps" (p. 18). He believes these maps must be loosely shared if people are to belong to the same culture. I interpret this notion as a set of agreed-upon conventions and discourses that justify and underpin people's beliefs, values and behaviours and which then come to be regarded as common sense. According to Hall, these shared conceptual maps are crucial elements that make up culture. A similar concept has also been articulated by Iranian-born Australian applied linguist Farzad Sharifian (2003, 2011) with his notion of "cultural conceptualisations", which, he maintains, "enable the members of a cultural group to think, so to speak, in one mind" (2003, p. 187). His work, it appears, has drawn significantly on cognitive anthropological studies, such as those of American anthropologists Claudia Strauss and Naomi Quinn (1997) and Roy D'Andrade (1995) who utilise "cultural models" to understand the social world by inquiring into culturally shared meanings.

While I see the terms "conceptual maps", "cultural conceptualisations" and "cultural models" as pointing to similar ideas, as a concept, cultural *models* appears to offer a more

nuanced language for understanding the complexity of these shared cultural meanings. Indeed, the notion of cultural models has been adopted and widely used in various other disciplines, such as applied linguistics and educational studies, to make sense of the complex shared understandings of meanings within communities (e.g., Beach & Kalnin, 2005; Curry, 2002; Gee, 1996, 1999). American discourse analyst James Paul Gee (1999), for example, perceives cultural models as an important tool of inquiry that helps identify the connection between how Discourses (more on this 'big D' Discourse later) operate at "the 'micro' level of interaction" and "the 'macro' level of institutions" (p. 58), helping to unravel the workings of ideology and hegemony in language. In drawing on the concept, Gee particularly highlights the social and political implications of the cultural models under discussion (see Gee, 2005). Generally speaking, cultural models, similar to Hall's notion of conceptual maps described above, function to organise people's beliefs that reflect their everyday, taken-for-granted 'theories' about the world. Gee, however, emphasises that cultural models are not static but rather context-dependent and that they embody both mental and public properties:

> Cultural models tell people what is typical or normal from the perspective of a particular Discourse … [They] come out of and, in turn, inform the social practices in which people of a Discourse engage. Cultural models are stored in people's mind (by no means always consciously), though they are supplemented and instantiated in the objects, texts, and practices that are part and parcel of the Discourse. (Gee, 2001, p. 720)

Gee's conceptualisations of cultural models and 'big D' Discourse provide important thinking devices for investigating social practices as they are enacted through language as well as for analysing elements that give structure to these activities. Due to their relevance to the line of inquiry of the present study, these analytical tools, which constitute Gee's approach to critical discourse analysis (CDA), will be drawn on to interpret some of the data (see Section 4.7).

To return to the debate on the location of culture (in the head or in the world), there are strong philosophical and theoretical bases, originating from both Indonesian and Western perspectives, suggesting that cultures are constructions of the mind (though not purely mental). Finnish cognitive scientist Ilkka Pyysiäinen (2002), however, maintains that, while "cultures are abstractions made by the mind", they are "not reducible to the mind" (p. 167). This argument resonates with that of Clifford Geertz (1973), a prominent American anthropologist, who four decades ago made the case that, as a specific level of

organisation, culture cannot be reduced to the thought and action of individuals. In his "Ontology of Culture and the Study of Human Behavior", Pyysiäinen, as Gee has previously noted, explains that cultural representations have both an individual and a social aspect and that cultures are essentially abstractions of people's mental representations. In Pyysiäinen's own words:

> Cultural representations are widely distributed, lasting representations that have both a mental and a public aspect, in the sense that a mental representation results from the interpretation of a public representation which is itself the expression of a mental representation …. In this perspective, cultures are selective abstractions from people's actual mental representations, not ready-made schemes implanted in individual people's heads like copies of a computer program. People cannot simply 'share' common 'cultural models,' because some important aspects of cultural representations are not culturally transmitted at all. (Pyysiäinen, 2002, pp. 169-170)

Citing the words of Sperber (1996), Pyysiäinen asserts that "culture is the precipitate of cognition and communication in a human population" (p. 169). Viewing the concept in philosophical terms, he maintains that "'culture' is a universal" for all cultures share the property of "cultureness" (p. 170). Drawing on a similar line of argument, Atkinson (2004) emphasises the reciprocal relationship between 'the mind' and 'the world' in the constitution of culture as an ontological entity, stating that "culture exists *co-constitutively* in the world and in the head", having not only "an active *public* life in the world, but also a dynamic *private* life in the head" (p. 284, original emphasis). Thus, while scholars may place different emphasis with regard to the location of culture, depending on the purpose of their investigation, they invariably agree that both dimensions are inseparable.

2.1.4   Big culture versus small culture.

Referring back to Atkinson's four part-division of conceptualisations of culture mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, it is noted that the concept of culture may also be understood in terms of "big culture" and "small culture" (2004, p. 277). The notion of "small culture" was initially proposed by English applied linguist Adrian Holliday (1999), who developed the concept as an analytical tool to help understand the intricacies of social structures. (In his more recent works, the idea has evolved into a model of a "grammar of culture" [see Holliday, 2011].) The term 'small' here, as Holliday points out, does not

simply refer to something smaller in size than its 'large' culture counterpart, which has been taken as the default signifying ethnic, national and international entities (cf. the received view of culture); rather, it has more to do with a "different paradigm through which to look at social groupings" (1999, p. 240). The small culture paradigm, Holliday maintains, is different from the large culture paradigm in that it, first and foremost, attaches 'culture' to any social grouping, as long as it reflects cohesive behaviour, thus avoiding the essentialist approach. Consequently, rather than investigating the nature of cultures and seeking out differences, this paradigm is more concerned with activities and social processes taking place within the group. It is important to note that, unlike in the large culture approach, where sub-cultures can be found and a Russian doll relationship with more dominant cultures exists, Holliday's small cultures do not recognise such sub-sets. The formation of small cultures can take place within as well as beyond ethnic or national boundaries. In the case of the latter formation, Holliday takes the small culture of the school classroom as an example, where similarities between classrooms all over the world can be identified, regardless of national culture differences.

The small culture approach is intended to home in on social processes emerging and taking place within the group, unraveling how group members make sense of and operate meaningfully in changing circumstances. On this point, Holliday points out that "the dynamic aspect of small culture is central to its nature, having the capacity to exist, form and change as required" (1999, p. 248). According to him, there are at least four major interrelated elements that become the building blocks for small culture formation. The first relates to the social and psychological function of culture, which highlights the need for group cohesion. The second deals with the cultural residues and influences that each member brings (e.g., from family, educational, professional experiences, etc.), an aspect which marks the non-essentialist nature of small cultures as well as the social continuity of culture. The third involves the routinisation, institutionalisation and naturalisation of the socially constructed group behaviour in which ideologies are embedded, transforming a social construction into a taken-for-granted aspect of everyday discourse. And the fourth element relates to the products of the group itself, which may be in the form of artefacts, art or discourse about their culture. Discourse as a product here has, in return, an influence on the first element, further strengthening group cohesion. The term 'discourse' in Holliday's conception of small culture appears to follow a critical discourse analysis tradition, where it has generally been considered as "language use as social practice" (Rogers et al., 2005, p. 369). At this juncture, Holliday points out that the relationship between discourse and small culture is similar to that of language and culture (see the next section) and that small culture, in many ways, resembles discourse community.

Drawing from Roberts and Sarangi's work (1997), Holliday also suggests that in the formation of small cultures, various discourses "interact in such a way that they can be said to 'laminate' together to form new, 'hybrid' discourses" (1999, p. 253).

While Holliday's notion of small cultures is helpful in investigating the intricacies and dynamics of social processes involved in the formation of a particular social grouping, its total rejection of the traditionalist/modernist views of culture does not seem to sit coherently with the conceptions of culture espoused by the present study. As I have previously argued, it is important that the different understandings of culture, as presented in this chapter, be seen as complementing one another, rather than being perceived as contradictory, in black-or-white terms (which would inevitably lead to good-bad comparisons). In acknowledging the multidimensional, heterogeneous and dynamic nature of culture, I believe the traditionalist/modernist conceptions of culture can still be used as a thinking device for analysing social issues (e.g., Heyward, 2009). In the present study, the modernist perspective helps, for instance, in identifying commonalities, such as common values, memories, experiences and common practices, that have arisen out of some sense of shared belonging tied to a particular community—though not necessarily at a national level. The modernist way of viewing culture is helpful in tracing and understanding cultural meanings that have come to be shared among individuals who have had similar socially mediated experiences. It enables researchers who are interested in investigating how particular communities operate to recognise certain 'cultural patterning'. Yet, in employing the traditionalist approach I am also cautious of the hidden danger of making generalisations and of over-simplifying what is otherwise a complex world.

In view of these tensions, Gee's (1999, 2011a, 2011b) ideas about 'big D' Discourse seem well-positioned to offer a compromise between the old thinking and the new thinking about culture, by acknowledging, on the one hand, the workings of pre-existing social structures, norms and conventions in the enactment of identity and, on the other hand, the dynamic, power-regulated nature of these social constructions, which are forever being negotiated and reconstructed through interaction. The concept recognises individuals as both choice-making agents and norm-driven beings who can never completely detach themselves from social relations of the society within which they are situated. Since this study is interested in exploring the interaction between the 'personal' and 'the cultural' in the enactment of perspectives and identities of Indonesian teachers in various higher education contexts, I view Gee's approach to discourse analysis to be well-suited to the purpose of the study. His work provides a solid theoretical framework and a powerful

methodological device that allow me to connect the micro to the macro structures and analyse, among other things, how the teachers' discourses construct and reflect certain ways of being in the world. Before proceeding to Gee's theorisation of Discourse, though, I wish to turn first to the discussion of the language-culture nexus.

2.2   The Relationship Between Language and Culture

Numerous scholars of various disciplines, in both Indonesia and the West, have studied the language-culture nexus, and they appear to unanimously endorse the idea that language is the embodiment of culture. In Western education research, for instance, Crozet and Liddicoat (2000) talk about "culture in language" (p. 1), while Kramsch (1989, as cited in Risager, 2007) talks about "linguaculture", where "culture is viewed ... as a world view to be discovered in the language itself" (p. 109). In understanding how the two notions— language and culture—precisely interrelate, Hall's work on *representation* (1997) is particularly crucial for this study.

While language has generally been acknowledged as a medium through which people articulate their thoughts, ideas and feelings, Hall emphasises the notion that language is fundamental to meaning. Language, he maintains, is able to generate meaning by means of representation, which, in effect, enables people to relate to abstract concepts in their minds to actual objects, people, experiences or events in the world. According to Hall, it is through the use of signs and symbols that we are able to "say something meaningful about, or to *represent*, the world meaningfully, to other people" (1997, p. 15, my italics). Thus, these shared symbol systems are fundamental in the production of meaning; the significance of these elements for language is, as Hall puts it, "not what they *are* but what they *do* .... They construct meaning and transmit it" (p. 5, original emphasis). Associating language specifically with words, education researchers Dyson and Genishi (2005) highlight two key ideas about language: that it is "both a repository of cultural meanings and a medium for the production of meaning in everyday life" (p. 5). It is through these shared linguistic repertoires, they say, that people are able to name and narrate their experiences.

It should be noted, however, that Hall's concept of language is to be understood in a very broad sense as encompassing all sorts of verbal and non-verbal significations. It also implies an important premise: that language is a social construct. In this sense, meaning, which is embodied in language, becomes inseparable from culture, and culture, in turn, gives shape to our identities and functions as an identity marker. And yet, language, as

cognitive anthropologists would argue, is both shared and uniquely individual; while shared texts and practices function as important bonding cement in the production and reproduction of cultural meanings, these meanings are at once always particular to individual understandings. Further, meanings are never static and uncontested, nor do they 'just' circulate; they are always struggling and evolving. Drawing on the works of Vygotsky and Bakhtin, Gee (1999) maintains that "meaning is not general and abstract, not something that resides in dictionaries .... Rather, it is *situated* in specific social and cultural practices, and is continually transformed in those practices" (p. 63, italics in original). Emphasising the discursive nature of meaning-making, Donmoyer (2000), who has built on the ideas of the father of symbolic interactionism Herbert Blumer (1969), asserts that "meanings are a product of social interaction ... [and that] they must constantly be constructed and reconstructed by actors during social interaction" (p. 49). He adds that within this 'dialogic' process of interaction "those with power can often force their social constructions on others" (p. 65).

Gee's notion of "*situated meaning*" thus rests upon the idea that the construction of meaning is dependent on context. 'Context', Gee points out, is a vital concept in discourse analysis—a concept which he views as comprising a wide range of elements: the physical, the mental, the personal, the interactional, the social, the institutional, the cultural and the historical.

> Context includes the physical setting in which the communication takes place and everything in it; the bodies, eye, gaze, gestures, and movements of those present; what has previously been said and done by those involved in the communication; any shared knowledge those involved have, including shared cultural knowledge. (Gee, 2011a, p. 6)

Since meanings are always grounded in actual practices and experiences, created for and adapted to specific contexts of use, different contexts, therefore, can lead to different constructions of meanings. In this sense, to 'know' what a word means is to be able to recognise the particular linguistic patterns, drawn on against a set of social and cultural assumptions that constitute a cultural model of a particular sociocultural group. As Gee (1999) puts it:

> Thinking and using language is an active matter of assembling the situated meanings that you need for action in the world. This assembly is always relative to your socioculturally-defined experiences in the world and, more or

less, routinized ("normed") through cultural models and various social practices of the sociocultural groups to which you belong. (Gee, 1999, pp. 49-50)

Tied to the above idea of language as a sociocultural construct is Gee's (1999) notion of "social languages". A social language, as he defines it, is a way of using language to enact and recognise a particular *socially-situated identity*—to be a 'kind of person'—in a particular context. But just as meanings are not fixed and static, so, too, being certain kinds of people has to be constantly negotiated. These notions of "*situated identities*" and "*cultural models*" are highly relevant to the present inquiry, particularly in providing conceptual tools with which to analyse how the teacher participants, within specific contexts, enact specific identities through the language they use. All of these analytical devices work integrally with Gee's theorisation of Discourse, which I shall discuss shortly.

2.3   Cultural Flows, Discourse and Ideology

Consistent with the idea that meaning is ever-changing and multiple is the fact that meaning, as embodied in language and manifested through various cultural practices, cuts across national boundaries—a process that Ulf Hannerz (1992), a Swedish social anthropologist, has named "cultural flows" (p. 28). According to Hannerz, cultural processes and practices 'flow' through social networks of varying kinds—from personal interaction at the micro-level to interactions at the macro-level, involving organisations and institutions at national, transnational, transcontinental and global levels. Drawing from Hannerz's model of cultural flow, Risager (2006, 2007) proposes a theory regarding the language—culture nexus from a transnational viewpoint. There is a quite lengthy passage from Risager's theorising I would like to quote here, which, I believe, contains a valid and important extension of Hall's and Gee's conceptions of culture and which helps to illustrate the complexity of linguistic and cultural processes as they spread globally. Using the Japanese language as an example, Risager writes:

> The Japanese language is (naturally) not spoken only in Japan but also around the world in larger or smaller networks of persons and institutions. The Japanese language (or, more correctly, linguistic practice in Japanese) is spread in social networks, many of which are transnational and some even global. This spread takes place via transnational migration of Japanese speakers, but it is also enabled by teaching in Japanese around the world ….

Other forms of culture of Japanese origin follow other routes, e.g. the sushi culture that has spread to many parts of the world, even to contexts where there is no knowledge of the Japanese language. And discourses about Japan and the Japanese are to be found all over the world, not only in Japanese but also in many other languages. Discourses about Japanese cultural and societal conditions spread then across language communities via translation processes and other content transformations. In this way, a picture emerges of more or less global linguistic and cultural processes of spreading and mixing (Risager, 2007, p.17).

Risager's conception of transnational linguistic and cultural flows can be linked to Pennycook's *transcultural flows* (2007), which refer to "the ways in which cultural forms move, change and are re-used to fashion new identities in diverse contexts" (p. 6). The example of cultural forms that Pennycook focuses on is hip-hop; he explores how this genre has become a tool for local appropriation, resistance and reworking of identity, and he links this idea to the global spread of English.

Although Pennycook and Risager emphasise somewhat different dimensions of culture, they both seem to agree that inherent in these cultural processes is the issue of power, which I have indirectly alluded to in the above discussion. Power, indeed, takes many forms, but critical theorists generally agree that language, as a cultural tool, plays a central role in the production, reproduction and distribution of power (Cole & Graham, 2012; Fairclough, 1989; Gee, 1996; Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui, & Joseph, 2005). Seen in this light, language cannot be considered neutral. In view of this, Risager (2007) maintains, "all exchange of meaning is relational, embedded … in power relations" (p. 175). Risager and Pennycook's ideas can thus be said to conform to postmodernist conceptions of culture, which revolve around the notions of discourse, identity and power. There are many ways in which the term 'discourse' has been defined. Gee (1999, 2011a), for instance, distinguishes between 'little d' discourse and 'big D' Discourse. He uses the former term to simply refer to "'language-in-use' or stretches of oral or written language" (2011a, p. 177), while the latter melds 'little d' discourse integrally with "non-language 'stuff' to enact specific identities and activities" (1999, p. 7), as he elaborates below:

> A Discourse with a capital "D" … is composed of distinctive ways of speaking/listening and … distinctive ways of writing/reading. These distinctive ways of speaking/listening and/or reading/writing are *coupled* with distinctive ways of acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, dressing, thinking

and believing. In turn, all of these are coupled with ways of coordinating oneself with (getting in synch with) other people and with various objects, tools, and technologies. All this is in the service of enacting specific socially recognizable identities. (Gee, 2011a, p. 177, italics in original)

Influenced by poststructuralist thought (most notably Foucault, Bourdieu, and Bakhtin) and neo-Marxist critical theory (such as Althusser and Gramsci), Gee contends that Discourse is not only always social but is also inherently and inextricably political. In his view, Discourses are political because they involve social roles or positions that have implications for the distribution of "social goods", that is, "who gets what in terms of money, status, power, and acceptance on a variety of different terms" (2011b, p. 7). These social goods, as Gee explains, are wanted, valued, striven and struggled for in society. Because Discourses are intertwined with power relations and hierarchical structure in society, crucially involving a set of values and beliefs governing these societal frames, they are necessarily always and everywhere ideological (see Gee, 1996). In effect, control over certain Discourses has implications for "political things" (Gee, 2004, p. 33) and the 'possession' of certain Discourses can lead to the empowerment of certain sorts of people. Gee gives an example of how the right combination of 'saying, doing and being' in a job interview allows some people access to some social goods, while those lacking the desired 'competencies' are denied these goods. In this sense of politics, Gee implies that Discourses can be seen to function as a "gate-keeping device" (2004, p. 33). Gee's notion of Discourse can be linked to Bourdieu's notion of capital, in which the term designates "all the goods, material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 178). Seen in this light, Discourse can thus be seen as a form of capital—linguistic capital—that can readily convert to other forms—economic, social, cultural—depending on its contextual factors (see Bourdieu, 1986).

The study of how ideologies are constructed through language has been a major focus of different models of critical discourse analysis (CDA). While some versions of CDA heavily emphasise overt radical politics in their theorisation, connecting strongly to notions of 'hegemony', 'social injustice' and 'liberation', this study, which also acknowledges the political nature of language use and power relations constituting social practices is more interested in inquiring into "discourse in Discourses" (Gee, 1999, p. 7). As such, the study will be drawing predominantly on Gee's version of discourse analysis (1999, 2011a, 2011b) as it is deemed to provide the appropriate conceptual as well as methodological

tools to study the multi-faceted reciprocal relationship between language-in-use ('little d' discourse) and the broader social structures mediating 'big D' Discourses.

2.4   The Classroom as a Social Institution and the Discourses Embedded Within It

Following Gee's conceptualization of D/discourse, which brings together "minds, bodies, social interactions, social groups and institutions" (1999, p. 5), the classroom can be seen as an institutional construct that has its own regulations, routines, rituals and system of values. While earlier studies involving the classroom tend to focus on linguistic, interactional patterns of classroom talk, greater attention is now being paid to the 'contextual' and more 'critical' aspects underlying classroom interactions, linking them to the macro sociocultural, historical and political forces surrounding these discourses (e.g., Canagarajah, 1999; Luk & Lin, 2007; Milner, 2010; Tsui, 2007). As many critical pedagogists contend, classroom processes do not take place in a vacuum. Pennington, Lee and Lau's study (1996), for instance, shows how classroom talk invariably reproduces the culture outside the institution. In his theorisation of discourse analysis, Gee (2011a) refers to such reproduction or 'echoing' as "intertextuality" (p. 167), where he sees our utterances or "texts" (p. 167), as he has phrased it, to echo voices that have been uttered elsewhere. Drawing on the work of Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin (1986), Gee (2000-2001) alludes to the idea that what people say "is, in reality, composed of bits and pieces of language that have been voiced elsewhere, in other conversations or texts, bits and pieces that have circulated and recirculated inside the workings of various texts, social groups, and institutions" (p. 114). Yet, as Gee would also argue, all utterances are context-dependent, and, consequently, their meanings will have to be interpreted by attending to larger sociocultural, political and historical forces surrounding the interactions. In the present inquiry, the interconnection between the Indonesian higher education 'teacher as a person' (cf. Goodson, 1992) and the sociocultural contexts in which this teacher is situated are purposefully foregrounded. I intend that this will help to provide the most suitable path to studying 'discourse in Discourses', highlighting the "co-relationships between language, culture, context and identity" (Hawkins, 2004, p. 4) in these teachers' lives and work.

Other educational studies have taken other routes toward "empowering education" (Shor, 1992; see also Freire, 1970). Shor, for instance, focuses on the ways meanings evolve as teachers and students construct classroom discourses through ongoing dialogue, and on the ways that knowledge is produced, reproduced, negotiated and even resisted in the

classroom. Some zoom into, borrowing Breen's terms (1985), the "individual-subjective" and "collective-intersubjective" (p. 140) experiences of teachers and students. Unmasking their experiences often reveals the fact that classrooms are not merely instructional sites; rather, they are "cultural arenas where heterogeneous ideological, discursive, and social forms collide in an unremitting struggle for dominance" (McLaren, 1995, p. 30). For myself as an educator and researcher, I find many studies in critical pedagogy not only awareness-raising but also truly empowering, inspiring me to grow in my professional journey as a teacher.

Although this research does not maintain a sustained focus on classroom discourse as such, Luk and Lin's (2007) study on classroom interactions is worth noting, as their theoretical underpinnings and framework clearly correspond to my own line of inquiry, which is also discursive in nature. According to Luk and Lin, a number of resources can be used as tools to unravel the complexity of classroom discourse: (1) classroom activities; (2) linguistic (e.g., phonology, syntax, and lexis) and paralinguistic resources (e.g., gestures, facial expressions, volume of voice); (3) institutional resources, which relate to the institutional roles of 'teacher' and 'student' and include elements such as status, power, responsibility, obligation, and experience of institutional practices; and (4) cultural resources, which people use to understand and interpret others' messages and behaviour. In noting these elements, they point out that classroom activities, linguistic and paralinguistic resources as well as institutional resources are not free-floating but are themselves contextual and culture-bound. They also point to the interconnectedness among these resources. Despite the different research aims and foci embedded within these different resources, I consider them to provide crucial thinking devices when seeking to understand the work of the Indonesian teacher educators I am investigating in this study. In the same way that Luk and Lin contend that these resources need to be situated within particular contexts, this study takes the views that when one is inquiring into Indonesian English language teachers' beliefs, practices and identity work, each teacher must necessarily be seen as a cultural being who operates in and through cultural frames of reference. I elaborate these sociocultural dimensions of teacher identity in the next chapter.

In this chapter, drawing on the voices of both Western and Indonesian scholars, I have identified and delineated a number of different ways in which culture is commonly perceived in the research literature. I have done this in order to lay an epistemological foundation for understanding relevant key concepts of the study: the concept of interculturality in language pedagogy and the sociocultural perspectives of teacher

identity. Arguing that categorisations of culture are best seen as complementary rather than binary opposites, I have engaged simultaneously with the 'old' and 'new' thinking about culture to serve the different purposes of the study, with the former being utilised to reflect on the shared cultural symbols, values, traditions and practices that tie communities as 'one people', and the latter to render visible the active process, context-boundedness and power-driven nature of meaning making. In this research, cultures are seen as constituting a range of opposing forces. These forces combine those that are stable, traditional and continuous, on the one hand, and also those that are dynamic, creative and fragmented, on the other. Further, I have established strong theoretical grounds for drawing on Gee's approach to discourse analysis, both as a theoretical framework and methodological device. I have argued that this approach offers a strong connecting point between the old thinking (i.e., modernist) and the new thinking (i.e., postmodernist) about culture by acknowledging both the workings of pre-existing social structures in the enactment of identity and the dynamic, power-regulated nature of these social constructions.

Chapter 3

ELT, Interculturality and Teacher Identity

> Education is and has always been part and parcel of culture. The two are just inseparable. This is true for any country, society, or community. For this reason productive discussion of any eductional issue must take into account the realities that exist at any given time within the cultural environments, both local and national. Any educational discourse conducted without due regard to the cultural conditions of the time will be meaningless and futile. (Buchori, 2001, p. xiii)

In this chapter I review the development of English language teaching (ELT) in Indonesia by situating it in its sociocultural and political contexts, linking the issue to some of the nation's major language policies. Examining its successive curricula, I investigate the extent to which these documents have provided some space for explicit engagement with the cultural dimensions of foreign language learning. In particular, I look at how culture has been conceptualised, and the role that it is assumed to play in language pedagogy. As points of comparison, I also present major approaches to teaching culture in the Western academic context, before proceeding to a discussion of interculturality in the foreign language classroom and the sociocultural perspectives of teacher identity.

3.1 English Language Teaching in Indonesia: The Past and Present

To understand the status of the English language and the place of ELT in Indonesia today, it is imperative to consider the nation's historical and sociopolitical landscapes. Gaining its independence in 1945, Indonesia was previously successively colonised by the Portuguese (1512-1580), the Dutch (1602-1942) and the Japanese (1942-1945), during which time colonial rule operated to serve the colonialists' imperialist interests (Ricklefs, 2005). The teaching of English in the country could be traced back as far as the Dutch colonial period in the early 1900s, when it was taught as a compulsory subject to students in MULO (*Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* or junior secondary schools). Operating under the colonial education system, these schools were elitist in nature, using Dutch as the medium of instruction and were attended only by very few upper-class Indonesians. Mistar (2005)

classifies this period of ELT as the pre-independence phase. His classification covers two other phases, namely the early independence phase (1945-1950) and the development phase (from 1950 onwards). It is in these two phases that English is officially and formally acknowledged as a foreign language (as opposed to a second language) in the country. The language policy leading to this status, as many Indonesian scholars (e.g., Dardjowidjojo, 2000; Hamied, 2012; Lie, 2007) have rightly observed, cannot be separated from the following considerations: first, the relation of the English language to the political status of *Bahasa Indonesia* itself, and, second, Indonesian leaders' perceptions of the Dutch language.

Following the proclamation of the nation's independence in 1945, the Constitution was established. Article 36 of this Constitution declares that the Indonesian language is the language of the state, which functions as "an instrument for unifying tribes and communities that have diferent cultures and languages" (Hamied, 2012, p. 65). As noted in Chapter Two, as a nation, Indonesia is made up of over 17,500 islands, and over 6,000 of these are inhabited by around 650 ethnic groups, each of which has its own distinctive 'set' of ethnic languages and cultures (Azra, 2010; Maps of World, 2013). Taking into account this vast linguistic and cultural diversity, a unifying language was deemed necessary to facilitate cross-cultural interaction and for communication at the national level in social and governmental affairs. It follows that, for most Indonesians, with the exception of some of those living in urban areas, *Bahasa Indonesia* is their second language. It was, therefore, perhaps inevitable that English has gained the status as a foreign language (EFL) in Indonesia, rather than a second language (ESL) as is the case in the Philippines and Singapore.

Furthermore, the decision that explicitly formalised the status of English as a foreign language in the country could not be detached from the perception of the general public towards the Dutch language at the time. Despite the fact that many of Indonesia's leaders at the time were educated in Dutch language schools, they were reluctant to choose Dutch as a foreign language to be taught in the national education system for two reasons: firstly, because they considered Dutch as the language of the colonialist and, secondly, because it was regarded as not having international stature (Dardjowidjojo, 2000).

During the early independence phase, an Inspectorate of English Language Instruction was established (Sadtono, 1997). Its main function was to supervise English language teaching in the country, but it also reaffirmed the status of English as a foreign language in its policies and spelled out the implications and manifestations of TEFL (teaching English as a

foreign language). The development phase of ELT in Indonesia, which began in 1950, witnessed a significant leap in student enrolment at school. This resulted in two major challenges for the teaching of English: the sudden demand for more qualified English teachers and the demand for more English instructional materials (Mistar, 2005). To meet the first demand, two-year English teacher training institutes were established in a number of cities throughout the country, two of which received financial and technical assistance from the Ford Foundation (in the USA). These Ford Foundation-assisted training institutes became popularly known as Standard Training Centres (STC). Scholarships were also awarded for academically excellent STC students to pursue masters and doctoral degrees in the USA. By the end of July 1955, when the English Teacher Training Project with the Ford Foundation ended, approximately 1,025 teachers had been trained (Dardjowidjojo, 2000).

While the project was running, the Ministry of Education and Culture also launched programs called *PGSLP (Pendidikan Guru Sekolah Lanjutan Pertama)* and *PGSLA (Pendidikan Guru Sekolah Lanjutan Atas)*, which aimed at preparing graduates to be junior and senior secondary school teachers respectively. At the tertiary level, teacher training colleges (*perguruan tinggi pendidikan guru*) were also established, which by 1961 became known as Faculties of Teacher Training and Education (*Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan*, abbreviated as FKIP). Here, all types of teacher education were integrated (Mistar, 2005). In 1960, a project named the English Language Teacher Training Program was set up at Airlangga University's FKIP in Malang, East Java. The project aimed particularly at establishing a corps of English language teachers who would formulate the pillars of ELT in Indonesia. Only Indonesia's top FKIP Bachelor graduates were selected in this program. Upon its completion, these students were then entitled to teach at higher education level (Sadtono, 1997).

In regards to meeting the demand for English instructional materials, in the 1950s a committee was formed to develop English syllabi and materials, again with the assistance of Ford Foundation funding. Out of this project, a series of English textbooks was produced. During these times, the British Council, setting up headquarters in Bandung, West Java, was also involved in ELT at the school level, although later it shifted its focus to assisting the tertiary level. In addition, the Colombo Plan, in which the Australian and New Zealand governments participated, assisted the young nation to develop by providing scholarships for non-degree training in these countries (Dardjowidjojo, 2000). Since the 1960s, the Indonesian government itself has actively initiated and facilitated a series of projects involving English teacher upgrading and English materials development. In 1973,

an association called Teachers of English as a Foreign Language in Indonesia (TEFLIN) was established at Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Central Java. This association was set up by some Indonesian academics who were concerned about the quality of ELT in the country and aspired to facilitate the sharing of ideas surrounding TEFL. Since its establishment, TEFLIN has conducted numerous seminars and conferences throughout the country.

Despite these efforts, current statistics indicate that Indonesia still has inadequate numbers of qualified English teachers (Hamied, 2012; Kam, 2002; Lie, 2007; Marcellino, 2008). Hamied, for instance, points out that more than 30% of English teachers in the country do not have the right academic qualifications. This is unarguably part of a bigger challenge that Indonesia is facing in the education sector. A national-scale study on teacher quality shows that 65% of Indonesia's 2.7 million teachers failed to fulfill the basic requirement to have at least a four-year tertiary education degree, as set out in the 2005 Law on Teachers and Lecturers (Jalal et al., 2009). This is a problem that the government expects to tackle through teacher certification, a policy initiative beginning in 2007. Within the scheme, a range of strategies and pathways have been conceptualised and operationalised to address this issue of teacher quality. The implementation of the scheme is also linked to the idea of welfare improvement of teachers through salary increases. Responses to this large-scale initiative, however, have not been all positive. Some recent studies, for example, have highlighted that teacher certification makes little impact on the teachers' teaching quality (e.g., Fahmi, Maulana, & Yusuf, 2011; Kuswandono, 2013; Surakhmad, 2009; Tilaar, 2009).

In the English education sector, too, it is apparent that concerns about teacher quality have been exacerbated by teacher shortages. While English is compulsory in secondary schools, as it is one of the subjects included in the national examination, Hamied (2012), drawing on some demographic information, calculated that there are, on average, only two teachers of English in each school, with each teacher having to handle approximately 150 students.

Having said that, there is little doubt in my mind—having witnessed the mushrooming of private English courses in many parts of Indonesia and the code-mixings and switchings of *Bahasa Indonesia* and English in many levels of social interaction—that Indonesian people in general would consider English as an important language to acquire. And they may have different reasons for this: from perceiving the language as 'a window to the world', providing access and benefits to global knowledge and international communication, to a

way of boosting social status and lifestyle (Lie, 2007). To me, personally, English is much more than just a 'factor' that I deal with in my everyday profession as a teacher of English, and this is certainly not simply related to the views mentioned above. More fundamentally, English has inherently constituted a part of who I am. Although two decades ago it was the language I turned to in order to survive as a sojourner in the 'West', the language has gradually infused into and shaped my sense of identity in profound ways. Shamefully, nowadays, I have to admit that my English is even better than my Sundanese, the ethnic language that I grew up with, the language that is supposed to be my 'first language'. In this sense, I tend to agree with Kam (2002), who maintains that the ESL-EFL distinction has little meaning at the individual level. For me as for Kam, as they are merely "terms of convenience" (p. 3).

Nevertheless, in a country such as Indonesia, whose population currently reaches almost 250 million (World Population Review, 2013) and in which there are wide-ranging social structures and resources across regions, people's individual engagement with English undoubtedly varies a great deal. Taking into account the unequal distribution of wealth and the advancement of technology enjoyed by particular social groups, Indonesian academic Anita Lie (2007) believes that Kachru's (1985) concentric circles, which place Indonesia in the 'expanding circle', need to be revisited. She argues:

> A country like Indonesia may be categorized as the Expanding Circle and the Outer Circle at the same time. The majority of students are learners of English in the Expanding Circle while the urban new rich and their offsprings have made themselves comfortable users of English and of all attributes pertaining to the language. Thus, there have been unequal opportunities in the learning environment for learners of English in Indonesia. (Lie, 2007, p. 8)

I relate the discussion of Kachru's well-known model of Englishes to the issue of ownership of English and the discourses surrounding World Englishes in a subsequent section. But for now, I wish to delineate the changing faces of ELT curriculum in Indonesia since the early independence phase and highlight in what ways and to what extent cultural dimensions of ELT have been represented in these curricula.

3.1.1 Indonesia's national English curricula and the cultural component of ELT.

Since its independence, Indonesia's national education has mandated six different English curricula to be implemented in schools. (The Law on Higher Education, Number 12, 2012

stipulates that higher education institutions are given the freedom to design and develop their own curriculum provided that they are in accord with the Higher Education National Standards.) The six national English curricula revolve around three major teaching paradigms, or "approaches" as the curriculum documents have named them. They are as follows:

Table 3.1 *The Changing National English Curricula (1945-2012)*

MANDATED ELT CURRICULUM	TEACHING APPROACH[4]
The 1945 Curriculum (1945- 1967)	Grammar translation
The 1968 Curriculum (1968-1974)	Audio-lingual
The 1975 Curriculum (1975-1983)	Audio-lingual
The 1984 Curriculum (1984-1993)	Communicative
The Meaning-based Curriculum (1994-2003)	Communicative
The Competency-based Curriculum (2004-2005)	Communicative
The School-based Curriculum (2006-2012)	Communicative

Adapted from various sources: Dardjowidjojo, 2000; Indasari, 2012; Lie, 2007; Mistar, 2005.

Adding to the list, a new national curriculum has recently been published, known as the 2013 Curriculum. However, an online report published by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture states that the new curriculum has not yet been implemented in all parts of Indonesia (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2014).

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[4] "Approach" is the precise term used in the national curriculum documents. The term used here needs to be understood in a much broader sense than it is commonly used and understood in Western education contexts, encompassing not only the kind of instruction mandated for use by teachers but also a kind of 'pedagogical paradigm'.

In the early independence phase, the teaching of English—and the education system in general—still drew heavily on the legacy of the Dutch, with the teaching revolving around the Grammar Translation approach. Textbooks used were mainly British oriented, whereas the incorporation of cultural aspects resided primarily in literary works to be translated (Mistar, 2005; Dardjowidjojo, 2000). It was not until 1967 that the objectives of TEFL in Indonesia were clearly elaborated and made official through the issuance of 96/1967 Ministrial Decree. The decree highlighted the attainment of language skills as the primary goal of ELT at secondary education level, which specifically should enable students to:

1. read textbooks and reference materials in English, which constitute 90% of all available reference materials;
2. understand lectures given by foreign lecturers as part of the affiliation programs with universities abroad or to communicate with individuals ans students from overseas;
3. take notes of lectures given by foreign lecturers, and to introduce the culture of Indonesia to international communities; and
4. communicate orally with foreign lecturers, individuals and students in oral examination and discussions. (cited in Mistar, 2005, p. 78-79)

As indicated in the above points, the order of importance of the four macrolanguage skills to be acquired was as follows: reading, listening, writing and speaking. Of the four teaching objectives, point 3 seems to have been the only one that explicitly highlighted the cultural component of language teaching. The phrase "the culture of Indonesia", however, appears to suggest there was a direct, taken-for-granted association of the notion of culture with a national, geographically-bounded entity, in which the learner was portrayed as functioning as a 'conveyor' of cultural information and knowledge. Adopting an audio-lingual approach, the teaching instruction employed a structural syllabus, emphasising linguistic patterns through habit-formation drills.

Maintaining the approach and order of priorities of the four language skills, the 1975 Curriculum was a revision of the previous one, with the objectives of the English language pedagogy being expanded from academic purposes to "the facilitation of the development of advanced science, technology, culture, and arts, as well as to enhance international relationships" (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1975, as cited in Mistar, 2005, p. 79). While this curriculum promised to be more embracing in terms of the cultural component

of ELT, culture, it seems, was still understood as an external entity existing independent of language.

The 1984 Curriculum marked the start of the communicative approach that is still being applied in today's ELT. It signalled a shift in philosophical perspective regarding language acquisition, replacing Noam Chomsky's (1965) theorisation of linguistic competence with Dell Hyme's (1966) development of communicative competence, which views language as a social phenomenon (Dardjowidjojo, 2000). The curriculum, however, was widely perceived by teachers to be 'misleading', and hence incorrectly implemented, as it contained a fundamental mismatch between the claim of the approach and the type of syllabus published, which was structural in orientation. In effect, many teachers still allocated a significant portion of their instruction to teaching grammatical structures, with the four skills taught separately rather than integrally (Mistar, 2005). In addition, the 1984 Curriculum was criticised for failing to provide sufficient information concerning 'the what' and 'the how' of the teaching that teachers were supposed to implement. In 1994, a revision of the curriculum was published.

The 1994 Curriculum, which was also called the Meaning-based Curriculum, adopted the notion of meaningfulness as its key guiding principle. One manifestation of this concept was the integration of language components and skills in the form of themes, hence it had a thematic syllabus. The syllabus incorporated, among other features, functional skills to be developed, examples of communicative expressions and a list of vocabulary to be taught. Lie's (2007) study examining a number of nationally published textbooks based on this curriculum, however, indicates that some materials may not have been as relevant and meaningful for learners because these texts, in her observation, failed to incorporate "multicultural perspectives in relation to the diversity of the students" (p. 6). This deficit was then dealt with through the publication of the 2004 Curriculum.

The 2004 Curriculum based its theoretical foundation of communicative competence on Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei, and Thurrell's (1995) model, which consists of socio-cultural competence, discourse competence, linguistic competence, actional competence and strategic competence. This curriculum took as its fundamental tenet that language is inseparable from culture and that the cultural context will always mediate social interaction taking place at any given time (*Departemen Pendidikan Nasional*, 2003). In this curriculum, for the first time in a series of curricula published, cross-cultural understanding was sought and this was explicitly stated in the curriculum's objectives, as follows:

- Developing communicative competence in spoken and written English, which comprises listening, speaking, reading, and writing.
- Raising awareness regarding the nature and importance of English as a foreign language [and] as a means for learning.
- Developing understanding of the interrelationship between language and culture and broadening cultural horizon so that students acquire cross-cultural understanding and are able to participate in cultural diversity. (Department of National Education, 2003, p. 14, my translation)

The year 2006, however, witnessed yet another 'new' national curriculum. While the philosophical and theoretical foundations of this curriculum are still the same as that of 2004, the 2006 Curriculum highlights the idea of school autonomy, which, translated in the context of ELT, enables teachers of English to design and develop their own syllabus and teaching materials, though they still need to comply with the statement about Standard Competence issued by the Department of National Education and the vision and mission statements of the school (Sujana, Nuryanti, & Narasintawati, 2011).

It is interesting to note that despite the communicative approach's longstanding implementation in Indonesia's ELT, many education scholars and practitioners point out that it has not been successful. While a number of studies (e.g., Musthafa, 2010) tend to attribute this failure to features of a non-conducive learning environment, such as big class sizes, insufficient learning resources, and unsatisfactory teacher performance, other studies (e.g., Dardjowidjojo, 2001; Kuswandono, Gandana, Rohani, & Zulfikar, 2011; Marcellino, 2008) have attempted to view the problem by connecting it to the wider sociocultural context. These studies argue that the values embedded in the adopted teaching approach are not 'culturally compatible' with those of the local context. Focusing on the issue of learner autonomy within the Javanese education setting, Dardjowidjojo (2001), for example, describes some major cultural constraints in its implementation due to the society's differing "culturally-bound *Weltanschaung*" (p. 309). An inquiry-based and learner-centred approach can work very well in a context whose cultural model, so to speak, values independence highly; however, the Javanese society, as Dardjowidjojo has observed, adopts philosophies that tend to be contradictory to the above education values, such as the *manut-lan-miturut* philosophy, which associates good and bad behaviours with one's degree of obedience, or the *ewuh-pekewuh* outlook, which demands words of elders be unquestioned or unchallenged as a sign of respect. These local philosophies, as he maintains, clearly would not sit well with the principles of learner autonomy.

Following the philosophical underpinning that views language and culture as interconnected, English textbooks, as indicated through personal observation and various research studies (e.g., Hermawan & Noerkhasanah, 2012; Prastiwi, 2013; Sugirin, Sudartini, Suciati, & Nurhayati, 2011), have been judged to carry a more significant portion of cultural content, and this is more than just 'add-on' activities. Furthermore, this shift in philosophical outlook also appears to have influenced policy makers and curriculum developers at the tertiary level to introduce theoretical culture subjects, such as *Cross-Cultural Understanding* and *Intercultural Communication*[5], as integral components of language programs in the faculty of languages. In spite of this, there is strong evidence that 'culture' in the English language classroom is often associated with the culture of dominant English-speaking countries, most notably Britain and the USA (Dardjowidjojo, 2001; Hermawan & Noerkhasanah; 2012; Jahan & Roger, 2006; Siregar, 2010; Zacharias, 2005). In this context, the notion of culture then almost always refers to a particular national entity. Hermawan and Noerkhasanah's (2012) study, which examines the kinds of cultural aspects contained in nationally published English textbooks and uses Adaskou et al.'s (1990) framework of four senses of culture, have found these texts to prioritise the 'sociological sense' (e.g., family life, work and leisure, customs, and the like) in comparison to other aspects of culture. The analysis of these texts underlining the association of the target language culture with Western cultures is hardly surprising. Given the historical context of ELT in the country and the various forms of 'assistance' the nation has received in developing English curricula, teaching materials and many other programs related to English teachers' professional development, a focus on the above-mentioned countries has been seen by many as a mere natural consequence. However, this issue of ownership is gradually shifting with the emergence of World Englishes, as I elaborate below.

3.1.2   The Indonesian context of culture teaching and the discourses of World Englishes.

As previously mentioned, English language teaching in Indonesia has long, and unquestioningly, revolved around the teaching of British and American cultures (cf. Dardjowidjojo, 2000; Mistar, 2005). Examination of ELT practices in Indonesian academic

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[5] These are the common titles of obligatory subjects taught in universities offering language programs in Indonesia. Not all universities, however, use the same subject names. Some may use slightly different names, such as *Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC)*, but the objectives and the content of the subject are nevertheless similar.

settings also indicates that these cultures have often been treated as monolithic and static, represented by the White mainstream (cf. Siregar, 2010; Zacharias, 2005). Although, in general, there seems to be an increasing recognition of the existence of other varieties of English today, the tendency still exists to aim for native speaker-like proficiency in English instruction and ELT textbooks. For example, one English textbook that is still in use for Junior High School students, which was published by a well-known Indonesian publishing house, states in the Preface that one of the features of the book, named 'For your tongue', aims at helping learners to "loose [their] tongue[s] so that [they] can practice to speak just like Britney Spears or Prince William" (Mukarto, Sujatmiko, Josephine, & Kiswara, 2007, p. v). That being said, current scholarly discussions of ELT, however, indicate that native-speakerism is becoming increasingly unpopular and that there are mounting arguments against the idea (see Holliday, 2009; Kirkpatrick, 2007b; Moussu & Llurda, 2008).

The tendency to associate target language culture with a particular national entity, especially when portrayed in a homogeneous manner, has also been considered problematic. First, drawing a demarcation between "familiar and 'exotic' cultures" (Guest, 2002, p. 154) tends to reinforce stereotypes and runs the risk of essentialising the Other. Second, emphasising British or North American culture in ELT simply ignores the language's dynamic and multicultural nature. The tendency to focus on British and North American English as the idealised or pure language varieties in the English language classroom has invited criticism and been problematised by various scholars such as Phillipson (1992), Pennycook (1998), Canagarajah (1999), Modiano (2001) and Matsuda (2003), all of whom caution against the hegemony of the Centre. Addressing the problem of teaching 'the dominant' English only, Matsuda (2003), for instance, argues that such a practice "neglects the real linguistic needs of the learners, eclipses their education about the history and politics of English, and fails to empower them with ownership of English" (p. 721).

The globalisation of the English language, which has resulted in the expansion of English beyond, borrowing Kachru's term (1985), the inner circle, has led to a significant proliferation of Englishes across the globe—a phenomenon often associated with the notion of World Englishes. It has also encouraged the 'nativisation' of the English language in many parts of the outer circle, such as Nigeria, India, the Philippines and Singapore (see Kirkpatrick, 2010). In line with these global trends, claims have been made regarding shifts in the demographics of English users, which point to the outnumbering of native speakers of English by those who speak English as a foreign or second language (Crystal, 2003; Mackey, 2007; Yano, 2009). These phenomena have an important implication in

relation to the ownership of the language. Proponents of World Englishes maintain that, because of these demographic trends, English can no longer be claimed to belong solely to the inner circle and that it should not necessarily be associated with Westernisation. They also perceive the centre of authority to be shifting, as speakers of the outer circle are "actively reinterpreting, reshaping and redefining English in oral and written form" (Nault, 2006, p. 316).

Indeed, in the past few decades, much critical attention has been drawn to the status of English as an International Language (EIL) and of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). Themes running through the discussion mainly revolve around issues of norms and implications for classroom practice (see Álvarez, 2007; Gagliardi & Maley, 2010; Gandana, 2010; Kuo, 2006; Maley, 2009; McKay & Bokhorst-Heng, 2008; Saraceni, 2009; Sifakis, 2004). It is apparent that the emergence of EIL/EFL has added to the complexity of teaching culture in the English language classroom; besides having to decide what kinds of cultural contents need to be taught, ELT teachers consequently also need to address the question: whose target-language culture should they teach?

It appears that more and more ELT scholars and educators are advocating that world cultures be incorporated, instead of focusing only on inner circle cultures (e.g., Clyne & Sharifian, 2008; Kirkpatrick, 2007a; Marlina, 2013; Matsuda, 2012). Kirkpatrick (2007a) also makes the case that, as a consequence of the international uses of English, ELT teachers should "be able to evaluate … materials critically to ensure that these do not, either explicitly or implicitly, promote a particular variety of English or culture at the expense of others" (p. 33). He further argues that teachers should focus on target-language cultures that are most relevant to the students' world so that they can be contextualised and tailored to suit the students' needs. As in the context of Indonesia, Kirkpartrick suggests that the regional variety of English, such as Malaysian English, be taught and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) cultures be incorporated.

Despite the discourses on World Englishes and the argument that linguistic imperialism is no longer relevant in the present day ELT contexts, we cannot turn a blind eye on the fact that in many ELT classrooms, as I have indicated earlier on in the case of Indonesia, the inner circle model is still considered the best, or at least preferred over the other varieties of Englishes. As Shin (2006) contends, "Discourses concerning World Englishes … may have shifted, yet the material conditions of the structure … have not. … Certain Englishes still hold more currency than others in the global market. … [and] some (cultural)

differences are constantly constructed as deficit" (p. 151). One would be hard-pressed to deny that issues of power are still prevalent in ELT practice.

3.2   Four Paradigms of Teaching Culture: A Western Context

To provide points of comparison, this section highlights how approaches to teaching culture have evolved in the context of English-speaking countries. Chantal Crozet, Anthony J. Liddicoat, and Joseph Lo Bianco (1999), scholars from Australian universities, have identified four major paradigms in culture teaching history in Western academia: (1) the traditional approach, (2) the 'Culture studies' approach, (3) the 'Culture as practices' approach, and (4) the intercultural approach[6]. According to Liddicoat, in the traditional approach, the teaching of culture was usually associated with the teaching of literature— the valued artefacts of a particular society, such as novels, plays, poems, and the like. Culture in this approach was very narrowly perceived, being defined as a set of superior values embodied in the classic works of art—also known as the 'high culture'. Seeing culture as being mainly embedded in the text itself, cultural competence was measured through the breadth of literary knowledge. In the 1970s, the traditional approach began to be replaced by the 'Cultural studies' approach, which focused on learning about countries, including their history, geography and institutions. Cultural competence was thus measured in terms of the knowledge about the target language country, which was considered as a foundation for understanding its language and society. This paradigm, however, tended to approach culture in a "tourist-like way" (p. 9), where the learner remained external to the culture being studied. The 1980s witnessed the emergence of the 'Culture as practices' approach, which, according to Liddicoat, was strongly influenced by the works of anthropologists such as Gumperz and Smolicz. This approach viewed cultures as having inherent qualities—values, beliefs, behaviours and practices—that typify them, and the teaching was concerned with describing these elements. As such, cultural competence within this paradigm involved knowing and identifying the authentic elements that represented the target language culture, though, as in the 'Culture studies' approach, the learner remained external to it. Also, because this approach tended to treat

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[6] In Liddicoat's more recent works, the idea of the "intercultural approach" has developed into a more embracing concept referred to as an "intercultural perspective" (see Liddicoat, 2011; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). Moving beyond an understanding of Intercultural Language Teaching (ILT) as simply a particular method or approach, this concept embraces the idea of "understanding lived experiences of language and culture as the framing for teaching" (2013, p. 6).

cultures as static and monolithic, it has been criticised for reinforcing cultural stereotypes (see, for example, Nault, 2006).

The most recent approach in culture teaching, as Liddicoat points out, is the intercultural approach, also known as Intercultural Language Teaching (ILT), which first became popular in the 1990s. It is claimed to differ significantly from previous paradigms in that it is grounded on "a renewed understanding of the nature of cross-cultural encounters and a deeper understanding of the links between language and culture" (p. 9). Drawing on the ideas of various scholars writing about interculturality, I describe this paradigm in more detail in the next section. Here, suffice it to say that the intercultural approach puts a strong emphasis on exploring the connection between the learner's own culture and the target culture, while also emphasising the development of an understanding of how worldviews come into being, as it attempts to instil intercultural sensitivity in the learners. Elsewhere, Liddicoat (2007) asserts that, within the intercultural paradigm, the main goal of culture learning is "the development of a negotiated interactional space between cultures" (p. 20.4). He further suggests that all the aforementioned approaches can be seen as running along a continuum between a cultural approach on the one end and an intercultural approach on the other, the cultural approach being the one focusing on "the culture as an external body of knowledge which a learner acquires as a recalled body of information" (p. 20.2), whereas the intercultural approach engages learners with issues where "the borders between self and other are explored, problematised and redrawn" (p. 20.4). In this sense, the intercultural approach can be seen as a vehicle to develop an intercultural identity and as promoting critical foreign language pedagogy.

I believe it is also in this spirit of fostering the intercultural identity that a growing body of literature argues for the need to incorporate world cultures in English language teaching. As Derrick Nault (2006) contends, ultimately the teaching of World Englishes and world cultures is expected to "promote genuine linguistic/cultural awareness and international understanding" (p. 314). While the notion of intercultural learning is gaining prominence in foreign language and culture pedagogy in Indonesia, my professional experience suggests that, in many cases, this theoretical concept is only vaguely comprehended, and teachers appear to have difficulty in translating the concept into everyday teaching practicalities. Furthermore, although there has been much talk about the internationalisation of education at the bureaucratic level, institutions might not necessarily be equipping teachers with sufficient knowledge and skills to perform the required tasks. In this study, I investigate how the perceptions and beliefs of a group of Indonesian university teachers about the English language and their understandings of

theoretical concepts of culture and interculturality inform their teaching practices, while also taking into account how these practices are mediated by their individual selves as well as the wider sociocultural contexts.

3.3   Interculturality and the Creation of a Dialogic Space

The following section further explores the notion of interculturality as it is commonly referred to in the field of language education. I begin the discussion with a description of conditions that triggered the 'birth of the intercultural' and move on to define what it means to be/become 'intercultural', while also distinguishing the term from 'cross-cultural'. Linking the concept back to classroom practice, I emphasise the important role that teachers play in developing students' intercultural competence and identify the challenges that lie ahead.

3.3.1   Being/becoming intercultural.

The 1990s, particularly in the contexts of Europe, the USA and Australia, witnessed a substantial intensification of encounters between different national cultures in the education arena. These had been brought about by, among other things, an explosion within the field of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and an internationalisation of education through various study abroad programs (Risager, 2007). It was during this period of time that the discourse of 'intercultural' first gained its significance. As transnational contacts dramatically increased, so did the need to be able to relate to, understand and empathise with otherness. In the foreign language education arena, this need was markedly shown through a deeper, more genuine interest in the cultural dimension of the target language being taught (Kramsch, 2006).

Literally, the term 'intercultural' means "being between cultures" (Alred, Byram & Fleming, 2003, p. 2). Sometimes, the term is also used interchangeably with 'cross-cultural'. Drawing on the ideas of the Scollons (Scollon & Scollon, 2001), I would, however, like to draw a distinction between the two terms. While I am aware that studying other cultures is never a simple 'cross', in this study the term 'cross-cultural' is viewed as suggesting a mere comparison between two cultures (presumably involving a 'source' and a 'target' culture), whereas the term 'intercultural' is seen as emphasising more of the *interaction* and *engagement* between members of different cultures. The term 'culture' in the literature on interculturality is often understood in the 'large culture' sense, being tied to a specific nationality. In this study, however, the term is employed to include different levels of social groupings, ranging from classroom, institutional to national levels.

There is a vast growing body of scholarship in the field of interculturality within the education context. As indicated in the literature, discourses in this field, are commonly framed as a *discipline*, which is synonymous to a field of study, (e.g., Gorski, 2008; Leeman & Ledoux, 2008; Portera, 2008), a *pedagogy* (e.g., Lee, 2005; Moloney, 2013), and/or an *approach* (e.g., Crozet et al., 1999; Newton et al., 2010). These three terms, as I have indicated earlier, are not mutually exclusive. In this study, however, I focus on the notion of 'pedagogy' rather than 'approach', which is seen to characterise a particular 'innovation' in language teaching and learning (Brown, 1994). Drawing on Giroux's (1988, 1991, 1997) conception of pedagogy, I here emphasise teaching as a multifaceted activity that invariably involves social, cultural, economic as well as political dimensions.

In her article "Constructing Intercultural Education", Krystyna Bleszynska (2008, p. 538) refers to the discipline, formerly better known as 'multicultural education' (mainly in Europe and the USA), as an "interdisciplinary applied science" whose scope of interests crosses the fields of educational studies, sociology and psychology. She perceives the objectives of intercultural education to run along three dimensions—the global, national and individual levels—and identifies them as follows:

1. *Macro-social/global*: Awareness of the multiplicity of existing cultures and civilizations, respect for other cultures, individuation processes as well as the sense of human solidarity, development of recognition of human rights as well as the ability to co-exist peacefully with other nations, awareness of the problem areas of migration and transnational spaces.

2. *Mezzo-social/national*: Support for the development of a culturally diverse democratic civic society, fighting social inequalities resulting from ethnic and racial differences, prevention of intercultural conflicts as well as the reconstruction of social bonds and social capital in the context of culturally heterogeneous groupings.

3. *Micro-social/individual*: Development of the ability to understand and to develop harmonious and effective functioning at the cultural borderland, tearing down the barriers limiting intercultural contact such as ethnocentrism, racial and ethnic prejudice or xenophobia, development of intercultural competences and facilitation of acculturation processes. (Bleszynska, 2008, p. 538)

Whereas Bleszynska is speaking here of intercultural education in the context of a *discipline*, Perry and Southwell (2011) note that, as a *pedagogy*, education for intercultural understanding is often embedded in academic subjects such as foreign languages and social studies. They observe that the potential for the incorporation of such intercultural pedagogy into the curriculum is increasing in some countries, including in Australia. As I have indicated above (see Section 3.1.1), Indonesia has also started to do the same. Narrowing down the context to foreign language education, the *intercultural approach* is considered to be the most recent approach to language teaching and learning (see Section 3.2). While intersecting with ELT, as the context of the study is English Departments in Indonesian universities, interculturalism here is examined in terms of broader, inclusive notions of pedagogy (cf. Giroux, 1988, 1991, 1997) rather than as a single approach to teaching English. I examine how interculturalism informs the teaching and learning of a number of subjects taught at the university.

Adopting the 'large culture' sense, scholars in the past tended to believe that the experience of border crossing was a necessary component of becoming intercultural (e.g., Davcheva, 2003; Ryan, 2003). The experience, they maintain, would prompt people to question the 'natural' and those deeply-held values that have always been taken for granted. My previous study (2008), which explores issues of identity and cultural differences, argues that border crossing could indeed stimulate the opening up of a new 'space' and that the engagement with it, in the context of hybrid identity formation, could be marked by expressions of ambivalence, such as belonging 'neither here nor there' (cf. Ang, 2001) or being in a state of in-betweenness. As Khan (1998) remarks, "hybridized individuals, caught in the discontinuous time of translation and negotiation, erasing any claims for inherent cultural purity, inhabit the rim of an in-between reality marked by shifting psychic, cultural, and territorial boundaries" (p.464). Speaking in the context of the American education system, scholar and cultural critic Henry Giroux (1991) emphasises the need for teachers to develop "border pedagogy". That is, pedagogical conditions and processes that allow students to interrogate the complexity of their own identities and histories, to engage with multiple points of reference that encompass different cultural codes, experiences and languages and to provide opportunities for them "to understand otherness in its own terms, and to further create borderlands in which diverse cultural resources allow for the fashioning of new identities" (p. 52).

In today's context of globalisation and fast-paced technological advances, however, it would be misleading to think of crossing national frontiers as a prerequisite to developing an intercultural identity. Sharifian and Jamarani (2013), for example, note that

technological development such as the internet and mobile phones has revolutionised the ways in which we engage with otherness, enabling intercultural dialogues without even having to physically to step out of our 'zones'. Framing the argument specifically within the context of intercultural communication, he points out that, in multicultural contexts such as Australia, intercultural engagement has become the norm rather than an exception. Holliday's (2011) study on cultural identity also suggests that global movements have contributed to creating complex "personal cultural realities" (p. 41) and, accordingly, having a sense of an intercultural identity has become the default for these "global nomads" (Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003, p. 425).

Various theorisations have been articulated regarding what interculturality is and what it entails. In the literature, the concept encompasses terms such as "the third space" (Bhabha, 1990; Kostogriz, 2005), "the third place" (Kramsch, 1993) and a "negotiation zone" (Crozet & Liddicoat, 1999)—terms that basically refer to the occupation of a space and acquisition of a state of being that enables people to transcend their own geographically mediated worldview. This new space has been regarded as "a point of interaction, hybridity and exploration" (Crozet, Liddicoat & Lo Bianco, 1999, p. 5), which in Bakhtin's theorisation assists people to acquire "doublings of sociolinguistic consciousnesses [that are] …. pregnant with potential for new world views" (cited in Bhabha, 1996, p. 58). This intercultural space, along with the ability to shift perspectives, nevertheless, is not automatically formed through encounters with otherness. As Alred, Byram and Fleming argue (2003), intercultural experience does not necessarily lead to being intercultural, although the former is undoubtedly an important condition for gaining the latter. It follows that becoming intercultural requires "*awareness* of experiencing otherness and the ability to *analyse* the experience and *act* upon the insights into self and other which the analysis brings" (Alred, Byram & Fleming, 2003, p. 4, my emphasis). In this sense, being intercultural involves not only the cognitive but also affective, behavioural and social domains, covering a host of attitudes, knowledge and skills.

Holliday (2011), however, has been critical of established notions such as the third space and hybridity mentioned above. He cautiously points out that, while on the surface cultural difference seems to be celebrated, a scrutiny of these concepts would reveal that they are still framed within the dominant "neo-essentialist paradigm" in that national cultures are essentially seen as mutually exclusive, with essential values and structures that are separated by "an indelible line between Self and Other" (p. 164). In his words:

> The notion of a third space or hybridity has at least the potential of denying the possibility of complexly diverse cultural ownership …. One does not have to be in-between. People have the power to be completely several things at once. (Holliday, 2011, p. 165)

Arguing that the neo-essentialist discourse is "the modernist successor of the colonialist paradigm" (p. 162), Holliday is thus of the conviction that the "indelible line" should be removed and that a more critical approach to culture be sought. While I fully acknowledge the validity of Holliday's argument and recognise the flaws of essentialism (see Section 2.1), national categorisation—or any categorisation for that matter—is inevitably a 'fact of life'. Although categorisation may be seen as necessarily limiting and incomplete, describing human behaviour without categorising seems impossible as "categorisation itself is a necessary part of human activity" (Woodin, 2010). Portrayal of national cultures as homogeneous is, indeed, problematic, for it runs the risk of stereotyping and reifying cultures. But clasifying culture in black-and-white binary terms, such as essentialist and non-essentialist, may not be a very useful approach, either. These views, as I have previously argued, need to be seen as complementing one another for each has its own strengths and weaknesses. Undeniably, although national cultural categorisation has been criticised for being overly simplistic, the approach continues to underpin some research studies (e.g., Dardjowidjojo, 2001; Heyward, 2009; Shen, 2013) and has been perceived as a useful analytical tool to understand particular social issues. In this respect, I tend to agree with Woodin, who maintains:

> Arguing for a total removal of categorisation, does not … appear to be either achievable or a very useful approach in practice. Perhaps of more use is to understand what it is that we do when we categorise. (Woodin, 2010, p. 226)

It proves to be more useful to see categorisations of culture as being dynamic and contested, rather than simply static and fixed, and to see them as constituting *both* essentialist and non-essentialist elements. Various scholars, such as Western cultural theorists Raymond Williams (1981) and Stuart Hall (1990) and Indonesian anthropologist Jakob Sumardjo (2010), for example, have defined cultures as simultaneously having both opposing forces, such as traditional/anti-change and creative/dynamic elements, centrally within them and indicate that these elements are in constant flux and negotiation, always in process and never complete. Drawing on certain cultural categorisation to define 'Caribbeanness', Stuart Hall theorises two principal ways of defining cultural identity espousing both notions of fixity and change:

The first position defines 'cultural identity' in terms of one, shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. Within the terms of this definition, our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as 'one people', with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history. (p. 223)

A second, related but different view ... recognises that, as well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant *difference* which constitute 'what we really are'; or rather—since history has intervened—'what we have become'. We cannot speak for very long, with any exactness, about 'one experience, one identity' without acknowledging its other side—the ruptures and discontinuities .... Cultural identity, in this second sense, is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. (Hall, 1990, p. 225)

Hall explains that the first view of cultural identity has been central to all postcolonial struggles throughout the world, whereas the second view enables people to grasp and dig deep into "the traumatic character of 'the colonial experience' and understand constructions of Otherness. Thus, despite Holliday's argument above, I still find concepts such as the third space helpful in understanding processes of (intercultural) identity formation and its creative nature as one transcends cultural borders (which need not be national).

In the context of intercultural learning, Byram's (1997) multimodal model of Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) and Bennett's (1993) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) have often been drawn on in the assessment of learners' intercultural competence (IC) development. These models have also served as the impetus for the development of quantitative IC assessment instruments such as surveys and questionnaires. Yet, many of these quantitative studies, have been perceived as insufficiently personalised and lacking detailed accounts of the IC development process.

Across the literature a wide range of terms has been used interchangeably to describe the idea of intercultural competence, such as intercultural sensitivity, global competencies, intercultural communicative competence, cross-cultural awareness and ethnorelativity (Fantini & Tirmizi, 2006). A particular distinction, however, has been made by Hammer et

al. (2003) between the terms 'intercultural sensitivity' and 'intercultural competence', the former being "the ability to discriminate and experience relevant cultural differences", whereas the latter is "the ability to think and act in interculturally appropriate ways" (p. 422). They argue that a strong relationship exists between the two: the greater one's intercultural sensitivity is, the greater the potential for exercising intercultural competence. Various studies (Byram, 2013; Garrett-Rucks, 2012; Jon, 2009; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013; Tsai & Houghton, 2010) have confirmed that intercultural competence plays a critical role in developing understanding and improving cultural interactions. Sercu et al. (2005) describes intercultural competencies in foreign language education as characterised by the following:

> The willingness to engage with foreign culture, self-awareness and the ability to look upon oneself from the outside, the ability to see the world through the other's eyes, the ability to cope with uncertainty, the ability to act as cultural mediator, the ability to evaluate others' point of view, the ability to consciously use culture learning skills and to read the cultural context, and the understanding that individuals cannot be reduced to their collective identities. (Sercu et al., 2005, p. 2)

A more comprehensive description of what intercultural competence entails has previously been developed by Byram (1997), who integrates the cognitive, affective, social and behavioural dimensions and defines them as follows:

- *Attitudes*: curiosity and openness, of readiness to suspend disbelief about other cultures and belief about one's own.
- *Knowledge*: of social groups and their products and practices in one's own and in one's interlocutor's country, and of the general processes of societal and individual interactions.
- *Skills of interpreting and relating*: ability to interpret a document or event from another culture, to explain it and relate it to documents from one's own.
- *Skills of discovery and interaction*: ability to acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices and the ability to operate knowledge, attitudes and skills under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction.
- *Critical cultural awareness/political education*: an ability to evaluate critically and on the basis of explicit criteria perspectives, practices

and products in one's own and other cultures and countries. (Byram, 1997, p. 50-63)

Byram's model above has become a widely accepted framework for the assessment of ICC development in multiple foreign language contexts. In contrast to Byram's ICC model, Bennett's (1993) DMIS (Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity) maps out changes in worldview stucture as one's experience of cultural difference becomes more complex and sophisticated. It constitutes six orientations or stages of increasing sensitivity to cultural differences, with each stage being associated with certain kinds of cognitive processing, attitudes and behaviour. The first three stages (Denial, Defense, Minimization) are seen as ethnocentric, where one's own culture is seen as the only culture or the 'better' culture. The other three stages (Acceptance, Adaptation, Integration) are ethnorelative orientations, where one's culture and worldview are experienced as one of the many equally valid cultural constructs. Bennett suggests that IC development progresses linearly as individuals become more sensitive to and accepting of cultural differences (Hammer et al., 2003). While a number of studies (see, for example, Garrett-Rucks, 2012; Kauffmann, Martin, & Weaver, 1992) have indicated that different assessments of the same phenomena can yield different results and that, in reality, individuals' interculturality may be marked by "nonlinear developmental inconsistencies" (Garrett-Rucks, 2012, p. 26), both Byram's model and Bennett's DMIS have undeniably made significant contributions to the field of intercultural research.

Reflecting on these models, it can be said that realising the relativity and relationality of one's own culture to other cultures marks a fundamental step in becoming intercultural. Byram's description of ICC and Bennett's development of intercultural sensitivity also suggest that education has a very important role to play in developing learners' interculturality. While English language learning contains significant transformative potential, it is crucial that the teacher has a strong conviction of the value of promoting a sense of interculturality in the classroom.

3.3.2   Major challenges in creating intercultural spaces in the classroom.

The idea of interculturalism, be it in the form of a discipline, pedagogy or approach, can be seen to be challenging in that it would require classroom instruction and the learning environment to encourage learners to create their own 'spaces' that would eventually lead towards the "transformation of the personal and interpersonal" (Álvarez, 2007, p. 127). Echoing Álvarez, Pegrum (2008) writes:

> The ability to see one's own cultural practices in a broader perspective, to
> learn about and from other cultures, and to negotiate between cultural worlds,
> can lead to fulfillment on a personal level, awareness and empowerment on a
> social and political level, and a honing of the understanding and tolerance
> which is so often lacking in the global arena. Through refining their own sense
> of identity as well as exploring their social situatedness, students can prepare
> for their future roles as engaged world citizens. (Pegrum, 2008, p. 137)

Intercultural competence, as the above quotation indicates, is not necessarily inherent in native-speakers. In this sense, a focus on this competence is contrary to previous approaches to ELT, which aim for native-speaker like proficiency. Rather, it is a competence that a person has to strive toward. It follows that language teachers have a crucial role in assisting their students to develop such a competence. Moran (2001) assigns different roles to the teacher at different stages of "cultural knowings" (p. 139), such as a 'model' and 'coach' at the "knowing how" stage, where learners experience aspects of the target culture's cultural practices; a 'source', 'resource', 'arbiter' and 'elicitor' at the "knowing about" stage, where students learn particular cultural information; a 'guide' and 'co-researcher' at the "knowing why" stage, where students explore reasons for particular cultural perspectives; and a 'listener', 'witness' and 'co-learner' at the "knowing oneself" stage, where students reflect upon themselves as individuals of a particular society. While the wide range of roles that Moran has assigned to the teachers indicates the complexity of their work, it is the importance of teachers functioning as "transformative intellectuals" (Giroux, 1988) that needs to be emphasised here. As Canagarajah (2003) contends:

> Rather than developing mastery in a 'target language', we should strive for
> competence in a repertoire of codes and discourses. Rather than simply
> joining a speech community, we should teach students to shuttle between
> communities. Not satisfied with teaching students to be context-sensitive, we
> should teach them to be context-transforming. (Canagarajah, 2003, p. xiii)

The road to intercultural competence for both learners and teachers, however, is not a straightforward one. Interculturality, unlike grammatical rules, is not something that can be rote learned. Sociocultural studies suggest it is a state of being or becoming that can only be acquired through critical engagement with otherness and critical reflection on self. For this reason, intercultural lessons should provide learners with ample opportunities to be 'explorers' rather than just recipients of massive cultural information. Designing such

lessons for the teachers is not without challenges. In the context of Indonesia, the scarcity of appropriate teaching materials has been reported to be a major obstacle in accomplishing the goal of intercultural pedagogy and language learning. Furthermore, although as a conceptual tool the notion of interculturality has been widely discussed by many Western scholars such as Bennett (1993, 2004), Byram (1997, 2008, 2013), Kramsch (1993, 2006, 2013), Liddicoat (2007 2009, 2011), Scarino (2008, 2009, 2010), and Sercu (2004, 2005, 2006) empirical studies highlighting its implications at the practical level relevant to a context such as Indonesia remain scant. How intercultural competence can be achieved through language learning in these contexts thus still needs further exploration (cf. Goh, 2012). To some extent, my study seeks to address this 'gap' in the literature.

While I acknowledge the necessity of finding ways of transforming the concept into successful classroom practice, I consider the issue of teacher beliefs and values in this regard to be of a more fundamental concern. Unless such an innovation has become a part of the teachers' "personal knowledge" (Kagan, 1992), learners' acquisition of intercultural competence will remain at the level of rhetoric. It is mainly due to the above reason that I seek in this study to better understand teachers' beliefs and practices regarding cultural and intercultural teaching/learning in the foreign language classroom. I believe such an understanding can not only provide us with valuable insights into professional development opportunities but also better inform teachers in their decision making, which, hopefully, will then result in better-informed classroom practice.

3.4   The 'Intercultural Teacher' and the Sociocultural Perspectives of Teacher Identity

Research studies indicate that the notion of intercultural competence in foreign language education has created new professional demands on foreign language teachers, as they need to equip themselves with the necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to attain the goal (Lundgren, 2006; Menard-Warwick, 2008; Sercu, 2006; Yuen, 2010). It follows that not only do the teachers' roles have to be redefined, but, more fundamentally, these teachers may also be in the position of having to adjust their own perspectives with regard to foreign language teaching. They may need to alter their teaching approaches. While there has been a mushrooming of research studies in the area of intercultural teaching and learning in Western academia (e.g., Byram, 2008; MacPherson, 2010; Morgan, 2008; Scarino & Crichton, 2008), similar research studies remain scant in the Indonesian academic context.

A study conducted by Sercu (2006), who developed an international research design involving foreign language teachers from Belgium, Bulgaria, Greece, Mexico, Poland, Spain and Sweden, indicates that the teachers' current professional profiles do not yet fulfill the criteria specified in the literature. The findings also yield useful insights into their teaching practice, which continues to be defined mainly in linguistic—rather than cultural—terms, albeit the fact that most of these teachers show a conviction to "interculturalise" (p. 68) their teaching. In some respects, Sercu's study provides an important foundation for my own research study. Firstly, it has drawn my attention to the significance of understanding teachers' beliefs, particularly in the context when an innovation is being introduced. Secondly, it suggests the need to probe further into the interplay between teachers' beliefs and their practices and understand why there may be inconsistencies between them. Due to the large-scale national comparison she attempted in the study, Sercu's research was enacted within a quantitative paradigm, which, as she herself realises, may thus lack the rich, in-depth and nuanced knowledge that a qualitative research paradigm would probably have yielded.

In the last four decades or so, research into teacher identity, beliefs, knowledge, learning and practices has proliferated across the world (e.g., Borg, 2003; Fang, 1996; Houston, Haberman, Sikula, & Association of Teacher Educators., 1990; Kagan, 1992; Pajares, 1992). Research on teacher beliefs, however, has only recently begun to intersect with the field of foreign language study, when issues related to the social context of language, and the relationship between language, culture and identity, have achieved greater prominence (Ryan, 1998). Consistent with this, the field of language education, especially in respect to intercultural contexts of that education, has become interested in better understanding teacher identity (e.g., Duff & Uchida, 1997; Kubota, 1998; Menard-Warwick, 2008; Morgan, 2004; Pavlenko, 2003).

In recent years, the need to investigate the complexities of teacher identity and practices within the context of English language teaching in international contexts has become ever more pressing. In some cases, this has resulted in sharply polarised debates, such as in the body of literature that draws heavily on traditional linguistic theory (Chomsky, 1965) to advocate the value of native speakers as teachers of foreign language (e.g., Mukarto et al., 2007). Other literature argues that non-native speakers might bring richer intercultural awareness and teaching expertise to their teaching (e.g., Amin, 2004; Canagarajah, 1999; Moussu & Llurda, 2008). Another robust debate concerns the conceptualisation of the English language and how this affects (or interacts with) teacher identity. Some literature utilises the framing of English as an international language (EIL) when inquiring into

teaching identity, raising important questions about language and culture and their relevance to teacher identity. For many researchers in this field, questions like 'who owns the English language that the teacher is teaching?' can no longer be settled with reference to Kachru's (1985) notion of 'inner', 'outer' and 'expanding circle' countries. Such debates have posed multiple complications in discussions about teacher identity (Maley, 2009; Marlina, 2013; Modiano, 2001; Nault, 2006; Phan, 2008). It is amidst these debates and the discourses embedded within the politics of English that my study is situated.

Research studies in teacher education have revealed how culture, language, teacher identity and curriculum interact in profound ways (Sloan, 2006; Vulliamy, Kimonen, Nevalainen, & Webb, 1997). Like all citizens in social communities, teacher educators are essentially cultural beings; they operate in and through cultural frames of reference. Accordingly, their work as teacher educators is shaped and mediated by culture and social contexts. Their beliefs, conceptions, decisions and practices are culturally grounded and facilitated.

In the literature, different scholars have used different terms to refer to the notion of teacher beliefs, such as "teachers' principles", (Breen, Hird, Milton, Oliver, & Thwaite, 2001), "teacher cognitions" (Borg, 2003), "personal knowledge" (Clandinin & Connelly, 1987; Kagan, 1992), "teachers' preconceptions and implicit theories" (Clark, 1988), "personal practical knowledge" (Golombek, 1998), "teacher perspectives" (Goodman, 1988), and "teacher ideology" (Shkedi & Nisan, 2006; Zahorik, 1991), just to name a few. In this study, 'belief' is seen as an all-embracing notion, which acts as filters that affect people's perceptions, judgments, decisions and influence them to act in certain ways, even though they may often be unarticulated and unconsciously held. In view of this, I consider 'teacher beliefs' to embrace not only tacit assumptions about students, classrooms, and the academic materials but also the notion of teacher as a person, providing a framework within which cognitive and affective processes are integrated.

Belief is not a straightforward construct, and researchers have articulated the difficulty of studying it. Because beliefs are embedded deep within our inner self, they are not easily accessible to direct observation and thus cannot be easily 'captured'. As Pajares (1992) and many others (e.g., Feryok, 2008; Goodman, 1988; Kagan, 1992) contend, they must be inferred from words and actions. Even then, such inference may still be problematic, and here I agree with Denzin (1989), who maintains that:

> There is no clear window into the inner life of a person, for any window is
> always filtered through the glaze of language, signs, and the process of

signification. And language, in both its written and spoken forms, is always inherently unstable, in flux, and made up of the traces of other signs and symbolic statements. Hence, there can never be a clear, unambiguous statement of anything, including an intention or a meaning. (Denzin, 1989, p. 14)

Furthermore, pursuing Rokeach's (1968) ideas (as cited in Pajares 1992) that beliefs need to be seen as a system, it is necessary to understand a belief substructure, such as a teacher's beliefs about a particular academic content, in relation to other beliefs, which may be more central in the system. It is the connections among these beliefs that are thought to create values that guide people's lives. It follows that if we are to study teachers' conceptions of teaching and their teaching practices, it is important to realise that they are inextricably interconnected with the broader, social structures, such as their life experience and background, which are always embedded in a particular context and culture. Drawing on the ethnographic research of Dorothy Smith (1987), Goodson (2003) writes about the powerful link between experience and social relations: "people's lived experiences are dialectically linked to the social relations of the society in which these people are located, and… no one—the researcher included—is ever totally outside these relations" (p. 6).

While teachers' perceptions or beliefs and their instructional practices are intertwined with personal, biographical and cultural factors, various research studies (e.g., Shkedi & Nisan, 2006; Tsui, 2007) show that beliefs and practices are rarely consistent in all respects. Due to the dynamics and complexities of classrooms, and the intensity of teachers' working lives, it is quite common for there to be tensions or contradictions between teachers' stated beliefs and their actual practices. Contextual factors, such as meeting institutional, student and parental expectations, as well as wider social, cultural and economic factors, can influence teachers' instructional decision making and classroom practices. This, in turn, may result in conflict and tension, ultimately affecting the teacher's identity work. Much literature on teachers' work and life (e.g., Connell, 1985; Edge, 1996; Goodson, 2005; Milner, 2010; Parr, 2012), however, suggests that confronting and grappling with dilemmas and contradictions are, in fact, part of the ongoing identity work for teachers.

Indeed, contextual factors, differing biographies and cultural histories powerfully impact on the ways in which teachers enact their professional identities and interpret the curriculum. Milner's (2010) study of an African American teacher, Dr. Wilson, located in a

predominantly White teaching context is one of many studies that illuminate how the work of teachers—their decisions, instruction, and curriculum enactment—is deeply mediated by their values, beliefs and backgrounds. In Milner's study, Dr. Wilson is an experienced Black teacher, whose personal and professional identity has been profoundly affected by her experiences of racism, oppression and marginalisation. Milner shows how Dr. Wilson's understanding, interpretation and teaching of a 'multicultural curriculum' prove to be very different from those of other 'mainstream' teachers in this same system. Wilson's professional identity has been profoundly affected by her biography and history, and this significantly mediates her teaching practices. A more recent study by Scarino (2014) further elaborates how teachers build on these "frameworks of interpretive resources" (p. 386), which necessarily embrace the notions of both 'the teacher as a person' and 'the teacher as a member of distinctive linguistic and cultural community', in their curriculum enactment and instructional decision-making processes.

The dynamic interplay among teacher identity, agency and context has also been captured in Lasky's (2005) study, which reveals that a teacher's sense of identity and his/her sense of purpose as a teacher are significantly shaped by current sociocultural and political contexts as well as by earlier experiences in the profession. Other studies, such as those undertaken by Vulliamy et al. (1997), Sloan (2006) and Kohler (2010), also confirm that individual teachers actively read and respond to curriculum policies in different ways and that teacher identities are powerful mediators through which to understand these varied interpretations. Teachers, then, are not merely curriculum implementers but rather, as various scholars agree, they are themselves curriculum creators and developers (e.g., Apple, 2004; Ben-Peretz & Eilam, 2010). Extending the above idea to its logical end, Milner (2010) argues that teachers (as well as students) can be considered as a form of the curriculum themselves, resembling dynamic texts "that have been written by their historical and current life experiences" (p. 4) through which opportunities for 'reading' and learning open up.

As a concept, curriculum itself has been conceived of and defined in multiple ways (Ben-Peretz & Eilam, 2010; Connelly & Xu, 2010; White, 1989). Any definition of curriculum, as Connelly and Xu point out, is influenced by the philosophical, conceptual, and ideological perspectives of those who are doing the defining, and this includes the views of the definer about the fundamental purposes of education. Referring to Schwab's (1960) "commonplaces of curriculum", Connelly and Xu (2010) argue that definitions of curriculum, depending on the times and the circumstances, alternately foreground one of four foci: student, teacher, subject matter and society. Different foci in the relationship

among these factors, they maintain, would lead to a different understanding of curriculum. Seen from another angle, Lopes and Pereira (2011), who investigate the ways in which teacher education curriculum can encourage personal dimensions of teacher identity, view curriculum as a complex system that is made up of various interactive subsystems: "microsystem" (what happens within classes), "mesosystem" (what happens within schools), "exosystem" (educational policies and educational systems) and "macrosystem" (cultural models in a certain period). They also make a distinction between "formal", "informal" and "hidden" curricula (see also Apple, 2004). According to them, the first category refers to documents, such as the syllabus, that spell out what is to be learnt; the second relates to what is actually done by teachers and students in teaching and learning processes; and the third pertains to the unintentional aspects of school and class climates occurring through instructional processes that nevertheless impact students' learning and growth.

Barnes' (1976) notion of curriculum as a form of communication powerfully resonates with the present study. Barnes explores the intersection between curriculum and teacher identity in an attempt to understand how teacher discourses and practices are shaped and mediated by their values and beliefs. As Barnes makes the case:

> When people talk about 'the school curriculum' they often mean 'what teachers plan in advance for their pupils to learn'. But a curriculum made only of teachers' intentions would be an insubstantial thing from which nobody would learn much. To become meaningful a curriculum has to be enacted by pupils as well as teachers, all of whom have their private lives outside school. By 'enact' I mean come together in a meaningful communication—talk, write, read books, collaborate, become angry with one another, learn what to say and do, and how to interpret what others say and do. A curriculum as soon as it becomes more than intentions is embodied in the communicative life of an institution, the talk and gestures by which pupils and teachers exchange meanings even when they quarrel or cannot agree. In this sense, curriculum is a form of communication. (Barnes, 1976, p. 14)

Barnes' conceptualisation of curriculum as a dynamic "coming together [of diverse individuals] in a meaningful communication" speaks to the study in two other important ways: it problematises traditional notions of any assumed privilege of one cultural position or perspective on knowledge, as intercultural studies also does, and like much of the literature on intercultural pedagogy it understands that teaching and learning should

be more than mere implementation of one teacher's intentions. Speaking in the context of intercultural teaching in American higher education, Lee (2005) wishes to distinguish between 'multiculturalism' and 'interculturalism' in teaching. For Lee, rather than simply acknowledging and "covering" (p. 201) diverse cultures (as she believes multiculturalism tends to do), interculturalism is geared toward "working through a *dialogue* between cultures" (p. 210, emphasis added). Multiple studies into intercultural teaching in the English language classroom often imply that 'the West' is still regarded as the norm and that the field is heavily influenced by Western traditions of knowledge (e.g., Pennycook, 1994, 1998; Shin, 2006). Despite good intentions to raise intercultural understanding, as may be reflected in new curriculum offerings in Indonesian schools and universities, Kumaravadivelu (2008), addressing intercultural studies in general, observes that eurocentrism tends to permeate academic activities in at least three ways: (1) theoretical concepts and constructs, (2) research material and methodology, and (3) otherisation in theory and research.

In Indonesian higher education, curriculum offerings in an English Department such as *Intercultural Communication*, *Cross-Cultural Understanding* and *Cultural Studies* have the potential to unsettle traditional assumptions that language is merely a neutral medium for expressing or disseminating ideas or culture. For those Indonesian students studying to become teachers of English, these subjects might be expected to encourage deep critical reflection about the influence of learning and using English on one's own cultural identity and vice versa. And yet the extent to which such subjects might impact upon these students' understandings and beliefs is contingent upon the particular understandings and beliefs, and the identity work, of the lecturers who teach in these subjects. This study thus aims to inquire into the complex interplay between intercultural pedagogy, teacher beliefs, practices and teacher identity. Highlighting the teachers' identity work and the ways in which their values and beliefs influence classroom practices, I examine a range of dilemmas and tensions they are confronted with in their professional spaces.

In this chapter, I have presented a socio-historical perspective of English language teaching in Indonesia and traced its development since the pre-independence phase through to the current development phase. This has meant identifying key challenges at each phase and examining the curriculum adopted, which since the nation's independence in 1945 has been published six times revolving around three major approaches: grammar translation, audio-lingual and communicative approaches. In describing the nation's successive ELT curricula, I have examined the extent to which these documents incorporated explicit cultural dimensions into the English language teaching and the ways

in which the notion of culture has been conceptualised. This socio-historical perspective of ELT provides a basis for entering into the current dominant discourses in ELT today, involving discourses of WE (World Englishes), EIL (English as an international language) and EFL (English as a lingua franca), and debates surrounding ownership of English and the teaching of culture in these contexts. To provide points of comparison, I have also explained how the teaching of culture has evolved in Western academia. Connecting the discussion to interculturalism and its key trends and issues in the education context, I characterise intercultural education in terms of *discipline*, *pedagogy* and *approach*. As this study takes as its fundamental tenet that teachers play a critical role in the constitution of classroom practices, I have thus mapped out the challenges that lie ahead for them and have foregrounded the argument that teachers' identity and work can never be detached from the broader, social structures in which they are situated.

Chapter 4
Methodology

Reality … does not speak to us, does not tell us what is true or good or beautiful. The universe is not itself any of these things, it does not interpret. Only we do, variously. (Rue, 1994, p. 273)

In this chapter, I bring to the fore the ontological and epistemological stances underpinning my study and delineate how these stances inform the line of inquiry. I then provide the rationale for choosing a qualitative case study research design and explain how I implemented it. This involves outlining the methods I used to collect and analyse data as well as providing some brief biographical notes about the six teacher participants, and an overview of the institutions where they work. Occasionally, I draw on snippets of data generated to illustrate my methodological and conceptual approaches. I also discuss issues pertaining to transcription and translation.

4.1   Philosophical Stances and the Approach to Inquiry

In her book *Becoming a Reflexive Researcher*, Kim Etherington (2004) writes: "When setting out on any research journey I need to find ways of working that fit with who I am: my underlying values, my philosophies on life, my views of reality and my beliefs about how knowledge is created" (p. 71). This PhD, too, is very much a reflection of who I am. In Chapter One, I explained how this research came to be. I showed in that chapter how in undertaking this study I could not distance or separate myself from my subjectivities, my biography and my cultural history. In seeing myself as a person "living at the intersection of multiple worlds and multiple ways of knowing" (Alsup, 2006, p. 15), I view reality as socially constructed and subjectively determined. In the words of Crotty (1998), "meaning comes into existence in and out of our engagement with the realities in our world. There is no meaning without a mind. Meaning is not discovered, but constructed" (pp. 8-9). As a construct, I see meaning, and the knowledge that derives from it, as constantly negotiated and shaped by the historical and sociocultural norms that largely regulate our lives. As Creswell (1998) points out:

Knowledge is within the meanings people make of it; knowledge is gained through people talking about their meanings; knowledge is laced with

personal biases and values; knowledge is written in a personal, up-close way; and knowledge evolves, emerges, and is inextricably tied to the context in which it is studied. (Creswell, 1998, p. 19)

In light of this, knowledge can be seen to be rooted in experience (see, for example, Eisner, 1988) but, at the same time, it also needs to be seen as ideological, political and value-laden, and its meanings need to be placed in the context of history, language, culture and power. As critical theorists would argue, and as I have discussed in Chapter Two, culture is a site for power struggle, and individuals within it are constituted by power relations. This worldview has significantly influenced my decisions along the journey of this research and helps to explain the foundational importance of experience, discourse and culture in the study.

Yet, reflecting on the research journey itself, I cannot say that it is without bumps and bends. Unlike the positivist-modernist quest for 'scientific knowledge', which is often associated with 'a straight line', certainties and fixed boundaries (Usher, 1997), the journey I have been undertaking has, at times, been 'messy' and unpredictable. As I listened to and sought to make sense of my participants' stories, in the early stages of this research, instead of neat categories or themes or patterns of meaning, I found only "chaotic and disordered events" (Usher, 1997, p. 26). In effect, in my beginning journey, I was often plagued with feelings of insecurity as I sought in vain for coherence and clarity. While I was fully aware of the plurality of my participants' worlds, coming to grips with and seeking to understand the various instances of ambiguity, shifting standpoints and sometimes contradictions in their words and actions proved to be a challenge.

Taking into account the social constructionist paradigm I subscribe to and the study's exploratory-interpretive nature, which relies heavily on the participants' subjective views and experiences framed within particular sociocultural contexts, this study clearly aligns with a qualitative research approach. This broad category of research inquiry has been defined by Denzin and Lincoln (2005) as:

> A situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers

> study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or
> interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. (Denzin
> & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3)

This understanding of qualitative research gestures toward the 'naturalistic' in the sense that it studies what normally happens in the 'real' world, that is, "what goes on in the ordinary settings in which people live and work" (Hammersley, 2013, p. 13), rather than what happens under 'experimental' conditions. Nevertheless, it does not overlook the impact that the researcher has on the setting into which she or he enters. In fact, my study recognises and emphasises the "essential role of subjectivity in the research process" (p. 12), in that data, and the inferences derived from them, are always mediated by the researcher's own understandings of the world.

Further, Gubrium and Holstein (1997) underline that qualitative inquiry has always maintained a commitment to apprehending and comprehending "the diversity, intricacy, subtlety, and complications that compose the social" (p. 12) by scrutinising meanings, interpretations, feelings, talk and interaction. Interpretation and processes of meaning making are, indeed, central in the present study; they have required me to explore and understand the Indonesian higher education teachers' perspectives, experiences and their multifarious subject positions. Adopting a qualitative framework has enabled me to scrutinise and plunge into the complexities of the teachers' sociocultural realities; most importantly, it has allowed me not only to pay close attention to what was being said and done by the teacher participants in the classroom and beyond but also to develop particular sensitivity to the contexts in which these utterances and actions were realised. In this mode of meaning making, rather than mechanically operating with a pre-existent methodological tool to generate analysis, early on I made the decision to seek out analytical frameworks that foregrounded the significance of 'discourse' and 'situated identities'. These notions were particularly helpful in unraveling the complexities of the social and the cultural in the personal and professional lives of these teachers of English language in Indonesia.

While, on the one hand, I attempted to understand and locate my participants' meaningful reality in their immediate settings by attending to their talk about their perceptions and experiences, it was also important for me as a researcher to bear in mind Blumer's (1969) cautionary notes that "interpretation is a formative [and] creative process in its own right" (p. 135), and that "research procedure constructs reality as much as it produces descriptions of it" (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997, p. 9). It follows that the subject and the

subjective are integral components of the qualitative research. For all the reasons mentioned above, I therefore have strong grounds for having selected a *case study* research design that draws on interpretive traditions (cf. Dyson & Genishi, 2005; Gerring, 2007). As Creswell (2009) and Stake (2003) have explicated, case study research enables the researcher to develop an in-depth understanding of the issues being explored as well as to capture the complexity of these issues by means of multiple sources of information and data collection methods. Before proceeding to an elaboration of the research design, let me first provide an overview of the study.

4.2   Overview of the Study

This study aims to understand the identity work of the 'intercultural teachers' of English language teachers in two Indonesian universities. It inquires into the beliefs and practices of a small number of teachers of English who had been assigned to teach culture-related subjects (*Intercultural Communication*; *Cultural Studies*; *Indonesian History and Culture*; *Literature* and *Poetry*) at contrasting institutions. Taking as fundamental assumptions that (1) "teaching is a profession in which ideologies are a central concern" (Pachler, Makoe, Burns, & Blommaert, 2008), that (2) the teacher plays a central role in students' learning (e.g., Goh, 2012; Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnston, 2005) and that (3) the language classroom is one of the most crucial sites for intercultural learning (e.g., Alred, Byram, & Fleming, 2003), the study examines three broad questions that bring together various dimensions of teacher knowledge/beliefs and teacher identity work. After several stages of 'evolution', the following research questions emerged:

1. How do Indonesian teachers of English in Indonesian higher education settings understand themselves and their work within the global politics of English?
2. What are their conceptions of culture and intercultural learning, and how do these conceptions relate to their practice?
3. How are these teachers' practices mediated by their sense of personal and professional identity as well as the wider societal and institutional cultures?

These questions were investigated through six case studies of teachers (Nancy, Sandra, Benny, Edi, Hendra and Bayu) in two universities located in West Java (Indonesia National University and the University of West Java). I have used pseudonyms for all the participating teachers and institutions. Prior to field work, ethics clearance for this study had been sought and obtained from The Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC) (see Appendix 1).The formal collection of data with the six teachers

and others (see below) took place between September and December 2010 (i.e., over a period of one semester), and I had taken care to develop a level of rapport with the participants prior to this formal data gathering, which took the forms of interviews, classroom observations and documentation. As well as the six teachers, I also interviewed a senior figure in administration at both universities to seek further clarification regarding some aspects of the curriculum into which I was inquiring. The teaching experience of the six participants' spanned between two and ten years, and the two institutions where they worked were of differing status: one state (Indonesia National University) and one private (University of West Java). The participants were purposely selected (see Appendix 2), as they needed to fit with the key criterion of being an 'intercultural teacher' as defined by the study (i.e., those assigned to teach culture-related subjects, such as those noted above, at an English Department in Indonesian higher education settings). Likewise, the selection of the universities was also purposive, as I was also interested in looking at how (different) institutional cultures mediate teacher practice. In selecting these two universities, I operated on the assumption that difference in their status would lead to more apparent differences in institutional culture. Since part of this study had grown out of conversations with colleagues at the university where I work, I was keen to involve, and collaborate with, some of my own colleagues in the process of co-construction of knowledge and in generating better understandings of our professional selves, although I was also aware of the ethical issues that might emerge as a consequence of researching within one's own institution (see Section 4.4).

This study involved three main methods of data collection: in-depth semi-structured interviews, classroom observations (in which I kept a research journal to record both my field notes and reflections) and documentation (i.e., analysis of curriculum and policy documents, such as teachers' code of conduct handbook, teaching materials, and departmental newsletters). The interviews were conducted in three stages: before, during, and after the period during which I was observing the teachers' classroom teaching (which I refer to as pre-, inter-, and post- observation interviews). I will speak in more detail about each of these data collection methods later. For the moment, I just wish to point out that the focus of my interviews shuttled between 'the personal', 'the professional', 'the institutional' and 'the cultural'. They encompassed a range of topics, including: (i) personal motivation to become an English teacher, (ii) perceptions of the English language, (iii) conceptualisations of culture and intercultural learning, (iv) the curriculum, the content of the course and the teachers' plans for teaching the subject, and (v) reflections on their actual teaching and their personal-professsional experiences. Only the pre- and post-observation interviews were audio-recorded, generating approximately 15 hours of

interview data. These interviews were carried out in English with the three teachers from Indonesia National University (INU) and in *Bahasa Indonesia* with those from the University of West Java (UWJ). All interviews were transcribed in full. The field notes that I generated in my semester-long observations highlighted both visual and spoken dimensions, as I attempted to capture some of the classroom experiences.

I elaborate on this brief study overview in the sections of the chapter that follow. In the next section, I discuss my use of case study as a basis for the research design.

4.3   Case Study Research Design

> Case study research is very much like detective work. Nothing is disregarded: everything is weighed and sifted; and checked and corroborated. (Gillham, 2000, p. 32)

Case study research has invariably been undertaken in studying and understanding the complexity of a phenomenon or situation in its real-life context (Gillham, 2000; Simons, 2009; Stake, 2003; Yin, 2009). Differences within this type of research, as various authors have exemplified, exist primarily in relation to the process of conducting the case study, the unit of analysis and the end product of the study (Gerring, 2007; Gomm, Hammersley, & Foster, 2000; Merriam, 1998). Qualitative case studies have been selected by researchers primarily when they are more interested in "insight, discovery and interpretation rather than hypothesis testing" (Merriam, 2009, p. 42). In these types of studies, obtaining thick description and experiential understanding as well as gaining access to participants' multiple realities become of prime importance (Dyson & Genishi, 2005; Simons, 2009; Stake, 1995). Given that my research focuses on the work, experiences and identity of the intercultural teachers, and that it seeks to engage with these teachers' perspectives and to construct an in-depth understanding of their multiple constructed world, a case study research design is well-suited to the purpose of the study. In particular, the design is consistent with the view of research knowledge as socially constructed and context-bounded.

In referring to this project as a case study, I find it necessary to first talk about the definition of a key term—the 'case'. Gillham (2000) defines 'case' as the following:

- a unit of human activity embedded in the real world;
- which can only be studied or understood in context;
- which exists in the here and now;

- that merges in with its context so that precise boundaries are difficult to draw. (Gillham, 2000, p. 1)

The above definition implies that case studies are particularistic and to some extent naturalistic, but the word case also presumes a relatively bounded phenomenon (cf. Stake, 1995). Yet, the boundaries of case, apparently, are never clearly evident, as prominent anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) has rightly pointed out:

> What the [researcher] is in fact faced with … is a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular, and inexplicit, and which he [sic] must contrive somehow first to grasp and then to render. (Geertz, 1973, p. 10)

Geertz suggests that cases can also be seen as part of integrated systems, as they are always situated within larger structures, interconnected with other elements. This notion of interconnectivity certainly connects to the cases I am working with in this study. As a phenomenon, teacher's work is complex, and teachers' perceptions in regard to a particular issue must necessarily be understood in relation to the broader, social structures that operate in the teachers' lives. It would be impossible, for instance, to detach these individuals' perceptions of their work as teachers from their everyday life-worlds, just as the idea of a neatly bounded case with clear-cut boundaries is problematic (cf. Dyson & Genishi, 2005). In line with this argument, Ivor Goodson (1980-1981), focusing on the teacher's life and work, maintains that "in understanding something so intensely personal as teaching it is critical that we know about the person the teacher is" (p. 69). And to understand teachers as individuals, it is important that we attend to their lived experiences (cf. Lawler, 2002).

In my attempt to comprehend the teachers' perspectives and life experiences, with the intention to present the case "inside out" (Gillham, 2000, p. 10), I was forever mindful that, due to the intricately intertwined nature of their life-worlds as noted above, cases can only ever be *partially* understood, no matter how extensively I endeavoured to engage with and describe the teachers' multiple realities. On this note, Holliday (2004) argues that it is the ability to demonstrate complex interconnections that makes case study research meaningful:

> The good story, and valid research, is a product of making connections across disparate, often disconnected parts of life, and seeking this with new eyes, and

from diverse perspectives and creating more of a whole in the process. Such 'wholes' can speak to others in similar conditions, and may empower them to reenvisage their experience too in more diverse and challenging ways. (Holliday, 2004, p. 287, citing West, 2001)

Thus, in understanding the complex interrelationship between the teacher participants' perceptions and beliefs, their classroom practices, their professional identities and the broader socio-cultural and historical contexts that shape their lives, and in order to obtain a thick description (cf. Geertz, 1973) of the participants' constructed realities, I have drawn on multiple data sources: interviews, observations and documentation. (I will explain each of these in more detail below.) These multiple methods of data collection have enabled me to 'triangulate' and obtain rich and rigorous data. While I am aware that the term 'triangulate' may be considered to be at odds with the constructionist epistemology—some have argued that it implies an objectivist paradigm (see, for example, Blaikie, 1991)—I see triangulation as a broad methodological approach to reduce the possibility of misinterpretation. In Stake's (2003) terms, "triangulation serves to *clarify meaning* by identifying different ways the phenomenon is being seen" (p. 148, emphasis added).

It needs to be pointed out, however, that the act of interpretation itself is, in fact, never a straightforward process. Rather, it is a process that is continuously being constructed and reconstructed, and it is thus subject to creating "an endless hall of faulty mirrors" (Gudmundsdottir, 1996, p. 304). This multi-layeredness and multi-voicedness of interpretation is particularly evident in the research process, as the researcher, employing particular methodological procedures and analytical tools, attempts to understand her/his participants' understandings of the world. The case-study researcher is interpreting other people's interpretations. Inevitably, the participants and the researcher (as well as the subsequent readers of this thesis) bring their own interpretive frames into the process of meaning making and knowledge construction, as suggested by Gudmundsdottir (1996):

We listen to [the participants'] words, and try to reconstruct their meaning in our minds, but we can never be sure about the accuracy of these transformations. In our research reports, we further develop our re-creations of their re-creations (in words) of their reality. Subsequent readers of our reports also re-create the informants' reality based on our re-creations of their re-creations—an endless hall of faulty mirrors. (Gudmundsdottir, 1996, pp. 303-304)

Given the complexities inherent in the construction of accounts of reality, it needs to be underlined that the 'realities' presented by this study, too, are multiply constructed and interpreted. In my attempt to enter into my participants' "imaginative universes" (Geertz, 1973, p. 13), to delve into the complex social, cultural, linguistic and identity issues associated with their work and experiences and to represent the diversity of their perspectives, I have found the concept of *context* extremely helpful not only in situating their understandings, but also in coming to grips with inconsistencies and contradictions that my participants sometimes showed during our interactions. The concept has enabled me to make better sense of the ongoing identity work that they were engaged with. The concept of context has thus become both a crucial analytical device and a methodological procedure in the research, which I simultaneously see as a strong connecting point to the case study design. As much literature on case study research has underlined (Dyson & Genishi, 2005; Gillham, 2000; Merriam, 2009; Simons, 2009; Stake, 2003; Yin, 2009), to understand the 'case' in depth, case study researchers must recognise both the *complexity* of the individual case and the *context* within which that case operates in the natural world. In this respect, understandings of my participants' multiple realities could never be fully grasped without scrutinising and understanding the context of the event. Consistent with the constructionist paradigm that views knowledge as socially constructed, understandings are inherently grounded in context. Seen in this light, it is precisely participants' *contextualised understandings* of events and experiences that I have explored in the study.

It follows that context in case studies not merely places boundaries around time, space and people of interest but, most importantly, it provides an important framework for interpretation. Just as participants' understandings need to be contextualised to be meaningful, so, too, the conversations that I had with my participants need to be seen as context-specific. Had they been carried out in a different time and place, with a different state of mind, this would probably have resulted in a different kind of conversation being held, generating a different set of data. As a concept, however, context is a complex one to delineate and define. Since every "something" (Dyson & Genishi, 2005, p. 43) is always tied to a particular context, in one sense, context can be defined as the physical setting of people's action. But as an entity, context has a unique property—it *both* creates and is created. On the one hand, context determines our ways of being in the world, that is, the way we interact and communicate, the way we behave and use non-linguistic elements in a particular situation. At the same time, context is also created through the very language we use. As Gee (1999) puts it, "we fit our language to a … context that our language, in turn, helped to create in the first place" (p. 11). Gee likens this context-language

interrelationship to the 'chicken and egg' question, pointing out the perplexity of determining which comes first. Gee's definition of context embraces not only the material or physical aspect in which an utterance is made but also the mental, personal, interactional, social, institutional, cultural and the historical dimensions. Context, it would seem, is all-embracing. As contextual situations change, so, too, do the circulating discourses and the people. It is specifically for this reason that processes of meaning making cannot be detached from the context in which the language is used. Therefore, analytical tools related to concepts of 'discourse', 'situated identities' and 'cultural models' seem to fit very well with the aforementioned understanding of the world.

To highlight the significance of context in my methodology, and the intricately intertwined dimensions that Gee has noted above, let me refer to the case of Nancy (a pseudonym provided for one of my teacher participants). In a number of classroom incidences, I noted that Nancy's instructional choices appeared to contradict her professional beliefs that she had stated earlier on in our conversations. In interviews, for instance, Nancy constantly emphasised the importance of independent learning and critical thinking in the way she thought about her teaching. She believed these perspectives, which she herself had been much exposed to as a postgraduate student and which she had acquired through study abroad, should be fostered in *Intercultural Communication* classes. My observation of her classrooms, however, pointed to a somewhat different reality; much of the teaching was teacher-centred. While a 'surface-level analysis' would simply characterise Nancy as being inconsistent in her words and actions, a closer look at the context yielded a better insight into the complexity of a teacher's work. This, in turn, revealed the complex identity work she was engaged in. The apparent inconsistency between Nancy's intended and enacted curriculum could not be separated from the physical, personal, historical and cultural aspects of the context in which she was situated. I soon came to understand why there seemed little opportunity for independent learning and critical thinking to take place in Nancy's class. What alternative did she realistically have when she was in a classroom of approximately 50-60 students? My research journal recounts my first experience of entering Nancy's classroom as follows:

> The first time I walked into Nancy's *Intercultural Communication* class, I was
> taken aback by how full the classroom was. When I pushed the door open, it
> almost hit a student's chair; the room was so tightly packed with chairs and
> students that this one student was literally blocking the entrance. From the
> doorway to the other end of the room, I saw rows and rows of chairs … but not

a single seat was available for me to sit in. (Reconstructed narrative account
from my research journal, 10/09/2010)

But the reason for the apparent inconsistency between Nancy's intended and enacted
curriculum did not end there at the physical setting. Nancy neither required her students
to show pro-active participation (such as by asking her questions), nor did she consider
their lack of overt participation as a problem. And this, apparently, had much to do with
her personal perception of the culture she operated in, as revealed in her remark to me in
a post-observation interview. I had raised the issue of students not asking many questions,
and Nancy responded:

> [Students] asking questions does not [necessarily] mean that they're trying to
> understand. Asking questions could mean, in Indonesian classroom, looking
> for attention … to have that access to the lecturer, instead of [just] trying to
> understand the material. They just want to be acknowledged. (Nancy, post-
> observation interview, pp. 1-2)

This example illustrates the significance of context in providing a framework for a more
accurate interpretation of data. As a case study research design places a strong emphasis
on understanding the context of the case, my design, therefore, needed to allow me to
generate a fine-grained interpretive perspective, constructing multi-faceted, nuanced
accounts of the teachers' experiences and contextualised understandings. The fact that
case study design is also flexible in application, process and reporting (Gomm,
Hammersley, & Foster, 2000; Simons, 2009) makes it even more appealing to the present
study. Stake (2000) has noted a distinct form of presentation of data employed in many
case studies, involving not only complex and holistic descriptions but also a writing style
that tends to be "informal, perhaps narrative, possibly with verbatim quotation,
illustration and even allusion and metaphor" (p. 24). He further observes that comparison
in this kind of study tends to be covert rather than overt. Given this flexibility, combined
with the nature of the research questions posed by this study, I have opted to present my
analysis and interpretation in two distinctive forms: *thematic theory-driven* analysis and
case-based data-driven narrative accounts of participants (see Section 4.7).

In line with my commitment to providing experiential understanding of my participants'
multiply constructed world, the case study design's openness to allowing my participants
to be engaged in the research process should not be overlooked. As Simons (2009) points
out, case study "recognizes the importance of co-constructing perceived reality through

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the relationships and joint understandings [researchers and participants] create in the field" (p. 23). Consequently, this provides the opportunity for researchers to be reflexive in understanding both the case and themselves, which, in turn, opens up the way for personal transformation of the researcher (Roseneil & Frosh, 2012).

As has been generally acknowledged, the role of the case study researcher is *not* to find the correct interpretation, but rather "to expand the range of interpretations available to the research consumer" (Donmoyer, 2000, p. 63). More importantly, I see the significance of embarking on this research journey and of pursuing the aforementioned dialogic methodology to lie in the enrichment of our own understandings of our work and professional identity as teachers and its ability to support each others' professional growth and development. While employing multiple case studies can generate trustworthiness, in selecting a case study design, it is far from my intention to make sweeping generalisations out of this study. Having said that, I realise that the analysis I am presenting in this thesis does not close off the possibility of 'speaking to' other English language teachers in other contexts. However, in this instance I am more concerned about, borrowing Goodson's (1992) words, "re-assert[ing] the importance of the teacher: of knowing the teacher, of listening to the teacher and of speaking with the teacher" (p. 234). Through understanding teachers' perspectives, their particularity and their agency I believe we can create vital spaces for educational improvement.

4.4   Putting Myself in Place: Being a Reflexive Researcher

> He who knows others is wise. He who knows himself is enlightened. (Lao Tzu, cited in Chan, 1963, p. 159)

As I have indicated earlier on in this chapter, the notion of subjectivity is generally seen as critical in qualitative inquiry. As a researcher, I am also an individual with a life, "a personality, a social context, and various personal and practical challenges and conflicts" (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998, p. 4), all of which ultimately have bearing on how I carried out the research process. Inescapably, I, too, have been a part of this research. This study, and the various contexts that emerged from it, thus needs to be recognised as one that has been shaped by my subjectivities and subject positions, however subtle this process might have been. As Lichtman (2013) puts it, qualitative researchers act as a "filter through which data are collected, organized, and interpreted" (p. 159).

By acknowledging the role of the self in the research process, engaging in reflexivity, I have attempted to make explicit the interpretation of meanings that I bring to the study.

Inevitably, my position as both an 'insider' and an 'outsider' (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993, 2009) in the research had some mediating influence on how I made sense of the data. That position brought its own strengths and challenges. As a colleague of some of the teacher participants involved in the study, and as one who worked (and still works) in the institution where these teachers were working, I might be seen as having access to an insider's perspective. As I mentioned previously, this study has grown, in part, out of collegial conversations, and, over the years, I have built good working relationships with these teachers. The close connection that I have with my participants presents both a strength and challenge to the study. On the one hand, I was in a position to empathise with their experiences. My good personal relationship with them and our mutual trust also seemed to have encouraged certain openness in their responses to my questions. Personal tensions, however, started to emerge within me when some of these teachers revealed negative views about the institution. Although I shared some of their frustrations, these internal issues were never explicitly publicised. Many a time during our lengthy conversations I realised that some of their voices, in fact, reflected my own feelings as a 'junior teacher'. Yet, I was uneasy about portraying my institution, and my participants for that matter, in a negative light. As the Indonesian saying goes, '*menepuk air di dulang, terpercik muka sendiri*' ('strike water in a tray, it will splash in your face')—revealing others' faults (especially those with a good relationship to you), it is believed in the Indonesian tradition, will eventually lead to the tainting of your own name. I was constantly struggling with this "conflict of conscience" (Henstrand, 2006), haunted by the thoughts that Henstrand has so well captured:

> I worried about publishing negative behaviors in my study. I worried when I memorized key phrases from informal conversations and ran back to my office to record what I had heard. I also worried about being disloyal to colleagues and wondered if they felt they were being exploited. (Henstrand, 2006, p. 16)

Further, I was anxious about not being able to portray my participants fairly. While I had anticipated that undertaking research in one's own institution could raise some ethical concerns, the full impact of it did not hit me until I started the fieldwork. On the one hand, my emotionally-charged identification with these teachers' selves risked the 'objectivity' of my observations and analysis; on the other hand, painting a critical portrait of these individuals could end up jeopardising the good working relationships that I have endeavoured to establish with my colleagues. Certainly, this was not an easy tension to resolve. However, in such instances, bringing back the awareness of my position as

researcher greatly helped me in coping with these dilemmas. Consciously and critically reflecting upon the role helped to deal with these feelings of identification and enabled me to focus instead on aspiring to understand "why things happen as they do" (Sturman, 1997, p. 61). Through the researcher's lens I was able to remind and convince myself that the aim of the study was *not* to assess any one teacher in their teaching but to involve him/her in co-construction of knowledge and understanding. It was *our* knowledge, *our* professional growth and development – as educators and researchers working in different contexts and settings – that I expected this research journey to enable. It was in my position as an 'outsider' that I was able to view a situation more dispassionately or critically, in the sense that I felt the various analytical devices (e.g., concepts of discourse and situated identities) and methodological procedures (e.g., triangulation) eventually helped to manage, by providing useful distance, my own emotional involvement in my engagement with the participants. This outsider position also allowed me to be particularly attuned to differences in institutional culture between the two universities involved in the study.

4.5 Selecting the 'Cases'

Given that my research interest was always in the work and identity of the intercultural teachers, I had to develop certain criteria as I considered recruiting my participants. As noted previously (see Section 4.2), the main criterion for selection was that, at the time of study, participating teachers had to be those who were being assigned to teach content culture-related subjects, such as *Intecultural Communication*, *Cross-Cultural Understanding*, and *Cultural Studies*, at an English Department in Indonesian higher education settings. Due to differences in curriculum and in subjects offered within the academic calender, it was not possible for me to select exactly the same 'set' of subjects from the two institutions. So, for example, while *Intercultural Communication* and *Cultural Studies* were offered during the second half of the 2010 academic calender at Indonesia National University, a similar subject, named *Cross-Cultural Understanding*, was only offered in the first semester of the academic year at the University of West Java. As my proposed field work was limited to a period of one semester, the scope of the targeted subjects consequently had to be broadened to include literary subjects, such as *Poetry* and *Literature*, and the subject *Indonesian History and Culture*. To my surprise, this ended up bringing more richness to my data-gathering than I had thought possible.

Another important criterion for recruiting teacher participants was driven by my need to include both Indonesian-trained and overseas-trained teachers. This variety was

important because, consistent with the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the inquiry, I had always envisaged that the study would be particularly interested in the co-construction of multiple realities held by the participants. I wanted to understand how the various dimensions of the teachers' lifeworlds—the personal, the professional, the social and the cultural—all interweave in their work as teachers. In total, as I say, six university teachers were selected for the study. Their teaching experience ranged between two and ten years. Three of them (Nancy, Sandra and Benny) taught at Indonesia National University (INU), a state university, and the other three (Edi, Hendra and Bayu) taught at a private university, the University of West Java (UWJ). The distinction between private and state universities was purposeful, as one aspect of the study was to explore how (different) institutional cultures might mediate and shape teacher knowledge and practices.

It should be noted that I based my choice of research sites on the assumption that the university is one of the most important academic institutions that is responsible for knowledge cultivation and distribution. In this sense, I agree with Walker (2002), who draws on Bridge's view (2001) to describe the idea of universities as:

> Places where scholarship is cultivated, where evidence and argument are practiced, places of sustained enquiry and higher level analysis, of freedom to create and invent, of openness to peer and public criticism, and where academic virtues of honesty, courage and self-knowledge, among others, are cultivated. (Walker, 2002, p. 56)

Most importantly, it is also through such institutions that the next generation of English language teachers in Indonesia emerges. Consequently, universities hold a great potential for influencing and shaping teacher education. I therefore believed that researching what goes on in these places is worthwhile and hoped that it would not only support my own and my colleagues' development as English language teachers working in such an institution but also contribute to the understanding of, borrowing Maley's (2009) words, "how relevant research-generated theory might be to the daily practice of teaching" (p. 189) and provide better ways of teaching that would optimise students' learning outcomes.

My recruitment of the participants involved three main stages: (1) identifying the universities, (2) identifying potential teacher participants and approaching them personally, and (3) seeking research approval from the Head of the English Department at

both institutions, once commitments were established with the teachers. Although data collection formally began in September 2010 (the start of a new semester), I started making ocassional informal visits to the research sites as early as July. This was especially important in relation to establishing rapport with the UWJ teachers, who were not my colleagues. During this time, apart from making the effort to be better acquainted with the teachers through engaging them in professional conversations, I also sought to better know and understand, through observation, the academic environment at UWJ. In addition, I selectively attended university-related activities, such as university anniversary celebration and seminars, to familiarise myself further with the institutional culture and practices.

Table 4.1   *Demographic Details of the Teacher Participants*

	Gender	Age range	Institution	Subject taught	Overall teaching experience	Academic qualifications
Nancy	Female	30-35	INU	*Intercultural Communication*	5 years	Bachelor degree from Indonesian university; Masters from overseas
Sandra	Female	30-35	INU	*Intercultural Communication*	3 years	Bachelor and Master degrees from Indonesian university
Benny	Male	35-40	INU	*Literature and Cultural Studies*	10 years	Bachelor degree from Indonesian university; Masters from overseas
Edi	Male	25-30	UWJ	*Poetry*	2 years	Bachelor and Master degrees from Indonesian university
Hendra	Male	40-45	UWJ	*Literature*	2 years	Bachelor and Master degrees from Indonesian university; was undertaking doctoral program in Indonesia at the time of study
Bayu	Male	40-45	UWJ	*Indonesian History and Culture*	10 years	Bachelor and Master degrees from Indonesian university; was undertaking doctoral program in Indonesia at the time of study

4.6   **Methods for Data Collection**

4.6.1   **Interviews.**

The qualitative interview is a construction site of knowledge. An interview is literally an *inter view*, an inter change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest. (Kvale, 1996, p. 2)

In this study, the interviews contributed the most crucial part of the data. They were the main window through which I made sense of my participants' worlds and identities, and they provided opportunities for my participants and me to be involved in co-construction of knowledge and understanding. In the end, a total of approximately 83,000 words of transcripts was generated from these interviews. But as an interactional event, the interview also needs to be seen as a cultural act and a form of social practice (Freebody,

2003). Baker (2004) offers three concepts for better understanding interviews as data. First, "interviewing is best understood as an interactional event in which members draw on their cultural knowledge". Second, "questions are a central part of the data and cannot be viewed as neutral invitations to speak" (p. 163), rather they shape what can be said and how. Third, interview responses need to be treated as constructed accounts or 'versions of truth' specific to a particular context, rather than the 'truth' itself. In reading and making sense of my interviews I have appreciated that my participants' stories might have been told differently or they might have taken a different form if it was someone else they were interacting with. The 'identity baggage' that we researchers carry with us thus shapes how our interviewees would respond to us as interviewers.

My focus in the interviews was to create dialogic interactions (see Baker, 2001; Keating & Egbert, 2007) with the participants. While the interviewing practices I enacted can be described as 'semi-structured' interviews (Gillham, 2000), I tried to create an interactional style that resembled more of a professional conversation rather than a formalised question-and-answer dialogue. I realised that if I expected my participants to 'open up' and provide me with in-depth accounts of their lives, they first had to feel at ease talking to me. This was not so much of a problem with the INU teachers, as they were my own colleagues. But with the UWJ teachers, I had to make sure that "conversational partnerships" (Simons, 2009, p. 44) were built in the course of a relatively short period of time. To establish this, I found Oakley's (1981) perspective particularly helpful: "finding out about people through interviewing is best achieved when the realtionship is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship" (p. 41).

The interviews themselves were conducted in three stages: before, during, and after the period during which I was observing the teachers' classroom teaching (which I refer to as pre-observation, inter-observation, and post-observation interviews). While the pre- and post- observation interviews lasted between 60 to 90 minutes, those conducted *during* the observation period took only a few minutes (15 minutes at the most) and resembled more of an after-class chat about the lesson just observed (see Appendix 3 for the interview questions and Appendix 4 for an interview excerpt).

The *pre-observation interview* was conducted a few days before I carried out the first classroom observation. The purpose of it was to gain a preliminary insight into the teachers' identity work by inquiring into particular dimensions of their lives and work. Specifically, I sought to gain a general understanding of each of their (1) personal

backgound and learning experiences, (2) teaching experiences, (3) perceptions about the English language, (4) conceptions of culture and the teaching of it, and (5) pedagogical aspects of their work. In this interview, I also wished to make an initial exploration into what Goodson (2003) calls "critical incidents" (p. 61) in the teachers' lives/careers, which might have influenced their perceptions and practice as teachers, while also attempting to provide a sketch of the sociocultural context in which they were situated.

The aims of the *inter-observation interviews* were two-fold: (1) to obtain the teachers' responses in relation to more specific aspects of their teaching practice based on the observation I had done in their classroom, and (2) to seek clarification pertaining to issues that I had found particularly intriguing in my observation. An inter-observation interview was, however, not always possible after every class, as some teachers sometimes had to rush to their next class or to attend meetings. Given the more spontaneous nature of this interview stage, questions asked were not always the same for every teacher.

The *post-observation interview* was conducted towards the end of the semester, which was in the final week of November 2010. One of the purposes of it was to ask about and discuss the teachers' interpretations about certain phenomena that I found had emerged from my observations of their classroom (e.g., students' lack of active participation). The interview also provided me with the opportunity to seek further clarification about certain aspects of the teaching and learning I had just witnessed and to ask questions that I might have considered too 'confronting' to ask in the pre-observation interview. Here, I often raised more explicitly the notions of beliefs, conflicts and tensions.

Data generated from interviews that were conducted in English were rich, but I found that those carried out in Indonesian tended to be richer. When the teachers spoke in English, I found myself repeatedly rephrasing their statements to make sure that I had understood them correctly and that we were on the same 'wavelength'. Our conversations were marked by much code-switching and interlanguage influence (Selinker, 1992).

Although the notion of 'interculturality' lies at the heart of this study, conceptually, talking about it as a concept with these teachers was probably the most challenging task for me as an interviewer. Although Indonesia has historically always been a multicultural country (Azra, 2010) and Indonesians may have been incorporating aspects of intercultural understanding in their day-to-day interactions for some time now, the term 'intercultural' and the concept 'interculturality' would seem to be not native to the Indonesian corpus. For instance, there is no one-to-one equivalent word for 'intercultural' in *Bahasa Indonesia* except for its literal translation '*antarbudaya*' ('*antar*' means 'inter', and '*budaya*' means

'culture'). I noticed that a number of teachers stumbled over questions where I specifically mentioned the word 'intercultural' in English, and they asked me to define and clarify what I meant first. I had not realised how unfamiliar the term was until one of the participants pointed this out.

4.6.2   Classroom observations.

The interview data were complemented by data in the form of my researcher's notes from the classroom observations. I sat in the classrooms of my participants almost every week throughout the semester, observing the teaching and learning in those classes. I had decided to observe the class several times so as to avoid "any undesirable consequences resulting from the 'observer's effect'" (Luk & Lin, 2007, p. 7). An audio recording device was usually placed at the teacher's desk before the observation began. I tried to be as unobtrusive as possible during the whole teaching-learning process, but this was not always possible, as many of the teachers, at some point during the semester-long observations, would place me in the 'spotlight' and invite me to participate in some of the classroom discussions. In my first classroom observation, Hendra, for instance, asked me to come up to the front of the class and share with his students my experiences of studying abroad.

In each classroom, I watched, listened and took notes, paying close attention to what the teacher said and did and noted how he/she interacted with students (though I myself made little effort to engage with them). I generated field notes rather than making use of an observation checklist, because I considered such a technique too limiting (see, for example, Denscombe, 2010). Field notes were also written after I had led inter-observation interviews with the teachers. My classroom observation field notes highlighted both the visual and the spoken dimensions of the classroom experience. Visual description, as Holliday (2004) maintains, "addresses panoramic aspects ... which a transcript of talk would not reveal, and could not because of its multiple locations" (p. 279). I also did my best to write down snippets of the classroom dialogue (between students and the teacher) as a way of capturing the teacher's feedback and feelings. These notes were written in my research journal. At times, however, snippets of dialogue were interwoven with my own commentaries and reflections. The audiorecordings of these classrooms were used as secondary data that supplemented my research journal. They were listened to after each observation to check if I had missed any important information in my field notes, but I did not transcribe them.

4.6.3 Documents.

Apart from interviews and observations, data were also generated from various documents, such as the formal curriculum documents for each subject being investigated (i.e., *Intercultural Communication*; *Literature and Cultural Studies*; *Poetry*; *Literature*; and *Indonesian History and Culture*), teaching materials, teachers' code of conduct handbook and departmental newsletters. As Yin (2009) contends, "documents can provide other specific details to corroborate information from other sources. ... [or] you can make inferences from [them]" (p. 103). Having access to the physical document was especially helpful in distinguishing and making connections between the 'intended curriculum' and 'enacted curriculum' (Barnes, 1976). Further, these documents provided a broader context for understanding the teachers' practices within their professional spaces.

4.7 Methods for Data Analysis and Interpretation

This study draws heavily on Gee's (1999, 2011a, 2011b) version of critical discourse analysis as its methodological framework. In seeking to understand the interrelationships between teacher beliefs and practices, teachers' discourses and their identity work, Gee's approach has been particularly helpful to me. He offers an analytical framework that enabled me to tease out the complexities of the data and to highlight the connection between 'micro' (i.e., text) and 'macro' (i.e., context) levels of analysis. Gee's "tools of inquiry" (1999, p. 6), especially those of "situated identities", "cultural models" and "big 'D' Discourse" (see Chapter Two), allowed me to link specific details of language analysis to broader sociocultural contexts and practices, revealing the complex interplay of multiple forces—'the personal', 'the professional', 'the institutional' and 'the cultural'—that mediate and shape the identity construction of these teachers. Below I explain my use of Gee's version of critical discourse analysis and describe how it was operationalised. Then, in different sub-sections, I discuss the strategies I employed in dealing with some of the complexities that arose in interpreting the interviews and organising the data generated by the study design.

4.7.1 Critical discourse analysis as an analytical tool.

As I have stated in Chapter Two, there are many ways in which the term 'discourse' has been defined. Michael Stubbs (1983), for instance, defines it as "language above the sentence or above the clause" (p. 1). For Norman Fairclough (1992), however, discourse is "more than just language use: it is language use, whether speech or writing, seen as a type

of social practice" (p. 28). James Gee (1999, 2011a), as I previously explained, makes a distinction between "little d" and "big D" discourse. The former is used to refer specifically to "'language-in-use' or stretches of oral or written language" (2011a, p. 177), whereas the latter is used to mean ways of being and doing—reading, writing, speaking, dressing, acting, valuing, participating, believing and so on—that influence the way others might categorise individuals as a 'certain kind of person'. In this view, Discourse is not simply a pattern of social interactions, but is intricately intertwined with the construction of one's identity. Because of this, Discourse is perceived as inherently ideological and political, as it is "intimately related to the distribution of social power and hierarchical structure in society" (Rogers, 2004, p. 6).

Just as there are different definitions and theorisations of discourse, different versions of discourse analysis have also emerged (e.g., Fairclough, 1995; Luke, 1995; van Dijk, 1993, Wodak, 1999). Although all types of discourse analysis necessarily involve the analysis of language in use, the analytical procedures undertaken are very much determined by the aims of the inquiry and how the analyst conceptualises 'discourse'. Some approaches to discourse analysis tend to be textually and linguistically oriented, while some others focus more on the context in which the discourse arises, connecting particular excerpts or 'events' of language to the broader social and cultural structures within which they occur. *Critical* discourse analysis (CDA) integrates the study of language with an analysis of power relations embedded in the social contexts being investigated. Many theorists describe CDA as both a theory and a method of inquiry. In Gee's terms, CDA can help to theorise the relationship between d/Discourse and the reproduction of power and dominance. It offers an explanation of how d/Discourses work and identifies the implications this has for social relationships and the distribution of what Gee (1999) calls "social goods" (p. 2), such as status, solidarity, power and a sense of worth. Some versions of CDA (e.g., Fairclough, 1992; van Dijk, 2008; Wodak, 1996) heavily emphasise overt radical politics in their theorisation, engaging strongly with notions such as 'hegemony', 'social injustice', 'discrimination' and 'liberation'. These types of CDA are particularly interested in exploring hidden power relations, uncovering inequalities and in bringing about social and political disruption through their analysis.

While I fully acknowledge the political nature of language use and power relations constituting social practices, in this study, I am, however, more interested in inquiring into "discourse in Discourses" (Gee, 1999, p. 7), that is, understanding the dynamic and dialogic relationship between text—be it speech or writing—and context in shaping and influencing one's identity work (see Figure 1 below and the discussion in Chapters Two

and Three). In this respect, Gee's version of critical discourse analysis provides useful "thinking devices" (1999, p. 37) for analysing and interpreting such relationship. His analytical framework helps to explain how d/Discourses construct and are constructed by contexts. Three of his "tools of inquiry" (1999, p. 6) are particularly relevant to the analysis of data generated by this study. These tools constitute his concepts of (1) situated identities, (2) cultural models, and (3) 'big D' Discourse. (I have elaborated each of these concepts in Chapter Two). These analytical tools helped me to understand my participants' identity work in more complex ways; recognizing their Discourses enabled me to gain an insight into *what* they are doing and *who* they are being at a given time and place within a particular set of social practices. This, in turn, helped me to understand how the teachers' multiple realities were being constructed, and to tease out the complexities of the power-knowledge relationships operating in their professional spaces. The concept of cultural models was particularly useful in making visible some of the underlying beliefs and values that informed the participants' speech and action. As will be elaborated subsequently through examples, I have found inconsistencies and contradictions within the data to be productive for the analysis.

The diagram below shows the overall analytical framework of the study and indicates the interrelationships among its key concepts, with the dotted lines suggesting relationships or interconnections that needed to be analysed, interpreted and explained through the inquiry.
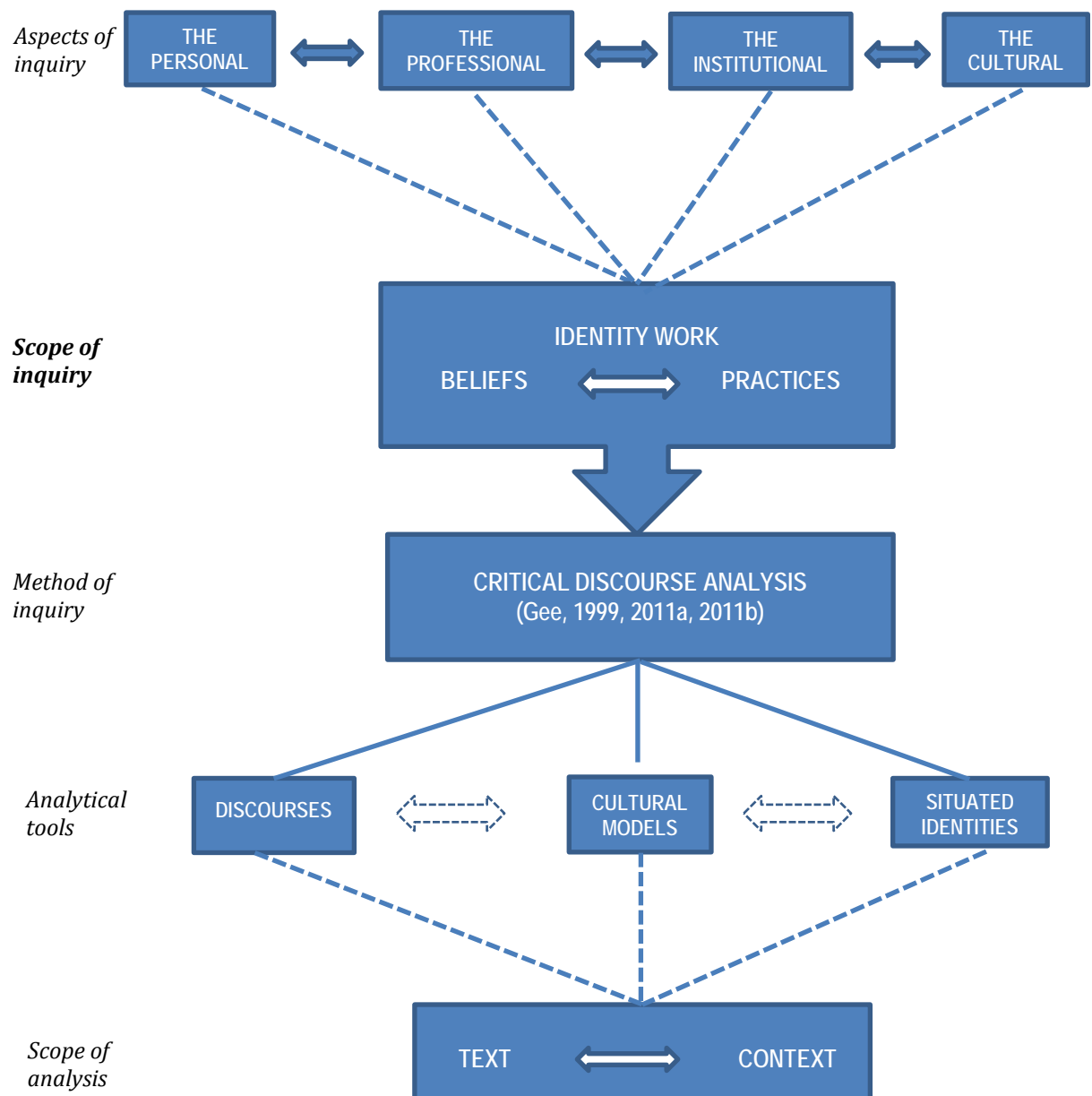
Figure 4.1 *Overall analytical framework*

4.7.2   Interpreting the interviews.

Through analysis we are not on the trail of singular truths, nor of overly neat stories. We are on the trail of thematic threads, meaningful events, and powerful factors that allow us entry into the multiple realities and dynamic processes that constitute the everday drama of language use. (Dyson & Genishi, 2005, p. 111)

Drawing on the work of Wolcott (1994), Simons (2009) highlights three ways of organising and making sense of qualitative data: description, analysis and interpretation. *Description* focuses on "staying close to the data as originally recorded". *Analysis* addresses the question of "how things work or why they don't work, moving beyond the purely descriptive to systematically identify key factors and relationships, themes and patterns from the data". *Interpretation* deals with the key question "'what is to be made of it all'" (p. 121). Although Simons has pointed out that these categories are not discrete or mutually exclusive, I find this distinction helpful in recognising ways in which qualitative data can be transformed to address different questions. Regardless of which stage one is at within these processes, the researcher's data and understandings of these findings will always be mediated by her/his own cultural knowledge and personal experiences. Likewise, while the conversations that I had with my participants proved to be insightful, constructing meanings embedded within these interactions was not a straightforward process.

Consistent with the view that conversation is a cultural activity (see Keating & Egbert, 2007), the language used in undertaking this activity cannot be seen simply as a medium to articulate one's thoughts and ideas but should also necessarily be regarded as a "repository of cultural meanings" (Dyson & Genishi, 2005, p. 5). Consequently, in making sense of the interview data, it was necessary for me to "combine close analysis of fine details of behavior and meaning in [the] social interaction with analysis of the wider societal context" (Erickson, 1986, p. 120). Participants' statements, therefore, could not always be taken literally, but, rather, they needed to be interpreted in light of shared cultural knowledge of local social norms and practices. Drawing on my cultural and linguistic knowledge about the dominant communication style within our socio-cultural contexts, I, for instance, identified a number of 'humbling techniques' employed by a number of the participants. There also seemed to be some degree of indirectness and unassertiveness when talking about self-competence, as exemplified in the following excerpts:

> Isti: So what do you enjoy most about teaching English?
>
> Benny: I'm not sure but I think when I come to the class and students respond in a way that makes me think that they are both interested and understand the materials—that's one of the things that I enjoyed most about being a lecturer.
>
> Isti: So it's the interaction?
>
> Benny: It's the interaction and also the fact that you know er, well maybe this is a little bit too much, the fact that you may mean something to

somebody I mean there may be students who are moved by us. ... I mean you know motivated by us and they change. ... It's hard to put it in words but ...

Isti: And you have been in those situations?

Benny: Yeah. Yeah, because er there have been students er coming to me and telling me ... how they how to some extent I influenced them. Maybe not much but that's enough for me and they believe that they become a better person er *well basically I do not contribute* but they said that because they attended my class or because they joined a session with me and things like that. (Pre-observation interview, 28/09/2010, my emphasis)

Isti: Do you think that you've been successful in your teaching?

Nancy: [appears to be taken aback] *I I really don't like to think of myself as as— no, I don't evaluate myself that way* ... (Post-observation, 30/11/2010, my emphasis)

Given the prevailing cultural norms of communication, it was not always appropriate to take participants' statements at face value. Conversation is a site where 'the personal' and 'the cultural', among others, interact. While individuals are choice-making agents, how they communicate is culturally rooted, and so, to some extent, the choices available to them are constrained by the prevailing cultural repertoire. As Tracy (2002) points out, people's choices about how to talk and their ways of talking construct pictures of who they are, but, at the same time, their pre-existing identities (e.g., nationality, ethnicity, age, profession or social class) work to shape how they will talk. It was helpful for me to be mindful of this productive tension when I was analysing my participants' discourses and in understanding the identity work they were engaged with.

'Inconsistencies' in the interview data also provided insight into the ongoing identity work the participants were engaged in. As I scrutinised their utterances, I noticed, for example, that, sometimes, meanings that were intentionally given did not always correspond to those given off. Let me illustrate this with the case of Edi, a teacher at the University of West Java. In the interviews, Edi explained that he was passionate about being "a bridge for students to cross" in his role as a teacher, which I interpreted as a belief in being a facilitator for students. But Edi appeared to contradict his stated belief when I asked him about what he liked most about teaching and what he thought of students' general attitude

to studying literature, portraying, instead, a picture of the teacher as a 'giver' of knowledge and an authoritative figure:

> Isti: What do you like most about teaching?
>
> Edi: Actually I have a mission yes a mission—maybe because I wasn't happy with what I got here—I want *to give new knowledge* to students and convince them that literature is fun. (Pre-observation interview, pp.1-2, my emphasis)

> Isti: What do you think the students' attitude is like generally towards studying literature?
>
> Edi: In my opinion, there are a lot of *deviations in the students' thinking.* … Basically they just come here to graduate, to get certificate, but not to acquire knowledge. (Pre-observation interview, p. 3, my emphasis)

Gillham (2000) has cautioned that when a discrepancy is found in the data, it suggests that "the picture is more complicated than expected" (p. 13), rather than confirming that something has gone wrong. It indicates that theory is needed to explain this complexity. Concepts of 'context', which I have elaborated above (see Section 4.3) and 'situated identities' (Gee, 1999) have been particularly helpful in unraveling this complexity. These concepts also strongly connect to the philosophical basis of case study, which underlines the significance of context in studying people's lives. Gee maintains that situated identities are "different identities or social positions [individuals] enact and recognize in different settings" (p. 12). In view of this, rather than emphasising Edi's utterances as being inconsistent, it was more helpful for me to recognise his words as reflecting enactment of different situated identities. As Gee (1999) and Tracy (2002) and many other discourse analysts would argue, a person takes up different roles in different contexts and that meanings are constantly constructed and reconstructed by actors during social interaction. In effect, my questions in the interview need to be seen as contributing to shaping how my participants responded (cf. Baker, 2004). In responding to my question about students' attitude above, then, it would seem inevitable for Edi to articulate a 'teacherly voice', as he was expected to provide some kind of evaluation. Situated identities are thus mutually co-constructed and that identity work must necessarily be seen as ongoing, dynamic and grounded in context.

4.7.3 Methodological approaches to data presentation: thematic theory-driven and case-based data-driven analyses.

As noted earlier, analysis of data involved two major approaches: *thematic theory-driven* and *case-based data-driven* analyses. These forms of analysis corresponded to the research questions being posed.

The abundant literature on the politics of English, English as an international language (EIL) as well as (non-native) English language teachers' perceptions of it and the extensive theoretical and empirical attention that have been devoted to concepts of culture in various academic fields have led me to approach the analysis of data that relate to the teachers' perceptions of English and conceptions of culture in ways that generated theory-driven themes. For example, as I analysed the *teachers' theoretical understandings of culture*, I identified many discourses, as expressed by the teachers, that seemed to intersect with concepts, categories and principles discussed in the literature. This, then, allowed me to categorise and present the relevant data into six or seven sub-themes that drew significantly on these theoretical frameworks: (1) culture as shared ways of being and doing; (2) culture and the iceberg metaphor; (3) the scope of culture and the adoption of a national paradigm; (4) culture as multi-faceted and multi-directional; (5) the dynamic nature of culture; and (6) the language-culture nexus. Still, there always existed the possibilty of identifying themes that would emerge from the data itself, as I have identified one in relation to the above-mentioned discussion of culture, marked as the seventh sub-theme: the relationship between religion and culture. Thus, while the first six sub-themes were very much framed based on theoretical understandings derived from the literature, the last sub-theme tended to render more of a personal stance in relation to the theories the teachers had acquired.

In this study, interview data were treated as the primary source, and classroom observation field notes and the various documents collected were used as means of 'validation'. In generating the theory-driven themes, interviews were transcribed and then coded, analysed and reduced through constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The process itself tended to be inductive, but insights from the literature formed the major part of the etic tools I brought to this inductive work. As noted above, questions pertaining to teachers' perspectives on English, their theoretical understandings of culture and conceptualisations of interculturality were answered using this strategy of thematic analysis. During the analysis process, these issues were dealt with one at a time, the sequence being ultimately reflected in how this thesis is organised. I saw each of these

questions (i.e., English, culture and interculturality) to be connected in such a way that the preceding set of concepts and perceptions could be seen to serve as a basis or framework for entering into more complex notions in the subsequent ones.

It is somewhat problematic to try to construct a step-by-step report of the whole analysis process, beginning from the transcribing phase until how a final list of themes was finally decided, for it was far from being a linear process. Rather, it was one marked by a "trial and error reality of intellectual discovery" (Gillham, 2000, p. 95), and this is particularly true in the 'constant comparison' stage. Generally speaking, however, the process involved the following major stages:

1. Close reading of the transcript, highlighting statements relevant to the particular question under investigation;
2. Rigorous re-reading of the transcript to deepen understanding, again marking relevant or interesting ideas and concepts. This time, an attempt was made to consolidate similar ideas or discourses expressed by the participant. Statements that seemed inconsistent were noted to be further scrutinised;
3. Views across teachers were compared, and these were then organised based on patterns such as similarity and frequency of codes, which allowed dominant discourses to be identified. Insights from the literature were constantly drawn on at this comparative stage;
4. One data set (i.e., the interview data) was then 'triangulated' with the other sets of data, enabling further identification of any 'inconsistencies'.

While questions of the English language, conceptions of culture and interculturality were approached using thematic analysis technique, issues that concerned teachers' subject-specific instructional practices, their individual beliefs and identity work were approached in a different manner. As I was committed to presenting bigger picture understandings of the teachers' individual and collective experiences, as well as to preserving their unique individuality and maintaining a sense of coherence of their multiple realities, I considered a narrative form of presentation to best serve these intentions. This part of the analysis therefore generated personalised accounts (including occasional references to my own experiences as an English language teacher in Indonesia), based primarily on the conversations I had with the teachers. Here, the data were approached in a more reflexive way, centring on the teachers' 'significant moments'. Narrative technique has been used extensively in the study of teachers' lives (e.g., Clandinin & Connelly, 1994; Goodson, 1992; Manara, 2012), as narrative accounts have been seen to better capture the lived

experience of individuals. The fact that life is filled with narratives and that narratives are the common way individuals communicate their experience appears to have laid the foundation for this approach to flourish. As Clandinin and Connelly (1994) maintain:

> When persons note something of their experience, either to themselves or to others, they do so not by the mere recording of experience over time, but in storied form. … In effect, stories are the closest we can come to experience as we and others tell of our experience. A story has a sense of being full, a sense of coming out of a personal and social history. (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994, p. 415)

In line with the argument that "experience happens narratively" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 19), narrative form can thus be perceived to be the best way to think, comprehend and write about one's experiences. On this note, Lawler (2002) underlines:

> If we want to find out how people make identities, make sense of the world and of their place within it—if we want to find out how they interpret the world and themselves—we will have to attend to the stories they tell. (p. 255)

It needs to be pointed out, however, that narratives are not fixed in time. Rather, they need to be viewed as accounts or versions of truths that are constantly being constructed and reconstructed in the telling. In this study, the teachers' cases are very much represented within the narratives, through which I felt I could communicate and reconstruct their experiences more effectively. The teachers' individual stories were not discrete but intersected with others in ways that enabled a 'thread' to be found. In Chapter Five, where I inquire into the teachers' 'teaching selves', for instance, I noted a dominant discourse pertaining to teaching as a moral endeavour. In this part of the analysis, themes were very much grounded in data, and this is reflected in my aspiration to draw directly on key words or phrases used by the participants in generating headings. So, for example, in discussing Nancy's identity work as a teacher, the discussion is presented under the heading: *"Am I a sinner or a saint?": Respect, obedience and social hierarchy* (see Section 5.4), while her teaching practice related to the notion of interculturality is titled: *"The curriculum doesn't totally speak for me": Tensions and contradictions in enacting the Intercultural Communication curriculum* (see Section 8.2.1). Finally, it should be noted that while this study involved six cases of individual teachers, not all were given equal space in the reconstruction.

4.7.4   Transcription and translation issues.

A transcript, as Gee (1999) asserts, is a theoretical element. "It does not stand outside an analysis, but, rather, is part of it" (p. 88). Gee contends that speech can never be captured completely by any recording or transcription system. It follows that, while discourse analysts rely on details of speech (including those conveyed non-verbally) to conduct their investigation, they inevitably only select those details that are deemed relevant to the study and the arguments that they are attempting to make. In Gee's view, these "judgements of relevance" (that is, deciding what a transcript should include and what it excludes) constitute "theoretical judgments ... based on the analyst's theories of how language, situations, and interactions work in ... [the] situation being analyzed" (p. 88). Further, he points out that deciding how narrow or broad the transcription should be ultimately lies in the objectives the analyst has set out to achieve in the first place. In saying so, he underlines that the validity of an analysis does not rest on how much detail one includes into the transcription. Rather, "it is a matter of how the transcript works together with all the other elements of the analysis to create a 'trustworthy' analysis" (pp. 88-89). Using this understanding as a frame of reference, in the actual quoting, as it is presented in the thesis, I have thus decided to ignore repetitions, digression and other speech elements that do not provide contextual cues and are irrelevant to the analysis undertaken.

In addition, as I have said, some of the interviews were conducted in *Bahasa Indonesia*, and the act of translating these data posed its own challenges. I was often faced with the dilemma of whether to retain faithfulness to the source text or to prioritise clarity and acceptability. However, as literal translation often resulted in unnatural phrases and statements that could be interpreted as making little sense, in the end I tended to adopt communicative translation (Newmark, 1988). For example, in translating a teacher's attempt to 'make a situation more liquid' (which in Indonesian is viewed as the correct collocation, i.e., *membuat suasana cair*), I opted to use the common English phrase 'break the ice'. Although I prioritise naturalness in the translation process, I did the best I could to retain the participants' original emphasis in the statements they made.

4.8 Setting the Scene: The Institutions and the Participants

4.8.1 University of West Java: The institution.

Located in the city of Bandung, the University of West Java (UWJ) was founded in 1960 by one of the oldest cultural organisations in Indonesia. Its establishment by Sundanese Society implicates a strong mission on the part of the institution to take part in preserving the Sundanese culture and to contribute to its societal advancement through academic approaches. While currently striving towards fulfilling the standard of a "world class university", its constant emphasis on Sundaneseness, along with its local philosophies and values, has been seen as a trademark of the institution. The university specifically aspires to nurture the development of three key areas: knowledge, religion and culture, as spelt out in its vision and mission statements below:

> <u>Vision</u>
> To become a world-class academic community that upholds Sundanese and Islamic values.
> <u>Missions</u>
> - To provide higher education of international standards
> - To realise world-class research
> - To provide community services to enhance human dignity
> - To conserve, preserve and develop the Sundanese culture
> - To conserve, preserve and develop Islam[7]. (My translation)

It is commonly acknowledged that Indonesia is a religious society (Philpott, 2001; Sumardjo, 2010), constituting the world's largest population of Muslims. As such, it is not at all unusual to find religious values being incorporated into the academic sphere. The university's demographic details, however, suggest that the academy is not restricted to Muslims. Similarly, despite its Sundanese platform, the academia is composed of members of various ethnic groups from across the nation. The institution has been reported as one

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[7] The publication details of this document are not disclosed in order to protect the anonymity of the institution.

of the largest among private universities located in *Kopertis*[8] Region IV. The university has six faculties and a total of thirty-three study programs, six of which are masters programs and two doctoral, located across its five campuses.

Although the institution has been established for over five decades, the Department of English Literature came into existence relatively recently, namely in 1999. In 2010, at the time when the fieldwork was undertaken, the Department comprised thirty-five lecturers, including permanent and casual staff, and around two hundred students. In their final year, students need to take one field of interest among the three offered as their major: Journalism, Tourism or English Language Teaching. Despite the 'Literature label' attached to the program, a closer look at its curriculum reveals that a significantly larger proportion is, in fact, given to subjects focusing on language skills (such as *Grammar*, *Reading for General Purposes*, *Skills and Strategies for the TOEFL* and *Public Speaking*[9]) in comparison to its literature counterpart, with an approximate ratio of three to one. An interview with a senior figure in administration at the Department I discovered that the role of literature within the study program functions more as a medium, rather than an end, in learning the language.

4.8.2   University of West Java: The participants.

Three teachers, all male ranging in their late twenties to mid forties, have been selected in the present study: Edi, Hendra and Bayu. Although Edi is the only one to have an educational background in English, they all indicated a shared passion in the field of culture. With an academic background in journalism and fine arts in the case of Hendra and social sciences in the case of Bayu, these teachers added a somewhat different dimension to our conversations about language, culture and teaching, providing diverse educational experiences and contexts.

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[8] *Kopertis* is an abbreviation for *Koordinator Perguruan Tinggi Swasta* (Coordinator of Private Higher Education), whose main tasks are to supervise and manage private higher education institutions as well as to evaluate their performance. Its unit of work is divided into regions, which include one or more provinces of Indonesia. As stipulated by Ministrial Decree Number 0135/O/1990, Kopertis is in charge of twelve regions, Region IV being the provinces of West Java and Banten.

[9] These are the names of some of the subjects taught at the Department.

Edi Riyadi: A Teacher of Poetry*.*

Edi is a teacher assistant at UWJ's Department of English Literature and is a UWJ alumnus himself, attaining his Bachelor degree in 2005. His thesis was a comparative study of Javanese and Sundanese marriage ceremonies, examining the rituals as well as cultural meanings and symbols contained in these practices. At the time of field work, he was pursuing a Masters degree in Contemporary Literature at a well-known state university in West Java.

Edi pointed out to me that the university had opened the door to his first teaching experience. He had been teaching at the Department for about two years and said that he enjoyed it very much, describing teaching as a job "with a mission". Having been unsatisfied with the scope and the depth of the literary component taught during his studentship during his undergraduate study, Edi was determined to open up a pathway for his students into a "fascinating world of literature". Many students, he felt, were enrolled in the Department courses for the sake of learning the English language, rather than having a passion to study literature. And he saw this as a challenge.

Edi had been assigned to co-teach *Introduction to Literature*, *Poetry* and *Reading* with one other more senior lecturer in each subject, one of them being described as a "native speaker of English". Seeing himself as a "bridge" between his Indonesian students and the *Reading* teacher, he hoped that this native English-speaking teacher would provide the students with "some kind of teaching variation". As he had never been abroad, he expected that the presence of the American teacher would facilitate mutual learning and understanding. Of the three subjects, nonetheless, he said that he enjoyed teaching *Introduction to Literature* the most since, in his view, it offered him the most freedom to "apply his personal philosophies" about literature. As for *Poetry*, he felt that some students had misconceptions about the subject, for instance, that it required them to become poets. Furthermore, although in theory the course was supposed to involve team teaching, in practice Edi had been left to teach by himself since the fourth meeting because his senior colleague, who was a casual staff member at the Department and also worked for a local newspaper company, had to withdraw from teaching due to his appointment as a journalist. It was in his *Poetry* class that I did my classroom observation.

Hendra Setiadi: A Teacher of Literature*.*

Hendra had been teaching at UWJ for two years prior to his appointment as a permanent academic staff member at the Department in 2010. Having attained his bachelor degree in

journalism in 1994, his first work experience was as a journalist for a magazine company in the capital city of Jakarta. He worked for the company for around five years before becoming an editor for various publications, both Indonesian and Sundanese, at different points of time. In 2006, he decided to continue his studies and majored in fine arts, graduating two years later. His Master's thesis examined Sundanese school book illustrations created by a Dutch illustrator preceding World War I. At the time of study, Hendra was working on his doctoral thesis, and Sundanese book illustration continued to become a major theme of his project.

While at the time of the research Hendra was a permanent staff member at UWJ and the Managing Editor of a Sundanese journal, he was also holding an honorary position in a state university's Graduate School, teaching *Sundanese Culture*. It is interesting that, although he professed to having always been passionate in the areas of language, literature and culture, a few years earlier he had shrugged off the idea of becoming a full-time lecturer, saying that he was not "called" yet. As he increasingly felt that "the political pulls became too harsh" in the outside world, he eventually realised that the university might be the most suitable place for him after all. As a person who enjoyed reading, writing and intellectually stimulating discussion, he admitted that the university fulfiled his intellectual needs and, at the same time, enabled him to "grow in understanding with the new generation". Describing the university as a "contemporary sanctuary", he felt that the place provided him with the desired atmosphere of being "close to ideas".

Hendra's journey as a teacher had always been framed within journalistic and literary landscapes. Most notably, his vision of making the Sundanese culture "known by the world" had led him to extensive involvement in Sundanese literary and cultural activities. He had proven to be a prolific writer, writing literary and cultural issues in a wide variety of genres. Some may thus call him a literary critic, an essayist, a columnist and even a Sundanese activist. He also created his own blog for the world to 'peek into' the Sundanese culture. Hendra was also known as a competent and professional translator, dealing mostly with Sundanese and English texts. Although he had no formal teaching background and said that his approaches were "informed by intuition", marked by "trial and error", he had high hopes of inspiring and motivating his students to get into the habit of reading and writing. Having observed his *Introduction to Literature* class throughout the semester, I witnessed how he transformed his lectures into a collection of essays (see Appendix 5 for an excerpt).

Bayu Wijayanto: A Teacher of **Indonesian History and Culture**.

With ten years of teaching experience in the social sciences, Bayu Wijayanto had been a casual staff member at the University of West Java since 2005. Having attained a bachelor degree in history and a masters degree in sociology and anthropology, Bayu was undertaking a doctoral program in social sciences at a state university in Bandung. Besides teaching *Indonesian History and Culture* at UWJ's Department of English Literature, he also taught *Social Psychology*, *Government Ecology* and *National Comparative Literature* in a number of other academic institutions.

Prior to becoming a teacher, Bayu had been a journalist for a number of years, working for magazine companies one after the other. It was the wish of his mother, who believed in the respected status of a teacher in the society, and his own conviction in the goodness of being an obedient son, that drove him into the realm of education and to become engaged in teaching. Seeing the role of a teacher as transcending classroom boundaries, he believed that a teacher's job is much more than just transferring knowledge. As a moral guide, he was convinced that teachers should always, to the best of their ability, display good conduct, be consistent in their words and actions and be role models both inside and outside the classroom. As the Indonesian saying goes, "a teacher is to be listened to and to be followed". And he made it clear that he upheld this belief dearly, indicating morality as "the essence of teaching and learning". In his view, good teaching should not only be "understood" but also "felt". As a practising Muslim, he perceived Islam to be an all-embracing concept, extending beyond all cultural notions, and therefore considered the incorporation of Islamic values and morals to be very important in his daily teaching.

Bayu strongly believed in a "familial approach" to teaching. Describing classroom formality as a "shackle" and believing that formalities conducted in academic institutions were engaged in "erasing forms of wisdom", he was keen to break down the barriers restraining teacher-student relationships. In light of this, he often put himself in the position of a parent when dealing with his students, whom he considered as his "own children", and felt "proud when they pour[ed] their hearts out" to him. Needless to say, his enjoyment in teaching did not only stem from "the moral goodness of being a teacher" and the interaction with students but also from his passion for the subjects he taught. He tried to raise his students' awareness that education was an asset through, among others, the Sundanese philosophy: "birds live through their wings, humans live through their minds". In his view, the university holds great responsibility in generating "people of wisdom".

4.8.3   Indonesia National University: The institution.

Formerly known as an institute of teacher education, Indonesia National University (INU) was founded by the government, as officially declared by the Minister of Education, in 1954. Its establishment has often been seen in the context of Indonesia's history and its efforts to build the nation through the provision of qualified teachers. As a state university, the institution has a strong mission to contribute to national development, and, despite the various transformations it has undergone as an institutional body, it has been consistent in placing teacher education at the forefront. Having a vision to become "a leading and outstanding university", it aspires to be recognised as:

> The one and only higher education institution in Indonesia that is unfailingly committed to developing the field of education in responding to the advancement of science, technology and art, societal demands and global changes, taking up the initiative to develop innovations in education. (Vision statement of Indonesia National University, my translation)

As is the current trend in Indonesia's education, it has become one of the university's key agendas to 'internationalise' its status as an education provider, as reflected in its mission statements below:

1. To provide education that prepares professional and globally competitive educators;
2. To develop innovative theories and applications in education and other sciences that thereupon lay the foundation for national education policy making;
3. To provide professional community services in an effort to contribute to national problem solving pertaining to educational, political, economic, social and cultural issues;
4. To provide internationalisation of education through developing and strengthening networks and partnership at the national, regional and international levels. (Cited from the university's website, my translation)

The university has seven faculties at the undergraduate level and one graduate school, which includes masters and doctoral programs. Within the seven faculties and the graduate school, there are 78 and 23 study programs respectively. Most of these programs

are education-oriented, and its six campuses are spread across the West Java province. The majority of staff are categorised as government employees.

Within the English Department, two study programs are offered: English Education and English Literature. While the former program is as old as the university itself, the English Literature Program is relatively new, having been established in 1999. In 2010, the Department had fifty-two academic staff members (fifty permanent and two casual) and a total of approximately 880 students, with the number of those enrolled in the Education program slightly higher than that of its counterpart. Although each of the academic staff has his/her own 'home base', in reality each has to shuttle between the two programs within the Department due to the insufficient number of teachers.

4.8.4   Indonesia National University: The participants.

Three of my colleagues, two females and one male (all in the age range of 30-40), agreed to participate in the present study: Nancy, Sandra and Benny. At the time I conducted my fieldwork, all of them were assigned to teach *Intercultural Communication*. However, because of a conflicting schedule with another classroom observation, I was not able to observe Benny's *Intercultural Communication* class, and so I observed his *Literature and Cultural Studies* class instead. These teachers are all INU alumni with a background in English education, though Nancy and Benny attained their master's degrees overseas. Of the three, Sandra had joined the faculty most recently, and it was her first time being appointed to teach *Intercultural Communication*.

Nancy Yanuar: A Teacher of Intercultural Communication*.*

After starting out as a casual lecturer at INU, her alma mater, Nancy was made a permanent academic staff member, and therefore a government employee, at the institution. She started teaching at INU in 2005, a year after attaining her bachelor degree in English Education. Her interest in literary studies led her to pursue a master's degree in children's literature at an Australian University through the sponsorship of the Australian Development Scholarship in 2008, graduating one year later. Nancy described her one-year stay in Australia, which was her first time abroad, as being "invaluable" and admitted that her study overseas had influenced her practices as a teacher "in many ways".

Reflecting on her career as an English teacher, Nancy saw the 'evolution' as being inseparable from her natural disposition and her long-lived interest in English. Referring to Howard Gardner's Multiple Intelligences, she identified herself as a "word smart"

person, having high verbal-linguistic abilities, while also professing to have found much enjoyment in listening to music and watching Hollywood films since she was a child. Viewing teaching mainly as a "transfer of knowledge", Nancy felt that she had a lot to share with her students through her experience abroad and was determined to guide them to become "independent learners" and to develop their "critical thinking skills" through the subjects she was teaching.

Although Nancy was officially a lecturer of the English Literature program at the English Department specialising in children and adolescent literature, she had also been assigned to teach a number of literary and culture-related subjects in the English Education program. One of the subjects she was teaching in the Education program, and that she appeared to have developed a specialty in, was *Intercultural Communication*, previously called *Cross-Cultural Understanding*. With one senior lecturer of the English Education program, Nancy had been co-teaching the subject since 2006. In her view, the unit is very important in developing students' understanding and appreciation of other cultures, although in her own interaction with people of different cultural backgrounds, she claimed she preferred "not to judge people based on their cultural practices" but see them through their personal qualities.

Sandra Setiani: A Teacher of Intercultural Communication*.*

Although she had been engaged in the academic world for quite some time, Sandra had been teaching at her alma mater for only two semesters. Completing her undergraduate study in 2001 at INU, she attained her masters degree in 2009 from the same university. Both her undergraduate and postgraduate studies were in the area of English Education. Prior to her appointment at INU, Sandra had taught at a number of private institutions as a casual staff member. She had also had ten years of working experience in various Non-Governmental Organisations, primarily as a translator and an interpreter. Describing her workplace in NGOs as a "multicultural environment", she pointed out that the work provided her with many opportunities to get into contact with people of different cultural backgrounds, most notably Europeans, and to go abroad, assisting Indonesian officials participating in international conferences. Recalling the time when she was still a novice interpreter, she spoke of how many a time misunderstandings and problems in communicating with resource people occurred due to different cultural expectations and confessed that she used to feel offended when they instructed her "in a direct way".

Apart from job-related overseas travel, Sandra had also done some travelling for pleasure on different occasions, such as visiting Norway and backpacking for a period of one month to stay in Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Paris, Barcelona and Venice. She saw her experiences abroad as having enriched her teaching and as having been particularly useful in teaching *Intercultural Communication*, as they helped her to better understand concepts related to the subject and made it easier for her to provide grounded illustrations to her students. In her opinion, examples that are directly relevant to the teacher and/or the students' lives can facilitate teaching and learning processes more effectively. Identifying herself as an "intercultural person", she acknowledged the fact that technology plays an increasingly important role in developing people's intercultural awareness, though she still believed the experience of border-crossing to be crucial in teaching subjects such as *Intercultural Communication*. Teaching the subject to a class of seventh semester students of the English Literature program, however, appeared to have made her feel rather frustrated at times, as she expected her students to 'speak their minds' and contribute more to classroom discussions.

Besides teaching in the English Department, Sandra had also been teaching *Bahasa Indonesia* to international students at the university's Language Center since 2007. Becoming a teacher had been her "ideal" ever since she was a little girl. Describing teaching as an "intellectually challenging" activity, she saw the profession as providing her space to speak her own mind, share her ideas and thoughts with others, while also allowing her to be influential and have a direct impact on other people's lives—the things she treasured most in being a teacher.

Benny Herlambang: A Teacher of Literature and Cultural Studies.

Benny is a permanent academic staff member at INU and at the time of my fieldwork had been teaching in the English Department for around eight years. Like many other lecturers recruited in the Department, he is an INU alumnus himself, having graduated in 1999 with a bachelor degree in English Education. Through the sponsorship of the Australian Development Scholarship, he was given the opportunity to pursue further studies at a prestigious university in Australia and attained his masters degree in professional communication in 2006. Despite the one-year duration of the program, the experience of border-crossing was eye-opening for him, although he admitted that some of the "ideas and fantasies" he had about studying abroad "did not really come true", highlighting the application of "interactive ways of teaching", which he did not always find in the classes he attended.

Prior to his recruitment at INU, Benny worked as a freelance translator and taught in various private English courses, teaching subjects such as *General English*, *English for Business*, *English for Children* and *TOEFL Preparation*. Although working in these private institutions was "financially rewarding", he described the job as being a "dead-end job", providing no "academic satisfaction" and "security". That was when he decided to change direction and became a university teacher. As a lecturer, he felt that he could "function better" because, apart from being constantly challenged to update his knowledge, he felt that he was given more freedom to share what he had learnt and knew and to disseminate the knowledge to a wider community.

Benny also indicated the interaction with students to be a source of enjoyment of teaching. As a teacher, Benny felt that he had the capacity to motivate and inspire his students in ways that could make them change and be better people. He pointed out that students had come to him and told him how he had been quite an influence on them. Apart from teaching *Literature and Cultural Studies*, Benny had also been assigned to teach *Intercultural Communication* and some other literary units. *Literature and Cultural Studies*, the subject in which I did my observation, is an elective unit offered to the fifth semester students of the English Literature program, and his class consisted of only ten students.

In the next chapter, I inquire in more depth into these teachers' identity work and the various aspects of the teachers' selves. I show in that chapter how their professional identity and practices are mediated by 'the personal', 'the institutional' and 'the cultural', which are inescapably marked by multifarious tensions and dilemmas.

Chapter 5

Teaching Selves: Philosophies, Agency and Dilemmas

In understanding something so intensely personal as teaching it is critical that
we know about the person the teacher is. (Goodson, 1980-1981, p. 69)

The idea contained in the epigraph above is central to and reflective of the thinking and undertaking of this study. It establishes an important philosophical underpinning for the research that served as a critical point from which my inquiries departed. As a teacher myself, I recognise how multiple elements—'the personal', 'the professional', 'the theoretical' and 'the institutional'—intermingle in the act of teaching. Consequently, to study teachers' work, it is crucial that these dimensions are taken into account (see Connell, 1985; Goodson, 2008). Teachers' work is inextricably interconnected with the broader, social structures—their biographies, histories and experiences—which are always embedded in a particular context and culture. Yet, because of the dynamics and complexities of classrooms, and the intensity of teachers' working lives, previous research shows that tensions and dilemmas are not uncommon in the teaching profession and that they are, in fact, part of the ongoing identity work for teachers (Edge, 1996; Feryok, 2008; Milner, 2010; Parr, 2012; Tsui, 2007).

Before proceeding to focus on the six teachers' work as English language teachers in Indonesian universities, I wish to first bring some sense of 'humanness' to each of these individuals, while also providing a more in-depth contextualisation of the study. Inquiring into the teachers' identity work, I highlight below their values and beliefs about being a teacher, their conceptions of teaching and learning as well as the tensions and dilemmas these teachers have to deal with in their professional spaces—all in an attempt to more fully understand their decision-making and classroom processes as well as the rationale behind certain beliefs and actions. For this reason, I frame these teachers' experiences as individual cases.

5.1   Edi: Liberate and Be "a Bridge for Students to Cross"

As someone who had just entered the profession for two years at the time this study's fieldwork was undertaken and who was himself a postgraduate student at some other

university in the province, Edi's voice as a teacher appeared to have been strongly influenced by his experiences as a student. This could be seen in the ways he connected to both his current and previous studies at the two universities and used them as resources for his own teaching. Edi's experiences as a novice teacher would seem to capture certain dimensions of what Dan Lortie (1975) refers to as "the apprenticeship of observation", a term which has been frequently cited in the literature of teacher education. Yet, as he also signaled, he did not *just* simply 'teach the way he was taught' and emulate his own teachers; rather, he indicated that he was capable of reflecting upon those hundreds of hours of observations of his teachers' classroom practices and the implications they brought for his learning experiences. Edi spoke quite frankly of some of the disappointment he encountered while studying at his alma mater. He was determined not to fall into the same teaching pitfalls he had observed there. Having been disappointed with the curriculum at UWJ—he believed their curriculum was too ambitious in terms of its objectives and yet the teaching of these subjects he felt to be superficial—Edi became very cautious in his own decision-making in relation to his interpretation of the curriculum and his pedagogy. Yet, as a teacher, he could not hide his own ambition to open up a pathway for his students into a "fascinating world of literature".

Edi was concerned about the provision of quality education in his Department, and it appeared inevitable for him to constantly make comparisons with the university he was currently studying at. In contrast to how he portrayed his own institution, Edi described the instutional culture in which he was undertaking his postgraduate study as "eye-opening", while also deeming his professors to be inspiring and resourceful. He said that he often experimented with these professors' approaches in his own classroom, and he sought to enact their style of student-oriented teaching, with approaches such as group work assignments and group presentations—activities that he believed could help lessen the dominance of the teacher and provide more opportunities for students to speak. Edi strongly believed that teaching should be geared towards meeting students' needs and that the curriculum should be co-constructed with them, rather than be imposed on them. In underlining this need, Edi, again, reflected on how he had been taught during his undergraduate studies:

> You see, I wasn't only disappointed with the materials given. ... When I was a student, most of the teachers were old, maybe they had reached burnt-out stage. Well, I don't blame them. But because they were burnt-out, they tended to teach only one way. They just talked and talked. ... And so what's important

now is how to turn that around. (Edi, post-observation interview, 01/12/2010, my translation)

In spite of this realisation, the more Edi talked to me about the curriculum and institutional policies, the more evident it became that there were distinct differences in perspectives. This, for instance, could be read through his repeated questioning and expressed confusion (e.g., "I wonder why only a small portion of literature-based subjects are allocated", "We are English Literature Department, why do we teach Tourism?", "Do they [policy makers] mean to give partial knowledge?", "I am confused with the curriculum", "I really don't understand [the policies]", "I'm perplexed"). While it appeared that Edi had some major disagreement with the curriculum policies, he said that he did "not know to whom to complain" and indicated that, at this stage, he was not in the position to change anything except to just "go with the flow". Despite his seeming lack of agency, I could see through his statements and actions that he was making an effort to 'turn the wheel around'. In acting upon his perceived limited allocation of literature-based subjects, he was willing to run informal classes and seminars in cooperation with the Student Association. The fact that the Department, as he pointed out, bears the title 'Literature' in addition to 'English' should signal that it is not only the linguistic dimension of students' learning that needs emphasising but also its literary dimension. Edi argued:

> The people in this institution need to open up their eyes to the outside world. That's actually a moral burden for them. A torturing moral burden. Torturing in the sense that they need to think of how to enable [UWJ] students to compete with the outside world … I wasn't happy with what I got from this institution when I was a student, and, to be honest with you, I feel that that moral burden is even heavier on me. There're a lot of things that they [students] need to learn out there … so I hope, at least, to be able to 'connect' them to that outside world. (Edi, post-observation interview, 01/12/2010, my translation)

Further in the conversation, Edi said, "I worry if my students, when they talk with students from other institutions [majoring in Literature], cannot 'connect' with these people. *Mereka cuma bengong aja* (They just stare blankly) [laughter]" He then speculated that there might be a relationship between students' lack of foundational knowledge and their passivity in class: "If their foundation is not strong, it's possible that they become hesitant to voice their opinion". Although Edi was still in his early career and had "very little teaching experience", he firmly believed that his work as a teacher should serve as "a

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bridge for students to cross". Responding to my question whether he saw himself as the students' role model, Edi laughed heartily and commented: "Teachers, too, are humans, and I have weaknesses, too. So, having to be a role model is a bit too high-sounding". He said further, "Teachers are not necessarily right all the time, and for that reason, I liberate my students from having such a conception".

Edi believed that, to teach effectively, a teacher needs to be able to create a relaxed, non-threatening classroom atmosphere, and to do so, he felt it necessary to minimise the traditional teacher-student hierarchy. "I don't want to create a rigid teacher-student relationship," he remarked. "Too wide a hierarchy between them can make students uneasy or hesitant to ask or argue". In encouraging students to speak up, Edi tried to reduce teacher talk in class and to listen more to what the students had to say: "I try to position myself as a student sometimes, and let *them* be the experts". Speaking in a firm tone of voice, Edi advised: "Don't discourage your students when they are to interpret poems by imposing your opinion. … Give them the freedom to do it". The whole teaching and learning process, he maintained, has to be "liberating", just as "poems liberate the poets", he analogised. In so doing, Edi often reminded his students, "There is no one right way to interpret a poem. So be liberated but be critical".

To teach, for Edi, is "to have an impact on students' ways of thinking and seeing the world"—to help them broaden their horizons. To Edi, this is every teacher's "moral obligation". This is also why Edi regarded fostering critical thinking abilities to be of paramount importance in the classroom. Moreover, education, he asserted, should lead students to be "specialists" rather than "generalists". He hoped that, once his students completed their formal education at UWJ, they would be "successful people … who do not shame themselves and their alma mater".

5.2 Hendra: Be Your Students' Good Friend, Create "Dialogic Equality" and "Grow Together in Mutual Support"

> For me, the most fundamental reason for my existence in the academia as a teacher is to establish friendship (*menjalin persahabatan*) with the new generation … and I long to be a part of the process of their life journey. (Hendra, post-observation interview, 24/11/2010, my translation)

> I realise that I am part of a culture that is not yet democratic—be it culture in a narrow sense [i.e., institutional culture] or a broad sense [i.e., societal culture].

Yes, I'm part of that. But I also—or rather, *precisely because of that*—I do my best to contribute to developing a more critical generation. (Hendra, post-observation interview, 24/11/2010, my translation)

Upon close reading of Hendra's interview transcripts, I noted a repetition of a number of ideas—such as the importance of "establishing friendship", "creating dialogic equality" and "growing together in mutual support"—that could be read as key concepts underpinning his personal-professional beliefs as a teacher. Hendra professed that among his utmost joys of being a teacher were, firstly, being in the position to be "close to ideas" and to have the capacity to disseminate these ideas, and, secondly, "being involved in the making of a new generation". Through skilful communicative abilities, Hendra was certain that a teacher has the power to turn "personal thoughts" into "collective ideas". Teachers, he suggested, could have an incredible impact on students, and they could, in his view, become the students' source of inspiration. Hendra revealed that he himself was among those whose life had been touched by teachers' great work. Recalling his own teachers, Hendra remarked that some were simply unforgettable:

Hendra: There were some teachers during my primary school years that I always remember—vividly. … They probably passed away already. … But they have all been so influential. I remember him wearing a white shirt and carrying a leather bag … [That was] *Pak* Ahmad. There was also *Bu* Uun. … They were indeed great figures. I really want to thank them for what they did. … And they've transformed into 'ghosts' … 'ghosts' in my mind…

Isti: Influencing your subconsciousness?

Hendra: Yes, I think so. (Post-observation interview, 24/11/2010, my translation)

Hendra also spoke about his love of the figure of Mr. Chips in the novel *Goodbye, Mr. Chips*. Mr. Chips' ability to connect to such a wide variety of students on a human level inspired him greatly. "I want to be like Mr. Chips," Hendra remarked, "I don't know why, but it seems that it's always in my subconscious—that novel. Very inspiring." In his narratives, Hendra revealed an admiration for teachers who had the ability to connect with his students, as it was this kind of teachers, he felt, that could create a significant impact on students' lives. In Hendra's view, one of the most fundamental ways to impact the students

is to be their "friend" and "companion". Indeed, Hendra's narratives are full of instances reflecting this underlying belief.

Hendra: For me, the essence of teaching and learning is how to be able to grow in mutual support with students. That's my concept. ... Growing together, and the challenge [of actualising this] is how *not* to position ourselves as the 'conveyor of truth', in the sense that we are superior than them. That's difficult, right? Psychologically, it's difficult to deny that we *are* being positioned as such, but I try my best to implement the principle of 'growing together'. ... So, for example, I try to eradicate the teacher-student boundary. I went with Bayu—Bayu is my student—to see a painting exhibition, and we came up with an idea of writing [about it]. ... I often go out with Bayu. With Agung. With Farnas. But I haven't fulfilled Bayu's request to play musical instruments together. Oh no, I can't do it. He asked me to play the violin. I used to play the violin, but now I'm not confident to play it. No, I can't do it now. I am old. I'm not familiar with the tunes anymore—that's really something generational. "It doesn't matter," Bayu insisted. But Farnas is really good at playing the guitar. Farnas is my student in Journalism. I also haven't fulfilled his request [to play music together]. But it's okay if it's only going out to see an exhibition—like yesterday with Bayu to Sumarja Gallery to see the late Sujoyono's paintings. By coincidence, some new books were also launched at the exhibition, and I was one of the editors of those books. I knew that the event would interest him. So Bayu and I went together in my car ... he was excited. And he went back [to the exhibition] taking Farnas with him. He asked me to accompany him again, actually, but I had work to do. "No, I can't go." .... [Then there was Ane]. Ane came to my house to write [for publication]. "Ne, I think you should read this and send [your writing] to *Pikiran Rakyat*." I forgot the title of her essay. *Alhamdulillah* [Praise be to Allah], it got published. ... It's a pity that she decided to get married rather than writing her thesis first. I got suspicious. Maybe, it was an 'accident'. I told her when she was here [on campus]: "Ane, don't take a leave. If you do, it'd be difficult to get into the mood [of writing] again ... You can still write even if you're pregnant. People know that you're

married." … [Then there was Dian]. Dian is in the same graduating
cohort as Ane …

Isti: Wow, you really are that close with the students …

Hendra: But of course in the classroom you still need to have that 'formal'
aspect [of teacher-student relationship], but outside … it's informal.

Isti: So how do you see your role [as a teacher]?

Hendra: Just as their companion, accompanying (*menemani*) them to
contribute their potentials [to the community] while also
reinvigorating myself …

Isti: What about seeing yourself as a role model?

Hendra: Oh no. Not as a role model. … It's burdensome. Firstly, it's
burdensome. Secondly, it will, at certain point, be an obstacle in my
interaction with the students. (Post-observation interview,
24/11/2010, my translation)

The above extended extract from our interview clearly reflects Hendra's closeness to the
students, and there were many more instances of such accounts throughout our
conversations. In Hendra's view, because students are "the most important 'inhabitants'
within the academia", he intuitively felt that he needed to better understand who they are.
He indicated that knowing students well enabled him to empathise better with them, and
when a teacher is capable of delving into the students' world, then that teacher is, Hendra
believed, creating better opportunities to have greater impact on the students. Yet, Hendra
realised that he might be different from the most university teachers and that his principle
of engaging with students might not be 'compatible' with the institution's expectations:

I try, within and outside campus, to implement the principle of 'growing
together', but sometimes there are barriers—barriers stemming from
traditions, that is, the habits of doing things here [at UWJ] … and so I need to
be sensitive [to these issues]. It may be that my way [of engaging with
students] is not proper here. And so sometimes I need to adjust myself.
(Hendra, post-observation interview, 24/11/2010, my translation)

Despite his stated effort to "adjust to the rule of the game" at UWJ, Hendra *did* express his
thoughts of "negotiating authority" [*menawar otoritas*]: "Teacher-student hierarchical
structure is inevitable, but I wish the hierarchy wasn't so great so that 'dialogic equality'
can be better achieved". In his desire to create a more egalitarian relationship with his

students, Hendra reserved some criticism for the institution: "Our culture is so paternalistic. The institution itself is paternalistic. It's as if 'the Rector can do no wrong'. Seniors can never be wrong. And this perspective has a certain psychological bearing on the teachers." Hendra believed that such a culture also contributed to generating uncritical students. The notion of critical thinking, Hendra said, appears to "clash" with the beliefs held within our local culture. He maintained that to create a critical society, "changes need to take place at the 'cultural roots' level … but then it should be the university that initiates such a change". In line with this view, Hendra believed that it is the moral responsibility of the teachers to contibute to "developing [a] better Indonesia". Unfortunately, as Hendra pointed out, the current "intellectual climate" was not yet conducive to achieving this goal. He felt that, at present, there was far too much "inward orientation", which he spelt out as "competing for power and the like". "It's messy," he said, describing the situation. "If this institution is to develop, it should be more outward-oriented. Establish connections with other institutions through events, for example," Hendra suggested. "How do we realise our vision to become a 'world-class university'? This is a serious issue," he pointed out and emphasised the need for a "reformation of academic culture":

> It would be exteremely difficult [to achieve the goal of becoming a world-class university] if there is no "reformation of academic culture" taking place … you know, acquiring that ethos of teaching and learning … that teaching-learning culture. This is where the foundation lies. And I think what's most urgently needed is a [resourceful] library to support research activities …. That way, 'academic authority' does not merely lie on the number of hours one has spent teaching … and research should start from one's own classroom. (Hendra, post-classroom observation, 24/11/2010, my translation)

Hendra constantly emphasised the need for the institution to be equipped with a resource-rich library, which he viewed as an investment particularly in fostering a productive reseach culture within the academia and in developing students' literacy skills. In one lesson I observed, he pronounced: "An academician's task, among others, is to write, and so I write to motivate my students to write. We grow together. That's my principle. But 'Be honest. Don't plagiarise,'" he emphasised to his students, pointing out his personal belief that "honesty is better than intelligence".

In essence, Hendra's principles of "establishing friendship" with students, "creating dialogic equality" and "growing together in mutual support" seem to resonate with Rosser and Tabata's (2010) study of the literature inquiring into faculty work (most notably in

the context of the USA). Drawing on a number of research studies, they highlight that working with students lies "at the very core of the university mission as well as the faculty's academic duty" and that "the more faculty members are engaged with students, the more satisfied they are with their work" (p. 451).

5.3 Bayu: Be a "Role Model" and Uphold a "Familial Relationship" with Students

> They [the students] are my children. Many people tell me that I am '*jadul*'[10] [old-fashioned] … [they say] 'those views are no longer relevant'. But listen, I believe—and this is also what I tell my students—there's no such thing as 'former students' or 'former teachers'. They may forget me, but I try not to forget them. They are my children. My children. So … I feel very proud when they pour their hearts out to me. [That means] they see me as a parent. … This is also what I tell them: relation is power. … Or in our Prophet's word: *silaturrahmi*[11]. Such wisdom is a rarity these days. I see [academic] formality as a shackle—constraining, erasing these forms of wisdom. (Bayu, pre-observation interview, 15/09/2010, my translation)

As suggested in the excerpt above, Bayu held a very strong view about teachers taking up and carrying out a parental role for students. Believing in the traditional notion of teacher as '*guru*', Bayu frequently underscored the importance for teachers to set good examples to students and to be their role models. Teachers, he said, should indeed be someone "to be listened to and to be emulated". He believed that, like parents, teachers should position themselves as people whom students would look up to and seek counsel from, and, as an implication, Bayu considered it crucial for him to be "consistent" in his "words and actions":

> [Being a teacher] for me means I have to be consistent with what I say. For me, the essence of education does not lie in textual materials—those can be read

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[10] '*Jadul*' is an Indonesian slang word. It is an abbreviation for '*jaman dulu*', which literally means 'in the old times'.

[11] This is originally an Arabic word that has been borrowed by the Indonesian language. It is understood to mean "maintaining the bonds of friendship and brotherhood through meeting people".

and found easily. So not that. But it is a matter of *how* we carry ourselves. …
For example, coming punctually to class … to educate is how to make an
impact on students, and you just can't achieve this if you're not consistent in
your words and actions. You will only be reproached. So, in my view, teaching
is not merely about content delivery but, more fundamentally, it is about
setting examples through our actions. (Bayu, post-observation interview,
24/11/2010, my translation, original emphasis)

Following the belief in the parental role of the teacher, Bayu tended to view classroom
"content delivery" as only the "formal[]" side of teaching, emphasising instead the
importance for teachers to establish a harmonious relationship with their students.
Equating the teacher-student relationship to that of a parent and child, Bayu believed that
a "familial approach" needs to be upheld and nurtured in the academia. He viewed a
familial approach as one of the ways of preserving the "traditional wisdoms". Successful
teaching for Bayu, as he clearly indicated in his spoken narratives, is when he could impart
these wisdoms to his students and they, in turn, could reflect this knowledge back in their
behaviour and action. The real "blessing" of teaching, he said, is when a strong and lasting
relationship between the teacher and the student can be maintained, even long after the
student has graduated.

Just as there is no such thing as a "former parent" or "former child", Bayu asserted that
such a view should also apply to the teacher-student relationship. His strong preference
for "the Indonesian way of addressing the teacher", as he pointed out, should accordingly
be seen as reflecting his belief in the aforementioned "familial values". While some
teachers pride themselves on being called by their academic titles, such as "Professor",
Bayu regarded such a way of addressing as psychologically creating a "distance" between
the teacher and the student. In contrast, he perceived the Indonesian way of referring to
the teacher as "*Bapak*" or "*Ibu*", which not only encapsulates the polite terms of address of
"Sir/Madam" but can also be translated to mean "father/mother", as being more in line
with his view of the parental role of the teacher. In the literature of teacher education, the
teacher-student relationship is often seen as constituting an ethical relationship, one that
resides within close personal experiences and that emerges out of a form of intimacy (see
Murphy, Pinnegar, & Pinnegar, 2011).

Seeing teaching as encompassing certain "moral obligations", Bayu believed that it was his
mission to, citing the *hadith*, "'disseminate knowledge even if only one verse'". Consistent
with the view of 'teachers as parents', he insisted that teachers should be able to provide

"moral guidance" to their students. Bayu viewed this form of "wisdom" as unfortunately vanishing among educators, and he blamed the current education system for "erasing" such values and for "orienting" teachers towards "profitability":

Bayu: I worry about our current education system and where it is heading to. It's superficial. Just formality. ... Only for the sake of obtaining certificates. That's the tendency [of the current education system]. It's easy to generate intelligent people. It's also easy to generate skillful people. But to generate people of character—that is extremely difficult. ... And Indonesia's education doesn't seem to be heading towards achieving this goal. ... Especially today, with the implementation of teacher certification, teachers would do anything to be 'certified'. ... But the true meaning and spirit of education and schooling are no longer there. This is worrying. ... I know that this is a social process that is supposedly geared towards improving teachers' welfare, but these changes should not erase the essence of education. ... The issuance of new policies ... among which are those claimed to improve teachers's welfare ... should not shift the teachers' orientation and lure them towards profitability, turning them into profit-minded individuals.

Isti: So you think that teachers are now focusing too much on the economic aspect?

Bayu: Yes. The economic aspect. It doesn't mean that I'm well-off already [laughter]. Of course, you also need to think of that aspect ...

Isti: So it's a matter of determining what your priorities are?

Bayu: Yes. ... [Teaching] quality should correlate with salary increment. It should be like that. Unfortunately, this is not what I observe. ... It's good that the government shows some kind of appreciation to teachers by attending to their social welfare, such as allocating 20% of the *APBN* [state budget] for education, which, in turn, results in a boom in numbers of people seeking to enrol in *FKIP* [Faculty of Teacher Training and Education] in a number of universities. ... On the one hand, this [increase in number] is good. But, on the other hand, it's also worrying. It seems that people are entering the teaching workforce simply because of the welfare promised by the state budget allocation. Teacher salary has now increased significantly. An improvement in welfare is expected to bring about improvement in

> quality. But it's not always the case. They obviously do not always correlate. (Post-observation interview, 24/11/2010, my translation)

Bayu is clearly criticising the teacher education policy and the new system of teacher certification within the country. In Indonesia, the initial teacher certification process began in 2007, following the issuance of the Law on Teachers and Lecturers, Number 14, 2005 (better known as the Teacher Law). The rationale for this implementation revolves around the central government's concerns for teacher quality improvement and the enhancement of the overall quality education in the country, and the Teacher Law's enactment is expected to provide a quality benchmark for all teachers. With a study showing that 65% of Indonesia's 2.7 million teachers failed to fulfill the basic requirement to have at least four years training (Jalal et al., 2009), the government sees the implementation of teacher certification to be critical. Within the scheme, a range of strategies and pathways have been conceptualised and operationalised to address issues surrounding teacher quality, in which the whole system is also linked to the idea of welfare improvement of teachers through salary increases. However, Bayu was already sceptical about the whole agenda. He observed that in practice "teachers would do anything to be 'certified'", which, ironically, signals a compromise of quality and morality. As evident in his statement regarding the difficulty of "generat[ing] people of character", Bayu argued that the moral dimension of education should override all others, including elements of "intelligence" and "skilfulness". He worried that, due to the lack of a sense of humanity and a reduction in the moral qualities of teacher graduates which he had perceived, "the true meaning and spirit of education and schooling" would no longer be found.

Bayu's concerns above could be linked to a broader picture, which some would refer to as the discourses and practices of neoliberalism. According to Australian researchers Davies and Bansel (2007), for example, neoliberal policies and practices, which in the last few decades seem to have permeated globally into societies and restructured their social order, have particular implications for education. They contend that, under neoliberalism, public institutions such as schools, which previously were supported as "essential to collective well-being" (p. 254), have been reconstituted as part of the market. A similar view had also been articulated earlier by Peters (1999) in New Zealand, who pointed out that in neoliberal governance "there is nothing distinctive or special about education or health; they are services and products like any other, to be traded in the marketplace" (p. 2). Increased exposure to competition and increased accountability measures are perceived to be among the consequences brought about by the neoliberal ideology. Within

this view, teacher certification as well as discourses on standardisation of education could be seen to exemplify neoliberal rhetoric circulating within the education field.

Bayu indicated that today's phenomenon of commercialisation of education tended to aggravate this issue of teacher materialism. On this note, he commented that education in Indonesia seemed to be heading toward "secular education à la the West", and he connected these forces of globalisation to the diminishing local traditions that highly valued "the moral goodness of being a teacher" and "the informal aspects of education". Clarifying what he meant by "the moral goodness of being a teacher", Bayu took an example from his own teaching experience in which, out of moral considerations, he said that he voluntarily—without being paid—conducted extra classes so that his students could obtain better grades.

While declaring that he very much enjoyed the "informal dimension" of teaching and of being a teacher, Bayu indicated contempt toward an education system that placed too much emphasis on the formal aspects (which he defined as "rigid, academic regulations"). In his view, good teaching must be "*karaos*, *kahartos*" [felt and understood] by the students, and those formal aspects, he felt, would often create a barrier—"constraining" and becoming "a shackle" instead—to good teaching. Later in our conversation Bayu told me that it was also due to these "rigid regulations" that, he said, he would *not*, at any point in his teaching career, be able to nominate himself nor be promoted to professorship, as his doctoral study was not considered to be in line with his previous academic qualifications. Bayu openly scorned the decision that he believed had been made for him. Yet, he admitted that it was he who would usually "give in" whenever there was a "clash" with the insitutional body.

5.4 Nancy: "Am I a Sinner or a Saint?": Respect, Obedience and Social Hierarchy

In many parts of Indonesia, such as in the cultural context where this study was conducted, it is not a rarity to see students, especially the younger ones, 'kiss' their teacher's hand—that is, putting the teacher's hand on their forehead or giving the hand a little touch with their nose or lips. Such a tradition of 'hand-kissing' by the younger to the older ones has been widely practised by Indonesians to signify respect. The act of kissing the teacher's hand invokes the cultural value of being respectful to parents or elders. While Nancy's narratives indicate that being and feeling respected by her students constitute a crucial dimension of her professional identity, she explicitly objected to and

criticised the idea of bringing the cultural practice of hand-kissing into the academic context. Noting a number of real-life cases of "teachers' misconduct" in the country, she pointed out that such an act could be seen by "irresponsible teachers" as justification to make 'physical contact' with students, which could lead to, as she mentioned had been reported in the media, "inappropriate touching".

Throughout our lengthy conversations, I constantly sensed Nancy's great fondness of 'the West', as reflected in her frequent reference to her seemingly transformative experience of undertaking postgraduate study overseas. Realising that hunches in qualitative studies are not to be dismissed (Etherington, 2004), I prompted Nancy in the post-observation interview with a question that would serve to 'validate' my hunch, though at risk of being seen as asking a 'leading' question:

> Isti: I remember you saying in our previous conversation that one of the things you tried to adopt upon your return [from overseas study] was the kind of relationship you had with your lecturers abroad?
>
> Nancy: Uh huh. [Nodding in agreement]
>
> Isti: You tried to *adopt*. So, are you saying that Western academic values are better?
>
> Nancy: I think, yes. To some extent. … They [Western academic systems] have … strong yet flexible values that they practice in academic settings. Student-teacher relationship, the honour system—I told my students that we don't have that kind of honour system. And I don't know what we have. I don't know what we have … in the Indonesian … academic setting. They [education officials] are developing this character education. I don't know, it might only … be another jargon to scare off people … [that] this character education is wow! It's great, but we don't really see [the practice].
>
> Isti: You seem to be sceptical about it …
>
> Nancy: Yes. Yes. Very sceptical. I think it's just another way—people are always amazed with jargons. The more jargons you use, the more people will be amazed by your 'ability'. I think it's just another—what *is* character education? (Post-observation interview, 30/11/2010)

Nancy further argued that 'character education' was a concept that needed to be "practised" rather than "taught". In the past few years, the notion of 'character education' has been gaining prominence within education debates in Indonesia. Set against the

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backdrop of the "nation's eroding native culture" ("*budaya asli bangsa … yang mulai luntur*"), as articulated by a number of Indonesia's prominent figures such as Wiendu Nuryanti, the Vice-Minister of Education and Culture of Indonesian Cultural Affairs ((Joewono, 2012, 1 October), the central government, through its Ministry of National Education, initiated a national agenda of incorporating and emphasising 'character education' into the curriculum, which would be integrated into every subject taught. This character education, as the Minister of National Education, Muhammad Nuh, explained, was to be implemented in all education levels—from primary to tertiary, though the allocation at the primary level would be much greater (Antara News, 2010, 15 May). The education itself would focus on the attainment of eighteen core values (Ministry of National Education, 2010): (1) religiosity, (2) honesty (*jujur*), (3) tolerance (*toleransi*), (4) discipline (*disiplin*), (5) hard work (*kerja keras*), (6) creativity (*kreatif*), (7) independence (*mandiri*), (8) democratic values (*demokratis*), (9) curiosity (*rasa ingin tahu*), (10) nationalism (*semangat kebangsaan*), (11) patriotism (*cinta tanah air*), (12) appreciation of achievement (*menghargai prestasi*), (13) friendly/communicative (*bersahabat/ komunikatif*), (14) peace-loving (*cinta damai*), (15) acquiring the habit of reading (*gemar membaca*), (16) caring for the environment (*peduli lingkungan*), (17) caring for the society (*peduli sosial*), and (18) responsibility (*tanggungjawab*).

According to Nuryanti, "character building as the central concern of [Indonesian] national education will be synergised with culture … and its targets are not only students but also teachers and the society at large, represented through communities of artists (*seniman*), socioculturalists (*budayawan*) and the like" (Joewono, 2012, 27 September, my translation). These communities, she said, are expected to assist the government in disseminating and realising the concept of character education. Various media sources in the country, however, reported that educators were divided in responding to the above agenda. While some welcomed the initiative with open arms, some were sceptical about it, saying that the initial implementation seemed to be superficial and only placed more burden on teachers. These teacher educators were particularly sceptical as they felt that the scheme was not well thought-out. They asserted that in actuality the government's high expectations of them were not supported by a conducive institutional policy framework, infra-structure and environment to manage and monitor the whole process (Kompasiana, 2012, 26 May). The statements that Nancy made regarding 'character education' appear to resonate with these teachers' dissenting voices.

Refusing to see the government's initiatives of character building and character education as something 'grand' and, perceiving these notions, instead, as mere rhetoric, Nancy

pointed out that, in her view, the essence of such education had long been practised by teachers in schools: "The way [the] teacher teaches their students in the classroom, they ... are educating, not [just] teaching! ... I think many of our teachers during our elementary ... [and] high schools have practised that." Indeed, at that instance, I recalled images of several of my own school teachers, who, as I had realised upon reflection, did much more than merely 'teach' school subjects. Within Indonesia's educational discourses, a distinction is often made between 'teaching' (*mengajar*) and 'educating' (*mendidik*), the latter being associated with developing both students' cognitive abilities and moral character, while the former referring to a mere transfer of knowledge. A similar observation has also been made by participants in Manara's (2012) research study, which, in some ways, suggests the pertinence of the distinction.

On one side note, it is interesting to consider how 'character education' is presented through the various discourses as "neutral, altruistic, even egalitarian in nature" (Moore, 2012, p. 91). Drawing on the work of Apple (1993), Moore in the USA cautions that:

> Whatever finds its way on to the school curriculum of a nation is determined by a politics of 'official knowledge', with education itself being 'deeply implicated in a politics of culture'. That is: 'The curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is always part of a selective tradition, someone's selection, some group's vision of legitimate knowledge.' (Moore, 2012, p. 87)

The core values of Indonesia's character education in the current public discourses have been presented as self-evident, their socially constructed nature disguised by the 'politics of culture'. Yet, as I scrutinised these values further I became aware of some of the problems that might arise in 'teaching' some of the values. For example, in encouraging students to get into the habit of reading, teachers need to be aware that students do not have equal access to resources. I also wonder where to draw the line between 'loving one's country' and provoking a sentiment of, to borrow Chen's (2010) term, "nativism" (p. 94). In light of this argument, it is critical that these values, first and foremost, be unpacked as social, cultural and political constructs, while also bearing in mind that there are alternative ways of experiencing life.

Seeing the issue from a different angle, many teachers, including Nancy, claimed that the national agenda of incorporating 'character education' into the curriculum only created "intensification of teachers' work" (Lin, 2004, p. 279). Similar to what is happening in the

education arena in many parts of the world, such as the United States and Hong Kong, the context where Angel Lin was speaking from, Indonesia's education system has in the past few years also been dominated by what she calls "the capitalist, globalised management discourses of *value-addedness*, *quality assurance*, and *standardization*" (Lin, 2004, p. 279, original emphasis). In relation to this neoliberal rhetoric, as pointed out earlier in this chapter by Davies and Bansel (2007), Gee (2005) has also made a similar observation about the dominance of the "new economy" (p.303) in education discourse in the USA. He perceives it is "common today to see some elements of the business order of discourse get imported into the academic one, as colleges and universities operate more like entrepreneurial enterprises" (p. 303). In the institution where Nancy worked, these discourses manifested themselves in various extra managerial and administrative work on the part of the teachers (though, as Nancy indicated, this work has not always been equally distributed among the staff members). Collectively, this work was geared toward attaining the highest level of "accreditation" and the status of "ISO"—a measure of objectified quality assurance—for the institution. Nancy complained that she had already been "loaded" with more than enough administrative work in the past few semesters, to the extent that she sometimes had to "postpone" some of her classes. Not only that, Nancy was also appointed by her study program to be an "examination coordinator", which, according to her, entailed scheduling mid-term and final tests and making sure that all the teachers within the Literature study program were informed of important dates related to the examination and examination results. She pointed out that, above all else, she had to "guarantee" that there was no malpractice or "leakage" of questions in the conduct of the examination. Despite her resentment at being expected by the institution to perform these "non-academic tasks", and despite her finding these tasks "unacceptable" within the scope of her professionalism, as a junior staff member she often felt that she had to "obey" the authority:

> You must obey. If you don't obey, you're sinful. And I learn now that we have these two 'spheres' … sinner or saint. It's amazing like I said it's amazing how you learn all of these things from the working environment. (Nancy, post-observation interview, 30/11/2010)

Nancy was particularly resentful about her role as an examination coordinator. These sorts of tasks, she presumed, were assigned to people like her merely because they were "juniors". The Department, it seemed to her, favoured using a "superior-inferior approach" in assigning duties, rather than adopting an approach based on democratic values and dialogic engagement. Nancy pinpointed the notion of hierarchy as central to how the

institution operated. She explained how it powerfully permeated the institutional discourses, common practices and interactions. This ideology had manifested itself in various discourses of 'obedience' and shaped the staff's ways of being and doing, which Nancy exemplified through her experience of 'team teaching':

> Nancy: When you're ... team teaching [and] you're the assistant ... you basically need to have 'blessing' [chuckling] from ... the primary lecturer, and say, 'can I discuss this in the class?'. ... It's not really team teaching. It's ... them teaching *me* and the students [laughter] in a very different way.
>
> Isti: Do you always have to ask for their permission?
>
> Nancy: ... Some senior lecturers don't [require you to do that] .... Perhaps due to their tight schedule ... they would hand over the class to me, let me design the syllabus and ... do whatever I want. Some, however, would instruct me how to go about with the syllabus, on the way I teach, on the way I dress ... some would question my ability [chuckling] in a way ... they would question whether I can do this or not [and] they would sceptically say that you don't have the capability to do this, to explain this, because you're yesterday's child.
>
> Isti: Do they actually *say* that?
>
> Nancy: No, they don't say it ... directly, but they express it in other ways, like ... they would ask me to—okay, this week we're going to talk about this, and then they would ask me to look for the materials, look for examples or illustrations so we could explain it. I would browse on the internet, read books and other sources to make sure that I could capture the ... idea of the topic. But then ... when I gave my compiled resources to them, they would say, no, I don't think the students will understand this. I think you're giving them ... something that's rather difficult and they probably won't understand because they're just undergraduate students. ... So basically I think what they're trying to say is they don't believe that I can actually perform the task—*their* task—well enough. (Post-observation interview, 30/11/2010)

The dominant literature on team teaching, which foregrounds values such as cooperation, collaboration, collegiality, unity and trust (Buckley, 2000). However, these principles appear to have been missing in Nancy's account of her work in her institution. The power imbalance that she experienced seems to have had a strong impact on her emerging sense

of her professional identity, leading to a sense of disempowerment, while sending her the tacit message of self-deficiency.

The agency and resistance displayed by Nancy in relation to her social relations with her seniors, however, were constantly shifting. While her words in our conversations, as indicated above, projected a stronger sense of agency, my classroom observations pointed to the compliant "saint" side of Nancy—an image of a respectful junior teacher who appeared to be a conforming member of the institution. In the classroom context, when positioned alongside the more senior teacher, Nancy often suppressed her own teacherly voice and 'agreed' with her senior's views. While appearing to be silenced, how Nancy played out her identity politics, in this context, could be read as one of her strategies to save face in front of, and accordingly gain respect from, her students, which I think also reflected a significant degree of sensitivity to the prevailing "Discourse" (Gee, 1999).

5.5 Sandra: On Being a New Teacher

At the time when I interviewed Sandra, she was entering only her second semester of teaching at the university. While I did not have the intention to juxtapose Nancy and Sandra's experiences, it suddenly occurred to me as I was analysing their cases how strikingly different their perceptions and subjective realities were with regard to their professional spaces, despite working in the same institution and being categorised as 'juniors'. Unlike Nancy, who spoke of her institution in a rather disgruntled tone, Sandra displayed a positive and optimistic outlook on working in the Department. One should bear in mind, however, that these projections might have been influenced by their differing levels of engagement with the institution itself.

Curious about her opinion regarding the administrative workload, which Nancy found so unbearable, I asked Sandra:

> Isti: Do you feel burdened with the administrative work that you have to do here?
>
> Sandra: [laughter] That's one of the things that I have to get used to, because I'm used to focusing only on one task, and now I have to do—multi-tasking … so yeah I have to get used to managing my time with doing different tasks—sometimes at the same time.
>
> Isti: But so far so good, yeah?
>
> Sandra: I don't know, maybe I'm too confident … but I don't have any external feedback. I just … have internal one. I mean, I often feel tired, depleted

> energy … [laughter] My punctuality is reducing [laughter] because
> yeah I think it has to do with my time management … I have to divide
> my concentration. (Post-observation interivew, 25/11/2010)

Sandra responded to institutional demands quite differently in comparison to Nancy. There was a certain tone of lightheartedness as she spoke, and she did not appear to be overly concerned with the issue. Though she admitted that administrative tasks consumed time and energy—even jokingly attributing these to lapses in punctuality and depleted energy levels—there was, interestingly, no finger-pointing at the institution. On the contrary, she tended to shift the responsibility onto herself, believing that she still needed to adjust herself to the rhythm and dynamics of her new working environment. On taking this new path, she noted to herself:

> Teaching is … something new, but … even though things are new, if you feel
> that you are comfortable … and the elements or the environments support …
> and make you grow, I don't see any reason to worry about anything [laughter],
> because we cannot know or be good at everything. Yeah. (Sandra, post-
> observation interview, 25/11/2010)

Admitting that she was new to the profession, Sandra could be said to be in the process of "organizational socialization"—that is, "the process by which a person acquires the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behavior he or she needs to participate effectively as a member of an organization" (Oud, 2008, p. 252). Sandra's relaxed disposition, positive attitude and enthusiasm, as reflected in her statements above appeared to have been helping her negotiate her transition and adjust to the new workplace, albeit with some "feelings of uncertainty" and "mixed emotions":

> Sandra: [When I first joined the Faculty] I experienced a lot of mixed emotions,
> like feelings of uncertainty about something and I kept asking myself
> whether I did this right or I did that right. Did I make a mistake? Did I
> say something wrong? What should I do? What … rules … are
> unwritten? So, yeah. So sometimes when someone gave me advice, I
> kind of looked back, 'did I do that?' … but after some time by focusing
> on what my purpose was of joining here, I felt more relaxed …
>
> Isti: How do you think working here differs from working in your previous
> workplace—working in NGOs?

> Sandra: Hm. Mostly … how we relate to people of higher positions, and how we relate to our colleagues [are different]. It's a different dynamics of working relationships … you know, how you show respect to someone of a higher position is different, for example. … Here, there are certain cultural values, especially in terms of manners and politeness, that I need to learn, so not so much about teaching content actually. (Post-observation interview, 25/11/2010)

Apart from the anxiety and insecurities plaguing her at the start of her new career, which she appeared to have ultimately overcome "by focusing on [her] purpose" of being a teacher, Sandra did not seem to encounter any major "mental surprises" or "reality shock" during her adjustment process in the new setting. While she said that she had, so far, never received any formal feedback on her performance, and was thus somewhat unsure of how she was doing, unofficial advice given by colleagues clearly provided a good opportunity for her to reflect upon her actions. This undoubtedly contributed to her process of 'fitting in'—of making sense of the institutional culture and how it operates in various situations. As in most cases of socialisation into a new work situation, differences—be they in terms of previous work experiences or pre-existing expectations— are bound to be found (see, for example, Oud, 2008). In Sandra's case, it is the "different dynamics of working relationships" that posed a major challenge to her 'fitting in' process. As she pointed out, she had a lot to learn about the institutional "cultural values", especially with regard to "manners and politeness"—aspects of which Nancy had also referred to. Surmising from Nancy and Sandra's accounts, the abilities to carry oneself well and to know the appropriate level of formality required in different circumstances appear to constitute critical elements of successful adjustment and work relationships at their institution. As Sandra signaled in the interview excerpt above, it is, in fact, the process of familiarising herself with the institutional culture—including "the unwritten rules of 'how things work around here'" (Oud, 2008, p. 264)—that challenged her most, rather than the pedagogical aspects of her work.

As a teacher, Sandra believed that she had a moral obligation to contribute to the character building of the new generation, and, as indicated from my observation of her classroom practices, she tended to achieve this primarily by imparting—sometimes quite explicitly—some of her own personal beliefs to her students. Upholding the values of honesty and integrity, which Lumpkin (2008) defines as "the bedrock of value" (p. 46), Sandra, for instance, frequently emphasised in class the importance of hard work and being honest in doing assignments. In fact, she admitted that "sharing ideas and having the

capacity to influence people directly" were among the key reasons she had turned to the teaching profession. Sandra's elucidation of what she perceived to be a teacher's obligation above can be seen to align with the views of Hansen (1998, 2001a, 2001b) and many other teachers and teacher educators' conviction across the world (e.g., Lumpkin, 2008; Murphy, Pinnegar & Pinnegar, 2011; Whitney, Leonard, Leonard, Camelio, & Camelio, 2005) for whom teaching is not only an intellectual journey but also a moral endeavour.

5.6 Benny: "Practice What You Preach": Morality and Ethical Tensions Between Teacher Agency and Institutional Demands

Benny, like most teachers in this study, often talked about his professional beliefs and conceptions of teaching in moral terms, foregrounding the moral dimensions of the work of a teacher in an Indonesian university. Yet, in articulating these views, he clearly expressed some reservations about using the term 'moral', because morality, according to him, is relative:

> Moral is something ... I try not to talk about because it's ... relative ..., but I believe, as a teacher, we should not only tell them [students] what to do ... but we should also give them a model. ... That means before I ask students to do something, I should at least convince them that I also have tried to do that thing. In a sense, I give them a real model. ... Myself as a model. ... [E]ven though it's a bit subtle ... when I teach I try also to teach good things—I wouldn't call it moral—good things that I believe that students should also adopt. For example, like hard work. Or not giving up easily or being critical or to enjoy reading. You know, those are good things, and I do not only transfer what people think about those ideas, but I also make them believe that, yes, that's the right thing to do. (Benny, post-observation interview, 26/11/2010)

Benny's hesitation to locate 'morality' at the heart of his work drew me back to an article entitled "The Moral is in the Practice" written by Hansen (1998). In this article, Hansen, who is a teacher educator, recounts, quite wittily, how his teacher education students initially reacted when he first introduced the idea of the moral dimension of teaching. He wrote:

I have found in my work as a teacher educator that introducing the idea that teaching has moral dimensions triggers diverse and sometimes disquieting reactions in teacher candidates. Some candidates embrace the idea and want to make immediate use of moral language to enrich their thinking and their rationale for teaching. They perceive value in this language for framing their hopes and their aspirations as teachers. Other teacher candidates appear frightened by the term moral. Some withdraw (at least initially) from the classroom conversation, as if their peers or their professor were poised to attack their most cherished human values, or were about to promulgate a version of the ten commandements of ethical teaching. Still other candidates become worried and troubled by the use of the term. Although not always in so many words, they suggest that talk of the moral is better left to parents or priests, and that teaching boils down to classroom discipline, instructional methods, subject matter knowledge, and other more familiar issues. Finally, some teacher candidates ask 'Whose morals are we talking about?' When invited to answer their own question, these candidates refer to differences in culture, race, class, gender, language, and more. (Hansen, 1998, p. 643)

Seen in this light, Benny's reservation about the use of the term 'moral' seems understandable, and his concern regarding the relativity of the concept is, indeed, justifiable. Yet, it would be very difficult to argue that his "good things" are not saturated with moral meanings. His ideas of being a "role model" for students, instilling virtues such as "hard work" and "not giving up easily" in teaching, cultivating a reading habit and gearing teaching toward developing "better" and "wiser" individuals can all be considered as manifestations of moral matters that help to sketch out a picture of the kind of teacher Benny is. Whilst acknowledging the fact that it would be naïve to talk about a teacher's "moral sensibility" (Hansen, 2001a, p. 32) without actually observing his/her classroom practice and everyday conduct, Benny's words and actions, to me, do connect with an image of a warm, approachable, caring and supportive teacher. In Hansen's view, the notion of 'moral sensibility' encapsulates a fusion of one's reason and emotion, embodying "a person's disposition toward life and the people and events he or she encounters". Hansen maintains that moral sensibility in the work of a teacher is indispensable, but he also contends that it cannot be forced or instructed by others. Referring to Sherman's (1997) work in the USA, he argues that: "A school or school district cannot *make* a teacher be patient and attentive with students. Institutions have no jurisdiction over these aspects of a teacher's person and conduct. They hinge on the teacher's willingness to foster such

qualities in him- or herself" (Hansen, 2001a, p. 32, original emphasis). It is, in part, for this reason that Hansen believes and endorses the idea of teaching as a calling. A teacher's moral sensibility, he points out, serves as a 'qualifier', which he says can ultimately capture the difference between one teacher's work and that of another, despite, for instance, their similar pedagogical approaches and instruction. In Benny's case, it is indeed the moral that appears to yield, to a significant extent, a sense of purpose in his work.

In relation to the intellectual dimensions of being a teacher, Benny emphasised the need for Indonesian teachers to be "producers of thought" and not merely those in the position of "consumers". Yet, he also indicated that he realised the culture- and context-bounded nature of being a teacher. Benny was aware of the various expectations, both societal and institutional, placed upon him as a teacher, and he signaled that some of these became 'demands' that sparked tensions with his personal professional beliefs:

> Benny: There are some expectations that we need to meet in being a teacher in Indonesia—or in our institution, to make it more specific. For example, … this is not the only one but this is what I can think of right now, you know, how you dress. How you dress, how you carry yourself, which to me often seem superficial. Yes, as a lecturer, we need to pay attention to how we dress. But that should not be … put as number one priority, because there are other important things. Like you have to—you *really* have to come to class. You really have to be there for your students. You really have to teach … based on schedule. You really have to do the best you can to provide students with illustrations … to make them understand your explanation.
>
> Isti: Having worked elsewhere before teaching here, were there any major surprises for you when you first joined the Faculty?
>
> Benny: Yeah. Yeah … in my case it was how I should carry myself, how I should dress. How I should socialise with my students. … Also, I found—and I think I can be sure that this is shared by our peers as well—that we sometimes find our seniors said things that they think as good things, but they don't do these things themselves.
>
> Isti: Such as?
>
> Benny: Yeah, I mean, they—sometimes they don't practice what they preach. Like for example … some of them would say we have to be professional. We have to do this, we have to do that, stuff like that, and

they often forget the basic thing, you know like coming to class as
scheduled.

Isti: Hm. Any other issues?

Benny: The unwritten rules …

Isti: I guess 'dress code' is a big issue here [laughter].

Benny: I would say yes. I would say yes. And I know—now I can see that it is
quite an issue for our female colleagues, yes? Okay, I mean it seems
that they are under the microscope all the time.

Isti: Have you ever been a 'target' yourself?

Benny: Yes.

Isti: How did you dress?

Benny: I wore a shirt, and I didn't tuck it in. … Well, that shirt was designed in
such a way that it shouldn't be tucked in. And then there was this
senior who dropped a hint at me. You know, I didn't expect it because
… ,to me, it was not a big deal. But then, to them, perhaps yes. Yeah, it
was an issue. Or when I wore corduroy. I didn't see any problem with
that. I prepared my lesson well, and the corduroy didn't affect how I
taught. (Post-observation interview, 26/11/2010, original emphasis)

Various studies have illustrated how tensions and dilemmas inform and mediate teachers'
work in their professional spaces (e.g., Berry, 2007; Edge, 1996; Feryok, 2008; Johnson,
1996; Parr, 2012). In the excerpt above, Benny illustrated how his institution's strict
'regulation' pertaining to teachers' physical presentation, i.e., "how you dress" and "how
you carry yourself", created a major source of tension within his teacher self. Whilst Benny
did not deny the importance of physical presentation in the role of a teacher, he was
clearly concerned and uneasy about it becoming an overvalued element occupying and
dominating the public discourse. Interestingly, his two colleagues, Nancy and Sandra, had
also raised in their conversations with me this particular 'demand' of displaying the
'appropriate' teacher's image, and so Benny's concerns seem, indeed, justifiable. Clearly,
the ethical tension that Benny experienced in relation to this particular institutional
expectation did not stem from "internal turmoil" (Berry, 2007, p. 32) of not knowing
'which voices to listen to', as commonly portrayed with regard to the idea of tensions.
Rather it was due to a major mismatch between the institutional expectations and his
personal professional beliefs. Commenting on the "superficiality" of prioritising physical
presentation, Benny elaborated that it was the teacher's *presence*, rather than
presentation, that mattered most to him. He was also disparaging about some of his

seniors' conduct, which he perceived to be lacking intergrity—failing to "practise what they preached". While the statement was obviously directed as criticism, it would also seem difficult to deny that the behaviour of some of these seniors was a source of considerable disappointment for Benny. It was as if he were saying, just as teachers should serve as role models for students, it was equally vital that senior teachers in tertiary institutions should display exemplary conduct to junior teachers. In this case, Benny would unquestionably agree with Fenstermacher (1990, p. 135, as cited in Hansen, 2001b, p. 838), who contends: "Teachers who understand their impact as moral educators take their manner quite seriously. They understand that they cannot expect honesty without being honest".

In addition to the above conflicts, Benny also pointed to the problematic situation, especially in his cultural context, of having "colleagues" who used to be one's own teachers:

> Benny: You know, it can create an issue working in a department in which you were once a student, taught by lecturers who later became your [pauses] so-called colleagues. It can create an issue, you know, in how you socialise with them. You would think twice to voice your disagreement … with them, even though you are sure, for example, that your idea is correct. Yeah.
>
> Isti: So, do you see it as a paradox—I mean in the classroom we often talk about the importance of being critical, but then we seem to be constrained ourselves by the existing values?
>
> Benny: Right. Right. Well, I wouldn't say that you're wrong if you view it that way, but, you know, there are many ways of being critical. … I may not voice my mind, but I think being critical can also be manifested in being able to resist. Maybe you're not able to voice your disagreement verbally because you're afraid of offending certain parties, but you channel your disagreement into something else. I think it's also a sign of being critical. Being critical in the sense that you calculate the situation. You don't want to jeopardise your career, you don't want to jeopardise yourself. I think that's also being critical. … I try to be critical in a different way … I mean I find other ways of voicing my disagreement, rather than just saying it verbally, you know.
>
> Isti: So how do you channel your disagreement, for example?

Benny: For example [pauses] you know like when … there's a meeting to talk about some things, I don't come to that meeting or I come late to the meeting or I don't stay long in that meeting. I would consider it also as a way of … expressing my disagreement in relation to what's being talked about in the meeting …

Isti: But wouldn't you also be jeopardising yourself? I mean, you might be labeled such and such.

Benny: Yeah, but like I said … you *calculate* [the situation]. You know, like not coming to the meeting is not the same as being in the meeting but you are not staying there until it's finished. … I would say that's a form of resistance that many of us use to show our disagreement about certain things. … Or you know, there are times when I just don't do what I was asked to do because … I'd rather do something else, which I think is more important … even though I have to say that I'm not um I'm not a person who can strongly say 'no' to what the Department wants me to do. (Post-observation interview, 26/11/2010, original emphasis)

In this part of our conversation, Benny indicated that his relationship with his "so-called colleagues" was neither one of equality nor one based on dialogic engagement. The fact that these colleagues were his former teachers appears to have problematised the relationship on many fronts. Although they were now 'officially' his colleagues, he still felt an obligation to show respect and deep reverence for them, so deep that these feelings "can create an issue", restraining his ability to speak his mind freely. On this point, Bayu's 'theorisation' of the (Indonesian) teacher-student relationship seems to ring true: "There is no such thing as 'former teachers' or 'former students'," Bayu said, as he likened the relationship to that of a parent and a child. Indeed, highly pertinent to this particular experience are the underlying cultural factors mediating Benny's subjectivity. Heyward's (2009) research investigating "The Influence of Societal Culture to School and Classroom Reform" identifies the Indonesian societal culture as being characterised by, among others, social hierarchy. Drawing on Dardjowidjojo's (2001) analysis of cultural constructs (i.e., concepts pertaining to 'obedience' and 'respect') that contribute to influencing the workings of the Indonesian academic culture, Heyward writes:

These cultural constructs have manifested in a debilitating situation which constrains the working relationships of people in educational institutions including schools and universities. In the higher education context, for example, … it is an expectation on the part of the superior … not to have their

words challenged by their students. Similarly, ... the students ... are expected
not to challenge their professors' words, ideas and so on, and if they do it will
constitute disrespect. Furthermore, this kind of expectation also extends to
the level of the rector, whose words must not be challenged by deans, and so
on down the ranks. (Heyward, 2009, pp. 12-13)

While Heyward's cultural analysis above seems to provide a social explanation for Benny's
personal choice of not articulating his disagreement, it is interesting to note that Benny
himself does not necessarily see this act of 'silencing' as uncritical. Evidently, he resists
equating the idea of 'being critical' with a mere ability to "voice" one's mind. Quite to the
contrary, he interprets his silence as indicating strategic tactfulness—being able to
"calculate the situation" so as *not* to "jeopardise" one's position. Put differently, here,
Benny is enacting a particular "social identity" (Gee, 1999, p. 16) that conforms to the local
cultural model. Drawing on Foucault's work and his politics of resistance (Pickett, 1996), I
interpret Benny's choice to remain silent as a discursive act that encapsulates this notion
of resistance. The ability to resist, as Benny pointed out, is also a form of being critical, and
he indicated that there are other—more 'appropriate'—ways of chanelling one's
disagreement without having to deal with direct confrontation. Despite this potential
understanding of agency, however, Benny admitted later on in our conversation his
tendency to give way to institutional demands, as he is not "a person who can strongly say
'no' to what the Department wants [him] to do".

5.7 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have presented some aspects of the six teacher participants' (Edi, Hendra,
Bayu, Nancy, Sandra and Benny) identity work, drawing particular attention to their
personal-professional beliefs and philosophies, which informed their practices. This
'presentation' of their identity work has involved incorporating some extended reference
to debates in relevant literature, as I inquired into the multifarious ethical tensions that
mediated their work in their different professional spaces. This has helped me to explain
their various responses to the interplay between agency and social structures governing
the two Indonesian higher education settings. My discussion of the teachers' experiences
in this chapter suggests that while they certainly felt a degree of autonomy and agency in
enacting their choices in the classroom and beyond, they also pointed out that such agency
can be undermined by institutional demands, policy imperatives and sociocultural
structures that reward compliance and conformity. Much literature shows that tensions

and dilemmas are part of the ongoing identity work for professionals (e.g., Edge, 1996; Feryok, 2008; Milner, 2010; Parr, 2012; Tsui, 2007), and inquiring into these teachers' lived experiences can help to reveal the complexity of their "enacted professionalism", that is, the "active process of social engagement through which teachers shape their own worklives" (Hilferty, 2008, p. 162). They show how various forms of negotiation, appropriation and resistance are played out, sometimes all at once, within their professional spaces. These teacher participants' experiences, however, also pointed to the dominant role the institution plays in mediating and shaping their experiential knowledge and enacted professionalism (as indicated, for example, in Nancy's experience of team teaching and her institution's imposition of a certain 'dress code'). Speaking of the complexity of teachers' work, Pennycook (2004) reminds us that:

> Learning to teach is not just about learning a body of knowledge and techniques; it is also about learning to work in a complex sociopolitical and cultural political space … and negotiating ways of doing this with our past histories, fears, and desires; our own knowledges and cultures; our students' wishes and preferences; and the institutional constraints and collaborations. (Pennycook, 2004, p. 333)

Aware of these multiple forces at play, a number of participants indicated the necessity for them to play out different "socially situated identities" (Gee, 1999, 2011b) within their professional contexts. Their sensitivity to the prevailing "Discourses", to borrow Gee's concept, it seems, acted to harmonise these contradictions, though there is also evidence to suggest that the contradictions they were *living*, in fact, stemmed from the differing "discourse systems" (Scollon & Scollon, 2001) or "cultural models" (Gee, 1999, 2004) operating simultaneously in the field.

Another pertinent theme that has emerged through my discussion and analysis in this chapter is how notions of 'the moral' are often foregrounded in the teachers' narratives. Whilst these teachers showed a tendency to move away from the traditionally-held conception of being a teacher (i.e., '*guru*'), with some clearly refusing to be seen as a 'role model' and feeling uneasy about some of the implications of being positioned as such, their narratives suggest that they, consciously or not, tended to place moral considerations at the heart of their work. Morality seems to constitute a key element in their conceptions of being a good teacher (in schools and in higher education) and appears to have become an integral part of their professional beliefs and identity. It is this moral dimension, I feel, that provided the teachers with a strong sense of purpose in teaching. In their conversations

with me, the teachers frequently talked about how they, in their own distinctive ways, were constantly seeking to impart values and wisdom through their teaching and trying to have a positive influence on their students. Edi's metaphor of being a "bridge" in facilitating students' learning, Bayu's teaching principle of "*karaos, kahartos*" (felt and understood), Hendra's conviction of the need to create "dialogic equality" in his enacted professionalism, and Benny and Sandra's beliefs in generating people of character through their work all portray the humanistic side of teaching, while also pointing to the diverse paths these teachers were taking to establish personal connections, to inspire and to have an impact on their students.

As Horace Mann (cited in Dulabaum, 2011) once said: "A teacher who is attempting to teach without inspiring the pupil with a desire to learn is hammering on cold iron" (p. 107). And these teachers' stories confirm that teaching is inherently a moral endeavour (cf. Hansen, 2001a). In line with this perspective, Haydon (2006) makes the case that "Whatever our aims for education may be, it is doubtful whether there are any educational aims that do not involve influencing the values of pupils in one way or another" (p. 6). Similarly, Hansen argues that teaching is inherently moral because "it presupposes notions of better and worse, of good and bad" (Hansen, 2001b, p. 828). He particularly highlights how a teacher's 'manner', 'style' and 'tact' illuminate the moral significance of the person taking up the role, reflecting the larger philosophy of life that she/he brings to everyday work. Within this argument, Hansen makes a clear-cut distinction between 'teaching as a moral endeavour' and 'moral education', making a strong case that "moral considerations do not have to be imported from without, but rather permeate the work of teaching" (2001b, p. 827). The moral, as he sees it, exists in countless forms in human interaction, and he perceives teachers, whether intended or not, to be constantly sending moral messages to students, both through their words and actions. It is no wonder that some teachers in this study explicitly emphasised the importance of being consistent in word and deed, perceiving inconsistency between the two as diminishing the moral dimension of teaching. Despite the seemingly all-permeating nature of the moral in teachers' work, however, it is interesting to note that one teacher in particular, Bayu, saw the various circulating education rhetoric, such as around teacher certification and standardisation, as 'killing' the morality of teaching and dehumanising the teaching profession.

In the next chapter, I investigate in more depth an important aspect of these teachers' work: their teaching of the English language. I do so by first inquiring into their

perceptions and beliefs about the language and then connecting them to their classroom practices, which situate their work within the broader institutional and sociocultural contexts.

Chapter 6

Teaching Language: Discourses of ELT and Classroom Practices

In this chapter, I inquire into the teacher participants' perceptions of the English language and examine how their perceptions relate to their classroom practices. The latter can be seen as an extended analysis of the former by situating the teachers in broader sociocultural contexts. In analysing and interpreting the teachers' perceptions, I draw on critical perspectives from the fields of English language education (e.g., Kumaravadivelu, 2003, 2006, 2008; Matsuda, 2003, 2012; Pennycook, 1998; Phillipson, 1992, 2008a, 200b, 2010) and educational sociology (e.g., Albright & Luke, 2008; Holliday, 2011; Pennycook, 2007, 2010; Rubdy & Saraceni, 2006; Sung-Yul Park & Wee, 2013). By interweaving the teachers' discourses and practices simultaneously into the discussion, I hope to provide a more comprehensive picture of the complexity of teachers' work and the identity work they are engaged in within their professional spaces.

The teachers' perceptions of English seemed to have generally been framed by two overarching discourses: *English as a language of development* and *the ownership of English as an international language*. My conversations with these teachers, however, revealed that practices regarding the use of English at the classroom level in their Indonesian universities are as much shaped by external factors as by the institutional culture in which they teach.

6.1   Constructing the English Language: The Discourses

This section examines the discourses that the teachers used to talk about English and the issues embedded within these discourses. An exploration into the teachers' perceptions is important for this study on two levels. First, one of the roles 'assigned' to university teachers in Indonesia positions them as 'producers of knowledge' (cf. Walker, 2002). It follows that they are constantly challenged, professionally and institutionally, to be up-to-date with the current debates in their field of expertise, and, whenever possible, to also contribute to knowledge building. In the context of English language teaching, more and more scholars, such as Le (2004), Matsuda (2003), Kumaravadivelu (2003), Rubdy and Saraceni (2006), Sharifian (2009), and Kirkpartrick (2011), emphasise the importance for ELT teachers of having an understanding of the history, politics and the power struggles

associated with English so that they can be empowered and generate a different point of view, which is more comprehensive and pluralistic than the traditional, colonialist view of the language. In light of the above argument, I believe it is important to probe these teachers' perspectives on the English language and to understand understand their work as Indonesian teachers of English in higher education settings.

On another more fundamental level, this study takes as one of its 'principal tenets' that teachers have their own deeply held beliefs and sets of values and that they almost invariably, whether consciously or not, transmit these beliefs and values in the act of teaching. As Pachler et al. (2008) assert, "teaching is a profession in which ideologies are a central concern" (p. 438); and Hollingworth's (2009) study indicates that students' opinions about certain issues can be shaped by their teacher's approach to talking about them. In view of this, I wish to signal the importance I place on understanding how teacher agency takes shape in the classroom and how it has been mediated by the academic communities of which the teachers are members.

6.1.1   English as a language of development, opportunity and modernity

In the following analysis, I highlight a number of statements made by both INU and UWJ teachers that can be seen to instantiate the view of English as a language of development, opportunity and modernity. Closely connected to this idea are discourses through which English has come to be imagined as an entity that brings about various forms of empowerment, which I have conceptualised as 'capital', to borrow French philosopher and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) terminology. The term 'capital' signifies "all the goods, material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 178). Capital thus encompasses resources and capacity allowing individuals to exercise control over their own present and future through economic, social and cultural means, hence elevating them to a certain position or status in the hierarchy of society (Blunden, 2004; Kramsch, 2008). The teacher participants in my study tended to see their acquisition and 'possession' of the English language as simultaneously enhancing their economic, social and cultural capital, enabled predominantly through better "access to knowledge", better "employment opportunities", and enabling their attainment of the so-called "world citizenship". I elaborate each of these ideas below.

English: "A passport to better jobs, better living and better future"

One of the taken-for-granted assumptions that come with a knowledge of English, as articulated by the teachers in this study, is the promise it brings of possessing certain capital. As a language of opportunity, English is frequently seen as "a passport to better jobs, better living and better future" (Benny)—an asset that is seen to offer a pathway to accumulating and securing certain economic capital. The following remarks articulated by Benny, a teacher of *Literature and Cultural Studies* at INU, reflect the assumption that there is a direct relationship between learning English and the attainment of economic benefits, most notably in the form of better employment opportunities:

> In the Indonesian context I think one primary reason why students go to ... university is because they want to make their lives better, you know like ... getting a job after they graduate. And the fact shows that English program graduates ... can—they get good jobs, they have a relatively better future than others because they graduate from the English Department. And that's one of the reasons I think ... why it is a good idea for students to take English as their major and to study English and to graduate from the English Department. Another thing is that, whether we like it or not, English plays a major role in the dissemination of information. So, if we want to be active participants of this [worldwide] information exchange, then we need to understand the language that becomes the medium for this. And English is the primary medium of this. So, learning English is important for students so that they can become active participants in this worldwide exchange of information. (Benny, pre-observation interview, 28/09/2010)

Perceiving the university as a capital-generating institution that has the capacity "to make [students'] lives better", Benny was quick to pin down "the fact" that those in the possession of English have better 'currency' in the job market. He seemed to have observed that students of English academic background are more capable of securing "good jobs" in comparison to those of other backgrounds due to their acquisition of linguistic capital associated with a "global language" (Crystal, 2003). Indeed, a great body of literature has indicated that there is probably no language that has spread around the globe in recent decades as extensively as English. Such is its pervasiveness that scholars have regarded it as the most global of languages; hence it is often invoked as an international language and as the world's most popular *lingua franca* (see, for example, Mackey, 2007; McKay, 2002; Seidlhofer, 2005; Yano, 2001). It has become the main

language of a significant range of domains and disciplines, and some have claimed that it is the most widely studied language in the world (e.g., Graddol, 2006). Consequently, English has often been marketed as "the language of development, modernity and scientific and technological advance" (Phillipson, 1992, p.11) and has come to symbolise success and prosperity for many people (Niño-Murcia, 2003). The teaching of English thus has become a thriving business in many parts of the world. So influential is the language that those who do not speak it, in Indonesia and many other countries, are often considered to be linguistically deprived (Burchfield, 1985) and excluded from the global community (Niño-Murcia, 2003).

It is not difficult to see how Benny's voice echoed the above dominant discourses. Portraying the language as a source of power, he encouraged students to formally study the language, "to take English as their major … to study [it] and to graduate from the English Department", because competence in the language, he believed, is also a 'prerequisite' to be "active participants" in the global "information exchange". Benny appeared to fully realise that the value of the language extends beyond economic assets and that it can transform to other forms of capital—social and cultural. As it is generally acknowledged, English has been seen to play an important role in the dissemination of knowledge, and it is widely believed that those who are competent in the language can have better chances of accessing 'global networks'. As such, English is not only perceived as an economic asset but also as a social and cultural asset that promotes social mobility and better status in the society. These kinds of rewards have also been referred to as "symbolic capital" (Albright & Luke, 2008) within Bourdieu's framework.

Yet, it seems to me that the above views, such as those articulated by Benny, tend to only 'tell one side of the story', reflecting views from an 'outsider looking in'. In a context such as Indonesia, where there are still high socio-economic and infrastructure disparities across geographical regions, the learners' own perceptions of the need for English and the extent to which they see it as relevant in their day-to-day lives can vary significantly. In reflecting on her own journey as an Indonesian teacher of English, Manara (2012), who at the time was assigned to teach in a remote village in Central Java, was greatly taken aback when a student innocently questioned the whole purpose of studying English in regard to the local context. As Manara recalls:

> I thought I would teach the students some English vocabulary. I used a direct-translation method. Half way through my first class, one student raised her hand and asked, "Why do I have to learn this? What is it for? Can I use this to

help my father in the market [to sell farm crops]?" I then realized there were different levels of English exposure and level of interest and investment in English in different social levels in Indonesia. (Manara, 2012, p. 36)

While the global spread of English has been considered inevitable, there are still some who raise different questions about and perceptions of its phenomenal spread across communities. For example, Dewi's (2011) study investigating perceptions of academic communities at Yogyakarta Universities, which involved Rectors, Vice Rectors, lecturers and students, indicates that, despite the largely positive perceptions of English held by the participants, they also tended to see the language as somewhat hegemonic and posing a threat to local cultures and national identity. A number of the participants in Dewi's study referred to this seemingly paradoxical phenomenon of the spread of English as a form of "positive imperialism" (p. 11). Nevertheless, many of them were of the opinion that the advantages of learning English outweighed the negative perceptions associated with this idea.

English: A tool "to broaden our horizons"

The view of English as providing a gateway to knowledge and hence to aforementioned symbolic capital was also shared by teacher participants in this study, both at INU and UWJ. Below is a short excerpt taken from a UWJ teacher, Edi, who highlighted the importance of studying English in the context of the subject he taught (literature):

English is important to broaden our horizons, especially in relation to the study of literature. The Indonesian books that we have right now on literary studies are obsolete. We need English to keep ourselves up-to-date with the development of literary studies and the current debates in the area. These are written in English. (Edi, follow-up interview, 12/01/2011)

Edi's choices of words here, such as "up-to-date", "development" and "current", strongly reflect his alignment with the idea that English is a language of modernity and development. Connecting English to the idea of "broaden[ing] [one's] horizons", Edi seemed to be convinced that the learning of the language could promote a sense of personal growth and academic development. Drawing on Bourdieu's theorisation of capital, English, as expressed by Edi, could be seen as representing "distinction"—that is, enhancement of one's symbolic position—within the education field. This distinction is linked to possessing the capacity to engage with the current theoretical development and

debates through the 'legitimate' language. English was projected by Edi as desirable, while the Indonesian language was almost undesirable—he used the word "obsolete" to describe it. This view seems to echo postcolonial conceptions that identify English as a language of the Self and a representation of the West (cf. Pennycook, 1998; Said, 1978). Within this discourse, English is positioned as superior and depicted as developed, modern, advanced and beneficial, whereas the Other is seen to reflect the opposite.

Setting up binary opposites between the two languages also suggests a phenomenon which Bourdieu describes as "judgments of classification", acts that are simultaneously classified and classifying. The starkly contrasting images projected through these languages are 'classified' in the sense that they are socially legitimised (as some of the teachers' perceptions themselves here indicate) and consecrated by institutions. In the Indonesian education context, the pursuit of distinction through English can clearly be seen in the growing trend of internationalisation (which translates into using English as a medium of instruction) among education providers. Further, there is also strong evidence that Indonesia's education system, as reflected in the management, curriculum and pedagogical levels, is heavily Western-oriented, and that it projects a strong reliance on Western knowledge (Cahyono & Widianti, 2004; Cannon & Widodo, 1994; Dardjowidjojo, 2000). In that respect, Edi's characterisation merely reflects the already entrenched 'judgement' about the values associated with English in Indonesia.

On the other hand, Edi's juxtaposing of English and *Bahasa Indonesia* could also be interpreted as 'classifying'. It implicitly classifies individuals into certain social hierarchies, with those in the possession of the dominant language seen as 'rising', enjoying various privileges gained from the "profit of distinction" (Kramsch, 2008, p. 41), while those who are only knowledgeable of the local languages tend to be seen as being in 'decline', entering a race that they have lost from the beginning (Bourdieu, 1984). In view of this, the rising factions could be seen as having the potential to exercise "symbolic violence" (Bourdieu, 1977) over the latter group, with those lacking the knowledge of English being subjected to domination and subordination. Symbolic violence, as Bourdieu describes, is socio-psychological in nature. It is an "unperceived form of violence and … is an effective and efficient form of domination in that members of the dominant classes need exert little energy to maintain their dominance" (Schubert, 2008, p. 184). In the words of Bourdieu (1977), these people simply "let the system they dominate take its own course in order to exercise their domination" (p. 190). As Edi's views above indicate, the English language itself can be seen as an instrument of power and domination, since it acts to regulate who

gets access to what. In other words, it classifies, and this sort of classification has been exacerbated through institutional policies and market demands.

Situated within Bourdieu's theorisation of capital, the global spread of English thus tends to be seen as being in constant struggle with local languages (see also Phillipson, 2006, 2010; Rubdy & Saraceni, 2006; Sharifian & Clyne, 2008; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, 2003). Other scholars, such as Kachru (1986, 2005), Pennycook (2007, 2008, 2010) and Canagarajah (2007, 2013), however, have shown how English has been effectively appropriated, hence signifying some form of new found agency on the part of the assumed dominated group, to accommodate local needs and cultural identity. These scholars have made the observation of how local 'peripheral' people creatively negotiate the place of English in their lives. Highlighting the complexities of global flows of culture and linguistic knowledge, Pennycook (2010) takes hip-hop culture, which is often associated with "codes of the street" (p. 75), as an example:

> Mixing and sampling is a significant element of hip-hop culture, extending not only to the use of sound samples, different backing tracks, and different instruments, but also to the mixing and sampling of languages. Just as lyrics may oppose social orthodoxies, the use of multiple languages may be purposive acts in opposition to ortholinguistic practices, performatively enacting new possibilities for language use and identity. The use of popular languages and styles within popular cultures questions commonly held notions of language origins …, of language purities, of possible codemixes, and puts on stage new possibilities for identifications across borders. (Pennycook, 2010, p. 78)

Pennycook resists adopting either national or international framings of English. Instead, he argues for a rethinking of language as a complex social process that is underpinned by notions of agency and localities, coining the notion "plurilithic Englishes" to avoid "the circles and boxes of nations" (2008, p. 30.7).

It is interesting to note that of all the six teacher participants in my study, Sandra is the only one who made an explicit connection between studying English and the idea of communicating with people from English-speaking countries, which she perceived as being "not much relevan[t]":

> Isti: What do you think is the importance of studying English in the
>   Indonesian context?

> Sandra: In the Indonesian context? Well, actually mostly for understanding the literature in English and media ... in English. I don't see much relevance in terms of direct interaction because, I don't know, but in this town you hardly encounter people from English-speaking countries. ... [T]here's also a tendency for ... companies to prioritise applicants who can speak good English. (Pre-observation interview, 27/09/2010)

Rather than conforming to the traditional ELT assumption that the primary learning goal of English is to communicate with native speakers, Sandra seemed to be more interested in highlighting the perceived needs for students to learn the language, which, in her view, are to "understand the literature ... and media ... *in* English" (my emphasis) and to be able to be recruited by companies *through* English. In part, Sandra's views regarding the importance of English appear to resonate with the views generally put forward by proponents of ELF (English as a Lingua Franca), EIL (English as an International Language) and World Englishes (cf. Crystal, 2003; Kirkpatrick, 2007b; McKay, 2003; Seidlhofer, 2005). According to these scholars, the primary learning goal of English today no longer rests on the ability to communicate with native speakers, but rather English is increasingly used as a contact language between people who do not share a common language, thus acting as a language of wider communication serving a great variety of purposes. McKay (2003) points out that many individuals learn English because they realise the benefits of it, such as providing access to scientific and technological information, higher education, international organisations, and global economic trade. However, drawing again on Bourdieu's framework of capital as an analytical tool, Sandra's final point regarding the "tendency for ... companies to prioritise applicants who can speak good English" can be seen to serve as an argument that extends beyond functional or pragmatic reasons for learning the language. Her views, rather, would appear to validate Bourdieu's argument in regard to the reproduction and perpetuation of symbolic systems of domination, which in this case are being embodied in the English language, through institutions in the economic field ("companies"). Yet, Sandra's notion of "good English" also serves to raise the issue of *whose* or *which* English she was referring to. (I elaborate on this issue of 'ownership' as a separate theme below.)

English: A pathway to "world citizenship"

In line with Benny's view highlighting the importance of English for students to "become active participants in this worldwide exchange of information", Nancy, another INU

teacher, illustrates a similar idea using the notion of "world citizenship". For Nancy, the attainment of such status was self-evident:

> I think the most important thing for students is, of course, to have the opportunity to be a part of world citizens because English is an international language, to become to be aware of the cultures of the English-speaking countries. (Nancy, pre-observation interview, 23/09/2010)

Nancy's use of "of course" in speaking about gaining "the opportunity to be a part of world citizens" clearly indicates that she considered the status of such citizenship as a natural, taken-for-granted consequence of possessing the desired and desirable language. She thus highlighted the symbolic capital that she thought was attached to the dominant language. As I illustrated through the teachers' discourses, the knowledge of English seems to be capable of generating various forms of capital, with different contexts conferring different forms of privileges. Nancy regarded the possession of English as a manifestation of status and power.

Embedded in the above view is also the interrelationship between language and culture, as Nancy linked the idea of English as "an international language" to having an "aware[ness] of the *cultures* of the English-speaking countries" (my emphasis). This statement seems to be suggesting that one's degree of 'globality' can be measured based on the extent to which that person is familiar with the *English*-speaking countries and their cultures. In turn, this suggests Nancy's concept of "world citizenship" took on a Western trajectory, treating the acquisition of cultural awareness of English-speaking countries as a passport to attaining world citizenship.

Anthropologist and social critic Ghassan Hage's (2000) *White nation: Fantasies of white supremacy in a multicultural society* is worth mentioning here. Situating the context of study in multicultural Australia, Hage frames the issue of race within Bourdieu's theorisation of capital and field to understand the struggles of the Periphery to attain a place closer to the Centre. Conceiving "whiteness" as constructed and as a representation of cultural capital, rather than a mere set of biological traits, Hage illustrates how migrants may give up their own cultural identities and capital in exchange for whiteness in order to gain a higher position in the social hierarchy.

In this section, I have presented the voices of four of the teachers: Benny, Edi, Sandra, and Nancy. Drawing primarily on Bourdieu's conceptualisation of capital, I have shown how the discourse of *English as a language of development, opportunity and modernity* can be

interpreted to relate to different manifestations of capital—economic, social, cultural and symbolic. Each of the subheadings I have used here, English as "a passport to better jobs, living and better future", "a tool to broaden our horizons" and "a gateway to world citizenship", is intended to reflect the ideas embodied within these different forms of capital. The notion of English as capital is, indeed, a powerful construction that the participants constantly foregrounded as they spoke about the English language (cf. Sung-Yul Park & Wee, 2013). I have also illustrated how the different forms of capital interlock, having the capacity to transform or convert to other forms depending on context. While a surface level of analysis of the teachers' statements seems to point to an emphasis on a functional/pragmatic dimension of English, with the language being treated as somewhat neutral and natural, deeper analysis reveals a powerful image of English as a worthy and desirable asset that one should strive to obtain.

6.1.2 Whose English? From 'glorifying' the native speaker to 'unmasking' the imperial power.

In this section, I discuss the issue of ownership of English. Here, I adopt a slightly different framing to analyse the data, drawing predominantly on postcolonial perspectives that foreground the political ideological dimensions associated with English (see Holliday, 2005, 2011; Kumaravadivelu, 2006, 2008; Pennycook, 1994, 1998; Phillipson, 1992, 2008a, 2008b, 2010). Because teachers from INU tended to share similar perspectives regarding this issue, I consequently present and discuss it with respect to the teachers' particular institutions.

"You don't have to be native-like but you should speak good English": Perceptions of Indonesia National University teachers.

The ownership of English, which is deeply implicated in the politics of ELT (cf. Canagarajah, 1999; Phan, 2008), and its status as an international language and a *lingua franca* have drawn much critical attention in the past few decades from a wide variety of scholars both within and beyond language teaching (cf. Block & Cameron, 2002; Crystal, 2003; Graddol, 2006; Jenkins, 2003; Kirkpartrick, 2007b, 2010, 2011; Matsuda, 2012; McKay & Bokhorst-Heng, 2008; Rubdy & Saraceni, 2009; Sharifian, 2009; Sifakis, 2004). These issues and debates stem from the global trends indicating shifts in the demographics of English users that point to a tremendous growth in the number of second language speakers of English. This worldwide phenomenon has accompanied the globalisation of English and a significant proliferation of multiple Englishes across the

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globe, with the language being used to serve a wide array of purposes and functions (cf. Bolton, 2005; Kachru, 1986; Pennycook, 2008). Although the concept of linguistic imperialism advanced by Phillipson (1992) has been much debated and has been accused of oversimplifying the complexity of the phenomenon (cf. McKay, 2003), the teachers' perceptions discussed in the previous section serve to confirm the fact that for them English embodied capital. That is, English was viewed by the INU academics not only to offer the promise of success—a pathway to material and social benefits—but was also seen to constitute in itself power and status.

In relation to the contemporary status of English, my conversations with the three academics at INU revealed noticeable shifts in the teachers' perceptions regarding the attainment of native-like competence, which has historically been assumed to be the desired outcome and considered as the ultimate learning goal of foreign language teaching and learning. Here, I take Benny's comments as a point of departure:

> Isti: Okay, so how important do you think is native-like fluency for the students?
>
> Benny: Right, in the past, I would think – I would somehow expect students to be native-like when they speak English. Why? Because when you can speak like a native speaker ... it means your pronunciation or your intonation is correct. However, now I change my belief I mean ... I think it's not that important anymore to be native-like. With the ideas of multilingual English, World Englishes ... it's not that important anymore for students to be native-like. However, it is important for students to be able to speak English fluently and appropriately, to be able to speak English that will allow them to articulate their ideas in [an] appropriate and understandable manner. I think that would be the idea. And so to be native-like is not that important anymore. Or maybe we should not be native-like ... even though I still think that it is important for learners ... to be able to pronounce words, for example, the way they are supposed to, not necessarily to be like native speakers, but to try their best to pronounce words the way they are supposed to. If, for example ... they sound like native speakers, that's a bonus. (Pre-observation interview, 28/09/2010)

The global spread of English, which has prompted the naming of concepts such as "multilingual English" and "World Englishes" had contributed to shifting Benny's belief

regarding the attainment of native-like fluency in language learning. "I think it's not that important anymore to be native–like", he said. Yet, as he continued on, I sensed that his positioning became more and more ambivalent towards the matter. His point concerning the importance for students "to speak English fluently and appropriately" is somewhat ambiguous, while clearly raising an issue pertaining to the standard linguistic norms. Further, to be able "to pronounce words the way they are supposed to" would require one to operate within a particular model of English. A similar kind of ambivalence was also expressed by Sandra:

> Native-like fluency? If you consider that kind of fluency supports good communication, I think it's very important, but it doesn't mean that you have to use the same kind of style and expressions, especially accent. As long as you speak with a good structure, good grammar ... and people can understand you and can communicate in a good way, I think it's okay. (Sandra, pre-observation interview, 27/09/2010)

Sandra's emphasis on "good structure" and "good grammar", once again, raises issues surrounding the notion of correctness. Although she indicated that she did not expect her students to demonstrate "native-like fluency", when I probed further into the matter, she revealed a tendency to see American English as a point of reference in her teaching:

> Sandra: I put strong emphasis on correct pronunciation.
>
> Isti: Pronunciation according to?
>
> Sandra: According to American English [laughter]. So, yes, of course what is correct is actually relative yeah but I think that if you pronounce words correctly, even if you ... have Javanese accent you can still make more sense to other people. (Pre-observation interview, 27/09/2010)

Sandra's laughter appears to suggest her realisation of the contradiction contained in her own statements, which she immediately covered up by saying, "Of course, what is correct is actually relative". Likewise, Nancy's positioning towards native-like fluency was also somewhat ambiguous:

> As long as they can pronounce words in accordance with the dictionary, they can understand the phonetic transcription and they can pronounce them well, I think that should be enough ... every now and then I tell my students that they don't need to be native-like when they speak—as long as people can

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> understand you and … you're not making [a fool] of yourself by
> mispronouncing things. (Nancy, pre-observation interview, 23/09/2010)

Despite her seemingly liberal attitude towards the varieties of English used in her class—
"I tell my students they don't need to be native-like when they speak"—Nancy's remarks
implied that the choices open to her students were, in fact, very limited. It would seem that
some part of her believed that their pronunciation should come from the "dictionary". Her
reference to "good pronunciation" was also intriguing because, again, the idea itself cannot
be detached from a particular variety of English, presumably located in Kachru's inner
circle (given the limited range of dictionaries available on the market in Indonesia). It is
possible that, as a teacher, Nancy herself might have been constrained by the resources
available 'out there' and might, therefore, have been 'imposed' to take up that particular
positioning. Thus, it is fair to say that a teacher's choices within the classroom context do
not always necessarily reflect her/his personal belief as an individual.

All of the teacher participants at INU—Benny, Sandra and Nancy—seemed to be aware of
the global status of English, as evident in their moving away from the emphasis on the
attainment of native-like fluency towards a focus on communicative purposes, most
notably that aspect of intelligibility, in language teaching and learning. At the same time,
however, they also appeared to indicate that such status has tended to complicate the
teaching of English, thus resulting in their seemingly conflicting statements. The pertinent
questions 'which norms? whose standard?' have been found to resonate in all their views.
While apparently showing a theoretical engagement with the current discourses of EIL,
these teachers still seemed to be grappling with what these discourses might entail at the
classroom level and, further, how to translate them into everyday practice. Yet, Tupas
(2010) has reminded us that whichever model of English teachers might lean toward, "any
choice will inevitably be implicated in ethical and political questions about ideology,
power and standardization" (p. 567).

Issues of standards and norms have, indeed, been much debated in the literature (cf.
Kirkpatrick, 2010). Many scholars have attempted to raise general awareness of the
existence and dynamic varieties of English (Bolton, 2008; Cavallaro, Milde, & Sercombe,
2009; Rajagopalan, 2004), with some emphasising the importance of introducing students
to the diversity and multiplicity of communicative norms (e.g., Baumgardner & Brown,
2003; Clyne & Sharifian, 2008; Kirkpatrick, 2011; Kubota & Lin, 2009; Low & Hashim,
2012) and of exploring specific pedagogical implications as a result of this linguistic

phenomenon (e.g., Jenkins, 2006; Kirkpatrick, 2007b; Matsuda, 2012; McKay & Bokhorst-Heng, 2008; Tomlinson, 2005).

Several research studies, however, have reported similar findings to those presented in this chapter regarding teachers' beliefs, knowledge and orientations towards the language they work with (e.g., Ali, 2009; Young & Walsh, 2010; Zacharias, 2005). For example, Young and Walsh (2010), who inquired into the perceptions of the so-called non-native teachers towards the 'appropriate' variety to teach, revealed that the "native speaker model" (p. 124) of English was still highly pertinent.

In addition, in the context of ELT in Indonesia, a number of studies looking into students' attitudes towards English varieties suggest that there is still a strong preference for learning the "inner circle" model of English, most notably those conforming to American and British English (Siregar, 2010; Wulandari, 2009). These models, as Wulandari reported, have been considered by her student participants as "the proper English" (p. 73). Further, Jahan and Roger's (2006) study also reveals that their Indonesian participants still tended to "crave native-like English and want to sound like native speakers of English" (p. 11). All these research findings appear to be in line with Clyne and Sharifian's (2008) observation that most academic contexts are still leaning toward the adoption of "Anglo cultural norms" (p. 28.11), despite the view that English is not only an international language but also a "pluricentric" (p. 28.4) one. In view of this, Wierzbicka's (2006) and Phillipson's (2008b) arguments appear to ring true: "In the present-day world it is Anglo English that remains the touchstone and guarantor of English-based global communication" (Wierzbicka, 2006, p. 14), while those "'new' Englishes are for local consumption" (Phillipson, 2008b, p. 29.5).

Based on the aforementioned research studies, one would thus be hard-pressed to deny that, despite the current discourses of EIL/ELF, some Indonesians still tend to view English 'native-speakers' as the sole 'legitimate owner' of the language. This belief appears to have been also held by Benny. At one time, I asked about factors influencing his perception towards English, and he immediately responded by referring to his overseas experience:

> Studying abroad has influenced me .... In my class, when I took my master degree, there were a lot of students of Asian background—Chinese, Thai and so on. And their English was very accented. ... We can tell that—we can tell where a person is from when they speak English. And ... the lecturers, who were mostly Australians ... white Australians, they did not seem to mind ...

this. And, of course, there were situations in which the lecturers did not understand what the students were trying to say because their English was so accented. (Benny, pre-observation interview, 28/09/2010)

Though subtle, Benny's side comment "*of course* [my emphasis], there were situations in which the lecturers did not understand what the students were trying to say because their English was so accented" could ultimately be indicative of his personal stance towards the issue of ownership of English. While Benny's study abroad might have opened up his mind to new experiences and ideas, such as to those of "multilingual English" and "World Englishes", the above-mentioned statement would seem to suggest that, at a deeper level, some part of him still tended to believe that "white Australians" and those international students do not share the language *equally*.

As I have illustrated here, teachers from INU appeared to be somewhat ambivalent towards the issue of ownership of English. This ambivalence, on occasions, tended to place them in dilemmatic situations. For example, on the one hand, they seemed to want to acknowledge the existence of other varieties of English outside the dominant forms and empower students with choices. On the other hand, as teachers, they themselves had to adopt and conform to particular norms and standards for the sake of teaching. It could, therefore, be the case that these teachers' agency might have been constrained by the institutional culture or resources available to them.

"English as a threat or a blessing?": Perceptions of University of West Java teachers.

In their work, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1997), who have raised critical questions about the global spread of English, argue that the English language can pose either as "a threat or a blessing" (p. 27) to people. The contrasting opinions among the teacher participants at University of West Java (UWJ), which I shall elaborate shortly, can be seen to capture the very argument made by Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas.

Let me begin my analysis by referring to one of the essays written by Hendra, a *Literature* teacher at UWJ. The essay is entitled 'Let us study literature', and it was the first to be written among his collection of essays as he took up his appointment as a teacher of *Introduction to Literature*. Hendra, who showed great concern about preserving the ethnic culture, believed that English could function as a medium for students learning the language to introduce the Sundanese culture to the world. For him, English seemed to play

a critical role in bridging "local wisdoms" and "global civilisation". In a section entitled 'local culture within global horizons', Hendra wrote:

> English has been used as a primary medium for communication across nations. It is the language learnt by members of societies worldwide to interact and communicate across different cultures. ... It follows that University of West Java students learning English can, in fact, take part in bringing the treasures of the Sundanese culture to the road of global civilisation. ... No longer are socio-cultural boundaries imagined as enclosed walls but rather as conjoining paths that can be trodden by anyone, from anywhere, confirming their togetherness in this world. The opportunity is increasingly open [for people] to take part in what Denys Lombard called "cross culture". For this reason, it would not do English Literature students any harm if they were encouraged to read Sundanese literary works ... as an effort to familiarise and enable them to understand and to interpret Sundanese local wisdoms. Their knowledge, understanding and interpretation of the Sundanese local wisdoms can, in turn, be conveyed to the global community through English. (Hendra, excerpt from Essay 1, 2010, my translation)

In this extract, Hendra has made a strong case for the study of English, which begins by drawing attention to the contemporary status of English—"the language learnt by members of societies worldwide to interact and communicate across different cultures"—where it functions as a 'contact language' among people who do not share a common tongue. These statements strongly resonate with many of the dominant discourses of EIL and ELF. As I became more familiar with the institutional context of UWJ, I began to notice that Hendra brought different voices, hence different situated identities, into the text: personal and institutional voices. His voice is 'personal' in the sense that Hendra is himself a person who is passionate and has great concern about preserving the Sundanese culture, but it is simultaneously also 'institutional' because his thoughts and ideas clearly echo his institution's vision statements and its Sundanese platform. These two voices, however, are interwoven within the text. Through this essay, Hendra seems to be persuading his students to be more engaged with the Sundanese literary works, expressing his hopes for them to "take part in bringing the treasures of the Sundanese culture to the road of global civilization". It was not until later, when I had a better sense of the context, that I realised that this text functioned to address a longstanding debate that apparently had been seen to 'divide' teaching staff within the Department—the issue of whether or not local

literature should be given some space in the curriculum published by the English Literature Department. (I elaborate this issue in the next section.)

Although Hendra places a strong emphasis in this text on the acquisition of 'local knowledge', it is noteworthy that he does not portray English as representing globalisation's dominating forces. Quite the contrary, he depicts the language as providing a source of empowerment—capital—that enables its learners to function better in the global community. He views the acquisition of English as helping to break down "socio-cultural boundaries" and "confirm [people's] togetherness in this world". Seen from this angle, he appears to echo those teachers at INU who put forward the idea of becoming "world citizens" through English; his essay encourages his students to take up "the opportunity ... to take part in" cross-cultural learning.

Over three decades ago, Smith (1976) contended that, being "a language of the world" (p. 39), English and the teaching of it carry several implications; among others, he viewed English as having the potential for generating a sense of empowerment for its users and the de-nationalisation of the language, in the sense that English would be detached from any particular country and culture. Hendra's text above would seem to go along with this proposition. Thus, rather than depicting English as a Trojan Horse that has the potential to 'kill' local languages and cultures, as some literature suggests (e.g., Joseph & Ramani, 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010), English is clearly presented by Hendra as enriching and empowering. Creative writers such as Chinua Achebe and Wole Soyinka have, indeed, shown how, as a tool of communication, "the Western language can be used for communicating sociocultural nuances that are completely alien to Western culture" (Kumaravadivelu, 2006, p. 19). Yet, to what extent "English as a communicational tool" and "English as a cultural carrier" (p. 19) can be kept separate remains to be explored.

Edi, on the other hand, exhibited a somewhat different attitude toward English and its 'native-speakers'. Below is his response when I asked him about the 'native-speaker model':

> Isti: Do you think it's necessary for students to speak like a 'native-speaker'?
> Edi: I don't think it's that important [pauses]. But the *presence* of a native
>   speaker at the Department is quite important. That way, students can get
>   an exposure to a way of speaking that is more original. Their presence
>   will give an added value to the students' experience. The students can see
>   differences in accent, for example, and, maybe, the native speakers' accent

is more understandable. (Follow-up interview, 12/01/2011, my translation, emphasis added)

Although both Hendra and Edi spoke about the English language in a positive light, Edi appeared to focus more on esteeming its native-speakers. His emphasis on the significance of "the presence of a native speaker at the Department" and his belief that "their presence will give an added value to the students' experience" evidently reflect his high regard towards the 'native speakers'. Edi's use of the words "more original" and "more understandable" in reference to the way native speakers of English speak could also be read as indicative of his own preference for the dominant varieties of English. Associating the native speakers with the notion of originality, however, Edi would seem to represent those who hold strong to the "myth of the native speaker" (Moussu & Llurda, 2008, p. 316), believing that 'native speaker model is the best' in the realm of language teaching (cf. Álvarez, 2007; Miyagi, 2006). The native English-speaking teachers, as suggested in Edi's perception above, are considered to make better English teachers because they are assumed to have better knowledge of the grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation, as well as better, "more understandable" accent, through which, Edi believed, "students can get an exposure to a way of speaking that is more original." Needless to say, such a "traditional, monolithic view of English" (Matsuda, 2003, p. 727) is often accused of reinforcing the Self-Other constructions in traditional ELT pedagogy.

In contrast to Hendra and Edi's perceptions of English, Bayu, a teacher of *Indonesian History and Culture* at UWJ, tended to be sceptical towards any forms of Westernisation, including the 'Englishisation' of certain schools occurring within the country. In fact, of all the teacher participants, he was the only one who spoke explicitly about what he perceived to be the West's political manoeuvres to establish and maintain the imperialist power within the nation:

According to Aristotle, a nation ... is like a living organism. ... when a foreign virus is injected, it will cause a reaction. These foreign viruses are democracy, liberalism ... they are being injected. Forced, especially democratic liberalism, into our religious society. (Bayu, pre-observation interview, 15/09/2010)

So there are many things that I think are useless, and we should return to—such as pilot schools with international standard. ... The West has so many vested interests, injected forcefully into our society. ... There are also indications of reactions ... both frontal and subtle ones.... Both reactions

indicate resistance. Frontal reactions may be in the form of terrorism, which again, is being manipulated by outsiders. It's because this is a project. Yes, it's seen that way. ... This is oppression towards Indonesians. ... Ironically, the existing Indonesian government is unaware that we're being enslaved. Enslaved by imperialism. Enslaved by the interests of the Americans. ... That's the reality. ... Indonesia can be more progressive if it can free itself from the West. ... Indonesia, it seems, is out of the frying pan and into the fire. Free from the Dutch, but it's now dominated by the US or the so-called international world. It's even worse. It really is not obvious, but we're being imperialised. ... Indonesia is victimised, and we don't even realise it. ... victimised by various vested interests .... Indonesia is ... a nation that has lost its identity. (Bayu, pre-observation interview, 15/09/2010)

As the above extract suggests, Bayu's notion of 'the West' is not merely confined to the English-speaking West, rather he speaks of it as a monolithic imperialist force, which he believes to have spread "foreign viruses" within the nation. In speaking about English, Bayu tended to foreground the ideologies attached to the language, while actually making no direct reference to the word "English" itself. Yet, it can be inferred that Bayu likened the language and its proliferation to "a foreign virus" that invades and destroys "a living organism." Although in this extract the "foreign viruses" he was speaking of specifically referred to "democracy" and "liberalism," I take the statement to also imply his positioning towards English, taking into account that the most likely *medium* through which these "foreign" ideas are conveyed is English. In his view, "these foreign viruses" were invading and attacking Indonesia's "religious society," replacing it with a "secular one." Thus, in contrast to Hendra, who saw English as an empowering tool that helps to "liberate from containment", Bayu perceived 'Englishisation' as an act of "oppression towards Indonesians" through which they are being "victimised," "imperialised" and "enslaved." The act was further seen by him as the culprit of the nation's identity crisis, as Indonesia, he believed, is "a nation that has lost its identity." He implied that Englishisation is one among the West's "so many vested interests" being "injected forcefully into [Indonesian] society," taking shape, among others, in the form of "pilot schools with international standard[12]," which he considered "useless." Indonesia's attachment to the West was seen

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[12] In 2013, the Constitutional Court (*Mahkamah Konstitusi*) dissolved the international-standard school pilot project (RSBI) based on equality and equity issues (The Jakarta Post, January 08, 2013).

as hindering the nation from progressing; in fact, he believed that it was regressing—"out of the frying pan and into the fire." Here, "the West" or "the so-called international world" has been epitomised in the United States of America. His choice of words is significant: "oppression," "resistance," "domination," "enslavement," "victimisation," and "imperialism." Invoking this language of violence, Bayu suggested that the relations between Indonesia and "the West" resemble that of the Colonised and Coloniser. The Self and Other dichotomy is strongly projected through Bayu's language.

Bayu's perception of English and his attitude towards the West can be said to contrast with the views of all the other participants; he was, no doubt, the most critical and sceptical of the influence of Western culture in Indonesia currently. Here, it is worth noting that Bayu, unlike the other teacher participants, was not an English teacher, but rather a social sciences teacher who happened to teach in an English Department. While Bayu's educational background and his lived experiences as an individual may have contributed to his current views, these influences were not easy to trace, as they were probably intricately interrelated with other factors. Yet, Bayu's position is an interesting one, not only because of his starkly different views but also because in interviews he often revealed noticeable contradictions as he sought to explain his philosophical or practical perspective. For instance, despite his seemingly critical attitude towards the West, it was apparent that he liked to 'sprinkle' English words (the interview was conducted in Indonesian) into his own language, and he repeatedly drew on Western theories and concepts to get his message across. As I reflected on these incidences, I came to infer that, perhaps, for Bayu "English is a language of communicational necessity, not of cultural identity" (Kumaravadivelu, 2006, p. 19).

So far, I have looked into the teachers' perceptions and attitudes towards the English language. While their discourses help to reveal and explain their stances, which evidently are not always clear-cut, their practices with regard to the language appear to be further complicated by institutional factors. The classroom practices described below are primarily based on my observations and interview data, including those collected from a high-ranked official from each institution.

6.2   The English Language at Work: The Practices

This section is intended to provide more solid contextualisation of the research sites and to provide further insights into the teachers' discourses of English elaborated above. Since

the teachers' practices were markedly mediated by the institutions where they worked, the following analysis takes institutional framing as its point of departure.

6.2.1 Indonesia National University: New discourses, old practices and issues surrounding the standard linguistic norm.

I noted during my semester-long classroom observation that the use of English had been strongly reinforced by all three teachers in their classes. They all used English as a medium of instruction, although they did at times switch to *Bahasa Indonesia* for emphasis and clarification; if they used Sundanese, it was mostly to make jokes. Likewise, the teachers' occasional requests for their students to speak "in English, please" indicated an expectation on their part for the students to take up the opportunity to practise the target language optimally.

My observation of the classroom practices of these English teachers (whom I had previously interviewed), however, highlighted the significance of an always underlying issue surrounding the standard linguistic norm for teaching. Their avowal of 'new' discourses pertaining to the English language, such as the discourses associated with EIL and ELF, it turned out, was not necessarily aligned with their enacting of 'new' practices (cf. Sung & Pederson, 2012). Despite a move away in the teachers' perceptions from the "native speaker paradigm" (Álvarez, 2007, p. 126), their classroom practices indicated that dominant varieties of English, most notably British and American, continued to be used as a point of reference. Discourses regarding EIL, ELF and World Englishes tended to be treated as theoretical knowledge rather than concepts that lead to certain pedagogical implications.

This, for instance, appeared to be reflected in Sandra's *Intercultural Communication* class. Despite the incorporation of topics related to Englishes of the outer and extending circles into the syllabus, Sandra continued to refer to "American English" as a point of reference in her classroom teaching. She remarked:

> I always emphasise to them [the students] ... that I probably correct them in reference to American English, but [they] are free to learn British or Australian English. (Sandra, pre-observation interview, 27/09/2010)

In spite of Sandra's seemingly liberal attitude towards the varieties of English used in the class, the above excerpt indicates that her choices were still contained within the dominant forms, that is, "American English," "British English," and "Australian English."

Similar states of ambivalence, as I illustrated earlier, had also been articulated by the other two INU teacher participants. In what follows, I wish to tease out possible reasons for their ambivalence and constantly shifting attitude, while also seeking to understand their seemingly conflicting perceptions and practices.

It is evident that the current discourses and debates surrounding English have influenced, to a greater or lesser extent, the ways these teachers teach the language. Some of the emerging issues, as noted previously, appear to have put the teachers in a dilemmatic situation, such as being caught up between their desire to acknowledge the different varieties of English and to empower their students with choices, on the one hand, and the need for themselves, as members of an institution, to conform to the institutional culture and meet its expectations. The choices they made in teaching each class were thus concrete manifestations of the difficult negotiation between these differing forces or 'discourses'. Here, I wish to emphasise that, while the teachers' perceptions and practices may be seen as 'conflicting,' it is important to bear in mind that the implications of the new discourses for classroom practice are complex and far-reaching, requiring not only individual teachers' engagement with the issues but also an *endorsement* from the institution. An interview with a senior figure in administration at INU and my subsequent analysis of policy documents, however, suggest that the Department within INU still very much endorses the traditional ELT pedagogy, which revolves around the dominant varieties of English. Below is an excerpt taken from my conversation with a senior figure in administration at INU:

> Isti: In the past few decades, much attention has been drawn to the discourses of World Englishes. What do you see as the implications of these discourses on education, especially in the context of the teaching of language and culture at Indonesia National University?
>
> Official: World Englishes [pauses]. Okay.
>
> Isti: Yes...
>
> Official: Uh huh. But it's like this. World Englishes is okay, but of course it shouldn't change our culture to be Westernised. To a certain extent. Because Westernisation is not always bad. Don't you think? (INU official, interview, 24/11/2010)

Following this excerpt, the conversation continued with this official giving quite an elaborate example of what she perceived to represent 'good' American values. Her statement in regard to WE, however, is ambiguous, generating two possible

interpretations: (1) she acknowledges the proliferation of multiple Englishes and finds them 'tolerable,' (representing more of a personal voice) or (2) the teaching of these varieties is acceptable (representing more of an institutional voice, bearing in mind that I specifically asked about the notion of WE in relation to the context of teaching at INU). Following her train of thought, however, indicates that the "Englishes" that she had in mind were actually still contained within a Western trajectory, which is closely connected to the idea of "Westernisation." Her association of English with that of the inner circle is further strengthened by her pointed reference to the US in the statements following the excerpt of the transcript I have included above. It seems that this INU official, too, was negotiating the dilemmas associated with the proliferation of multiple Englishes.

As various studies have indicated, it is inevitable that teachers' practices and curriculum enactment are mediated and shaped by the institution where they work (Lamb & Reinders, 2008; Pishghadam & Shirmohammadi, 2012). Other research studies have also shown that introducing innovation or new practices is not without challenges (e.g., Chamberlin-Quinlisk & Senyshyn, 2012; Sercu, 2006). In view of this, it would seem that although scholarly discussions revolving around EIL, ELF and World Englishes have been going on for quite some time, alternative frameworks in place of the traditional ELT pedagogy are still being sought. Further, despite the various models and approaches proposing the 'appropriate' EIL pedagogy, concrete empirical studies regarding their effectiveness are still small in number. To acknowledge that other varieties of English exist outside the dominant forms is unproblematic, but to actually apply what the notion entails both policy-wise and practice-wise requires a long complicated process as well as concerted efforts from all directions. Not only does the concept need to become a part of the teachers' beliefs or professional identities; the implementation also demands more informed human resources as well as a more conducive infrastructure and supportive environment. It would seem that Nancy and Benny's eye-opening overseas experience of being exposed to 'colourful' varieties of English and Sandra's frequent encounters with various 'native-speakers' were still insufficient to change most of their deeply entrenched practices.

In addition, the status of *English as a foreign language* in Indonesia could also been seen to have contributed to the teachers' perceptions of English discussed above. In spite of their awareness of English as a *lingua franca*, my conversations with these academics revealed that they still tended to view the English language as being predominantly owned by inner circle countries, on which any notion of a 'standard for correctness' is based. The fact that English is not as extensively and intensively used in Indonesia appears to have influenced

the degree to which these teachers took up (or experienced a sense of) 'ownership' of the language.

6.2.2   University of West Java: Local awareness and 'the new paradigm' of teaching.

Unlike the English Department at Indonesia National University, the Department of English Literature at University of West Java did not seem to be overly concerned with its teachers not using English in the classroom. Although there was a general expectation for teachers to use English as a medium of instruction, especially in classes that bear English titles, as pointed out by a senior person in administration at the Department, the degree of accountability or reinforcement shown at the departmental level differed significantly from that exhibited at Indonesia National University. This, it seemed, was particularly due to the heterogeneous education backgrounds of the teachers, who did not necessarily have a background in English Education. As this official indicated:

> Well yes we can't force them [the teachers] to use English. Take for example this person; he has the capacity to teach cultural contents, but he can't teach in English. That doesn't matter. What's important is that he can share his field of expertise with the students. As for English competence, students can acquire it from other units, such as *Speaking*, *Listening*, *Writing* and *Reading* .... Although it's unwritten, we do expect teachers to use English as a medium of instruction. The students need to be accustomed to English from very early on, but maybe ... it doesn't have to be a hundred percent English. (UWJ official, interview, 19/11/2010)

Based on my personal observation, University of West Java teachers appeared to be much more flexible with regard to English language use in the classroom than those at Indonesia National University. There also appeared to be less demand on them to use English resources or international publications for teaching. While teaching materials and references of the three INU teachers were all in English, the teacher participants at UWJ made much more use of local texts as teaching resources, seeming to treat English texts as supplementary. In fact, in Edi's *Poetry* class (taught in the third semester), I observed that all of the references and the poems analysed were in Indonesian. He justified this by emphasising the importance for teachers to take into account students' level of competence—"I'm afraid [students] won't get the message if I give them English texts". Edi indicated that he avoided "rushing" into giving students materials in English. This

particular sensitivity, as I inferred from my extended conversations with him, appeared to have been influenced by his own personal experience as a student at the university. Recalling his early undergraduate years, he felt that the literature teaching materials were especially 'overwhelming', and he had to struggle hard to understand them:

> I wasn't happy—I know we're in the English Literature Department—but since the very start we had already had to deal directly with English literary texts, such as *Hamlet* ... considering our English proficiency level at the time, these texts were really difficult to digest. ... To understand literature it's probably better to introduce students to local literary works first, just so that they won't be frustrated. ... Besides, they also need to realise ... the richness of our culture. (Edi, pre-observation interview, 30/09/2010)

Edi's emphasis on the importance of raising students' awareness of "the richness of [their] culture" appears to suggest that he belonged to that group of teachers who adopted 'the new paradigm' of teaching literature at the Department. For quite some time, teaching staff, a UWJ official revealed, were divided in responding as to whether or not local literature should be given some space in the English Literature Department. While one group of academics believed that the curriculum and teaching should be exclusively in and about English (that is, the inner circle countries), some others rejected and challenged the idea, viewing that local cultures needed to be understood as "a foundation" for learning:

> In the past there were conflicting voices different paradigms among the lecturers. There were those who said "because this is an English Department, everything must be in and about English." And so when there was this person applying for a position of a Poetry teacher—and he was a really good one—his application had to be rejected because he couldn't teach in English. And then there was the other group of lecturers who said, "No, that's not right. We must build local awareness first as a foundation." So we must know our own culture first before we approach other cultures. That way, we'll have something to hold on to. So the issue has created a long-standing debate here. And we were short of teaching staff ... No one could teach Poetry while also having to be proficient in English. ... This problem wasn't resolved until there was a new Head of the Department ... and those who at first were against the idea [of local literature] eventually agree. (UWJ official, interview, 19/11/2010)

This senior figure in administration at UWJ, who herself appeared to advocate the "new paradigm", implied that the current practice adopted at the Department better represented the institutional philosophy, which placed a strong emphasis on the preservation of local values and traditions amidst discourses of globalisation. She said:

> To build the nation ... we must first know our own culture, we shouldn't be led into knowing Western culture better than knowing our own—knowing Shakespeare better than Sapardi, for example. That's pathetic. It doesn't mean—well, just as a foundation, as a foundation. It needs to be built on the local culture ... then gradually extending to the outside world. (UWJ official, interview, 19/11/2010)

While the above worldview held by the current departmental authority had been finally 'aligned' with the institutional values, she revealed that the local-versus-English debate was almost as old as the Department itself. There is, however, strong evidence that the three teacher participants—Hendra, Edi and Bayu—all belonged to the Department's 'new teacher generation', which maintained that local texts and culture provided the best basis for developing an understanding of English and the 'target culture' (cf. Byram, Gribkova, & Starkey, 2002). This philosophy was also quite evident in the teachers' selection of texts and how they delivered their materials in the classroom.

Despite the departmental expectation, none of the teacher participants used English as a medium of instruction. While Hendra and Bayu did not have an educational background in English, Edi deliberately chose to teach in *Bahasa Indonesia* for the practical reasons mentioned above. Interestingly, Edi and Hendra, who both taught units bearing English titles (i.e., *Poetry* and *Introduction to Literature*), wrote their exam questions in English, although they did provide their students with the options of English and Indonesian. In the case of Hendra, he even allowed his students to answer exam questions and write their assignments in the ethnic language Sundanese, although they rarely chose to do so. The following extract, which is taken from our conversation towards the end of the semester, indicates Hendra's beliefs regarding language use:

Isti: The students have just done the mid-term test. So what are your criteria in assessing the test?

Hendra: Actually ... there're two, yes, two [criteria]. I'm measuring the extent to which they understand materials delivered in the class. Second, measuring their ability to argue .... Unfortunately, I haven't had the

chance to look at them. ... But I'm curious as, at the same time ... I can also evaluate myself. If they've learnt a lot, I'll probably continue with the approach. If not, I'll have to think of another way for the second half semester. ... Maybe not too theoretical.

Isti: The exam questions were in English, right?

Hendra: Uh huh. ... But I never say that they must write in English. ... No, never. ... I even—allow them to write in Sundanese ... if they want to. ... I tell them jokingly, "use a language that's understood by humans." So in English, Indonesian, even Sundanese is okay. ... Why not [laughter]. But so far, they opted the first two.

Isti: Can they code-mix?

Hendra:That's okay with me. No problem ... as long as they can express themselves. ... My focus is not the language, but the content. Hopefully they all can be these students (mentioning names) who have gotten into the habit of writing in English, without being asked. These students appear to be more aware than the majority that they *are* in the English Literature Department. So, it's actually a basic need, to use English. Whether or not the usage is correct, that's not the topmost priority, I said. I myself may not always be correct, I told them, well, because it's a foreign language for me [laughter]. But let us try. ... Yeah. But usually their English is 'extraordinary' ...

Isti: [laughs]

Hendra:That doesn't matter. Maybe Sundanese English. ... Courage. I tell them. "Don't be afraid. Language is to be used. Secondly, it's a foreign language, not our mother tongue. Even if you're wrong, people will be tolerant about it". (Post-observation interview, 24/11/2010)

As this excerpt from the transcript indicates, Hendra exhibits a very liberal attitude towards language use in the classroom to the extent that he allows the students to use Sundanese in their writing, despite the fact that not all students are necessarily of Sundanese background. His jocular remarks about "us[ing] a language that's understood by humans" for the students in their exam papers further reflect his 'easygoing' nature in teaching the class. Through such a casual and approachable manner, Hendra was able to create a relaxed classroom atmosphere. His leniency towards language use, however, may be seen to hinder his students from getting into "the habit of writing in English ... without being asked [to]", as he wished, though he also made it clear that correct usage was not his

"topmost priority." In view of this, he seemed to prioritise pedagogical 'process' rather than 'product'.

In the same vein, Edi pointed out that he placed more emphasis on content knowledge rather than language usage in teaching and in marking students' papers. In his view, making English compulsory in everyday classroom practices would be burdensome for students. In spite of these views, the more classroom observation I did and the more I mingled with the Department's staff, the more aware I became of the discrepancy between the expected student outcomes set by the institution and the teaching-learning processes that went on in particular classrooms. For instance, while in their final year students were required to write a thesis in English, it appeared that there was little teaching time devoted to preparing students for actually producing such a piece of writing.

6.3   Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have investigated the six teachers' perceptions of and beliefs about the English language, often organising these perceptions and beliefs according to their institutional membership. I have also related their perceptions and the discourses that they used to talk about English to the realities of their professional lives. Inquiring into their classroom practices, I was able not only to identify issues and challenges associated with the teaching of English with respect to the teachers' particular institutions but also to better understand the everyday tensions, dilemmas and contradictions that they had to cope with in their work.

With the exception of Bayu, all teachers portrayed English in a positive light, associating it with sources of enrichment and empowerment. Viewing English as a language of development, opportunity and modernity, they endorsed the idea that English *is* capital, be it economic, social or cultural, all of which has the capacity to convert to some form of symbolic capital. Through my account of these teachers' perceptions and practices, I have also indicated how these forms of capital interlock and how different contexts can generate or transform one form of capital into another. The various metaphors and ideas connected to the English language, as articulated by many of the participants, clearly reflected the notion of English as capital. Benny, for example, viewed English as "a passport" to accessing material and social benefits, most notably in the forms of "better jobs, better living and better future." Likewise, Nancy saw English as offering a pathway to "world citizenship", whereas Hendra and Edi were of the conviction that English is a "language of empowerment."

While, at one level, the five English teachers tended to value English for its pragmatic dimension and its functional benefits, a deeper level of analysis revealed that they also projected a powerful image of English as worthy and desirable. Furthermore, the discourses that these teachers used about English seemed to indicate an understanding of 'capital' as a dynamic notion. Here, capital is regarded as not only constituting status and power but also the potential to acquire more assets. English-as-capital is portrayed as offering a pathway to success, while *simultaneously* embodying the notion of success itself. Yet, Bayu tends to be more 'selective' with the language he works with, keeping separate the idea of "English as a communicational tool" and "English as a cultural carrier" (Kumaravadivelu, 2006, p. 19).

Further, despite the teachers' awareness of the 'new' discourses pertaining to the English language, such as the discourses of EIL and ELF, there was still a tendency for them to associate English with Kachru's inner circle countries. Consequently, the teaching of the dominant forms of English remained prevalent in their classrooms. At INU, the condition appears to have been further exacerbated by departmental policies that mandated the teaching of 'authentic' English native-speaker norms. This chapter suggests that the institution plays a significant role in mediating and shaping teachers' practices and that teacher agency can, at times, be undermined by institutional demands.

In the next chapter, I inquire into the teachers' conceptions of culture, in the knowledge that culture has so often been intricately intertwined with the concept of language. In what follows I discuss the teachers' theoretical understandings of culture as well as their conceptualisations and assumptions regarding particular cultural groupings relevant to the study's scope of investigation. I will be drawing on Gee's (1999) cultural models as "explanatory theories" (p. 43) to gain better insights into the cultural frameworks in which these teachers were operating.

Chapter 7

Teaching Culture: Conceptions and Perceptions

'Culture' is a complex and value-laden concept, to which "many diffuse and controversial meanings" (Gee, 1999, p. 43) are often attached. In part, such complexity is attributed to the fact that "almost every sphere of human behaviour is looked at in terms of culture" (Holliday, 1994, p. 32). In English Language Teaching (ELT), following philosophical views underlining the language-culture nexus, many language education scholars, such as Kramsch (1998) and Liddicoat (1997), maintain that language teaching necessarily entails the teaching of culture. This view has resulted in much scholarly discussion and opened up a multiplicity of perspectives regarding the 'appropriate' content and methodology in teaching language. Yet, Williams' (2005) research suggests that "sophisticated understandings of culture in a general sense do not lead to a clearly defined way of dealing with culture in the classroom, and that the practice of teachers in relation to culture seems more intuitive than theoretically informed" (p. 69). Situating the present study within this theory-practice interface, I intend to tease out possible explanations for the above phenomenon, gaining better insights into the realities of teachers' professional lives, identities and work.

Furthermore, in the context of the present study, having a solid grasp of the teachers' conceptualisation of culture is fundamental in informing other parts of the research, serving as a framework for understanding the teachers' views on interculturality and their enactment of it in the classroom. As Holliday (1994) maintains, "it is important to look at the classroom culture in terms of wider cultures [because] the classroom is part of a complex of interrelated and overlapping cultures of different dimensions" (p. 28). Similarly, this study proceeds on the assumption that teachers' work can only be fully understood when the social and cultural positionings of these teachers, as well as the contexts within which they operate, are taken into account (cf. Cole & Knowles, 2000).

In interpreting the teachers' discourses on culture and their constructed cultural realities, I have taken up both traditional and postmodern understandings of the notion. I see these understandings as complementing one another; while the former, for instance, allows me to scrutinise tightly framed elements of "big" culture (cf. Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993), the latter helps to focus on the social dimension of meaning making processes within different forms of cultural groupings (cf. Gee, 1999; Holliday, 1999; Street, 1993). The notion of

discourse is especially pertinent in the discussion of culture because "it is at the level of discourse that individuals are able to negotiate, make sense of and practise culture; and it is within this process that imaginations about culture are generated and ideology is both experienced and manufactured" (Holliday, 2011, p. 1). By homing in to particular constructions or 'layers' of culture, I seek to better understand the workings of particular cultural entities within their particular contexts. In so doing, I will be drawing on Gee's (1999) concept of cultural models to tease out any shared cultural meanings embedded within the teachers' projection of these cultural entities and to help explain the teachers' everyday 'theories' about the world.

7.1 Inquiring into Teachers' Theoretical Understandings of Culture

The six teachers' conceptualisations of culture, as I reveal below, appear to have been heavily influenced by anthropological understandings of culture. They tended to foreground the idea of culture as a way of life and highlighted its elements such as beliefs, values, behaviours, customs and traditions. Culture was often conceptualised as comprising certain patternings and as geographically-bounded. These conceptions resonate with how culture is generally defined in the literature by most Indonesian scholars (cf. Alwasilah, 2001; Ekadjati, 2009; Koentjaraningrat, 2007; Sumardjo, 2010).

In what follows I present seven sub-themes related to the discussion on the teachers' theoretical understandings of culture: (1) *culture as shared ways of being and doing*; (2) *culture and the iceberg metaphor*; (3) *the scope of culture and the adoption of a national paradigm*; (4) *culture as multifaceted and multidirectional*; (5) *the dynamic nature of culture*; (6) *the language-culture nexus*; and (7) *the relation between religion and culture.* The first six sub-themes are conceptualised primarily in light of the literature, in which I highlight dominant principles about and features of culture the teachers articulated, while the last sub-theme, which emerged from my conversations and classroom observations with some of the academics, renders more of their personal stance in relation to the theories they have acquired.

7.1.1 Culture as a shared way of being and doing.

Every teacher interviewed for this study spoke about culture as, in some sense, 'a shared way of being and doing', which was seen to be intricately intertwined with notions of

beliefs, values, norms, traditions, behaviours and practices—elements thought to make up a culture. This, for example, is indicated in Nancy's response below:

Isti: Going back to the subject you teach, how important do you think it [*Intercultural Communication*] is in EFL teaching and learning?

Nancy: Very important. ... Like I said before, it's important to make the students understand or at least appreciate other cultures. When I say 'cultures' in the classroom, I don't mean just American cultures or British cultures just because they're learning English. But you need to think of culture ... in a bigger, more general framework. The practices that you do every day, the way you have been brought up by your parents, for example, that's also a part of culture. Though in EFL teaching it will be useful, like I said, just to let them know that the English-speaking countries have their own values, their norms, yeah. (Pre-observation interview, 23/09/2010)

Although my question above did not specifically address the conception of culture, Nancy's response sheds some light on what she perceived culture to be. In this extract, she implied that the subject she taught dealt heavily with American and British cultures. However, she encouraged her students to make connections to their own cultures and think of the concept "in a bigger, more general framework." Defining culture as "the practices that you do every day," she exemplified upbringing to be a part of culture. In the subject Nancy taught, *Intercultural Communication*, this view of culture, for example, was translated into the theme 'family types and tradition' in the curriculum, which covered topics such as 'child raising', 'young adulthood and the elderly' and 'family types in the US'.

In their explanation of the concept, there was a strong tendency for the teachers to see "culture as a noun" (Street, 1993), where elements or products of a certain culture were being highlighted. Benny, for instance, said, "To me, somehow, when I hear the word 'culture' what comes to mind is traditions, norms, values ... rules, the dos and don'ts." Likewise, Sandra also associated culture with "common beliefs" and "norms":

My conception of culture is that [it is] everything about a group of people who shares some aspects and some ways of living ... that includes common beliefs and ... norms, and yes, that includes everything that can bind a certain group of people together. (Sandra, pre-observation interview, 27/09/2010)

Here, it would seem that Sandra acknowledged both aspects of 'product' and 'process' involved within a cultural system, as implied in her word "everything". She also seemed to acknowledge that the sharing of "conceptual maps" (Hall, 1997) among group members is a fundamental aspect in defining one's belonging, as they ultimately "bind ... people together." It is noteworthy that, although in her conception a culture is made up of "*everything* that can bind a certain group of people together" (my emphasis), she indicated that only "*some* aspects" and "*some* ways of living" (my emphasis) are shared. This view appears to be in line with one of the premises underpinning postmodern understandings of culture in that "neither can any two people be said to share precisely the same cultures" (Atkinson, 1999, p. 640) given that everyone takes up different and multiple social identities and subjectivities (cf. Gee, 2011b). In relation to this, Sen Gupta (2003) regards cultural phenomena as "superorganic" and argues their existence depends and, yet, transcends individual people, and, for this reason, no one can be said to "'possess[...]' all of the culture of a particular group" (p. 158).

In articulating their conceptions, different teachers highlighted somewhat different dimensions of culture. While Benny, for instance, foregrounded cultural elements, Edi emphasised the shared nature of culture, perceiving similarities in world views to serve as a basis for the formation of a culture:

> Culture is a broad concept ... for the moment, let us take its smallest unit as an example—this is what I've learnt about the concept of culture. Actually ... the smallest unit of culture is when, for instance, you and I and we know Hendra and we all share a commonality in terms of world view, I think that makes it justifiable to say that it is a culture of the three of us. (Edi, pre-observation interview, 30/09/2010, my translation)

I wish to draw attention to Edi's use of the words "the smallest unit". The phrase implies that he assumes the existence of a Russian doll or onion-skin relationship, to borrow Holliday's (1999) analogy, among cultural groupings within a more dominant culture. In this sense, "a culture of the three of us" may also be seen as a sub-culture or a sub-set of a culture. Thus, it appears that Edi's conception of culture conforms to Holliday's (1999) notion of "big culture", which corresponds to essentialist views and which often associates culture with national or ethnic entities. Categorisation based on these entities was also evident in his *Poetry* teaching, where Indonesian poets were, on occasions, set against those of 'the West'.

7.1.2 Culture and the iceberg metaphor.

The notion of culture has commonly been likened to an iceberg, in that only the tip of it is visible (or explicit), while the greater part of its bulk remains unseen (i.e., implicit or tacit). The existence of culture at these explicit and implicit levels appears to have been taken as another basic tenet underpinning the concept of culture by many teachers. In the literature, different terms have been coined to explain these dualistic dimensions of culture. Tomalin and Stempleski (1993), for example, categorised the observable and surface features of culture into "achievement culture," which includes artefacts, history, geography, literature, art and music, and "behaviour culture," such as dress, foods, habits and traditions of a particular society. Hall (1997), on the other hand, coined the term "conceptual maps" to refer to the deeper level, mental view of culture—the underlying principles and ideologies that guide people's ways of being and doing.

In referring to the dualistic nature of culture, many teachers, too, used a variety of binaries, such as "visible/invisible", "tangible/intangible" (Sandra), "explicit/tacit" (Nancy) and "material/immaterial" (Bayu). These notions were quite elaborately discussed in *Intercultural Communication* classes. Drawing from Levine and Adelman (1993) and Moran (2001), Nancy, for example, broke down the explicit/tacit aspects into the following elements (as written in her PowerPoint slides presented to the class):

Explicit aspects of a culture:
- Cultural products (language, food)
- Practices
- Persons (appearance)
- Communities

Tacit aspects of a culture:
- Perspectives
- Communication styles
- Beliefs attitudes
- Values

Many teachers I interviewed also tended to agree with the above constituents. Bayu, a social sciences teacher, however, took these ideas one step further and said the following with regard to the "material" and "immaterial" aspects of Indonesian culture:

It's too bad that many of us aren't aware of Indonesia's cultural resources, both material and immaterial ones. Many are not even recognised. And so what happens? Many of the material cultural products are gone. Many immaterial ones simply went by. It's true that there is a theory that says a culture forms, reaches its peak and then dies out. Just like a life cycle. ... But there should be things that we can take on from culture. That in Europe is probably referred to as 'civilisation' ... but if it's in the Indonesian context it's called 'local genius' [sarcastic laugh]. So different, the appreciation. ... But you can't say that Indonesia's local traditions are less great than the European civilisation. Yeah, for example *Candi Borobudur* (The Borobudur Temple) or the traditional health practices that I know. Western doctors rely on logic. ... Western doctors make up a culture, right? Non-material. They rely on logic. ... Chinese medicine is based on philosophy, and Indonesia's strength, especially the Sundanese [culture], emphasises more on mysticism. ... In some cases there are doctors who in the end say "seek alternative medicine". (Bayu, pre-observation interview, 15/09/2010, my translation)

In Bayu's view, the notion of culture is evidently related to both pysical ("material") and mental ("immaterial") aspects while also being associated with specific geographical regions such as "Europe" and "Indonesia". Perceiving culture as an entity that has its own lifecycle undergoing a series of phases—formation, climax and extinction—Bayu seems to equate 'culture' to 'civilisation'. In this excerpt, it appears that he was speaking in the context of past cultures, many of whose "material" and "immaterial" entities, he believed, "simply went by". I noticed that Bayu often used these two terms, 'culture' (*kebudayaan*) and 'civilisation' (*peradaban*), interchangeably in our conversations, and at times he also used the word "culture" (*budaya*) to actually refer to cultural entities, such as values, traditions and practices. 'Culture' in Bahasa Indonesia can be translated into '*budaya*' or '*kebudayaan*', in which the latter is a derivative of the former. The latter term, however, has come to be associated with manifestations of culture, while the former with abstract concepts residing in the mind (Alisjahbana, 1986; Koentjaraningrat, 1985; see also Section 2.1).

Bayu indicates that different cultures tend to have different ways of constructing the world—different ways of thinking, being and doing of what is taken to be typical or normal—and thus have different "cultural models," to invoke Gee's (1999) term. He exemplifies this through the case of "health practices" in "Western", "Chinese" and "Indonesian" societies, which he says rely on the power of "logic", "philosophy" and

"mysticism". While a part of Bayu's conceptualisation appears to align with a postmodern orientation in that cultural realities are socially constructed rather than given, aspects of essentialism can still be strongly felt, especially as he appears to treat the aforementioned cultural systems to be mutually exclusive, giving the impression that people are essentially different across cultures.

In terms of non-verbal cues, it was inescapable to note, in each of our conversations, Bayu's critical tone of voice as he, often at length, commented on or responded to the various issues I raised. While I found many of his explanations illuminating, resourceful and grounded, as he constantly drew on everyday instances to illustrate his points, I also found Bayu quite distinctive in that he often articulated viewpoints that were at odds with the rest of the teachers and tended to approach issues in ways that would be considered, in the current context, to be 'against the mainstream'. In the above excerpt, for instance, the Self-Other dichotomy was projected quite vividly. Sounding almost as if he was contesting the entire Western intellectual empire, he sarcastically pointed out the discrimination being imposed on and the belittlement of Indonesia, the West's Other, whose civilisation was 'labeled' by Bayu as merely "local genius", despite his assertion that Indonesia's advancement was *not* "less great than the European civilisation."

Unlike Nancy and Sandra, who emphasised in their teaching that "no culture is better than the others; they are simply different" and avoided invoking blatantly evaluative terms such as "good/bad", "useful/useless" or "positive/negative" regarding cultural values, traditions and practices, Bayu was not hesitant to articulate such opinions. He, for example, perceived some practices of certain ethnic groups in Indonesia, such as "*ronggeng*" (which he defines as "sensual dances") and the practices that were associated with it, as "useless cultural traditions". Yet, in saying so, he also placed a strong emphasis on understanding these societies' "conceptual maps", to borrow Hall's term—that is, why and how such ways of being and doing came about. It is worth quoting him at some length:

> A culture emerges for people to survive. Yeah, to improve their quality of life.
> A culture emerges and develops, be it material or immaterial ones. Yes, as a
> way of life. And we should not be ... trapped in a cultural practice that
> disadvantages the human race. ... Through natural process, certain traditions,

if it's no longer 'felt and understood'[13] in the community, will simply die out. But what is worrying is the emergence of their imitations. Or the emergence of cultural acculturation. ... So there emerges a cultural practice that is, in fact, even worse. Let's take, for example, an instance from performance art. The Hawaiian dance, the lambada, combined with the belly dance, and so creating the '*goyang ngebor'[14]*. Yes, I've observed that. ... There are also [dances] from Pantura[15]... why does the community in Pantura tend to have these sensual dances? Well, they are rooted in their traditional philosophical view and so during the dry season they do a lot of these dances to attract the 'macrocosm' to fertilise the 'microcosm'[16].... So there emerge new seeds of life. That's how they viewed[17] the world. So in the Pantura areas Indramayu, Cirebon up to Karawang, there are traditions called '*ronggeng*'. ... During the harvest season, it's marriage season. [But] when it's a time of scarcity, it's divorce season. These practices are quite distinct in these places. ... Traditions emerged in accordance with people's views of the world. Then, that tradition [*ronggeng*] came into contact with Western culture ... creating a new kind of dance, accommodated by Inul Daratista. ... Oh well, those are useless cultural practices. ... But we have to understand their ideological views ... and so we know what needs to be corrected. Going back to the dance case, such dances impact the society ... creating a snowball effect. (Bayu, pre-observation interview, 15/09/2010, my translation)

In this context, Bayu appears to be implying that value judgements are inevitable in viewing cultures. Interestingly, his emphasis on "understanding [others'] ideological

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[13] He said this in Sundanese (originally: "*karaos kahartos*", referring to a Sundanese philosophy), while the rest of his statements were made in Indonesian.

[14] '*Goyang*' literally means 'swing' and '*ngebor*' means 'the act of drilling'. In this context, he was referring to a contemporary, popculture dance, initiated by the artist Inul Daratista. This dance was 'phenomenal' in that it created much stir in the community, as many considered it erotic and vulgar, and eventually triggered the issuance of laws on pornography.

[15] 'Pantura' is an abrreviation for '*pantai utara*' or 'the northern beach'. Here, Bayu was referring to places along the northern coast of Java crossed by the Pantura line.

[16] The people in Pantura, as Bayu said, traditionally associate geographical seasons with reproduction. Like the dry season which needs water, the females ("the microcosm"), too, need to be 'fertilised' by the males ("the macrocosm") during such season.

[17] In *Bahasa Indonesia*, there is no tense marker, but judging from the context, the use of past tense here is deemed most appropriate.

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views" seems to serve more for the purposes of "correcting" their practices, although he also said that if a practice is no longer compatible with a particular society's world views or no longer suits the circumstances, it will simply disappear. Here, Bayu can be felt to show a critical attitude towards the West, portraying it as exerting a negative influence on some local cultural traditions and making already dubious cultural practices "even worse". Noteworthy also is the frequent use of 'us' and 'them' demarcations in his statements, albeit speaking in the context of Indonesia. This suggests that even within national boundaries, different cultural groups may have completely different sets of ideologies underpinning their views of the world.

7.1.3   The scope of culture and the adoption of a national paradigm.

Judging from the many contexts in which the word "culture" is used by the teachers, it appears that the notion represents cohesive social groupings of various sizes, ranging from a national scale to a "small context", to use Nancy's phrase, like the classroom. Associating the notion of culture to a national paradigm has been a longstanding tradition in language and culture pedagogy (cf. Risager, 2007). Recently, however, this paradigm has been rigorously problematised, showing how a singular and static view of culture runs the risk of becoming essentialist and crudely stereotypical. Yet, seeing culture in terms of national grouping appears to have become a deep-seated concept that lies at the core of many of the participant teachers' conceptions of culture. On several occasions, they also talked about different 'layers' of culture, such as "idioculture" and "ethnic culture", but these social groupings were still framed within the national paradigm, and, as such, were being viewed as sub-cultures of a larger entity. The following excerpt serves to illustrate this "sub-grouping":

> Sandra: You can ... establish [a] culture if you have certain elements of shared understanding and norms, so that's why ... a group of lecturers has different ways of seeing things and ... different ways of communicating from a group of farmers, for example.
>
> Isti: So you also consider them as having their own culture?
>
> Sandra: Yeah. Sub-cultures. Sub-groups. It's a part of culture, in a way, if you want to put it like elements or strata. One is part of the other. (Pre-observation interview, 27/09/2010)

Apparently, Edi also held a similar conception to Sandra's, saying that a culture can consist of as little as three people, provided that they all share "a commonality in terms of world

view". While Sandra and Edi's conceptions of culture may be seen to cover aspects of what others have termed "discourse communities" (Miller, 1984), "practices" (Bourdieu, 1977) and "Discourse" (Gee, 1999), among others, their conceptions still seem to be strongly embedded within a national framing, with "sub-groups" being "a part of culture". Indeed, I feel that the teachers' positioning as teachers of English, combined with the nature of the study program within which they operate, appears to reinforce the adoption of a national paradigm. I provide a further example by drawing attention to Nancy's *Intercultural Communication* curriculum. Below are two of the objectives of this course, which can be interpreted as reinforcement of the notion of culture as a singular national paradigm:

- To raise awareness of cultural diversity within the English speaking countries;
- To be familiar with some differences and similarities between the TL culture and their [the students'] native language culture. (Curriculum documents of *Intercultural Communication* for English Education Program, Indonesia National University, p. 1)

In the above objectives, "the target language culture" is seen as one unitary entity, and so are the students' cultural backgrounds, which may, in fact, be of diverse ethnic groups. Clearly, it is their national culture that is brought to the fore here. Although these objectives do not suggest that "the TL culture" and the students' "native language culture" are mutually exclusive, as it is not only "differences" that are assumed to exist but also "similarities", scholars researching culture across the world believe that investigating the nature of cultures in this way runs the risk of essentialising, reinforcing cultural stereotypes while also diminishing richness and variety within them.

Quite contrary to the other teachers' stance, Bayu, who is a teacher of *Indonesian History and Culture*, tended to emphasise ethnic entities in the class, which was unsurprising considering the subject he was assigned to teach. Noteworthy, however, is his response to my question regarding his opinion about Indonesia's national culture. According to Bayu, any talk about the formation of a national culture in the Indonesian context merely reflected the government's strategy to homogenise the diverse ethnic groups across the nation. He viewed this strategy as highly politicised. Voicing a similar idea in a more nuanced tone, Sedyawati (2008) implies that the inscription of the Old Javanese literary language "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*" ("Unity in Diversity") on the Indonesian coat of arms *Garuda*, a mythical bird symbolising power, perseverance, and justice, could be seen as a manifestation of the workings of a hegemonic national ideology. While using essentialist

framing to emphasise cultural diversity, the motto 'dictates' that such plurality "is acknowledged ... and maintained *only* [if there exists] a strong determination to be united" (Sedyawati, 2008, p. 46, my emphasis).

7.1.4   Culture as multifaceted and multidirectional.

As mentioned earlier, most teachers perceived the notion of culture as consisting of elements and "strata", as Sandra put it. The smaller "sub-groups" or "sub-cultures" were often seen as interrelated but contained within the larger cultural groups. This onion-skin relationship appeared to be embedded in the teachers' conceptualisation of culture. The word 'multifaceted' in the above sub-theme is intended to capture these different layers that the notion 'culture' is perceived to contain, while the term 'multidirectional' is used to refer to the influencing processes social groupings have on each other. According to Holliday (1994), one culture can be related to other cultures both vertically, i.e., "through hierarchies of cultures and subcultures", and horizontally, i.e., "between cultures in different systems" (p. 28). In my conversations with Nancy and Hendra, I sensed they understood culture in terms of vertical relations. While Nancy exemplified how the larger culture can influence smaller ones, Hendra believed that particular discourse communities also have the ability to influence the wider community. He took the example of Soekarno and Hatta, two of Indonesia's founding fathers, in spreading the spirit of nationalism and turning their "personal ideas" into those shared by Indonesians as a whole. In the excerpt below, Nancy suggested how aspects of the wider societal culture were manifested at the classroom level:

> The fact that we as Indonesians tend to be brought up in a ... collectivist culture ... manifests clearly in how the students behave, their attitudes, in the classroom. Typical Asian students, I think. They always want to sit together with their friends. ... I mean, a student would not feel confident if they are separated from their friends. ... Now, I consider it a problem when this collectivist culture manifests in—it's like when the students are given an assignment they should write an essay or something. I know working in groups will be easier for them. However, it shocks me when I find out that their essays are also the same. They never really could generate an opinion. Even when they do, it should always be within the approval of the peers. It's like that, and I think that's a problem. On a bigger scale, this gives us an idea why it's difficult for us to make a decision or to find a solution to a problem,

because that's how collectivist societies work. (Nancy, pre-observation interview, 23/09/2010)

Evidently, Nancy perceived the classroom culture as a reflection of the wider Indonesian culture. While implying that she was making an effort to accommodate students with a learning style that she deemed to be contextually appropriate (i.e., "working in groups"), Nancy also suggested the idea that the students' "academic crimes" might eventually be rooted in the nature of the wider "typical Asian" culture. In this respect, she seems to be making a generalisation about Asia as a racial entity, if not Indonesians as a national entity. Her remark is intriguing given that these kinds of pedagogical problems represent challenges for teachers in higher education across the world (Carroll & Ryan, 2005). In her reflections, here, Nancy reveals the complex identity work that she was engaged with. Although some of Nancy's statements may be seen as exaggerating and overgeneralising, what I hear in Nancy's voice is a tone of frustration and despair of being constantly confronted with such a situation. On a side note, Nancy was not the only one to bring into the conversation the issue of plagiarism. Hendra, who taught in a different institution from Nancy, also spoke about this, and he was "mortified" to see that many of his students who cheated "did not act as if they had done a major wrongdoing".

Further, Nancy appeared to imply the classroom culture formed as a subset of the national culture:

> How we [the students and I] interact, how they perceive me as a teacher and how I perceive them as students, is largely influenced by, again, culture, our culture being perceived as a collectivist culture. (Nancy, pre-observation interview, 23/09/2010)

Scholars such as Holliday (1999) maintain that it is inevitable for members to bring cultural residues and influences into the formation of a "small culture" such as the classroom. In his view, however, one social grouping is not to be seen as having an onion-skin or a Russian doll relationship with others. Yet, Nancy, as the above excerpt suggests, appears to place an emphasis on the interconnection between the "small" and "large" cultures, with the former being governed by and framed within the latter framework. Although Nancy may be perceived as essentialising when she describes the cultural system she and her students operate in as "collectivist" (cf. Holliday, 2011), Gee (1999) would probably argue that this collectivist-orientation could be used as a way of understanding "cultural models" held by this particular community. As Nancy indicated,

her students tended to conceptualise educational goals and aspirations in terms of collective self, in which opinions generated "should always be within the approval of the peers" (cf. Curry, 2002; Fryberg & Markus, 2007). In turn, many of the teachers' representations of their students, as I will elaborate subsequently, could also be seen to have been influenced by this cultural model of collectivism.

7.1.5   The dynamic nature of culture.

The tenet that culture is dynamic was highlighted by teachers from both institutions, particulary Sandra and Bayu. In the case of Bayu, he put forward this idea through a number of propositions, such as culture having a "lifecycle" and today's culture being a "refinement" of that of the past, though in these contexts 'culture' is equated more with 'civilisation', rather than the everyday way of life. With regard to the latter proposition, Bayu said:

> Today, with the use of modern technology, we have things that can convert energy: batteries. ... Superb. But it turns out that the people of the past already had such technology, using metal as its medium. That's even more superb. So don't underestimate them. Actually, they were highly civilised. ... It's true that today's cultural processes are refinement of those of the past. ... They are being imitated and imitated. ... If they aren't useful in the community, they'll disappear by themselves. Those that still exist are apparently the ones that are still relevant in today's context. But it appears that, along the way, many of these [processes] remain unknown. ... And that's common in the Indonesian context, especially when it comes to mystical traditions. They don't get passed down just like that. And so sometimes they just disappeared. ... At the moment, I'm collecting—documenting—folk medicine. Traditional health practices. *Keris* [an Indonesian wavy-bladed dagger made from a mix of iron, nickel and steel] is a material entity, a material cultural product. It's tangible. But non-material ones—wisdoms or systems—they're intangible. (Bayu, pre-observation interview, 15/09/2010, my translation)

Then he went on to tell me about the reasons for choosing History in his undergraduate studies and his passion for preserving cultural artefacts. The above excerpt is an extract out of a longer text in which Bayu talked at great length about *keris*. These ceremonial daggers are often associated with magic and the supernatural, but Bayu attributed the mysticism surrounding these historical objects to what he believed to be a power source

contained within them and likened them to the workings of batteries. Through this instance, Bayu was trying to point out the sophistication of the past cultures and to argue that today's cultural processes and products—both "material" and "immaterial" ones— are, in fact, "refinement" of those of the past. In saying so, Bayu could be interpreted to have been referring to the dynamic nature of culture.

While, in this context, Bayu tended to equate 'culture' to 'civilisation', Hendra viewed culture to be closely related to 'modernity'. Specifically referring to the works of Raymond Williams, Hendra said:

> Culture … if we refer to the European literature, for example, the word 'culture' emerged and developed, I think, almost in line with modernisation, with modernity. It grows together with modern awareness and behaviour. I think Raymond Williams' book is clearly related to this—the one on culture and society. … And culture, in the beginning, was related to humans' creativity in managing nature, actually. Hence, emerged the term 'agriculture', which was no coincidence. The word 'culture' is usually set against 'nature'. … Recently the term has been specifically associated with symbolic entities, values, thus connoting 'refinement'. … Literary work is a fundamental part of this. (Hendra, pre-observation interview, 28/09/2010, my translation)

The above extract was actually framed within a discussion on the relationship between culture and literature, and, according to Hendra, literature is "a fundamental part" of the 'refined culture'. His understanding of culture highlighting aspects related to "humans' creativity in managing nature" strongly resonates with the common conception of culture held by many Indonesian scholars. As suggested by some Indonesian etymological studies, the word 'culture', which is *budaya*, stems from the word *budi* ('mind') and *daya* ('power') (Alisjahbana, 1986; Koentjaraningrat, 1985). Literally translated, culture in *Bahasa Indonesia* means 'power of the mind', and it is through mind power ("creativity") that humans are believed to be capable of transcending nature. Yet, Hendra's use of the word "recently" in his statement "recently, the term has been specifically associated with symbolic entities" indicates that meanings attached to 'culture' have also shifted. Thus, Hendra not only implies the dynamics of cultural systems and processes but also the fluidity of meanings carried by the notion itself.

7.1.6   The language-culture nexus.

The belief that language and culture are intertwined has been both explicitly and implicitly stated by the university teachers I interviewed. Unlike a number of Western scholars, such as Risager (2007) and Kramsch (1998), who problematise the language-culture nexus, it appears that for these teachers the idea has become an established 'truth'. This, for example, is reflected in Sandra's response to my question about the importance of one of the subjects she taught:

> Isti: Okay, now, how important do you think is the subject [*Intercultural Communication*] in EFL teaching and learning?
>
> Sandra: Very important because if you want to learn a language, you have to learn the culture. Otherwise you learn … only how to say things without any good understanding, and it can mislead you into the use of certain expressions which are not appropriate in certain contexts. (Pre-observation interview, 27/09/2010)

The learning of "language" and "culture" was seen by Sandra as inseparable. She implied that the role of culture in language learning is important for attaining sociocultural competence, and she portrayed the abscence of it as 'parroting' (learning "only how to say things without any good understanding"). She believed, and she reiterated this several times in our conversation, that sociocultural competence is a crucial aspect in achieving successful communication. However, she also acknowledged that in some English language classrooms, the teaching of culture related to the target language may be dealt with insufficiently due to the different situations, needs and purposes of learning of the students. And so, in a jocular way, she coined the idea of "develop[ing] your own English culture". In her own words:

> I think … you can kind of develop your own English culture [laughs], sort of. So you use English, but still you communicate based on your own culture. … Yes. They still think in a way within their own culture. They just express it in English. So that happens because maybe if you aim at a local scope, say at elementary school … the probability of the children going abroad is very small … so at that stage maybe the emphasis is on the language rather than the culture in which English is spoken. (Sandra, pre-observation interview, 27/09/2010)

Whereas in one part of our conversation Sandra was emphasising the interrelationship between language and culture, the extract above reflects an additional if somewhat contrary belief that the two components can be treated as separate entities in language pedagogy. Sandra appeared to see the importance of culture, especially in the ELT context, primarily to help establish successful communication "with people from other countries" and associated it with the idea of "going abroad".

In general, the teachers in this study viewed culture as the overarching framework, while language was commonly seen as merely an "element" (e.g., Bayu) or "product" (e.g., Edi) of it. Although these teachers unanimously agreed about the interconnection between language and culture, I noticed that, depending on the subject taught, they frequently placed a stronger emphasis on one of the two components. For example, Sandra, who is an *Intercultural Communication* teacher, foregrounded the teaching of culture in her class, whereas Bayu, a teacher of *Indonesian History and Culture*, highlighted the importance of linguistic mastery in order to be able to 'excavate' and comprehensively understand a society's conceptual maps, which, he believed, would help in making informed judgements if people were to judge others' cultural values. As for Hendra and Edi, who are both literature teachers, they saw the interconnection between language and culture as being concretely represented and manifested in literary works.

7.1.7   The relation between culture and religion.

Whereas there were some differences of opinion between the interviewees, and often some tensions or contradictions presented by individuals about the notion of culture, the data reveal a much stronger level of consistency regarding views on the interrelationship between culture and religion. Unlike the common belief held by Western scholars, who generally view religion as an element or product of culture, the teachers in this study tended to see religion as transcending culture. This, for example, is reflected in Bayu's statements below:

> Considering the existing literature on culture, it shows that culture is temporary in nature, it will die out, and it is locally-bounded, but religious values are eternal. (Bayu, pre-observation interview, 15/09/2010, my translation)

> We should not be ... trapped in a cultural practice that disadvantages the human race. So this means ... there's a subjective aspect to this, based on my

long journey of observing the development of a culture, there are cultural practices that are useful ... for instance, in terms of non-material cultures—principles regulating ways of life, but they are temporary. Then there are cultural practices that are undying, namely values emanating from religion. Those are eternal and will guide people to a blissful life in this world and the hereafter. Now, culture and religion are two different things ... my principle: do not abandon religious values for the sake of cultural practices. (Bayu, pre-observation interview, 15/09/2010, my translation)

Bayu was the most outspoken on issues regarding religion and culture. The fact that he said "culture and religion are different things", however, seems to imply the presence of a 'dual view' within him, which also appears to have been held by the other teachers, such as Sandra. It seems to me that, while these teachers agreed with the 'common' theoretical knowledge based on the existing literature that religion is a constituent of culture, underneath there appeared to lie a personal, firmer belief that notions of religion dominate or even supplant notions of culture. This is evident in Sandra's statements below, which were a response to a question asked by a student during a class I observed. Sandra and the students were discussing the notion of culture and its iceberg metaphor:

> Student: Is religion a part of culture or a product of culture?
> Sandra: According to some people, religion is a product of culture. ... I know that Islam is a religion from God. Islam is not Arabic culture. (Research journal, 8/10/2010)

Sandra proceeded to provide two 'answers' to the student's question: one based on the 'common theory', from which she distanced herself ("according to some people") and the other stemming from her own personal belief. She, however, appeared to be reluctant to discuss the issue further. Likewise, a similar kind of 'duality' emerged in Benny's statements as we conversed about his classroom practices. While emphasising the importance of providing students with choices and the opportunity to "negotiate" and come up with their own "interpretation[s]" in the class, he implied that certain areas are definitely *not* negotiable, referring to one of the foundations of Islam, i.e. the concept of monotheism ("the *tauhid*"). He spoke of religion constituting "truth" while he indicated that in the realm of 'worldly' knowledge, such as "literary theory", "semiotics" and "cultural studies", "it is believed that there is no such thing as truth". The use of the passive form ("it is believed") in the sentence just mentioned, however, makes it unclear whether he also held such a view.

As I sat in various classes doing my observations, the incorporation of religious values in the teachers' everyday teaching became evident, though some asserted them more prominantly than others, thus appearing to form a hidden curriculum. Sometimes, the delivery of these messages was quite subtle, conveyed as snippets of wisdom; at other times, however, the teachers directly referred to Islamic texts such as the Holy *Qur'an* and *hadith*[18]. At one time in one of his beginning sessions, for example, as Hendra tried to engage the students in the discussion of 'what is literature?' and conveyed the importance of developing an appreaciation towards literary works, he said:

> Literature ... directly relates to the most fundamental aspect of our being— words, language. In my opinion, once people have acquired knowledge about literature ... I don't think it will be too difficult for them to connect with others. And it is a part of the humanities that, I think, is most sophisticated. I don't mean to exaggerate about literature, but I think it's because literature directly relates to the most fundamental aspect of every culture—language. Yes, the metaphor is in the *Qur'an*, the one in *Al-Baqarah*[19] verses 30 until 35. ... When God informed ... the angels... that He[20] would prepare a representative of God on Earth ... and He taught Adam to name things, and so the angels bowed. ... I think that's a linguistic act—Adam's ability to name things taught by God. This means, actually humans' biggest capital, to me, is their linguistic capacity to manage the world ... identifying the world through language. ... Not only understanding ... but also constructing the world. (Hendra, pre-observation interview, pp. 11-12, my translation)

It appears that the teachers' articulation in the classroom—be it explicit or implicit—of religious values, which are often considered as deeply personal, cannot be detached from the culturally-embedded notion of the teacher as a moral guide (see Chapter Five). I also noticed that the more strongly teachers felt about this role, the more often they shared with the class their 'personal wisdom', which was often in the form of religious values exemplified above.

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[18] *Hadith* is the collection of Prophet Muhammad and his companions' actions and statements. They are regarded as important tools for understanding the *Qur'an* and in matters of jurisprudence.

[19] *Al-Baqarah* is the name of the second Chapter in the Holy *Qur'an*.

[20] Actually the third person pronoun in Indonesian does not distinguish gender.

7.2   Images of the Different 'Layers' of Culture

As previously discussed, the teachers in this study tended to perceive the notion of culture as having "strata", being constituted of a variety of "sub-cultures" or "sub-groups". In this section, I identify the teachers' assumptions and the images they constructed regarding particular 'large' and 'small' cultural groupings. The two most prominent conceptions of large cultures emerging from the data are "the West" and "Indonesia", which was unsurprising given that most of our conversations were framed within the context of language and culture pedagogy. In the previous chapter I showed how the notion of English as capital, along with narratives of the West—both as geographical and socio-psychological notions—have powerfully permeated Indonesia's education arena. For some, these narratives can generate feelings of glorification and romanticisation or feelings of hatred and oppression, as I will show shortly. Meanwhile, the small cultures colouring my conversations with these academics pointed to constructions of academic and institutional cultures and their 'inhabitants', most notably teachers and students. In these instances, the teachers were frequently making comparisons between what they perceived as two cultural poles—the East and the West. In effect, I see constant processes of othering and otherisation, despite some aspects of the teachers' intellectualising of the dynamic nature of culture. This inconsistency or tension, in turn, might send mixed messages to students learning the English language, which could ultimately impact their own understandings and beliefs about the language.

In what follows I present three interrelated sub-themes: (1) *images of Indonesia's national culture and identity*, (2) *images of the West*, (3) *images of the academic culture 'here' and 'there'*. All of these sub-themes emerged from the data. I connect these images to particular cultural models where relevant.

7.2.1   Images of Indonesia's national culture and identity.

In inquiring into the teachers' constructed images of Indonesia, it was helpful for me to bear in mind that, although some of the portrayals could be seen as stereotypical, these representations did not emerge out of nowhere. These constructions have histories, and they can often be traced to particular cultural models or local philosophies that have presumably been shared among members of that community. These cultural models, while generally operating unconsciously at the mental level, serve to give meaning and structure to everyday activities and practices. They provide "explanatory theories" (Gee, 1999, p. 43) to assist the interpretation of individual perceptions and experiences. While none of

the teachers themselves identified these cultural models as such, I believe, as an analytical tool, the concept can help to illuminate these teachers' tacit knowledge, assumptions or attitudes displayed at particular times during the data generation process. This, in turn, helps to provide a deeper understanding of contexts and the teachers' identity work.

One of the most common 'cultural labels', as articulated by the teacher participants, attached to Indonesians as a society is that it is collectivist in nature. In Nancy's view (see Section 7.1.4), this collectivist orientation manifests itself at the classroom level in behaviours such as students "always want[ing] to sit together with their friends", "not feel[ing] confident if they are separated from their friends", and "their tendency to share assignments resulting in essays that are "the same", which Nancy finds "shocking" and "problematic". About her students, she also said "they never really could generate an [individual] opinion" as things "should always be within the approval of the peers". Drawing on this 'small' context, she then makes a generalisation about Indonesians as a national entity: "On a bigger scale, this gives us an idea why it's difficult for us to make a decision or to find a solution to a problem; because that's how collectivist societies work".

Despite the various criticisms launched at Hofstede's work on cultural categorisations (e.g., Holliday, 2011; Voronov & Singer, 2002), his work appears to continue to serve as a basis for explaining social behaviours and relationships in many research studies (e.g., Basabe & Ros, 2005; Dardjowidjojo, 2001; Heyward, 2009; Way & Lieberman, 2010). Likewise, as suggested in Nancy's statements above, Hofstede's cultural framework would seem to have become a 'natural' way of talking about cultural practices and identification. In the literature, the concept of 'collectivism' is commonly pitted against 'individualism', in the same way 'egalitarianism' is juxtaposed with 'hierarchy'. As a cultural model, individualist culture has commonly been constructed as promoting self-determination, autonomy and uniqueness while core aspects of collectivist beliefs are seen to comprise a sense of duty and obligation towards the group, emphasising harmony and "interactional" orientation (i.e., focusing on how one's actions affect others), rather than "inner", experience (Basabe & Ros, 2005).

Although I recognise the pitfalls of defining cultures this way, Nancy's views above invoke certain cultural models that would serve to explain the roots of this "collectivist" nature of Indonesians. While, generally speaking, it is difficult to pin down what constitutes 'Indonesianness', as the nation consists of hundreds of ethnic groups, the idea of collectivism as a core belief can be traced to local philosophies held by many ethnic groups within the country. In the context of Java Island—the research context—these groups

comprise the Sundanese and Javanese, two of the largest ethnic groups in Indonesia. Often, these philosophies are embedded in oral traditions, such as *peribahasa* (proverbs) and *pantun* (traditional poetry) and ancient literary texts. For example, 'Sanghyang Siksa Kandang Karesyan', a Sundanese text written in 1518, has often been referred to as a text containing "Sundanese philosophies" (Rosidi, 2006), which delineate values in regard to (1) humans as personal beings; (2) humans and social relationships; (3) humans and nature; (4) humans and the Creator; and (5) humans and their ambitions. This text is believed to provide philosophical guidance on the outlook of life and teaches one to always be "loyal to the leader" ("*mana dipajar satya dikahulunan*"), respectful and devoted:

> Desiring what the king hates, hating what the king loves. That is not appropriate for a *hulun* (bodyguard) to do. We should obey the king … so that we can be acknowledged as *hulun* for long by the king. … Look at the leader. If the king is angry, we, too, have to be angry [in the same way he does]. If the king praises, we, too, have to praise along with him. If we don't praise or disapprove along with the king, that is a sign that we are not being obedient to the king. ('Sanghyang Siksa Kandang Karesyan', 1518, my translation; see also Appendix 6 for the original text in Old Sundanese and the Indonesian translation by Sundanologi [1987], as cited in Adriansyah [2010])

Using the metaphors of "king" and "bodyguard", the text imprints a strong sense of duty and obligation among individuals within the community. Similarly, such values have also been emphasised in the Javanese traditions, as reflected in the philosophical constructs of '*manut lan miturut*', which demands total obedience, '*sabda pendita ratu*', which makes one take an elder or a leader's words as the 'truth' and that of '*ewuh pekewuh*', which requires people to be sensitive to others' feelings and avoid conflict or controversy (Dardjowidjojo, 2001; Heyward, 2009; Suseno, 1997).

In the literature, these cultural models of collectivism and individualism have come to be associated with two opposing cultural poles: the East and the West. These two cultural orientations have been drawn significantly to define one's cultural identity. In being set up as binary opposites, however, one 'label' is often considered to be more privileged than the other, hence opening up discourses of Othering (cf. Pennycook, 1998). This negativity, too, is projected in Nancy's portrayal of the collectivist society, implying a lack of autonomy and self-determination, which make the people ineffective problem-solvers. Further, Sundanese scholar Ajip Rosidi (2006) sees the values contained in collectivism as reflecting the mentality of the colonised. Indeed, in much of the Western literature,

collectivist society is generally associated with characteristics that imply incompetence (e.g., lack of independence, inability in planning and organising, and so on), whereas individualist society has often been portrayed as the desirable one, promoting personal responsibility, autonomy and critical thinking, among others (see Holliday, 2011).

Said's seminal work *Orientalism* (1978) has drawn attention to the discourses through which the West constructed (and continues to construct) the East, and Said identifies these discourses as deeply rooted in "Eurocentric universalism" (Barry, 2002, p.193) due to the long-standing European colonialism and imperialism. Projecting a Self-Other dichotomy, the West has constructed itself as the 'Center', being superior to the East. According to Said, Orientalism is a way "by which European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightment period" (1978, p. 3). In view of this, the collectivist-individualist approach, along with the 'labels' attached to them, could be seen, in part, as one manifestation of the aforementioned Self-Other dichotomy constructed by 'the West', where 'the East' as the Periphery functions as a negative mirror image of 'the Centre-West'. Further reflection on Nancy's statements above would thus seem to indicate that Nancy has surrendered to the dominant narratives constructed by the West and falls into an act of "self -marginalization" (Kumaravadivelu, 2006, p. 22).

Yet, one has to acknowledge the complexities and nuances here. While some might see collectivism as the cause of some assumed national incapacity to self-determination and autonomy, I believe it also contains values worthy of praise such as those embedded with the Indonesian concept of *rukun* (harmony) and *gotong-royong* (mutual assistance). Additionally, defining cultures merely in collectivist-individualist terms tends to elide or completely efface individuals' lived experiences and their exposure to diverse social contexts, which, in fact, need to be brought to the fore if we are to truly understand the complexity of cultural processes.

Highlighting a different aspect of Indonesia's national culture, Bayu connects it to the idea of religiosity, which he believes to be deeply entrenched within the society as a result of its "climatic conditions". He implies that being religious is a 'natural' state for Indonesians:

> Indonesia, we must understand, is a religious society and the majority—Islam was accepted in Indonesia because Indonesians were already religious [when the religion was first introduced in the archipelago]. Indonesia's climatic conditions brought the people to believe in God. ... When Hinduism [and] Buddhism came, they were welcomed with open arms by the people. Although

there were weaknesses within these religions, such as the existence of social strata and the like, the existence of the Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Sudra classes, the people still accepted them. And when Islam came—a religion that recognises no social classes—it was, again, welcomed with open arms. So, the concept of religion, which has become 'culturised', is deeply embedded within the Indonesian society. (Bayu, pre-observation interview, 15/09/2010, my translation)

He then turned his attention to Indonesia's current situation in which he perceived it as being "injected" by "foreign viruses" such as democracy and liberalism, which he considered to be ideologies from the West. On this note, he also explained how Indonesia's economy—from small to large scale aspects—has been significantly driven by "Western theories of economy". Referring to capitalism, Bayu 'blamed' the West for destroying local wisdoms and traditions. He also implied a cause-and-effect relationship between the spread of "Western viruses" and the emergence of "a secular society", in which "religion is taken only at the physical level", only as "rituals" and "ceremonies", whereas "religion as a guiding principle in living a social life" is falling apart.

In this part of the conversation, Bayu was, again, projecting a very negative image of 'the West', sounding as if it was attempting to create a counter-discourse to dominant narratives. According to Chen (2010), the West as an 'idea' has performed a wide range of functions in relation to nationalist discourses:

> [The West] has been an opposing entity, a system of reference, an object from which to learn, a point of measurement, a goal to catch up with, an intimate enemy, and sometimes an alibi for serious discussion and action. For the past few centuries, "the West as method" has become the dominant condition of knowledge production. ... It is a framework used to categorize different societies and their characteristics. ... It is the basic criterion by which the backward and disposable is differentiated from the desirable and progressive. (Chen, 2010, pp. 216-7)

In the third world, this "fatal distraction" (Dirlik, 1997, as cited in Chen, p. 217) has made the West "the object of both desire and resentment" (Chen, p. 217). Such tension has been clearly manifested in the teachers' polarising views of English—a language that has come to be associated with a 'product' of the West. The pull between desiring and resenting,

loving and hating, has been reflected in the emerging questions: 'Is English an empowering tool or a foreign virus?', 'Is it a blessing or a threat?' (See Section 6.1)

Similar to the teachers' construction of the English language discussed in the previous chapter, here, too, cultural identification and models continue to be conceptualised in binary terms, thus furthering processes of Otherisation. It would seem that, as indicated in many of the statements Bayu made in relation to discourses of English and the West, he has a deep desire to protect and preserve his cultural and religious beliefs and practices—the "local wisdoms"—which he sees are being threatened by cultural flows from the West. Cultural critic Arjun Appadurai (1996), as well as other sociologists such as Roland Robertson (1992), however, would argue that cultural processes and flows do not occur unilaterally, but rather bidirectionally, shaping and reshaping each other in creative but also chaotic ways and promoting both "cultural homogeneity *and* cultural heterogeneity" (Robertson, 1992, p. 173, original emphasis)—a process which he has termed "glocalization". These scholars contend that processes of globalisation and localisation are so complex that one needs to move beyond the Self-Other dichotomy. Such processes of glocalisation appear to have been confirmed by Rosidi (2006), who, in his attempt to define Sundanese philosophy, has come to the realisation, upon intensive and extensive analysis, that what the Sundanese have long understood as their 'local wisdoms' are in fact syncretism of Indian, Javanese and Islamic values.

Similarly, the idea of religiosity attached to Indonesians, as Bayu indicated above, is more precisely a cultural construct rather than an inherent quality of the people that has been brought about by certain "climatic conditions". As put forward by many writers (e.g., Kipp, 1993; Sumardjo, 2003), religiosity is an important concept in the construction of Indonesia's national identity. The cultural politics within the nation have been played out in such a way that religion has become one of the most fundamental identity markers, and this, among others, is reflected in the requirement to state one's religion in the official identification card. *Pancasila*, the Indonesian state ideology, also lays its first and foremost foundation on the 'belief in the one God' (*Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa*). Thus, the image of Indonesia as a religious society cannot be detached from the workings of state politics and ideology. Yet, the fact that Bayu sees religiosity as having been "culturised" within the society reinforces his conception of culture as having, in all its dynamism, a more stable core that is sustained by collective lived experience.

Bayu also underlined Indonesia as a multicultural society but one within which the local philosophy of harmony and the national ideology, unity within diversity, have been

disrupted by issues of homogenisation. Here, he spoke of cultural conflicts and the role of the government in "civilising" certain ethnic minorities, such as those belonging to the Isolated Indigenous Communities (*Komunitas Adat Terpencil* or KAT):

> Indonesia … is a multicultural nation. Multicultural, embracing pluralism. … But within it lie common values … universal values. It has great humanitarian values, although now there are conflicts and the like. A conflict, actually, is a form of problem solution. But cultural understanding across ethnicities is missing. So understanding of other ethnic groups is necessary. Then again, it's all up to the authority. The authority. As in the case of KAT—*Komunitas Adat Terpencil*—in Irian, Kalimantan, [etc.], on the one hand, they're assets to the tourism industry; on the other hand, they are also the children of the nation who deserve to be civilised, according to one version. And civilisation is highly subjective. Civilised like what? 'We are already civilised,' [they say]. 'Yes.' 'We are comfortable this way.' But there are universal values that we must introduce to them, regardless of how much material benefit the government gets due to the many tourists coming into the country. … Okay, these people may feel comfortable with the way they are … but it's the government's responsibility to raise their awareness and initiate change. They must be guided and transformed by the government itself, though the government should also realise that clashes happening in Irian are actually one form of problem solution. (Bayu, pre-observation interview, 15/09/2010, my translation)

As a multicultural society, Indonesia comprises over 300 ethnic groups, and a number of these ethnic groups belong to the Isolated Indigenous Communities or *Komunitas Adat Terpencil* (KAT). Despite the 'local wisdom' of living in harmony, Indonesia's history has witnessed an array of inter-ethnic conflicts (see Chapter One), which, as many cultural observers assert, have stemmed from a lack of cross-cultural understanding. In Bayu's view, the responsibility to raise such an understanding rests largely on "the authority". Though tied to the same nation, the indigenous people, as Bayu indicated above, do not share "common values" with the majority of Indonesians.

The issue of whether or not these indigenous communities need to be "civilised" had also been raised in class. Though the students had diverse opinions, Bayu as the teacher reinforced his view that these communities needed to be "guided and transformed" by the government. These communities, as he explained to the class, were far from modernity,

and he referred to those men who still only wear *koteka*[21] instead of being 'properly' dressed. He implied that, because these people had a different worldview, it might seem normal for them to use violence as a problem solution. As he spoke more elaborately about this issue, both inside to his students and outside the class to me, it became evident that he was criticising the government for their lack of initiative to "guide" these indigenous people and "change" their ways of life. He made it clear that they deserved equal treatment as they are also "the children of the nation". He was accusing "the authority" of prioritising its own agendas, such as obtaining "material benefit" from the tourism industry through the existence of *KAT*, rather than considering the welfare of these people. In these respects, Bayu's representation of reality appeared to contradict his idealisation of the Indonesian nation, which he believes to have "great humanitarian values". In the above excerpt of an interview with me, it is also not clear what he meant by "universal values" ("there are universal values that we must introduce to them") or what their manifestations are; placed in its current context, the statement only indicates an instance of subjectivity pointing to *his* particular way of seeing the world, revealing only "one version" of reality. Locating Bayu's positionality towards the issue of *KAT*, I feel that there was some degree of tension in his statements; while, on the one hand, there was a noticeable effort on his part to understand these communities as he spoke in their favour, his word choices (e.g., the need for them to be "changed", "transformed" and "civilised") indicate that he saw these indigenous groups, whether he realised it or not, as "culturally deficient" (Holliday, 2011, p. 79). Speaking in the American education context, Gorski (2008) draws on a similar discourse of "eradicat[ing] inequality by 'fixing' deficient people", in which 'fixing' has come to mean assimilating minorities "into the very structures and value systems that oppress them" (p. 518).

At this juncture, there seems to be some degree of parallels between the nation's efforts to 'civilise' *KAT* and the perceived mission of the English language to 'civilise' Indonesia. It should be pointed out that all of the teachers I interviewed come from the dominant ethnic groups (Sundanese and Javanese), and it seems that, to a great extent, their conceptions of interculturality also conform to the dominant discourses within the nation. For instance, in the case of Bayu, while clearly acknowledging the need to be tolerant in promoting intercultural understanding, it is less clear who is actually being tolerant to whom.

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[21] *Koteka* is a sheath to cover the genitals, traditionally worn by native male inhabitants of ethnic communities in Irian.

7.2.2   Images of 'the West'.

As indicated in many of the statements made by the teachers of this study, 'the West' was generally considered to be a significant cultural universe, though different participants related to it in quite diverse, and sometimes even conflicting, ways. While Bayu, for example, tended to portray the West as an oppressive global force, some others perceived it as a cultural entity that signifies advancement and a wealth of knowledge, hence a highly important point of reference. Discourses about 'the West', however, were almost always spoken about in binary terms, reinforcing the idea of "the modern West and the backward Rest" (Fougére & Moulettes, 2007). Yet, in the many conversations I had with these teachers, the notion of 'the West' was never clearly defined. Its meaning, it appears, was subsumed under the assumption that there is only 'one West' and, consequently, no clarification or further explanation was needed. Nonetheless, I sensed that the construction of the East-West dichotomy and the perhaps stereotypical representations that come along with it were so deeply rooted in the teachers' cultural conceptualisations that, for instance, a behaviour that did not conform to these stereotypes was perceived as an exception rather than "a reality in its own right" (Holliday, 2011, p. 7). Sandra's experience below illustrates this point:

> Isti: Tell me about your experiences as an interpreter. Have you ever encountered some kind of cultural issues with the resource persons?
>
> Sandra: Oh, many times! [laughs]
>
> Isti: Tell me.
>
> Sandra: Especially during the early years when it was the first time I came into contact with people from different cultures in work setting. Because their expectations are different from Indonesians and …
>
> Isti: Sorry to interrupt. Who are these people?
>
> Sandra: Mostly Europeans. And what was crucial is the time concept. So in the beginning of my work, I struggled … to be punctual and also in managing many tasks at hand and meeting certain deadlines. So I thought that five minutes late was okay or sometimes I came just *just* [her emphasis] in time for the session … but they were furious because they said, 'you have to be here thirty minutes before the session starts'. So yeah I argued a lot about that, and then after a while I got used to it and forced myself to be punctual [laughs].
>
> Isti: Any other issues?

> Sandra: Non-verbal communication. Many times they just addressed and pointed at me, instead of calling my name, they just said, "hey, translator!". So yes … yeah I didn't take it that well.
>
> Isti: So you were kind of offended?
>
> Sandra: Yes, of course. … Yes I was offended …
>
> Isti: You weren't used to it.
>
> Sandra: But to my surprise also, I had interpreted for an American—a medical doctor. He was not at all like what I had encountered before. He was, if I can say, too polite or maybe because I was used to having to be very direct to the point way of speaking of German speakers. So whenever he finished his share of speech, he just said, "do you want to translate?" and my mind kind of wondered why did he ask me whether I wanted to translate or not? It's supposed to be my job, [whereas] previous resource speakers just said "translate!". (Pre-observation interview, 27/09/2010)

The above excerpt suggests how dominant discourses surrounding individualism-collectivism contribute to shaping an interpretation of personal experience, in which Sandra is constructing a 'reality' through positioning herself against cultural Others. As I have previously explained, the cultural models of individualism and collectivism have been constructed to entail essential differences in ways of being and doing. In many of the commercial intercultural textbooks, these differences have been perceived to manifest in, among others, communication styles, thinking patterns, conceptions of face, orientation towards time, and so on. Although elsewhere in the conversation Sandra said that the notion of culture does not necessarily represent a national entity, in this context "different cultures" *does* refer to different geographical nationalities. She indicated "different expectations" to be the main source of misunderstandings arising in her interactions with non-Indonesians, portraying Europeans and Americans as "punctual" and "direct", while she "struggled" and had to "force" herself to be organised and be strict with time. Sandra is clearly defining herself through difference here. Indeed, many postcolonial and feminist theorists believe that identity can only gain significance through difference (see Arber, 2002). It appears that for Sandra the differing cultural models here only serve to confirm those already held beliefs about the Westerners. The fact that she was surprised to find an American resource person not fitting with the stereotypes—being "too polite" and not very direct in requesting—suggests "the existence of some kind of mental *apriorisms*" (Dungaciu, 1999, p. 3, original emphasis), a priori judgements she made about Westerners,

and that these judgements have clearly been found to conform to the dominant discourses embedded within the 'Eastern-Western' cultural differences.

Many cross-cultural and intercultural communication textbooks have treated collectivism and individualism as two "prototypes" of national culture (Triandis, 2004, p. ix). They refer to North Americans of European backgrounds, North and West Europeans, Australians and New Zealanders as those belonging to individualist cultures, while Latin Americans, Southern Europeans, East and South Asians and Africans are considered people from collectivist cultures. However, as illustrated in the previous section, the teachers' reference to "the West" sometimes transcends this geographical dimension, though the term is still utilised in a vague and generalising manner. On this note, I share Holliday's (2011, pp. 10-11) opinion:

> What the individualism-collectivism distinction does provide ... is at least a hint of an imagined division in the minds of those who use it of something approaching a geographical division between the 'West' and the 'non-West'. These terms [however] have a problematically unclear nature, hovering between geography and psychological concept, to the extent that it is impossible to use them in a logical, consistent manner, while at the same time using them is unavoidable because they are on everyone's lips. (Holliday, 2011, pp. 10-11)

It has been generally acknowledged among social and political scholars that the idea of 'the West' represents an abstraction and that the term is highly contested. Its meaning, as Lean (2010) observes, "fluctuates over time, often in response to various historical circumstances" (p. 19). While 'the West', in general, has come to signify a cultural entity marked by technological and industrial advancement, knowledge, wealth, and power, Dungaciu (1999) has shown that discourses of 'the West' are not all homogeneous. Seen from a geographical angle, even *within* Europe itself there is an East-West dichotomy. Due to its ambiguous nature, some scholars thus tend to see 'the West' as representing more of an "imaginary" (Chen, 2010) or "psychological" (Holliday, 2011) rather than a purely geographical entity.

In spite of this debate, I believe with Baker (2011) that cultural stereotyping is inevitable in initial interactions in intercultural communication. What needs to be of concern is how to develop an ability to step beyond such a position. This issue will be further elaborated in the next chapter. Going back to Sandra's experiences above, I am curious to investigate

whether such directness (e.g., saying in the imperative "translate") is common in the field, perhaps for the sake of convenience, as time is a crucial element in these situations. This, however, would then shift the focus from national cultural differences to a specific community's discourses.

Many of the images of 'the West' constructed by the teachers, as my conversations with them revealed, deal with cultural stereotypes. Speaking in the context of colonial times, Hendra highlighted an act of disbelief, in the face of cultural chauvinism, shown by Dutch writers towards local literary traditions:

> Note that the term 'literature' long before we got into contact with Europe, which was made possible through colonialism by the Dutch or ... the Portuguese ..., actually we had already had our own understanding about literature. Especially as a result of the *Nusantara*'s interface with South Asia, India, which was facilitated by Sanskrit. There's this artefact in Sundanese, written in the 16th century, which contained the word 'literature' used in the context of describing the ten characteristics of being learned. ... Amongst the ten characteristics, there's one: 'literary'. Interpreted in the current context, I think it relates to acts of writing and reading. ... Then we got into contact with Europe. The Dutch writers, as studied by Mikihiro, at first they wouldn't believe that there existed literature in the land of Sunda[22], and maybe anywhere within the archipelago, something that was qualified to be called 'literature' according to their standards, with all their arrogance ... yes, with their high profile image of self. It was only later that they acknowledged that *pantun*[23] is literature. Oh, *rajah*[24] is indeed literature. *Wawacan*[25] is literature, actually. (Hendra, pre-observation interview, 08/09/2010, my translation)

"The Dutch" here becomes a partial representation of the West; these "Dutch" are portrayed as having a "high profile image of self" and being "arrogant". I say 'partial' because, elsewhere, Hendra portrays a completely different image of the West. While the

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[22] The land of Sunda or *tatar Sunda* is the term commonly used to refer to West Java Province.

[23] *Pantun* is a traditional oral poetic form of expression.

[24] *Rajah* is ancient Sundanese melody.

[25] *Wawacan* refers to Sundanese epic poems.

portrayal in the colonial context tends to be rather negative, he elsewhere exhibits a more positive attitude towards the current era of globalisation, particularly with respect to the media for global communication. In the latter context, Hendra particularly views English as a powerful tool of empowerment that plays a critical role in, among others, bridging "local wisdoms" and "global civilisation".

As I have indicated in Chapter Six, discourses of and about the West are very often spoken in relation to the English language, situated particularly within academic contexts. Within the participants' narratives, whether implicitly or explicitly, intentionally or unintentionally, the images are so often constructed in such a way that binaries become ever-present. As I have shown in the case of Hendra above, it is not uncommon for one person to relate to the very same notion (e.g., the West) in many different, sometimes contradictory, ways. This is also what I found in Bayu. When Indonesia was placed alongside the West, he appeared to develop a strong sense of nationalism, but, he also spoke very critically of the authorities when discussing Indonesia's 'internal affairs'. This shows that individuals relate to their cultural realities in multiple and complex ways.

7.2.3 Images of the academic culture 'here' and 'there'.

Constant comparisons with 'the West' were not only made at the 'big culture' level but also at various 'small culture' levels, most notably those involving elements of the institutional/ academic culture. In different interviews, Hendra, for instance, hinted at the limited resources his institution had:

> I think teaching-learning activities shouldn't be placed in the classroom, but rather in the library. Students should study in the library. This is what I have in mind: "Friends [this is how Hendra often refers to his students in interviews], to study this, there are a number of books that need to be read. This, this, [and] this. … Tomorrow we'll meet again to discuss ….". But we have a problem [with such an approach]. We don't have a library, so to speak. We *do* have a 'formal' library. But the collection, system, etc., are not yet adequate. (Hendra, pre-observation interview, 08/09/2010, my translation)

Elsewhere, Hendra made an explicit comparison between his institution's lack of "software" and the ideal academic environment he found during his visit to a university in one of the BANA countries:

Hendra: To me, the campus is like a cultural laboratory. That's how I think it should be. I was at [an overseas university] visiting a colleague. [Offices were located along the corridor], it's like entering into a submarine. Walking out, I saw a library. "Wow, this is like a real laboratory." But then there was a café environment in certain places ...

Isti: Yeah, like a Campus Centre, yes?

Hendra: Uh-uh, Campus Centre. ... But we can also eat lunch on the grass. ... I want the campus to be like that in Indonesia, the campus functioning more like a cultural laboratory. So there must be books. There must be books, there must be knowledge. There must be knowledge, there must be a community. Frankly speaking, I feel that it's such a long way to go to be like that. To be working towards that. There may be signs [of getting there], but [for us] the challenge lies in the software. Not physical. (Post-observation interview, 24/11/2010, my translation)

I interpret "software" here to refer to human resources. Despite Hendra's remarks that the problems with his institution were more to do with the aspect of human resources, he *did* signal that they also, to a certain extent, dealt with physical resources, as indicated in the inadequacy he portrayed of the university library where he taught. Nancy, too, made an explicit comparison between the library where she studied and the one where she currently worked, while also indicating her fondness of the academic system abroad:

I enjoyed studying [abroad] because ... I had much opportunity ... to use library resources. ... Unfortunately the university's library where I am working is not resourceful. [Overseas] I ... learnt how to use scholarly journals appropriately using database. The classroom interaction between the teacher and the students were quite informal ... yet we still respect the teacher, because obviously they know more than us. In many ways, the atmosphere kind of motivated me in studying. I enjoyed the time studying there because ... the system there supported me to be an independent learner. (Nancy, pre-observation interview, 23/09/2010)

Early in the series of interviews, I asked Nancy about her recollections of her experience of studying abroad in a postgraduate degree. Two years after being assigned as a teacher assistant in the unit *Intercultural Communication*, Nancy had been sponsored to undertake postgraduate study in one of the BANA countries. She described the experience of cultural and educational border-crossing, engaging with Western academia, as "the most

invaluable experience" in terms of her personal growth and professional development. In particular, she appeared to have developed distinct fondness towards the academic "atmosphere" and the kind of teacher-student relationship that she was exposed to. She noted that "classroom interaction" could be "informal" without compromising the respect of the students for their teacher. She associated this "atmosphere" of informality and yet respect with the concept of egalitarianism, and a "supportive system" that enabled her to develop into "an independent learner".

Although Nancy's statements clearly indicate a personal viewpoint, reflecting her *own* attitude towards teachers, she chose to speak in the first person plural form 'we' to align herself with her peers in this attitude. In this regard, she identified strongly with other students. For her, students' respect for teachers is a function of their knowing more than the students; indeed, the teacher is positioned as the source of knowledge as if her knowledge is somehow channelled to students in a one way transmissive flow. While such an image may be at odds with Western notions of democratic teaching and learning (such as, for instance, how Dewey (1916/1961) has conceptualised it), the philosophy of being respectful to teachers has its roots in the Indonesian cultural tradition and its linkage is reflected in the etymology of the word 'teacher' itself. As I have explained, in the Indonesian language, 'teacher' is translated as '*guru*'. The word '*guru*' derives from Sanskrit, which entered Indonesia in early times, and was later on adopted into Javanese vocabulary as a short form of a Javanese rhyme, locally known as *Kirata Basa* (Widiyanto, 2005). In this context, '*guru*' stands for '*Sing diguGU lan ditiRU*', that is, somebody who deserves to be listened to and to be modelled upon. It should be no surprise then to hear that Nancy saw her main role in teaching as a "transmitter of knowledge", which she said, is not limited to theoretical knowledge but also practical wisdom gained through personal experience. In the classroom, however, Nancy told me that she sometimes felt the need to hold herself back from explicitly conveying her personal beliefs because of the students' tendency to, in her observation, "think that whatever the lecturer said is the absolute [truth]".

Intrigued by Nancy's perception of her students, I further asked Nancy and the other teachers what they thought of Indonesian students. I realised that I was posing a rather 'dangerous' question, as I was, one way or another, inviting them to generalise. However, I felt that it would be useful to know the extent to which the teachers' perceptions conform to the dominant discourses of 'Asian students'. The teachers generally agreed that their students tended to be 'passive' and 'submissive':

> [If I were to express the characteristics of Indonesian students] I would probably say that the first main characteristic is that they are quiet and passive. … They rarely participate actively in class discussion, and I think during your observation you can also see some of these characteristics … I think it's a part of—it's a cultural thing. … The students would see the lecturer as the main—as this 'master' that would give them [all] the information on the topic [being discussed]. (Nancy, post-observation interview, 30/11/2010)

> [Being passive is] a characteristic of Indonesians. It was also how I was [as a student]. … Another characteristic is their preference to sit at the back [of the class]. … Based on empirical research … how and where one is seated [in the class] are also a reflection of culture. Whether one is accustomed to sitting at the front, in the middle [row] or at the back, seating preference can also reflect one's orientation. … I've also noticed that once a student takes a seat at the back, that person will occupy the same position throughout [the academic years]. … They're generally like that, though there're empty chairs at the front. This reflects their lack of willingness to receive challenge, lack of confidence, lack of preparedness to learn, fear of being asked. That's why they choose to sit at the back. (Bayu, post-observation interview, 24/11/2010, my translation)

While some of the teachers explicitly referred to culture as the 'source of the problem', some others indicated some degree of reflexivity in their responses. In looking at the issue of students' passivity, Edi, for example, invited me to consider the institution's immediate surroundings and to scrutinise how the institutional practices (such as "how teaching materials … have been delivered") might have contributed to the students' lack of participation. Likewise, Benny, who used English most of the time in the class, attributed the issue to lack of confidence in speaking the foreign language and emphasised the importance for teachers of knowing "the right button to push".

> Frankly speaking, I'm not sure [whether or not students' passivity is a cultural characteristic], but from what I see here, in this institution, that's how the students generally are. [They're] not active and do not challenge what their teachers say, for example. I wish they could be like that [challenge the teacher], establish communication between students and teachers, but I think the problem lies in their foundation. Lack of foundation[al understanding] makes them hesitant to voice their opinions. Maybe it *does* relate to their

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upbringing, but I prefer looking at the issue from the academic side, how teaching materials, at this institution, for instance, have been delivered. They don't appear to have raised the students' critical thinking. (Edi, post-observation interview, 01/12/2010, my translation)

[In my classes] most of the time students do not contribute to the discussion. Perhaps because … we discuss a lot of technical terms. But when it comes to … lessons that relate to their experience as an individual … the class [becomes] actively involved in the discussion, even though when I say 'actively involved' it means that … I need to, you know, like I need to 'sweat' to really encourage them to talk, but at least they try. … Perhaps one of the reasons why many of our students do not contribute actively in the classroom, in English class, perhaps because they are not really confident about their English. But when we, as teachers, know the right button to push, they can actually I mean they *do* take risks, come up with ideas and many of their ideas are really, you know, brilliant. (Benny, post-observation interview, 26/11/2010)

[Students' passivity]—a characteristic? Maybe. And it's understandable, because maybe they're culturally not accustomed [to speaking their mind]. It's the culture, I think. A product of culture. Our children—my children, for example, when being asked by others, don't always respond by themselves. And we, as parents, unconsciously tend to be prompted to answer those questions directed to our children. … Perhaps, it shouldn't be so. But we don't even realise the act of doing it. Also, they [the students] hardly ask questions. They keep their aspirations unarticulated. To those who are older, they feel hesitant … fearful, even. … What's dangerous is when we [teachers] are regarded as the ones 'who know it all' in the class, so it's difficult for them to challenge [the teacher]. … So they become passive. Our paternalistic culture is so strong. I think it's a product of a paternalistic culture, generally speaking— though there are always one or two students who appear to be active. Now, students can be more active if you have a smaller class size, on certain conditions, that is. With a big class, it's just plain difficult. Or maybe there are weaknesses on our part as teachers. That's how I feel. Maybe the materials do not interest them. … What scares me most, 'maybe I don't connect with their world'. That's the scariest of all. (Hendra, post-observation interview, 24/11/2010, my translation)

In his observation over many years as a language educator and scholar, Kumaravadivelu (2008) identifies three persistent stereotypes about Asian students: (1) being blindly obedient to authority, (2) lacking critical thinking skills, and (3) being passive. These, it turned out, were also the very representations portrayed by my teacher participants of their students. To some extent, the concept of cultural model has been helpful in revealing how these images have come to be constructed. The adoption, reinforcement and perpetuation of certain cultural values and local philosophies, as I have explicated earlier, can serve to explain why many Indonesian students, for example, may be hesitant in speaking their mind in the class, let alone challenging the teacher. Reverence for authority, in this context, can be understood in relation to the common perception of teachers as '*guru*' and the highly upheld values of being respectful and obedient to those of higher positions. Viewed this way, the idea of critical thinking thus also needs to be understood through a cultural framework. As Fox (1994) argues, the strong emphasis on critical thinking in the academia "is based on assumptions and habits of mind that are derived from Western—or more specifically U.S.—culture, and that this way of thinking and communicating is considered the most sophisticated, intelligent, and efficient by only a tiny fraction of the world's peoples" (p. xxi). In the same vein, through an aphoristic statement, Atkinson (1997) contends that "critical thinking is cultural thinking" (p. 89), and points out that even in the United States critical thinking is shown only by certain strata of the society. Likewise, passivity or silence in the classroom cannot always be interpreted as being *un*critical. Phan and Li's (2012) study, for instance, has shown that silence can also be seen as a classroom strategy employed by students to signal disagreement and, therefore, a means of resistance.

In spite of these arguments, ultimately, I believe it is simply insufficient to single out culture as the sole factor in studying classroom behaviour. As Kumaravadivelu (2003) rightly points out: "Classroom behaviors … are the result of a complex interface between several social, cultural, economic, educational, institutional, and individual factors. … Therefore, looking at the classroom communicational behaviour … predominantly through the cultural lens will result in nothing more than a one-dimensional caricature of these learners" (p. 714). It is for this reason that multi-faceted dimensions of context, as an analytical tool, are of prime importance to this study.

7.3   Concluding Remarks

Much of this chapter has focused on revealing the complexities embedded in the concept of culture. While there is strong evidence that many of the teachers engaged in this study

draw on anthropological understandings of culture, they also indicate shifting definitions of the term, depending on the contexts of the discussion. Generally speaking, culture has been conceptualised as layered and multi-faceted, encompassing 'small entities', such as the classroom, the family and academic institutions, and larger ones such as ethnic groups, nationalities and even a particular part of the universe—'the West'. All of the responses conveyed by the teachers in this chapter invariably point to the complex interrelationships among these different 'layers' of culture. Yet, I sensed that some of these teachers assumed the existence of a homogeneous understanding when speaking about the concept.

Despite the complexity and the dynamic of the teachers' conceptualisations of culture, it is evident that the logic of binarism—the self-other dichotomy—is constantly utilised in constructing the various cultural groupings, with 'the West' being consistently portrayed as simultaneously the object of desire and resentment. As an abstraction, the West seems to have become a significant point of reference in defining one's self. On another level, these teachers' discourses serve to indicate how teaching is indeed ideological (Pachler et al., 2006). They show that teachers also have their own deeply held beliefs and sets of values and that they may transmit, whether consciously or not, these beliefs and values in the act of teaching. While there is evidently the need to contest dominant narratives that have been constructed and perpetuated by the West, as teachers it is equally important that we are aware of our own implicit assumptions and presuppositions so that we are not seen as 'imposing' our own prejudices on students and so we do not fall into an act of furthering the process of othering.

In the next chapter, I inquire into (1) the teachers' theorisation of interculturality and (2) the perceived practice of it in the classroom. As I was committed to generating nuanced accounts of these teachers' intercultural pedagogy and the subject-specific nature of it, I present the second part of the chapter as cases, highlighting the teachers' 'significant moments'. In this part, drawing on the teachers' conceptualisations of culture as I have elaborated here, I select and focus on classroom-related cultural issues pertinent to the interests of the study.

Chapter 8

Teaching Interculturally: Reflection and Implementation

In the third chapter of this thesis, "ELT, Interculturality and Teacher Identity", I surveyed and critically engaged with the literature that identifies conditions believed to have triggered the 'birth of the intercultural' in the field of education. I considered the objectives of various intercultural projects at global, national and individual levels (Bleszynska, 2008). I also examined a range of theoretical insights into various understandings of what it means to be intercultural and what, specifically, their implications are for language teaching and learning (e.g., Byram, 1997; Sercu, 2005).

As previously noted, within the vast growing body of scholarship in these fields, discourses surrounding interculturality in the literature are commonly framed as a *discipline*, *pedagogy* and/or an *approach* (see Section 3.3.1). There are some distinctions to be drawn between these three terms, but it is important to acknowledge some interconnections as well. Some common threads that run across these terms are that they all seek to: (1) advocate an appreciation of diversity; (2) facilitate intercultural dialogue; and through this, (3) develop intercultural understanding.

More recently, however, a number of scholars in the field (Asante, Miike, & Yin, 2008; Gorski, 2008; Halualani, Mendoza, & Drzewiecka, 2009; Holliday, 2011; Kumaravadivelu, 2008) have cautioned against the danger of perpetuating and maintaining dominant hegemonies through studying or teaching a 'generic' form of intercultural studies. Specifically referring to the field of intercultural communication, Asante et al. (2008) for instance, regard the field as being prominently marked by "Eurocentric intellectual imperialism" (p.2). In the same vein, Holliday (2011) also explains how a Centre-Western "ideology of superiority" (p. ix) has informed the discourses of much of the field. His argument echoes the perspective put forward by cultural critic Robert Young (1995), who says "European culture defined itself by placing itself at the top of a scale against which all other societies or groups within a society were judged" (p. 94). Speaking to these concerns, Halualani et al. (2009) call for a 'critical turn' in intercultural communication studies, highlighting the need for scholars to develop critical engagement and perspectives in exploring intercultural communication concepts, relations and contexts as well as issues

of power and ideology. A similar view has also been voiced by Gorski (2008), who maintains that "shifts of consciousness" (p. 515) are imperative if intercultural educators are to decolonise intercultural education. It is within these debates that I situate the present study.

Having signalled all these concerns, I need to reiterate that in this study my primary concern is to explore the notion of interculturality as it relates to *pedagogy*. In the discussion that follows, there are, however, moments where this focus on pedagogy intersects with interculturality as a disciplinary concept. My close reading of interview data pertaining to the teachers' discourses on interculturality led to two distinct orientations, which I identify as 'inward' and 'outward' interculturality. I use the term 'inward interculturality' to refer to statements that reflect the teachers drawing on their own personal trajectories and becoming consciously and actively engaged with self-reflections in the meaning-making process of understanding 'interculturality'. The term 'outward interculturality', on the other hand, is intended to capture the teachers' projection of the concept of interculturality in their everyday teaching—that is, the manifestation of their 'inward interculturality' at the practical level in their teaching. While the diverse biographies and subjective experiences of the teachers inevitably resulted in differences in how they understood and theorised what being intercultural means (cf. Manara, 2012), they unanimously agreed that critical thinking was a fundamental pedagogical element in their efforts to develop the intercultural thinking of their students.

This chapter is divided into two major sections: (1) *Theorising interculturality* and (2) *Practising interculturality*. In the first section, drawing on the inward-outward orientations mentioned above, I present the following two themes: (1) *Personal trajectories and teachers' engagement with self-reflections* and (2) *Critical thinking and pedagogy for (inter)cultural understanding*. In the second section, *Practising interculturality*, I explore in greater detail how such pedagogy is enacted in the classroom.

8.1   Theorising Interculturality

Below, I look at how each teacher made sense of—through reflecting and making connections with their own lived experiences—the concept of interculturality, and how they projected it back on to their teaching. Due to the personal nature of this reflection and these trajectories, I have structured the following discussion around a consideration of one teacher at a time.

8.1.1   Personal trajectories and teachers' self-reflection.

Sandra

When I speak English, I feel like my personality changes. (Sandra, pre-observation interview, 27/09/2010)

Sandra is a teacher of *Intercultural Communication* at Indonesia National University (INU). She had only just started teaching at INU at the time this study was undertaken. Nonetheless, I found that, when raising the issue of interculturality in our conversations, she was among those who could connect to this discourse quite easily. When I asked her how she saw herself as an individual, without a minute of hesitation, she affirmed with an interjection that she was indeed "an intercultural person". Taking a glance at the piles of textbooks on her office table as we conversed, I noticed some of the texts that I myself had also come across as I dug deep into the literature of intercultural studies in the course of this PhD study.

Sandra never undertook any formal education study overseas. However, as she talked with me about her biography, I sensed that her awareness of her intercultural identity stemmed from her experiences as an interpreter. This work exposed her to a "multicultural environment" and to rich encounters with people of different national backgrounds. These lived experiences, she confirmed, continued to serve as invaluable teaching resources in her *Intercultural Communication* classes. In reflecting on her intercultural identity, she said that she often shifted perspectives when she interacted with people of different cultures. These shifts, she recalled, sometimes took place consciously and sometimes unconsciously. She felt the shift especially strongly when interacting with "English-speaking people". She said that she usually became more direct and more expressive in her interaction with them. Interestingly, the same effect did not usually occur when she spoke English in the classroom—"maybe because my subconscious tells me that they [my students] are Indonesians".

The kinds of shifts of perspective that Sandra referred to have been interpreted and theorised in a number of ways in the field of interculturality. Finnish interculturalist Fred Dervin (2010), for example, asserts that there are "diverse diversities of the self (and the other)" (p. 12). He points out that in any act of interaction each individual can construct varied representations of the self, and the notion of context, he emphasises, is a determining factor in the ways in which people (co-)construct their identities. This view

resonates strongly with a discursive approach to understanding identity, such as that espoused by Gee (1999; 2011b) in his conceptualisation of "situated identities" as an analytical tool in discourse analysis (see Sections 2.2 and 4.7.1). While Gee, taking on a discursive perspective, would argue that individuals enact different socially-situated identities (and use different social languages) in different settings, Guerra (1998), foregrounding the intercultural dimension of the phenomenon, defines "the ability to consciously and effectively move back and forth among as well as in and out of discourse communities" as an "intercultural literacy" (p. 258). Although Sandra perceived these sorts of shifts as mere "adjustment" and considered herself only to be doing what she thought was 'the right thing' for that particular context, Byram (1997), too, would say that such an ability can be understood as an aspect of intercultural competence. Byram maintains that realising the relativity and relationality of one's own culture to other cultures marks a fundamental step toward becoming intercultural.

Nancy

Nancy, like Benny (see below), used the metaphor of crossing frontiers or borders to help explain the formation of her intercultural identity. In all our conversations, both Nancy and Benny confirmed that their experiences abroad were "eye-opening", generating a state of awareness which Bhabha (1996) calls "doublings of … consciousnesses" (p. 58). They indicated that these experiences of border-crossing had helped them clarify some of the preconceptions they had about "Westerners". (For instance, not all Westerners eat with a knife and fork; nor do all Western teachers teach in "interactive ways".) Both of them claimed that their overseas experiences had helped them to be more "open-minded". Commenting on cultural differences, Nancy said, "they're *just* differences" (original emphasis), and in interacting with people of different cultural backgrounds, she said:

> I tend not … to judge people based on their cultural practices. I'd like to see people based on who they are. I mean for example the stereotypes of Bataknese [an ethnic group predominantly found in North Sumatra, Indonesia]: they like to shout, they're quite open and verbal but I don't see that influencing how I interact with them or any of my students coming from North Sumatra. But I tend to see them for who they are. If they are, for example, open or talkative I tend to consider them as personal traits, rather than … cultural stereotypes. (Nancy, pre- observation interview, 23/09/2010)

Drawing on Bennett's (1993) stages of "Intercultural Sensitivity", Nancy's acceptance of difference can be understood as an initial "ethnorelative" stage of acceptance, where people acknowledge and accept cultural differences without apparently being judgmental. However, Dervin (2010) would be sceptical about the kind of claims that Nancy was making about her response to view people simply on the basis of "who they are". He cautions that "there is a potential gap between discourses and acts", pointing out that people can make "interculturally correct" (p. 13) statements without actually sincerely believing in them. It is also for this reason that he criticises models of intercultural competence and guides for assessing discrete components of that competence (such as Byram, 2008). While agreeing that qualities such as openness, critical self-awareness and self-reflection are necessary elements in the development of one's intercultural competence, Dervin notes that "there is no way we can prove or test (or trust)" (p. 7) people's *genuineness*. Addressing these concerns, in this study, I have endeavoured to inquire into the teachers' interculturality more deeply by paying attention to both what the teachers *say* and what they *do* (though only within the boundaries of the classroom), hence dialogically linking their discourses to their practices.

Recalling her experience abroad, Nancy told me that she had made friends with people of various backgrounds and faiths, and through open interactions they developed mutual respect and understanding. She, for instance, recalled a time when her Australian friends joined in to celebrate Ramadhan[26] and remarked later in the conversation "I survived [as a Muslim]". Prior to her departure overseas, Nancy was especially anxious about revealing her religious identity as a Muslim through the wearing of a headscarf. Though she did not explicitly say why, I presumed she had been somewhat influenced by the media, which often portrays Islam as an unwelcome religion in Western societies. She was therefore pleasantly surprised when a 'foreign' classmate commented how beautiful her headscarf was.

Benny

Benny invariably framed his narratives of intercultural experiences within the context of his profession—i.e., an Indonesian teacher of English studying overseas. The experience of coming into contact with people who spoke their own varieties of English and of

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[26] Ramadhan is Muslims' holy month, where they are required to fast from dawn until dusk.

encountering new discourses in his professional field had opened up his mind, he said, prompting him to revisit his belief about native-like proficiency, which he previously had thought of as one of the primary goals of learning English. He now believed that, following the ideas of "multilingual English" and "World Englishes", it is no longer important for students to acquire native-like fluency.

While there appears to be some degree of tension, if not contradiction, in the stories Benny told about his time overseas (see Section 6.1.2), the experience of border crossing for him appears to have opened up new horizons that manifestly led to the growth of his professional identity. Various studies (e.g., Davcheva, 2003; lee Olson & Kroeger, 2001; Medina-Lopez-Portillo, 2004) have shown that staying abroad for extended periods can help one to enhance one's intercultural understanding and, in Bennett's (2004) term, it can help individuals to become "interculturally competent", and together these might be termed 'capacity building'. However, it also needs to be noted that such capacity is *not* automatically developed through intercultural experience (Alred, Byram, & Fleming, 2003).

Noteworthy are Benny's remarks on how he understood the notions of being "more tolerant" and "more sensitive to differences". On my asking what he had gained from his overseas experience, he replied:

> I think I have become more sensitive to differences .... Being sensitive does not mean that we automatically take ... other perspectives as correct. ... In some cases you will have to stick to what you believe. I think it would be a lie if people are not like that. They must have something that they believe as ... truth that they hold dearly. At the same time, they respect others. And respecting others does not mean that they [have to] adopt others' [perspectives]. (Benny, pre-observation interview, 28/09/2010)

Cautioning against the slipperiness of the idea of tolerance, he firmly pointed out: "I don't want students to be permissive in the name of multiculturalism. ... I mean because they say ... 'People can interpret this in different ways, so all interpretations are correct,' for

example. No. No! That's not my idea". He then referred me to a newspaper article he had written that he thought would help to elucidate his stance regarding the matter[27].

The article raises the issue of pluralism and how to 'teach' it in the classroom, and it should be apparent to readers that it was written in a context where the country had just witnessed disruptions of religious violence. In the article, Benny is aptly addressing the issue of pluralism through promoting and emphasising "peaceful dialogue" in resolving differences. In taking this position, he also argues that embracing pluralism should not be taken to mean "try[ing] to cater to all ideas". The discourse that Benny touches upon in his article seems to be symptomatic of the challenges faced by those societies claiming to adopt and practise multiculturalism. The period of outbreaks of inter-religious conflict in Indonesia, which Benny's article highlighted, resonates with so many other conflicts—including cultural and political—happening across the globe and emphasised through the media. The issue of the *hijab[28]* and the right to freedom of expression and religion, for example, appears to have preoccupied a number of Western countries that pride themselves on being 'democratic'. Pointing to cultural pluralism as being "deceptive, diffused, and divisive" (p. 117), Kumaravadivelu (2008) challenges his readers with these questions: "To what extent can a liberal democratic society accommodate cultural and religious diversity? What are the limits of democratic ideals of liberty and equality? What is the nature of multicultural citizenship that does not pose a threat to national cohesion? What are the ways in which minority cultural practices get represented within a nation-state?" (p. 98). There are, of course, no straightforward answers to these questions, and the issues behind them, it seems, are continuing to dominate public discourse in many multicultural societies.

As a construct, the concept of multiculturalism itself has been highly politicised, being widely discussed and debated among scholars, most notably those in the field of social and political sciences (see Kymlicka, 2005; Levey, 2008; McGhee, 2008; Meer, 2010). Though there is widespread agreement that the theoretical core of the concept lies in promoting tolerance, cherishing cultural diversity and embracing equal coexistence among different cultural groups (Kumaravadivelu, 2008; Parekh, 1997; Suparlan, 2002), how this ideological view is translated and responded to at the practical level can vary from context

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[27] The publication details of this article are not disclosed in order to protect the privacy of Benny.

[28] Hijab refers to head coverings worn by Muslim women.

to context, often entailing very different regulatory policy recommendations across nation states. A multiplicity of understandings and a variety of manifestations have thus derived from the concept, with each having its own agendas.

In Indonesia, a nation that has indeed been multicultural—one that includes several cultural communities—since the day it was established (Azra, 2010), the spirit of multiculturalism has been framed and sustained within the national ideology of '*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika'* ('Unity in Diversity'). This political 'slogan', which serves to function as a 'common platform' among Indonesians, would seem to imply that cultural diversity will only be celebrated *so long as* it does not disturb the integrity of the nation and that ethnic identities should not eclipse the so-called collective national identity (see also Sedyawati, 2008). Despite the nation's claim to be accommodative of cultural differences, Azra (2007) and various other Indonesian political observers maintain that, since Indonesia's independence, successive governments, particularly those under the regimes of Soekarno (1945-1967) and Soeharto (1967-1998), have shown a strong tendency, in the name of national development stability, to implement policies and practices that would lead to the assimilation of the isolated indigenous communities (*Komunitas Adat Terpencil*) into the mainstream (see also the discussion on 'Images of Indonesia's national culture and identity in Section 7.2.1). Further, it was also evident that despite the nation's multicultural platform and its promise of equal citizenship, the Javanese, who also happened to share the ethnicity of the above-mentioned former presidents, tended to dominate the political sphere, hence a significant portion of the social order had been governed by the Javanese worldview (Heyward, 2009). Political agendas, it would seem, have shifted the principles embedded within 'multiculturalism' and '*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika'* to foreground unity *over* diversity (Mulder, 1994).

The politicisation of multiculturalism is not restricted to Indonesia. In many Western countries, such as Australia, the United States and Canada, multiculturalist slogans of one sort or another are often adopted as a response to finding "a means to better integrate new immigrants" (Meer & Modood, 2012, p. 180). This political discourse is frequently tied to the rationale that "when new groups enter a society, there has to be some education and refinement of ... sensitivities in the light of changing circumstances and the specific vulnerabilities of new entrants" (Modood, 2006, p. 61). Meer and Modood (2012), however, observes that there appears to be a "secularist bias" (p. 191) in the implementation of multiculturalism in some Western societies, where public affirmation of ethnic identities is favoured, while religious identities are problematised. Being cognisant that the discourses of multiculturalism have become a site of contestation for

political and ideological struggles, Benny makes the case that embracing multiculturalism should not prevent one "from having a firm stance on fundamental matters", such as those pertaining to religion.

Edi

Similar to the teacher participants at INU, Edi, Hendra and Bayu tended to frame their ideas about interculturality in relation to the subjects they were teaching. Listening to them talk, I became ever aware of how 'the personal' is inseparable from 'the professional'. For example, reflecting on his personal experience, Edi spoke about attaining a heightened sense of intercultural awareness through his engagement with "local and global" literary works. He said that because a literary work is embedded within a particular culture and is written in a particular context, there is always cultural knowledge that can be learnt upon reading such work. Providing one such instance, he recalled:

> My personal experience, when I read this poem written by a Japanese poet… it was only two stanzas long … but I could imagine the situation and pick up certain cultural knowledge. … It could be as simple as a piece of geographical information. The season, for example. But that could be an insight in itself, because we don't have that kind of season in Indonesia. That way we learn [of the differences]. We also gain insight into the linguistic dimension related to the concept, since it may not be accommodated through our repertoire in *Bahasa Indonesia*. (Edi, Pre-observation interview, 30/09/2010, my translation)

The idea of incorporating literary works into the teaching of culture can be traced back to the "traditional approach" (Crozet et al., 1999; see also Section 3.2), where the teaching of culture revolves around canonical texts. However, this approach has been criticised as promoting a potentially narrow and static view of culture, in which culture is treated as self-contained factual knowledge. Edi, like Hendra, appeared to have a somewhat different perspective on the role of literature in the language classroom. They both tended to see it as a resource that could help students to develop, among other things, critical thinking skills and intercultural awareness. Literary works, they maintained, often represent the everyday life of the society at the time they are created, and they see the study of these works as an opportunity to learn about a society's ways of being and doing at a particular time and place. Edi ascertained that engaging with literary works as part of teaching and learning encompasses both cognitive and also affective domains. Reading a work of

literature, he said, "stimulates one's imagination", which in turn can arouse "empathic feelings". This could potentially generate a capacity to, borrowing Byram's (1997) term, "decentre" one's thinking about culture, and in so doing enhance one's ability to step out of one's own cultural skin.

Hendra

Like Edi, Hendra was also a strong advocate for the use of literary works in intercultural teaching and learning. Before I observed his teaching, Hendra proposed a definition of literature as "repositories of cultural values", pointing out:

> It is through literature that culture, in my opinion, can be concretely represented. ... So if you want to know a culture, just read its literature. The literature that was born in that particular cultural community. I'm sure you won't get lost [laughter]. (Hendra, pre-observation interview, 08/09/2010, my translation)

He went on to tease this out with particular cultural and literary references:

> Cultural codes, cultural values, customs and traditions are conveyed through literary works, as if they were some kind of '*outlet kultura*' of a certain cultural community. ... So, for example, if we want to understand traditions related to marriage practised in the colonial West Java, we can turn to *Baruang Kanu Ngarora* written by Ardiwinata. Similarly, if we, perhaps, want to know how the English people viewed the world during the Industrial Revolution, for example, we can turn to the works of Charles Dickens, I think, such as *Oliver Twist*, *A tale of two cities*, *Hard times*, etc. (Hendra, pre-observation interview, 08/09/2010, my translation)

By foregrounding the idea that literature is essentially an expression of life, both Hendra and Edi believed that the engagement with literary works can help individuals to gain awareness of themselves and others. This view aligns with that of Lazar (2005), who contends that "studying ... literature ... can provide an interesting and thought-provoking point of comparison" (p. 15).

I found Hendra's 'expanded' notion of interculturality particularly interesting. Unlike the views of the other teachers who tended to equate 'culture' in the term 'intercultural' with nationality, Hendra indicated that the ability to understand and speak the students'

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"language" was also "a kind of being intercultural". Realising that he belonged to a different generation from his students, Hendra said that he constantly felt the need to learn about his students' ways of being and doing, including the kinds of language they used among themselves. Benny's reference to the students' distinct social language corresponds to Gee's (1999) notion of "grammar two", which he defines as "grammatical units… [that] are used to create *patterns* which signal or 'index' characteristic *whos-doing-whats-within-Discourses*" (p. 29, original emphasis; see also Section 2.2). Conscious of their differing "languages" and the importance of connecting with the students in order to teach more effectively, Hendra liked to position himself as the students' "companion" rather than a "*guru*"—a person on whom students can model themselves. His egalitarian views and democratic attitude are evident both in the way he spoke with me in our interviews and in his classroom practices. (This will be further elaborated in the next section.) In our conversations, for example, he often referred to his students as "friends" and viewed developing "friendship" with them as an important aspect of his work. In many conversations outside the class, he also expressed his strong opinion on the need to "minimise the teacher-student hierarchical relationship" so that both teachers and students can "grow in understanding".

Bayu

While Hendra emphasised the importance of inter-generational understanding as part of being intercultural, Bayu's notion of interculturality shuttled between national and ethnic entities. The former was normally foregrounded when he talked about Indonesia and 'the West', whereas in the classroom context, it was inter-ethnic awareness that tended to be highlighted. This, I think, is understandable given that he was assigned to teach *Indonesian History and Culture*. Having had the privilege of sitting in different classes, I was able to appreciate what Nancy meant by the need to "switch perspectives" according to the nature of the subject. These opportunities also enabled me to see the dialogic connections between the teachers' articulated understandings of the core concepts of this study, such as 'culture' and 'interculturality', and the subjects they were teaching.

Reflecting on the current social condition in the country, which had been marked by a number of inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts, Bayu emphasised the need for "better intercultural understanding". In his role as an anthropologist, he said that he had been immersed in different cultural settings and experiences, and this, he believed, had enabled him to generate a more "objective view of the world" and to adopt a more "neutral stance" when it came to dealing with cultural differences. Through establishing close interactions

with other cultural groups, he saw himself as having the opportunity to "dig deep" into others' ways of being and to develop a capacity to understand "why they do what they do". It is these abilities, embedded in various illustrations, that Bayu often drew attention to in class, hoping to generate "people of wisdom". While pointing out that experiences of living with cultural others (which in some instances he associated with certain communities of practice) had helped to enhance his "empathic skills", he made a clear distinction between being "empathic" and being "accepting". Illustrating his point, he said in a jocular tone:

> Investigating '*perdukunan*' (sorcery) and having close interactions with '*para dukun*' (sorcerers) don't mean that I become a sorcerer myself. But I do understand sorcery. … Those practices, which are mystical in nature, *do* exist in our society. … The university is supposed to be a 'clean' site, right? But what do I find? '*Ketika cinta ditolak, dukun bertindak*' (When love is rejected, the sorcerer takes action) [laughs]. When dreams are not fulfilled, sometimes people turn to these things. In our society … sorcerers are '*dipoyok, dilebok*'[29] (sneered at but also made use of). They'd say, 'No, it's not rational,' but when there's no other choice they end up going there anyway [laughs]. It's ironic. Why is this? Because of the condition. Our legal system is not functioning. (Bayu, pre-observation interview, 15/09/2010, my translation)

Bayu went on to illustrate an instance where one of his students confessed to having turned to sorcery because of a particular injustice that he felt. While I sensed that Bayu was genuinely trying to understand the phenomenon, he clearly pointed out later on in the conversation that he could not accept such practices because they were against his religious belief. He therefore considered them fundamentally wrong. Despite the "objectivity" and "neutrality" that he claimed in the beginning, through his narratives and rich illustrations, I realised that it seemed important for him to be able to make value-judgments about certain cultural practices. In his view, those which he considered as not embodying "universally accepted values", such as the traditions of '*ronggeng*' (see Section 7.1.2 for an explanation) and '*carok*'[30], needed to be "corrected". Yet, in so saying, he also underscored the importance of first investigating comprehensively a phenomenon before

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[29] This is a Sundanese derogatory remark.

[30] *Carok* is a one-to-one fight using a *clurit* (hook-like blade) practised among ethnic Maduranese.

taking any measures to "change" and "correct" them. Referring to the practice of *carok*, he said:

> We need to understand why people do it. What does it mean to them? And this is also what policy makers need to understand … though the tradition itself will eventually die out if the community no longer finds it relevant to their contexts. (Bayu, pre-observation interview, 15/09/2010, my translation)

In spite of Bayu's apparently inclusive conception of interculturality, it is possible to see evidence of tensions, wherein a clearly espoused view about the importance of one dimension of interculturality—such as his suggestion that he could adopt a more "neutral stance" when it comes to dealing with cultural differences—ends up being contradicted by another view of the 'wrong' beliefs of a particular student he taught. Rather than criticising Bayu, as Holliday (2011) might do for being "superficial" or as Gorski (2008) might do for being "colonizing", I prefer to focus on the tensions that invariably accompany any discussion on interculturality. Perhaps, instead of rushing to judge individuals, a more robust and sophisticated engagement with the concept of interculturality should see Bayu's views, and also the views of Sandra, Nancy, Benny, Edi and Hendra, as evidence of the complex, political, ideological and practical dimensions of the term 'intercultural'.

In this section, I have illustrated how each teacher participant understood and made sense of the notion of interculturality by drawing on their subjective experiences and personal trajectories. While it is not the intention of the study to *compare* the teachers' varying degrees of interculturality—as if one could somehow measure how Person A is more intercultural than Person B—it is evident that in articulating the concept some participants tended to foreground the knowledge component or the cognitive domain commonly associated with intercultural competence (e.g., knowledge of cultural groups and their practices), whereas others seem to place more emphasis on the affective dimension (e.g., openness, sensitivity and tolerance). My discussion has also further strengthened the argument that 'the personal' and 'the professional' are intricately intertwined within the 'teaching selves'.

Despite the teachers' differing takes on what it meant for them to be intercultural, I show in the next section that they all viewed critical thinking to be one of the most crucial building blocks for developing intercultural competence. Below, I focus specifically on the teachers' discourses with respect to their projected pedagogy for intercultural learning, and I highlight their approaches and strategies to develop the various components—

knowledge, attitudes and skills—pertaining to interculturality. The discussion refers to statements they made prior to my observing their teaching in classrooms.

8.1.2   Critical thinking and pedagogy for (inter)cultural understanding.

Fostering students' critical thinking is an idea that all teachers in this study embraced. Though how each teacher conceptualised and understood the notion might differ, their stated strategies to develop critical thinking abilities appear to resonate across the different intercultural subjects that they were teaching. These strategies, among others, included asking students' open-ended questions and exposing them to different standpoints when inquiring into particular issues. Classroom activities that involved deep analysis (such as reflection), comparing and contrasting, relating concepts to real-life situations and critiquing were also believed to help enhance critical thinking skills. A number of teachers, when talking about these activities, gave me the impression that they were, consciously or not, trying to counter stereotypical images of Asian teachers—that is, being authoritarian and much revered figures who, so the stereotype goes, merely transmit information rather than engage students in co-construction of knowledge. Nancy, for example, portrayed herself as a democratic teacher who tried to establish egalitarian teacher-student relationships similar to those she had experienced abroad. She claimed to achieve a position of "neutrality" in her teaching by indicating that she, to the best of her knowledge, always endeavoured to present "the two sides of a coin". Sandra, on the other hand, felt that it was important for her to explicitly signal to the students when she was voicing a personal opinion in class so that they would be aware of its relativity, and they could, therefore, "decide for themselves whether to take it on or to disregard it". By doing this, Sandra believed that she was also nurturing the students' "autonomy", while sending the message that it is wrong to assume the teacher to be all-knowing.

In teaching their *Intercultural Communication* classes, both Nancy and Sandra highlighted the benefits of using the students' own lived experiences as a point of departure. They believed this would help stimulate self-reflection and thus enable their students to better relate to the topic to be discussed. To illustrate, Nancy chose the topic 'academic values' as an example and pointed out that before moving on to make cultural comparisons (which, at some point in the conversation, she clarified as meaning comparisons with "English speaking countries"), she would first engage her students in a discussion surrounding the "teacher-student relationship", the "grading system" and "academic expectations", among others, relevant to their own contexts. Using the students' existing knowledge as a stepping stone, both Nancy and Sandra claimed to be developing the students' critical

thinking skills by 'activating' their ability to *reflect*, *relate* and *compare* through which they were expected to gain "better understanding and awareness" (cf. Byram's ICC model, 1997; see also Section 3.3.1).

Benny, on the other hand, tended to foster critical thinking in the students by emphasising the political nature of discourses. It is helpful, he pointed out, to introduce the idea to the students that "the world is a contested arena—a site where we all struggle to have a say on certain matters". He said further:

> My personal idea of teaching *Cultural Studies* is to make students aware that what they think is neutral is actually *not*, and this should enable them to make informed decisions … and become wiser people. … There are different possible interpretations of the same piece of discourse, and so they should respect others who may have different interpretations about a particular thing. At the same time, they should be confident, they should defend their opinions, their interpretations … if they think that their opinions are grounded. … My goal is to help students to become critical in the sense that they are able to see the world through different lenses. (Benny, pre-observation interview, 28/09/2010)

Benny emphasised his belief that to facilitate students to be critical thinkers, teachers should encourage students to make their own decisions and allow room for negotiation. Similarly, Edi, who taught a subject called *Poetry*, believed that it is important to "instill scepticism" in order to develop students' awareness of ideologies embedded in literary texts. According to Edi:

> It is important to criticise—especially literary works. Scholars say [that] good literary works always hide something. It's not explicitly stated. … *Pak* [Mr.] Sapardi[31] says so. In appreciating a piece of literary text, we need to be sceptical—sceptical about everything contained in the text. … If you don't critique, sometimes you can't detect the ideological dimension. (Edi, pre-observation interview, 30/09/2010)

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[31] Sapardi Djoko Damono is a famous contemporary Indonesian poet.

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While Edi tended to emphasise the act and processes of critiquing in enhancing the students' critical thinking skills, Bayu underscored the importance of having the ability to "filter". Speaking in the context of Westernisation and the impacts of globalisation, he voiced his concerns that:

> Students need to have an understanding of their own cultural values ... and need to be aware of the implications of their choices. ... They need to be able to filter what are in line with our cultural or national identity and what are not ... for example the way they behave, dress, interact. At present, cultural or religious values are no longer reflected [in what they do]. ... And so I see myself as having a mission, perhaps not so much to set straight but rather to inform. (Bayu, pre- observation interview, 15/09/2010)

In developing the capacity to "filter", he was confident that his students' awareness of self and of their own cultural backgrounds would improve. Through teaching *Indonesian History and Culture*, Bayu personally wished to instill in the students the love for and pride in their own cultural traditions; he hoped that they would become more critical in "taking in" Western influences. By providing in-depth illustrations and explanations of a wide range of socio-cultural issues, making connections between theoretical concepts and real-life phenomena and letting the students come up with their own inferences (and ultimately decide for themselves what is right for them), Bayu viewed himself as equipping his students with "life skills" so that "they have a good understanding of themselves and they can work out where to go". He really hoped that, through the subject he taught, his students would gain a better insight into the different dimensions of life.

Echoing Bayu, the other UWJ teachers, Edi and Hendra, also expressed the importance of building awareness of self and of local culture in their teaching, before engaging the students with an exploration of 'the other'. These teachers' voices, as I have mentioned in Chapter Six (see Section 6.2.2), clearly resonated with their institution's vision ("to uphold Sundanese values") and mission statements ("to conserve, preserve and develop the Sundanese culture"). Seemingly in alignment with these sentiments, both Hendra and Edi believed that by encouraging students to be engaged with local literature, they were also developing the students' appreciation towards their own cultural heritage. Based on the statements they made regarding their teaching, it appeared that Hendra and Edi tended to emphasise the affective dimension of being intercultural (as reflected, for example, in their frequent use of the words "appreciation", "sensitivity", and "empathy"), and this could possibly be related to the literary nature of the subjects themselves. As Hendra pointed

out, "understanding literature is a bridge to understanding humanity". However, Sandra, who at the time was teaching *Intercultural Communication*, argued for the need to have "direct experience" through interaction in developing intercultural competence, and, in this sense, being intercultural, she maintained, would require good communication skills. She said, "You can … develop knowledge from reading, but it's difficult for some people … to develop … sensitivity unless you have direct experience". It appears that the notions of communication and engagement through an encounter with cultural others were central to Sandra's conception of being intercultural. Her views seem to be in alignment with that of Wood et al. (2006), who perceive interculturalism as "facilitat[ing] dialogue, exchange and reciprocal understanding between people of different backgrounds" (p. 9). Contrasting 'interculturalism' with 'multiculturalism', they maintain:

> Multiculturalism has been founded on the belief in tolerance between cultures but it is not always the case that multicultural places are open places. Interculturalism on the other hand requires openness as a prerequisite and, while openness itself is not the guarantee of interculturalism, it provides the setting for interculturalism to develop. (Wood, Landry, & Bloomfield, 2006, p. 7)

The 'openness' that the above authors are referring to, it would seem, relates to the social dimension in which communication is facilitated, where commonalities, mutuality and sharing are emphasised, while differences are eschewed. On this note, Dervin (2010) reminds us that proficiency in a foreign language does not always translate to being "interculturally competent" (p. 7) and vice versa (see also Crozet et al., 1999; Alred et al., 2003).

In this section, I have inquired into the teachers' discourses on critical thinking and the relation of these discourses to pedagogy for intercultural understanding. While I have identified similar strategies that the teachers use in developing students' critical thinking abilities, the nature of each subject appears to add a particular 'flavour' to their stated beliefs regarding intercultural pedagogy. In the section below, I look specifically into how these discourses are manifested at the practical level, highlighting what I perceive to be a significant teaching and learning 'moment' relevant to the study in each class.

8.2   Practising Interculturality

This section, which is organized around particular subject matter, examines in greater details how 'intercultural pedagogy' takes shape in the classroom and attempts to make

connections between the teachers' stated beliefs and their actual practices. Through a narrative reconstruction of my field notes, I begin by describing the classroom settings of the different teachers and move on to explain the nature of the course as described in the curriculum document. In so doing, I also inquire into the teachers' views about and understandings of the curriculum. As I relate these aspects to the teachers' classroom instructions, I also highlight their distinctive styles and draw attention to particular teaching and learning 'moments' that I believe are critically relevant to my study.

8.2.1 Nancy's *Intercultural Communication* class.

The first time I walked into Nancy's *Intercultural Communication* class, I was taken aback by how full the classroom was. When I pushed the door open, it almost hit a student's chair; the room was so tightly packed with chairs and students that this one student was literally blocking the entrance. From the doorway to the other end of the room, I saw rows and rows of chairs—there were, I think, six rows of them—but not a single seat was available for me to sit in. A student near the entrance kindly gave up his seat and placed the chair sideways near the teacher's desk. This, as I found shortly, was a good angle, as I was able to observe both Nancy at the front of the class and the sixty or so students facing her without too much body movement. From this angle, I could look out on the rest of the campus through generous windows, which helped to lessen the impression of a cramped and crowded classroom. Given that the university had been undergoing some major renovations and that the faculty had just been relocated to a new building, the architecture of the classroom itself was quite modern; it was also equipped with an LCD projector, and the folding chairs with writing tablets attached, looked moderately new. There were two large whiteboards at the front of the class. (Reconstructed narrative account from my research journal, 10/09/2010)

Throughout my semester-long classroom observation, I noted that Nancy always had PowerPoint slides when she taught, and, though the curriculum required her to employ a variety of teaching approaches, her lectures tended to dominate the classroom dynamic. She followed the syllabus quite strictly in terms of keeping up with the prescribed topics, and although her senior 'colleague' was not always present due to her other appointment at the Faculty, Nancy indicated that there were certain expectations that were demanded of her by her senior. For example, she was expected to consult the teaching materials beforehand and to report back to her what had been done in class afterwards. I witnessed

that whenever a disagreement—however trivial—arose in class between the two teachers, it was Nancy who deferred to her colleague. Whenever the senior teacher was present Nancy's voice seemed to be silenced and her professional identity muted. It appeared that, in projecting an image of a respectful and supportive member of the institution, Nancy often suppressed her own voice and 'agreed' with her senior's views. I was also interested to see that these two teachers had different PowerPoint slides when they 'co-taught'. Sometimes, the senior would come into the class as Nancy was in the middle of presenting some material or communicating a key idea, and Nancy appeared to immediately sense that she would have to hand over the teaching role to the 'primary lecturer'. The students, too, appeared to revere this senior teacher. Nancy's relationship with her senior co-teacher clearly reflected the greater importance of hierarchy and deference rather than collegiality amongst academic colleagues.

Typically, a large portion of the classroom interaction would be taken up by teacher talk. At the start of the lesson, Nancy would usually spend a couple of minutes introducing students to the topic to be discussed before moving on to present her PowerPoint slides. The materials on her slides were mainly based on the prescribed textbook, *Beyond Culture* (Levine & Adelman, 1993), but sometimes, she would also supplement this with video clips from You Tube to stimulate and engage her students, through group or classroom discussions, in making cultural comparisons. Although Nancy enacted a quite informal style of lecturing, whereby she allowed her students to interrupt her at any point during her talk, only a handful of the students actually took up the opportunity to ask questions or make comments. None of what went on in Nancy's class—her methods of lecturing and her students' responses (or lack thereof)—was new to me. Yet, sitting quietly in one spot of the classroom and letting myself be immersed in 'passive participant observation' made me realise how these students, despite the changes in curriculum and the changing discourses about the teacher's roles and teacher pedagogy, still tended to perceive the teacher as the primary 'source of knowledge'. This was clearly reflected in *how* the students asked questions and the *kinds* of questions that were being posed. The 'question and answer' session that took place after Nancy's 'informal lecture' always appeared to position her as the knower and the students as learners who need to know what the teacher knows (Freire, 1997). (I made similar observations of such discursive practices within the other five units I sat in.) Though as a teacher I might have been positioned (or, indeed, positioned myself) as the knower of information, it was only through the observer's eyes that I was able to see more clearly how students were often positioned and defined from a deficit perspective. It was as if whatever knowledge they already had was inadequate, and their voice was consequently of less value than the teacher's.

In the interviews, Nancy constantly emphasised notions of independent learning and critical thinking—qualities which she believed were of paramount significance to foster in the *Intercultural Communication* class and which, as she indicated, she herself had been much exposed to through study abroad. My observations of her classroom, however, suggested that the context was not always conducive for these qualities to flourish, especially because of the large class size and the dominant teacher-centred pedagogy. Interestingly, Nancy neither required her students to show active participation nor considered their passivity a problem. In one conversation after a classroom observation, I raised the issues I have just explained above. This is how Nancy responded:

> Students don't need to ask questions in my class. … [A]sking questions does not [necessarily] mean that they're trying to understand. Asking questions could mean, in Indonesian classroom, looking for attention … to have that access to the lecturer, instead of [just] trying to understand the material. They just want to be acknowledged. (Nancy, post-observation interview, 30/11/2010)

I was intrigued by Nancy's comments about her not expecting the students to speak up in class, given that in many academic contexts, students' silence is interpreted as an issue that needs addressing. While her views might be seen to be at odds with the general perception and expectation of classroom participation in contemporary higher education classrooms in Indonesia, she 'justified' her position by connecting it to the notion of 'respect', which, out of cultural tradition, is commonly expected to be shown by students to a '*guru*'. Nancy pointed out that this notion of 'respect', in part, also explains why students are generally "quiet and passive". Notwithstanding Nancy's desire for democratic classrooms and ideas of criticality, it is evident that the cultural value of 'respect' simultaneously constituted an important element in Nancy's identity work as a teacher. This, I would say, is an instance of how 'the cultural' concretely intersects with 'the professional' (see also Section 7.2.3).

"The curriculum doesn't totally speak for me": Tensions and contradictions in enacting the Intercultural Communication curriculum.

The curriculum document for the subject *Intercultural Communication* at INU stated that the overarching aim is to "equip students with cultural and linguistic knowledge and skills that will enable them to understand and engage with people of different cultural backgrounds using English as a medium of communication". While the curriculum

objectives might have suggested good intentions to enhance intercultural awareness, sensitivity and understanding (e.g., "be aware of cultural diversity within the English speaking countries", "be familiar with some differences and similarities between the TL [target language] culture and their native language culture", and "understand the concepts of cultural conflict and adjustment"), there were troubling suggestions already in the assumed clear-cut boundary between 'target culture' and 'native culture'. This implies a reified understanding of culture and language, which is at odds with key literature in the area of interculturalism (e.g., Canagarajah, 2005; Dervin, 2010; Kumaravadivelu, 2008; Pennycoook, 2010). Further, the unit's focus on "the English speaking *countries*" (emphasis added) signalled that national cultures would be employed as the basic defining unit of analysis. And yet such an approach to culture, which some have critiqued as essentialising and over-simplifying cultural difference (e.g., Starosta & Chen, 2003; Holliday, 2011), might be seen as a challenge to more progressive approaches to the teaching of culture. These points highlight some of the complications of the identity work that Nancy had to engage in as she tried to manage these tensions.

Nancy spoke about her frustrations in working with these sorts of challenges, both at the level of learning objectives and in some of the specific activities that the curriculum document suggested that teachers use to achieve the required objectives. One such activity, to enable students to "internalize and have an English cultural experience", required them to learn the 'correct' Western dining etiquette, such as how to use the fork and knife. As an add-on activity, table manners had only been incorporated into the curriculum for a couple of years. In one interview, Nancy indicated that if she had her way she would not include the activity: it was, she said, "not that important". She could joke about it – quipping, "Who would be invited to a gala dinner? It's not in your everyday agenda ..." – and she could see that her students seemed to enjoy the activity—because it's "fun"—but she was still aware of, and uncomfortable about, aspects of the curriculum like this over which she had little or no control.

Nancy hesitantly said, "It doesn't totally speak for how I perceive Intercultural Communication personally". And then interspersed with brief outbursts of laughter, she observed: "The syllabus was imposed on me. [Laughter]. I had no choice. [Laughter] What can I say?" Being a junior teaching staff, Nancy felt obliged to conform to the institutional norm, despite her apparent reservations about some of the 'agendas' stated in the curriculum document. Her admission that the curriculum "doesn't totally speak" for her clearly suggested an emerging tension between her personal beliefs and institutional demands. She could laugh at the disempowering situation, but she felt that the curriculum

had been "imposed on" her and that she had "no choice". Given some choice in the matter, she felt this subject would be improved if it incorporated what she called "the paradigm of intercultural communication studies today".

It was helpful for me to be aware of these tensions when I observed some of Nancy's classroom practices. Clearly, there were ways in which Nancy's teaching was indeed consistent with the curriculum objectives as I have previously discussed. For example, cultural analyses undertaken in class were often in terms of national entities, in which the notion of culture as 'the shared ways of being and doing' was heavily emphasised. Hofstedian categories of difference (e.g., collectivist/individualist, high/low power distance, etc.) were also constantly drawn on, which often led to contrastive analyses of reified national cultures, suggesting an 'us-and-them' framing of class discussions. In this way, Nancy's teaching sometimes appeared to be reinforcing East-West binaries, while the students' own (diverse) ethnic backgrounds appeared to have little connection to the essentialist notion of 'us' that was implied in the binary.

There were other ways in which Nancy's statements of belief and the curriculum that I saw enacted were not necessarily aligned. For example, Nancy often told her class that "no one culture is better than the other; they are simply different". Yet, in a session about verbal communication, Nancy remarked with a wry grin that in the Indonesian context a supposedly ten-minute welcoming speech could turn into an hour-long one. In contrast, in the Western context, she pointed out that people tended to be direct and succinct. Although here Nancy did not make any explicit judgement regarding the contrasting cultural values, her tone of voice, nonetheless, indicated that the Western practice was widespread and preferable. This instance portraying different representations of Nancy further confirms the need to pay attention to the discourse-acts nexus in engaging oneself in research on interculturality and identity to capture the different nuances these notions bring.

8.2.2   Sandra's *Intercultural Communication* class.

As mentioned earlier, the English Department at Indonesia National University offered two study programs: English Education and English Literature. Nancy was assigned to teach *Intercultural Communication* in the former program, while Sandra the latter. The curricula of these two study programs differed, especially in terms of the overall aims and objectives, and I could almost immediately sense this difference through the classroom discourse as I sat in Sandra and Nancy's first sessions. In her introductory sessions, Nancy,

for example, invited her students to think about the significance of the unit for language teaching and learning and engaged them in a discussion of its pedagogical implications in the EFL context. Sandra's introduction class was very different. She began by discussing theoretical concepts surrounding the notion of communication and elaborated on its socio-cultural dimensions. Right from the beginning, I noticed that Sandra liked to pose a lot of questions to stimulate her students to talk. However, to Sandra's disappointment, her questions were often greeted with silence. In a number of occasions outside the class, Sandra expressed her concerns to me about her students' lack of participation, and she often wondered whether the problem lay with her or with her students. Indeed, although Sandra's *Intercultural Communication* class was relatively smaller in comparison to Nancy's (consisting of approximately 40 students), this did not necessarily make the class livelier. During my observations in Sandra's class, I noticed that Sandra not only provided plenty of opportunities for her students to speak up but she also allowed herself time to wait for them to respond.

'Keeping it grounded?': National entities as an important element in teaching interculturality.

As stated in the syllabus, the primary goals of the course are to:

- familiarise students with the concepts of communication and cultures;
- enable students to communicate appropriately and effectively in different cultural contexts, especially in the culture [sic] of English speaking countries. (Syllabus documents of *Intercultural Communication* for English Literature Program, Indonesia National University, 2010, p. 1)

Sandra told me that one of the biggest challenges in teaching that particular course was to engage students in theoretical discussions, and, with regard to this, she emphasised the necessity for *Intercultural Communication* teachers to have overseas experience. Reflecting on her own teaching experience, she affirmed that her personal intercultural encounters provided her with invaluable teaching resources; they enabled her to provide grounded illustrations to her students and facilitate teaching and learning processes more effectively.

Despite her allusion, on a number of occasions, to ideas of what others have termed "discourse communities" (Miller, 1984) or "Discourses" (Gee, 1999) in her

conceptualisations of culture, as indicated in her view that teachers and students belong to different "cultural groups", Sandra told me that nationalities serve as an important element in teaching interculturality (see also Section 7.1.3). Given that it was an English Department she was teaching within, she felt that bringing national differences to students' attention was an appropriate starting point in raising their intercultural awareness and sensitivity. As Sandra mentioned in one of the interviews, "the most important element [of this subject] is to develop the students' skills and competence that will enable them to deal with people of different cultures, especially those coming from *different nations*" (emphasis added). "It would be too ambitious," she remarked light-heartedly, "to include all the different layers of cultures". While nationalities were treated as the basic defining unit in the study, Sandra's teaching indicated that "English cultures" extended beyond Kachru's inner circle countries. She, however, also expressed some concerns about teaching culture/interculturality based exclusively on national entities— "It might be too far off, because none of my students have been abroad". To enhance the course's relevance to the students' everyday experiences, she therefore also highlighted the different ethnicities *within* Indonesia alongside the focus on nationalities. Ultimately, intercultural competence, according to Sandra, should equip individuals with a set of knowledge, skills and attitudes that would enable them to deal with different situations in a tactful manner—"being alert to differences, knowing what to expect, knowing what is appropriate in different contexts ... and having the ability to *communicate better* with that awareness," she pointed out. Sandra believed that through varied classroom activities, she was carving a path for the students toward this end.

One of the major tasks that students were required to do in Sandra's *Intercultural Communication* class was to submit, individually, a report on an "Intercultural Project", which, as the syllabus stated, provided an "opportunity to apply what students have learnt in class" (Syllabus documents of *Intercultural Communication* for English Literature Program, Indonesia National University, 2010, p. 1). The project resembled a kind of mini-research paper, in which students needed to engage with various ways of being and doing in certain ethnic communities (i.e., different from the students' own ethnic backgrounds) and to compare certain aspects of these two ethnicities, such as their communication patterns and styles. In writing this paper, students were required to conduct an in-depth investigation that involved doing not only a review of the literature but also a face-to-face interview with a person who is from, or has lived a substantial period of time, in the culture of the ethnic group they were studying. Interestingly, although Sandra emphasised Indonesia's ethnic cultures in her teaching, there was no written reference to any Indonesian or local publication in the syllabus. It was only works of Elliot and Adam

(1999), Hofstede (2002),Watson (2003), and Jandt (1998) that were listed, with discussions of Hofstede's works being the most prominent throughout the sixteen sessions. When asked about this, she commented, with a pang of embarrassment evident in her facial expression, "It never occurred to me, but I think it's a good suggestion … I was too confident with myself, using myself as a resource to voice our Indonesian culture. I should look up some books about Indonesian culture. Yes."

As a compulsory activity in any *Intercultural Communication* class at the Department, Sandra felt obliged to incorporate Western table manners into the syllabus. She had mixed feelings about this task:

> I would think that inviting native speakers and engaging them in conversations with students are more important than practising table manners. Yes. Giving them assignments that would require them to explore strategies in communicating with people of different cultures is more important … but, in some ways, table manners activity is good as well, because how you eat indicates how you present yourself to others. (Sandra, post-classroom observation, 25/11/2010)

She then pointed to a possible context where cross-cultural business negotiations take place over meals in a restaurant. "Of course, we would want to avoid embarrassment. In such contexts, knowing the etiquette of eating according to international standards would be needed," Sandra remarked. Jokingly, I pointed out to her whether she meant 'international' or 'Western' standards. Brushing my comment aside, she quickly continued, "But actually if you … go abroad, you will learn [these practices] by yourself immediately. … You can observe other people and learn from your observation, I think." She then exclaimed, reflecting on her own intercultural experiences, "I survived without having this lesson of table manners!"

Sandra's ability to engage in intercultural processes without having 'learnt a lesson' of table manners in a formal way indicates that being intercultural does *not* equate with 'being like them'. Her experience suggests that the more fundamental aspects of developing intercultural competence can be seen to reside in qualities intrinsic to one's self, such as showing openness and having the willingness to learn. Indeed, openness has been identified by Wood et al. (2006) as one of the defining characteristics that facilitate the development of intercultural competence.

8.2.3 Benny's *Cultural Studies* class.

Benny's class was the smallest class I observed. It consisted of only thirteen students. *Cultural Studies* is an elective subject offered to fifth semester (i.e., third year) students in the English Literature study program. In the first few weeks of the course, Benny co-taught the subject with one other teacher. Belonging to the same graduating cohort, the two teachers seemed to work well together, and their professional relationship reflected more of a sense of collegiality than hierarchy. For what they called "practical" reasons, however, they decided to split and teach one class each as they were supposed to teach one other subject together as well. I sensed that Benny's good-natured disposition combined with the small class size worked well to create a warm, relaxed and supportive classroom environment.

Benny's close relationship with the students was reflected in the kinds of comments made by students and teacher to each other, as I noted on a number of occasions. At one time, for instance, he noticed that a female student suddenly changed her appearance by wearing the hijab, which many Indonesians would tend to interpret as 'being on the path to becoming a better Muslim', and he spontaneously said with laughter: "Congratulation! I'm happy for you. Now we have a different signifier…". And the student did not seem to mind his remark. Likewise, Benny seemed to allow his students to be totally frank with him. Realising that *Cultural Studies* was a difficult subject, both because it was relatively new in the Department and because it was heavily theoretical, he frequently checked his students' understanding by seeking their confirmation. "Am I making sense?", "Do you understand?", "Do you see what I mean?", "Any question up to this point?" he would ask ever so often. At one point during a lengthy explanation about the processes of meaning making in which he started by stating, "How we make meaning is influenced by the culture we live in…", he broke off, "Am I making sense?" Some students shook their heads and, without any hedging or hesitation, answered "no!" And the teacher good-humouredly replied, "Good, we'll come back later to that".

"The world is a contested arena": Western traditions of knowledge and their dissemination in the Indonesian classroom

Benny's 'light' approach to pedagogy contrasted with the 'heavy' course content. Students had a huge volume of new concepts to learn, and many of these might have been only vaguely heard of by students prior to their being taught about them. Skimming through the syllabus, I got the impression that the course was distinctly embedded in Western

traditions of knowledge—some may describe it as distinctly Eurocentric. Students were introduced to complex concepts surrounding language, culture, identity, ideology and subjectivity. Drawing heavily on the works of Western scholars, students in this course learnt, for example, about processes of signification and meaning making—their production, reproduction and circulation through signs and texts. While the theories were very much Western knowledge-based, the texts and cultural artefacts used as 'cases' were taken both from local and global settings. As stated in the syllabus, the course was designed to equip students with the necessary "analytical tools" to enable them to examine the "hidden meanings" of texts and to critically analyse the sociocultural and political significance of the meanings revealed. The syllabus did not specifically treat national entities as the basic unit of analysis, and in his teaching Benny drew from a range of constructed cultural groupings to be studied as cases.

As indicated in his approach to teaching the subject and in our conversations outside the class, Benny was passionate about fostering the students' critical thinking abilities. "My personal idea of teaching *Cultural Studies*," he told me, "is to make students be informed about their choices", and it was his goal "to help students to become critical in the sense that they are able to see the world through different lenses". In analysing cultural symbols, such as those contained in advertisements, Benny tended to take a semiotic approach. Given that in his postgraduate study abroad he had majored in *Professional Communication*, I wondered about the extent to which materials selection for this course had been informed by his overseas study:

Isti: I have been wondering about the extent to which the content of your teaching has been influenced by your study abroad.

Benny: You know, the materials or the course that you're supposed to teach will certainly influence … or even shape … how you think you should carry out the teaching and learning in class. In my case, because what I'm supposed to teach [*Cultural Studies*] is related … to what to the subjects … I learnt when I was studying abroad, I used a lot of materials … [and] references that were used when I studied there. And, in some cases, I even referred to my lecturers when it came to, for example, quotations, ideas and things like that. So quite significant. Yes. (Pre-observation interview, 28/09/2010)

Benny's acknowledgement about the extent to which he references a course he had undertaken in an English-speaking country prompted me to be reflexive about my own

instructional decision-making processes and practices as a teacher and a researcher. Like Benny, Nancy and many other teachers at INU, I am also a 'travelling scholar', who has predominantly been exposed to Western-based knowledge. And often, upon my return to Indonesia from overseas study, I feel obliged to disseminate my newly-gained knowledge (in the name of education enhancement); I am eager to adopt whatever I have learnt abroad. But my conversation with Benny made me ponder long and hard upon the implications of reproducing and circulating knowledge this way, and whether we (Indonesian) teachers are really achieving what we are claiming to be doing—developing critical thinking. When we simply reproduce and circulate knowledge this way, can we even claim to be critical ourselves? This question made me feel uneasy, but, at the same time, it also made me come to a fuller realisation of the many dilemmatic situations teachers are confronted with. Consequently, in a follow-up interview with Benny, I posed the very question that haunted my own professional reflections by raising the issue of the 'bombardment of the so-called Western knowledge production' in the Indonesian academic context. Benny responded by saying:

Benny: This is a very interesting issue. ... Yes, I believe the references or the learning resources ... that I use, to some extent, contain the ideology or the belief of the people who write the book or the culture of the people who write the book. ... Yes, I'm aware of that. But I keep telling this to my students and also to myself that, to some extent, we are still the consumers of thought, not the producers of thought. The fact that we use a particular ... textbook in our classroom shows that ... we have the inclination to agree with ... the ideas contained in the book—who may happen to belong to a Westerner. Yes, I am aware of that. That is why if you notice that, you know, when I provide example, I also try to provide examples from the local [context]. And ... I try to actually ... discuss ... and let students compare and contrast between the local examples and those taken from, if I may say, the Western contexts, and ... let [the students] be critical about this.

Isti: Just wondering, why haven't you included any local textbooks in the syllabus' reference list?

Benny: There are ... reasons for it. One of them being practicality ... certainly it's a good idea if we can collect books by writers of different cultures and talking about the same idea from different perspectives. That would be like ... the ideal thing. But there are reasons why I choose certain books to be my textbooks ... also because I am often

disappointed when I read books by local writers. Often, if they're not direct translation of the books written by Western writers, they're just a parade of—they're not research-based. ... That's the second reason [of not using local textbooks]. And the third reason, because I teach English, and most of the time I teach in English, I want students to be exposed to the ideas discussed in the classroom in English. ... So if I use books written by writers of English-speaking countries, they will also have the chance to be exposed to how certain concepts are defined in English. ... But I am starving for some local writers to write very good books which I can use in my class ... Well, I'm trying to write a book [in which] I try to collect some examples from local contexts, so the ideas ... are not totally Western ... even though it's quite difficult to say that 'these are Western ideas' and 'these ones not'. (Post-observation interview, 26/11/2010)

As ideas travel in this globalising world, it becomes, indeed, quite difficult to locate where their origins are (see also Pennycook, 1996). This is because knowledge diffusion cannot be detached from historical, cultural and intellectual interconnections among societies. Given this situation, it is thus not always easy to distinguish 'Western' from 'Eastern' knowledge, and vice versa. Benny would seem to agree with Sewpaul's (2007) opinion that "simply because certain ideas, values, theories and technologies are linked to the West, they should not be condemned or rejected" (p. 404). Drawing on the work of Sen (2005), Sewpaul argues that such dichotomisation of knowledge as well as the act of rejecting "anything foreign" are based on "flawed premises" (p. 404) for the following reasons:

> Firstly, what constitutes 'Western science' is difficult to delineate. Europe or America is not its sole custodian given that developments in mathematics and science in the West drew chiefly from earlier developments in Arabia, China and India. Secondly, irrespective of where discoveries were made, their import is generally of universal significance. (Sewpaul, 2007, p. 404)

Benny saw the incorporation of local and global examples as a 'balancing act' in his teaching, and, apparently, he did not simply adopt and teach those 'borrowed' materials without modification. Cultural and contextual appropriateness, such as the relevant sociocultural norms, Benny stated, were important factors to consider when adapting materials (see also Holliday, 1994). He admitted that there were cases in which what was

discussed in the resource books could not or should not be used in a classroom. For example, some illustrations, he felt due to different cultural values, were not appropriate to be shown in his current teaching context, though they were completely fine to be utilised and discussed as exemplary cases at the time he was studying abroad.

Benny implied that the challenges of teaching *Cultural Studies* did not only stem from external factors but also internal ones. Since this was a relatively new course in the Department, he said that he was still learning how to teach it. He also admitted that there were still concepts that he had not quite grasped in the area, and so "how I discuss the ideas … is limited to what I know. … There are complicated concepts in cultural studies, and to understand these concepts takes time".

8.2.4   Edi's *Poetry* class.

At University of West Java's English Literature Department, *Poetry* was offered to third semester (i.e., second year) students. Edi's class consisted of approximately 25-30 students. As a novice teacher, Edi had to co-teach each of the subjects assigned to him—including *Poetry*—with one other more senior lecturer. After a few weeks of running the *Poetry* class, however, Edi was left to teach by himself due to his colleague's sudden re-appointment elsewhere. Of all the teacher participants involved in this study, Edi was the most novice in terms of teaching experience. At the time of study, while teaching at UWJ, Edi was simultaneously pursuing a postgraduate degree in Contemporary Literature at a state university in West Java. Although Edi knew what this research study entailed and had given me consent to do classroom observation, it was quite apparent that he was rather nervous when I initially sat in his class. So to make him feel at ease, and being mindful that he considered me a more senior teacher, I decided to share with him the challenges and difficulties that I also went through in my early career years. I wanted to let him know that I could relate to some of his insecurities. One such insecurity faced by Edi, for example, manifested in the comment he made immediately after my first observation of his class. "*Teu pararuguh Bu ngajarna*…" ("My teaching doesn't make sense…") he said in Sundanese, with a pang of shame in his voice. In my initial observation, I also sensed that he might be having problems with classroom management and capturing students' attention in class.

While in our conversations Edi clearly indicated that he resisted the construction of an authoritarian teacher figure—an image that may be invoked by the notion '*guru*'—and he saw himself as a facilitator and "a companion of the students", the classroom realities

appeared to suggest that he was struggling to be heard by his students. The observations I made of his classes reminded me of those made by the English scholar Hywel Coleman (1996). Coleman also conducted observations of English language classrooms in a number of Indonesian universities, and his research has been published in the book *Society and the Language Classroom*. Though the institutional contexts in which we carried out our research differed, I could definitely relate to many of the observations he made regarding classroom behaviour. While not every Indonesian teacher would agree with Coleman's interpretation of the classroom experience, which he metaphorically likened to a cultural event of "shadow puppets" (1996, p. 64), his analysis is worth highlighting here to point out the role that wider notions of popular culture play in mediating, and even shaping, classroom culture, as I elaborate below.

In my classroom observations, I was struck by how the students behaved in Edi's class. The following narrative text is an account of this class reconstructed from my field notes:

> Another poem to analyse. This time using a structural approach. I'm rather distracted—and annoyed—by the buzzing noise around me. But not so the teacher, it seems. There is certainly lots of chatting going on. I look around as Edi is writing the poem on the board. Many students are busily chatting among themselves, some are obviously daydreaming, and some simply look bored. I can even hear one or two yawns. I know teaching a class right before lunch is not always easy. You might be losing the students' concentration—especially when you're teaching younger students. Though these are third semester students, they *do* look very young to me. Only a couple of students are actually paying attention to what the teacher is writing. My impression: the students are being disrespectful! (Reconstructed narrative account from my research journal, 24/11/2010)

> Edi asks the class to discuss the poem in groups. Another loud buzzing starts. I can't actually figure out whether the students are actually discussing the poem or simply continue chatting. After a few minutes passed by, Edi asks them to stop, but still the buzzing noise doesn't stop—until he has to shout: "*Sudah ya! Hallo!*" ("Stop, please! Hello!"). (Reconstructed narrative account from my research journal, 24/11/2010)

About another class, I constructed the following account:

> I ran up the stairs, out of breath. I was obviously late for class. Upon entering the class, I made sure I wasn't being intrusive. Edi was already present. He was standing in front of the class, teaching. But to my astonishment, there were only a handful of students in the class. A moment later, when I had the chance to speak to him, as he moved his standing position close to where I sat, I whispered, "Where are the rest of the students?" "Still downstairs, they said," he indicated to his student informants in the room. I wondered how he could be so calm and easygoing about it. This would be unthinkable if it happened at INU, with some teachers imposing a 'fifteen-minute tolerance' policy. (Reconstructed narrative account from my research journal, 01/12/2010)

I had also wondered whether it was because of the age difference between Edi and his students that made them act the way they did with each other. But if this phenomenon were simply attributed to age difference, I must say that I also observed similar classroom behaviour in Hendra's class, and Hendra is much more senior—both in terms of work experience and age—than Edi. Indeed, I found the teacher-student relationships in the classes I observed at UWJ quite different from those I observed at INU. While to my outsider's eyes, some of the students' behaviour in class appeared rather impolite, the teachers themselves did not seem to be perturbed by their attitudes. Interestingly, these teachers and their students, in fact, displayed a very close and harmonious relationship, both inside and outside the classroom. I did not know how to interpret this phenomenon: Did such behaviour emerge because of the teacher's own disposition and teaching philosophies?—as, for example, reflected in Edi's belief that teachers should be "a bridge for students to cross" or in Hendra's conviction to create "dialogic equality" (see Sections 5.1 and 5.2 for further illustrations). Or was it all part of the institutional culture? Or was it a mixture of both? It was difficult to say, as I only observed three individual teachers at UWJ. However, it did occur to me that the notion of 'respect' (in this context for the teacher) may be interpreted somewhat differently across institutional contexts, and, accordingly, ways of being respectful might also vary in these settings.

Apparently, Hywel Coleman (1996) had also observed similar classroom behaviour in the English language classroom in other Indonesian universities. Quoting from accounts drawing from his diary records in similar ways, Coleman made the following observations about one class he observed:

> Throughout the lesson there was tremendous amount of coming and going, of people changing places, of late comers arriving and searching for seats, and a

> constant noise of people talking, quite openly and loudly, with each other. (Coleman, 1996, p. 67)

> When I entered, Teacher G was using *Kernel Lessons*. … There is a lot of giggling … wandering around and general chaos, whenever he asks students to make sentences individually or to answer questions individually. But there is rapt attention when he does the traditional English teaching act of talking about grammar, but doing it in Bahasa Indonesia. The situation in the class fluctuated dramatically, then, between quiet attention and anarchic chaos. These waves continued throughout the period that I observed him. (Coleman, 1996, p. 68)

Coleman was struck by these aspects of student behaviour. Further, he found a sharp difference in the comments made by foreign and Indonesian educationists in relation to this issue. While seen as unproblematic by most Indonesian educationists, foreign observers of higher education in Indonesia, Coleman noted, tended to make negative evaluative interpretations of the phenomenon. Criticising how English language teaching was conducted at tertiary level in Indonesia, some of these foreign observers, for instance, described the teaching as "'weak'" and "'substandard'" (p. 72). Coleman, however, found these interpretations unsatisfactory. In his attempt to explain the observed behaviour, Coleman then turned to a cultural performance of the Javanese *wayang kulit* (shadow puppets) and drew a parallel between the two events. Highlighting the behaviour of the 'audience' on these two occasions, Coleman noted that foreign observers of *wayang kulit* performances were often astonished by the informality of audience behaviour. Referring to the works of Van Ness and Prawirohardjo (1980), he said:

> Many of the onlookers will come and go from the performance area as they wish … Many will quietly engage in conversation over sweet Javanese tea, often gossiping about the characters as if they were real … There are always some who choose to doze off after the first hour or so, to be awakened with a jolt by the raucous clanging of the fight scenes. (Van Ness and Prawirohardjo, 1980, in Coleman, 1996, p. 74-75)

Coleman also cited Becker (1979) to explain the role of the *dalang* (puppet master), whom he compared to the teacher's role:

> One of the first things a *dalang* learns is that not everyone will respond to a *wayang* in the same way. There is no assumption that everyone will be interested in the same things at the same time; someone will always be dozing. The setting for a *wayang* is noncompulsive, more like a Western sports event than serious theater. It is not shameful or embarrassing to sleep through what someone else is enjoying. (Becker, 1979, in Coleman, 1996, p. 75)

Coleman concluded that "the respect which students have for their teachers is … very similar to that which the audience has for the *dalang*" (p. 75). Though I did not find the above-discussed classroom behaviour in the classes I observed at INU, Coleman's analysis offered a possible *intercultural* explanation for the very different teacher-student relationship I observed at UWJ.

"Read Chairil Anwar first before you read Shakespeare!": Knowing Self as the basis for understanding Others.

In his *Poetry* class, Edi emphasised the importance of familiarising oneself with the local culture first before venturing into the cultures of others. This belief was well reflected in Edi's selection of materials and textbooks. All of the textbooks prescribed for the course were local publications, and most of the poems analysed were written in Bahasa Indonesia. Viewing literary works as "cultural assets" ("*kekayaan budaya*"), Edi believed that in exposing students to local literature he would, at the same time, be enhancing their cultural awareness and fostering an appreciation of their own cultural heritage. "Cultural awareness" and "literary appreciation" were key words in the objectives of the course. The issue of locality was dominant not only in Edi's class but also in the two other classes I observed at UWJ. In this case, the teachers' practices might have also been influenced by the institution's vision and mission, which pointed to the importance of socially constructed local values in mediating practice.

Previous studies in intercultural language pedagogy (e.g., Alred, Byram & Fleming, 2003; Alwasilah, 2001; Kramsch, 1993; Liaw, 2006) have also underscored the importance for teachers of seeing and valuing students' diverse cultural backgrounds as intellectual capital and social assets in teaching and learning environments. They encourage teachers to first and foremost engage students in understanding and being familiar with their own cultures before they are expected to comprehend, tolerate and reflect upon other cultures. Having an awareness of one's own cultural values, expectations, ideologies, and traditions,

they contend, is of paramount importance in developing intercultural awareness and for the students to see the common humanity beneath cultural differences.

Poetry, Edi told me, is a "representation of culture", and to teach it meant engaging himself in the teaching of language and cultural knowledge. "But poetry is not all in the head," he pointed out, "because it must also be felt". For this reason, Edi believed that poetry (along with the other forms of literary works) is a powerful medium to develop one's affective dimensions (see also Gillespie, 1994). By exposing students to the complex human affairs represented through poetry, Edi hoped to raise their levels of sensitivity to cultural differences and their ability to "empathise".

8.2.5   Hendra's *Literature* class.

The subject *Introduction to Literature* was taught to first semester (i.e., first year) students at UWJ, and Hendra's class consisted of approximately thirty students. In this introductory course, students, as stated in the syllabus' course description, were encouraged to read selected literary works, discuss and critically analyse them by highlighting "the stylistic and structural components of each work". Specifically the syllabus outlined two course objectives:

- to develop basic literary tools in order to enrich the understanding, appreciation and enjoyment of literary works;
- to examine literary elements necessary for the comprehension of literary works. (Syllabus documents of *Introduction to Literature*, University of West Java, 2010, p. 1)

The course's required textbooks comprised both international and Indonesian publications. In the classroom, Hendra often demonstrated, in a kind of lecture mode, how well read he was by drawing on both sources of literature and others besides. Yet, outside the class, he would express his concerns to me about his talk. He wondered whether his talk was "too theoretical" and whether the students could actually "connect" to what he was saying. While Hendra had hoped to allocate a significant portion of the class I observed for discussion, his students' lack of active participation seemed to force him to dominate the classroom talk. Hendra's relaxed disposition and his good-humoured nature, nonetheless, appeared to be significant in creating a non-threatening classroom environment, which occasionally did lead to very lively discussions.

Hendra's professional background as a journalist seemed to influence the ways he coordinated teaching and learning activities. For example, he typically wrote up a lecture he had previously given in the form of an essay, which he then shared with the class. He also encouraged his students to do the same with their notes. This course, he pointed out, should not only enable students to "think" about literature but also "write" about it. "Once they see themselves as writers, I'm sure they will read differently," he contended, referring me to Francine Prose's (2006) *Reading Like a Writer*. "So when they do [read like a writer], they don't only examine the substance but also the technique," he continued. Hendra, however, saw the institution's lack of adequate library resources as posing a real challenge to the students' literacy skills development.

In fostering a love of writing in his students, he not only encouraged them to publish but he also actually offered to proofread their work. "I have helped a couple of students publish their articles in *Pikiran Rakyat* [i.e., a local newspaper]," he mentioned in passing. "Some students simply astound me". Citing the *hadith*[32], he often told his students, "*Ikatlah ilmu dengan menuliskannya*" ("Tie knowledge by writing it down"). But being educated, he pointed out to his students, means "having the capacity to generate grounded arguments," and Hendra made it clear that he expected to see this in his students' written appreciation of literary works. It was most notably through sharing his written works with students that Hendra's principle of 'teaching by doing' was clearly reflected in his practices.

Viewing literature as "a symbolic expression of culture", Hendra believed that the study of it can serve as a "bridge" to understanding humanity. In his own words:

> Our understanding of literature cannot be detached from our appreciation toward history. ... And I think literature provides the most suitable 'footbridge' ('*titian*') to understand others, however weak that footbridge is. It is through literature that we can 'dive into' ('*menyelami*') people's characters, even if it's fictive. ... That's because literature ... directly relates to the most fundamental

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[32] *Hadith* refers to "the collected traditions, teachings, and stories of the prophet Muhammad, accepted as a source of Islamic doctrine and law second only to the Koran" (Microsoft Encarta, 2009).

aspect of our being—words. Language. (Hendra, pre-observation interview, 08/09/2010, my translation)

With respect to his stated desire to teach culture through literature, Hendra explained that he tended to focus on three major aspects: the authors, their works and their sociocultural as well as historical contexts. In relation to this, he also considered comparative analysis as an excellent way of expanding one's knowledge about the cultural Other.

Speaking like them: Efforts to minimise the teacher-student hierarchy and to improve learning outcomes

In my observation of his teaching as well as in my conversation with him, Hendra always displayed an easygoing disposition and a casual attitude. Knowing the kind of person he was, still, it was difficult for me to put aside his choice of words of '*teman-teman'* (friends) to refer to his students, both inside and outside the classroom. This, in my view, is a highly unusual position for a higher education teacher to take, especially in the Indonesian context, which is often labelled as emphasising social hierarchy, belonging to the so-called high power distance society. The rationale for this word choice became evident as he spoke of his professional beliefs (see also Section 5.2). On different occasions, he repeatedly underlined his desire, upon entering the world of academia, to "grow together in mutual support":

> We [teachers] have the task to assist the new generation to grow …. And I think that's the moral responsibility of the teacher. … So, personally, I see teaching as making a kind of contribution to Indonesia's future development. Whether it will be a better Indonesia, that will more or less be determined by what we do in academia. … So our moral responsibility is to 'accompany' (*menemani*) the new generation to develop Indonesia. … But I must also honestly say that I enjoy teaching. I really do. … So it may be that there's an aspect of moral obligation [to teaching] but I also have personal interests in it. (Hendra, post-observation interview, 24/11/2010, my translation)

To realise his aspirations, Hendra strongly believes that the hierarchy between teachers and students needs to be minimised so that "dialogic equality" ("*kesejajaran dialogis"*) can be achieved. "If we embrace the notion of 'growing together', then there shouldn't be any feeling of superiority. We're both learning," he stated emphatically. Hendra viewed both teachers and students as mutually supporting each other's growth, as he pointed out,

"When a student comes to me, that student actually gives some kind of moral support to me personally. So it's not just me motivating them, but I must admit that they also motivate me. In the end, we strengthen each other." In view of this, Hendra tended to see students' perception of teachers as "experts" as problematic, for it could hinder them from challenging the teacher.

Despite his impressive professional journey as a journalist and a writer, Hendra felt that he still had very limited teaching experience. He admitted that he didn't "know much about pedagogy", yet there was no doubt in his mind that he was "very passionate about teaching". Hendra was constantly experimenting with his teaching approaches, which were marked by "trial and error", as he called it. However, he claimed to be "very open to variation and improvisation".

Regardless of his pedagogical approach, Hendra believed that creating a relaxed, non-threatening classroom atmosphere was paramount in supporting students' learning. He believed that such an environment would be particularly helpful in better engaging students. Further, he also indicated that it would be helpful to let students know that "you're on the same wavelength" with them. He remarked:

> Though I still don't know how to teach, I will try my best to adjust myself to their language. Because this [teaching] is also a matter of language. Language in a broad sense. I'm sure my students have their own language. And we, as parents, do too. So, to better connect with them, we have to speak their language. … Don't get too complicated. Okay, we'll take it easy. (Hendra, pre-observation interview, 08/09/2010, my translation)

Throughout my observations, I saw Hendra's professional identity as a teacher constantly shifting, most notably between a "companion", "counsellor" and a "parent". In regard to the last-mentioned role, Geertz (1976) had long ago observed the parent-child relationship among Indonesian *guru* and *murid* (student). Speaking in the context of Javanese *pesantren* (i.e., traditional religious school), he wrote:

> The *guru* is symbolic father to the *murid*. He is often referred to as such; and when a man says 'my parent' he is often talking not about his father but about his *guru*, who, in turn, treats him as a son. (Geertz, 1976, p. 332)

Although Hendra is but one individual teacher, his discourses underlining the notion of "dialogic equality", nevertheless, point to a move away from the traditionally perceived

identity of a teacher. Interestingly, Hendra did not seem to see it as being in contradiction with the 'parental role' of the teacher.

8.2.6   Bayu's Indonesian *History and Culture* class.

Bayu's *Indonesian History and Culture* class, which was a three-credit hour course, was attended by the same group of students attending Edi's *Poetry* class. It consisted of approximately 25-30 students, who were mostly third semester students. Similar to the other two classes I observed at UWJ, the first row of the class was always empty, with students preferring to sit towards the back of the room. Even though Bayu, as he expressed to me, had a somewhat negative opinion regarding such seating preferences, he never voiced it in class. He gave the impression of respecting the students' individual choices. His use of '*saudara*', which indicates a formal term of address to refer to a second person pronoun, in his classroom interaction with students, he remarked, should also be interpreted as his way of "respecting them as adults".

"'Disseminate knowledge, even if only one verse'[33]": Instilling critical thinking, nurturing cultural identity and assuming the parental role of the teacher

Bayu's extreme punctuality astonished me. Although the timetable indicated that the class was supposed to start at 7 a.m., during the semester in which I regularly observed Bayu's classes, he was always present in the class well before 7 a.m—even when no one else was present. This, as he pointed out, should indicate to the students that "I do what I preach. I teach by example." As with all other classes I observed at the two institutions, teacher talk, however, constituted a significant part of the classroom interaction in Bayu's classroom. Despite the students' lack of active participation, they did appear to be attentive and interested. Bayu wished to see more student engagement in the teaching and learning processes.

As the title indicates, this course studied Indonesian history and culture. It particularly focused on the following themes: formation of culture, cultural systems and processes of cultural change, archaeological relics, societal development in Indonesia's early times, society and the role of literature, language and communication, and theoretical linguistics of the English language. But, as Bayu underlined, "The course should definitely *not* be

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[33] This is a saying taken from the *hadith* that is often cited by Bayu.

about memorisation of facts." Rather, he personally hoped that this course would enable students to gain better understanding of "the different dimensions of life", "to learn from the past" and ultimately to gain better "awareness of self". By connecting theoretical concepts with real-life phenomena embedded concretely within their local contexts, Bayu perceived the course as equipping students with "life skills" through developing their abilities to "filter" and to make "informed decisions". This, he believed, should then provide a strong basis for them to understand their own cultural identities and to "work out where to go". By knowing who they are—their traditions and cultural roots—Bayu hoped that his students would become more critical in "taking in" Western influences. Quoting the Indonesian proverb "*keledai tidak pernah terperosok ke dalam lubang yang sama*" ("a donkey never falls into the same trap"), Bayu remarked that "a person who understands history will not repeat his/her past mistakes". The study of culture, however, as Bayu cautioned, should not automatically be associated with history or historical artefacts, which he viewed as a "very common misconception" within Indonesia's education as, he pointed out, it tended to emphasise the historical aspect of culture.

Apparently, Bayu's concerns about being critical in "taking in" Western influences echo those voiced by many Indonesian scholars, such as Alwasilah (2006), Rosidi (2009a) and Sumardjo (2010) in the last decade. Sumardjo (2010), for example, highlights aspects of cultural instability and discontinuity as a result of globalisation. Taking the case of the Sundanese community, one of Indonesia's largest ethnic groups, he describes how English and Western ideologies have infiltrated into and impacted this societal group:

> Most of us have been raised in the exposure to Western attitudes since elementary school. Experiences and knowledge about Sundaneseness have never been passed down to us. Already, not a few of us are becoming anti-ethnic culture and wish soon to be "non-Sundanese", in the sense of being modern like the world citizens in general. … And Sundanese (culture) has long been forgotten. We even want to forget the language. We prefer giving our paintings English titles, because that is the modern international language. (Sumardjo, 2010, p. 5, my translation)

In raising the students' cultural awareness, Bayu, despite his claim to be "neutral", also deliberately incorporated religious values in his teaching, which he believed should provide a basis for his students to "filter" what is good and bad, what to take in and what not. He said:

> I try to instil religious values in my students ... to help them understand their own cultural values—whether good or bad. Obviously, being aware of these values is something that they need to have a good grasp of. But we are neutral. We convey to them as it is. Students need to have an understanding of their own cultural values ... and need to be aware of the implications of their choices, including when they 'imitate' Western practices. They need to be able to filter what are in line with their cultural or national identity and what are not. ... For example the way they behave, dress, interact. At present, cultural or religious values are no longer reflected [in what they do]. It's ironic. The [Western] influence is far too strong. I only have sixteen sessions of face-to-face meetings with them, but their interaction with the environment is so intense. So maybe [what I teach] *masuk telinga kanan, keluar telinga kiri* [literally means 'enter right ear, exit left ear' indicating that his teaching may be of little impact]. But that's the effort I make. And so I see myself as having a mission, perhaps not so much to set straight but rather to inform. (Bayu, pre-observation interview, 15/09/2010, my translation)

For Bayu, successful teaching "is not necessarily all about grades. It is the *attitudes* of the students that matter most to me," he pointed out. Bayu would consider himself successful as a teacher if his students would still "look up" to him even after the course had long ended. Bayu made it clear that a parental role is an important dimension of teacher identity, and to him, "what goes on outside the classroom is oftentimes more significant than what goes on inside". Such a comment represented the importance in Bayu's philosophy of teaching: maintaining meaningful and lasting relationships with his students was a central requirement for successful teaching.

8.3 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I have attempted to elucidate the teachers' conceptualisations of interculturality and highlight some aspects of their classroom practices that raise interesting questions about these conceptualisations. Evidently, each teacher had his/her individual interpretations of what it means to *be* intercultural and to *do* interculturality. This is clearly mediated by their own personal trajectories, cultural histories and social contexts. Despite these teachers' shifting definitions of interculturality, it is evident that their conceptions are animated and underpinned by particular understandings of culture. Yet, the teachers' theorisation of interculturality and interculturalism may not necessarily be in line with those concepts commonly discussed in the literature (particularly in

Western academia). While some general underlying principles of interculturality tend to be agreed upon, such as embracing the idea of encountering, acknowledging, engaging with and understanding 'the Other', Otherness, as this study indicates, is defined differently by different individuals. Its meaning, however, appears to be dialogically linked to one's definitions and conceptions of culture, identity and belonging. The teachers, too, implied that Otherness varied in degree and form. For example, because of the different social languages Hendra considered his students to speak, he perceived his interaction with them as also constituting intercultural acts and processes. However, the "degrees of difference" (Lavanchy, Gajardo, & Dervin, 2011, p. 8) can be seen as asymmetrical if he were to compare his Indonesian students with nationally foreign Others. This study shows that the concept of Otherness is a slippery and elusive construct, as much influenced by personal histories and experience as by social, cultural and political contexts. Otherness is indeed a complicated construct, whose meaning is unstable and changeable, relative to where one situates one's self (Dervin, 2011).

In this chapter, my inquiry into different teachers' conceptions of interculturality has been shown to be closely intertwined with their conceptions of culture. In examining the interconnectedness between these two conceptions, I have also raised a number of cultural issues, particularly those relevant to particular classroom contexts, which I perceive could pose a challenge to the teachers' stated intentions to promote intercultural pedagogy and the development of intercultural competence. The issues of social hierarchy and respect appear to be among the most prevalent concerns that the teachers raised in their conversations with me and which I also found on many occasions during my classroom observations. While these 'ingrained' cultural values may not always be seen to be in alignment with the principles espoused in the international literature about intercultural pedagogy, the teachers in this study have pointed to the dynamic and multi-dimensional nature of interculturality. They, too, have suggested that the notion of interculturality is co-constructed, dialogic and context-dependent. It seems important to note, as Sandra did, that in an intercultural experience, becoming more intercultural does not equate with becoming more like 'the Other'.

In highlighting how interculturalism has informed the teaching and learning of the six teachers I observed—hence my focus on 'pedagogy'—this chapter has suggested the important relation of pedagogy to discipline and one's conceptions of teaching. The *kinds* of intercultural pedagogy enacted in the classrooms by Nancy, Sandra, Benny, Edi, Hendra and Bayu can be seen to be intricately intertwined with the kinds of subjects they were teaching and their own teaching philosophies. Although none explicitly claimed to adopt

an 'intercultural approach' as such in their teaching, different ways of promoting intercultural understanding as well as efforts to develop students' intercultural competence have been clearly shown by these teachers.

My analysis of the teachers' discourses and practices indicates that the teachers tended to associate intercultural pedagogy with the idea of developing students' ability to 'shuttle' between different spaces, which can encompass national, ethnic and/or religious boundaries, depending on the subject being taught. For example, in Bayu's *Indonesian History and Culture* class, it was inter-ethnic understanding that tended to be foregrounded, while Nancy's *Intercultural Communication* class emphasised national entity as its defining unit of analysis. Furthermore, my observations of the six teachers' classrooms revealed that their institutions seemed to play an important role in shaping their knowledge and practices and in mediating the ways they enacted the curriculum. In line with the vision and mission of the University of West Java, which emphasised the importance of "conserv[ing], preserv[ing] and develop[ing]" cultural and religious values, the intercultural pedagogy adopted by the three teachers—Edi, Hendra and Bayu—in this university all distinctly pointed to an orientation towards an understanding of the Self— one's cultural identity and belonging—which these teachers then drew on to explore cultural Others. On the other hand, Indonesia National University's key agenda to "internationalise" its status as an education provider seemed to mediate Nancy's, Sandra's and Benny's intercultural teaching in the ways that they were seen to be strongly oriented towards the 'macro' or the global aspect of interculturality.

Clearly, intercultural pedagogy is not only embedded in 'the what' (i.e., the content) but also 'the how' (i.e., the relational and procedural approaches) of teaching. My analysis of the curricula, however, reveals that a number of these documents, such as that implemented in Nancy's *Intercultural Communication* classroom, tend to "miniaturize" (Dervin, 2010, p. 3) cultural Others through reinforcing a national paradigm (see also Section 7.1.3), hence running the risk of presenting them in simplistic and reductionist ways. The discrepancy between what the curriculum stated and what the teacher knew and enacted in the classroom added another layer of complexity to the implementation of intercultural pedagogy. This shows that the concept of interculturality—despite its frequent appearance and the urgency with which it is promoted in various curricula in Indonesian higher education—has almost inevitably been understood and enacted in different ways by different stakeholders. As indicated in Nancy's *Intercultural Communication* curriculum, it is possible for curriculum developers in some institutional settings to 'misconceive' a traditional culturalist approach as intercultural learning. The

teachers, too, illustrated why terms like 'intercultural' and 'interculturality' are so keenly contested in debates around the world. The teachers in this study appeared to reveal conflicting stances or tension-ridden positions in their own stated conceptions of interculturality and intercultural learning, and my observations of their classrooms revealed inconsistencies and tensions between their words and actions. This further confirmed the need for this study to have been carefully situated and contextualised with respect to the individual teachers I have reported on and the context within which they were working. I also attempted to remain ever mindful of the imperative of being sensitive to the shifting nuances of experiences perceived as intercultural in my accounts of the teachers' practices.

Chapter 9

Appreciating Intercultural Dynamics: A Way Forward

> And of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the diversity of your languages and your colours. Indeed in that are signs for those of knowledge. (Al-Qur'an, 30: 22)

As I was planning this final chapter, reflecting and pondering upon the multiplicity of issues and dimensions my PhD study has generated, my mind drifted to one particular 'moment' in this personal-academic journey which, to me, reflects the dynamic, multifaceted and multidimensional nature of 'the intercultural'. Just a few months before this thesis is due, I was blessed with the opportunity to undertake the annual *hajj* pilgrimage. While I am aware that this Islamic pilgrimage has frequently been reported to be one of the largest gatherings in the world, the realisation that it could offer—besides a sense of spiritual fulfilment—rich intercultural potential and engagement opportunities had not hit me until I lived the experience myself. Witnessing people from all around the world flocking to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, to enact a religious duty that represents one of Islam's five pillars of faith, I was astounded at how a religious practice, which is often seen as a personal matter, could connect individuals at an international level. As I encountered and engaged with people of different races, nationalities and cultural backgrounds, it became apparent to me that the *hajj* was unmistakably also an intercultural space. José Irizarry (2003), an American theologian, proposes that "the faith community is *intercultural* in that people with distinct cultural perspectives come together to forge a shared religious identity" (p. 365, original emphasis). Besides providing a setting for cultural exchange of information and knowledge, the *hajj*, as I have come to realise, is also an open place for interculturalism to flourish, for developing mutual respect and understanding, tolerance, as well as a sense of equity and belonging among individuals across communities and nations.

The intercultural engagement I experienced during the *hajj* clearly resonates with some of the conceptual work I have drawn on to investigate the identity work of a group of 'intercultural teachers' in this study. While the *hajj* experience may be seen to point to a quite different dimension of "the intercultural dynamics" (Irizarry, 2003, p. 365), in that it foregrounds the religious dimension of one's identity work, it nevertheless can also be perceived as portraying the complexity and diversity of interculturality. Both contexts—

the *hajj* and the present study—show that, despite the differing circumstances of the intercultural encounters, participation in interculturality can be characterised by developing "an awareness and a respect of difference" (Kramsch, 2005, p. 553), as well as an understanding of and tolerance towards cultural Others.

In this thesis, I have explored how a group of 'intercultural teachers' in two Indonesian universities understand themselves, their work and the context within which they undertake that work. The study has brought together various dimensions of teacher identity work as well as their knowledge, beliefs and practices, particularly in relation to language and culture pedagogy. 'Identity work' has, indeed, emerged as a central concept in this study. By generating detailed accounts of how the teacher participants understand their *teaching selves*, as well as how they perceive and implement their teaching of the *English language*, of *culture* and of *interculturality*, the study aimed to contribute to a better understanding of the everyday challenges and dilemmas of teaching interculturalism in the Indonesian higher education context. The study also attempted to better understand the implications for intercultural learning.

Specifically, the study addressed the following research questions:

- How do Indonesian teachers of English in Indonesian higher education settings understand themselves and their work within the global politics of English?
- What are their conceptions of culture and intercultural learning, and how do these conceptions relate to practice?
- How are these teachers' practices mediated by their sense of personal and professional identity as well as the wider societal and institutional cultures?

Rather than attempting to answer these questions sequentially, I took as a point of departure in my analysis some central philosophical beliefs that underpinned and informed the research inquiry. Ivor Goodson's (1980-1981) proposition—"in understanding something so intensely personal as teaching it is critical that we know about the person the teacher is" (p. 69)—is central to the design and the undertaking of this study. Drawing on the sociocultural perspectives of teacher identity and identity work, my study has also taken as its fundamental tenet that teachers' everyday classroom practice is dynamically and inextricably interconnected with the sociocultural and political contexts in which the teacher is situated. In order to examine this tenet and to reflect on its relevance to the lives of the teachers, I have thus purposefully foregrounded the ideas of 'teacher as a person' and 'teacher as a cultural being' in my first analysis chapter, "Teaching Selves: Philosophies, Agency and Dilemmas" (Chapter Five). I have shown in

that chapter how 'the personal', 'the professional', 'the institutional' and 'the cultural' all intermingle within the 'teaching selves'. Issues pertaining to the teachers' work, such as those related to the teaching of *English* (see research question one) and the teaching of *culture* and *interculturality* (see research question two) have been thoroughly dealt with one by one, as presented in Chapter Six, Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight respectively. In these chapters, I began by exploring the teachers' understandings of the aforementioned key concepts and related these conceptualisations to how they were manifested in the classroom. This was achieved by employing two major analytical approaches: thematic theory-driven and case-based data-driven analyses (see Section 4.7.3).

In all of the four analysis chapters, I have explored and discussed, whether explicitly or implicitly, the question of how the teachers' practices are influenced and mediated by their sense of personal and professional identity as well as the wider societal and institutional cultures (see research question three). In addressing the question this way, I attempted to show the complex interplay and the multifaceted nature of the sociopolitical and sociocultural landscape of the classroom in relation to the teachers' practices and beliefs. In each of these chapters, I have also raised and discussed different ethical tensions that existed within the teachers' professional spaces. In presenting my analysis this way, I have simultaneously pointed to the "co-relationships between language, culture, context and identity" (Hawkins, 2004, p. 4).

Before proceeding to a consideration of the implications of the 'findings' of this study, I wish to first revisit the key issues that have emerged through my research. Below I review, using Gee's (1999, 2011a, 2011b) approach to discourse analysis, the issues surrounding English, culture, interculturality and teacher identity and draw together the many threads and perspectives that have emerged.

9.1   Revisiting English, Culture, Interculturality and Teacher Identity: A Discourse Analytical Approach

This study has argued that an explicitly discursive approach to studying language, culture and identity allows the researcher to engage with the dynamics and complexity of the processes of meaning making that encompass different cultural codes, experiences and realities. Put simply, it enables the researcher to interrogate in a nuanced way how individual teachers and groups of teachers operate in particular but changing circumstances. Gee's (1999) concept of *Discourse* has provided a key to understanding how the teachers in this study made sense of their world, operated within it and engaged

with the power-knowledge relationships within their professional spaces. This is because the concept of 'big D' Discourse crucially involves examining how meanings are constructed, and dialogically negotiated, through social interaction. This, in turn, has allowed me to recognise the multiple identities of my participants in different practices and contexts. Indeed, my interactions with the teachers outside the class and my observations of their classrooms pointed to multiple *socially situated identities* in these teachers, and I noticed how their identities shifted from context to context. Nonetheless, I also realised that even a given context could involve shifting multiple (yet related) identities. For example, in my observation of Hendra's teaching, I saw his identity as a teacher constantly shifting between a 'companion', 'counsellor' and a 'parent' (see Section 8.2.5).

Within the classroom context, the teachers' situated identities predominantly involved the combinations of the following:

- *teacher as giver of knowledge* (Dardjowidjojo, 2001; Liu, 1998; Macbeth, 1991; Salzberger-Wittenberg, Henry, & Osborne, 1983)
- *teacher as facilitator of learning* (Burden, 2004; Larsen-Freeman, 1986; Littlewood, 1981; Rardin, 1977; Reeve, 2006; Smith & Lusterman, 1979; Withall, 1975)
- *teacher as parent* (Clarken, 1997; Geertz, 1976; Murphy, Pinnegar, & Pinnegar, 2011)
- *teacher as companion* (Cramp, 2008; Ellis, 1996; Hantzopoulos, 2013)
- *teacher as counsellor* (Holden, 1969; Tudor, 1993; Willis, 2003)
- *teacher as moral guide* (Fenstermacher, 1990; Hansen, 1998, 2001a, 2001b; Le, 2013; Phan, 2008)

Some of these identities were particularly dominant when the teachers spoke about themselves as teaching and learning alongside their students. Invariably, the teachers' stated beliefs indicated that the identities they predominantly foregrounded in the classroom had been influenced and mediated by their own conceptions of teaching and philosophies as teachers. Thus, for example, it came as no surprise that Hendra, who believed in creating "dialogic equality" in his "enacted professionalism" (Hilferty, 2008, p. 162), often positioned himself as a "companion" for his students, rather than a *guru*. In contrast, Bayu, in his conviction that teachers should be role models for students, frequently brought to the fore the parental role of the teacher both inside and outside the

classroom. This aspect of identity work illustrates an example of how teacher beliefs can be concretely reflected in practice.

Despite the different emphases that my participants placed in the enactment of their various situated identities, they all unanimously agreed that 'morality' constituted an important and integral dimension of their identity work as teachers in Indonesian university settings. It constituted a key element in their conceptions of being a good teacher. My analysis of the 'teaching selves' presented in Chapter Five indicates that, whether they realised it or not, these teachers, in different ways, placed moral considerations at the heart of their work. It is this moral dimension that provided them with a strong sense of purpose in teaching. The teachers' stories thus serve to confirm the belief that teaching is not only an intellectual journey but it is also integrally a moral practice.

A discursive approach to studying identity, as exemplified by Gee's discourse analysis, has also proved useful in identifying and interpreting inconsistencies and contradictions within teaching selves and in unravelling how tensions inform and mediate the teacher participants' work. Drawing on Gee's (2011a) analytical framework, which places an emphasis on understanding the dynamic and dialogic relationship between 'text' and 'context', I was able to scrutinise how certain d/Discourses were constructed by and constructed in different contexts, and how they ultimately influenced and shaped the different teachers' identity work (see Figure 1 for the study's overall analytical framework). Consequently, rather than generating and perpetuating a 'deficit model' of the teachers' practices and pointing out the inadequacies within their teaching selves and work, I have positioned myself here as a researcher who is keen on "re-assert[ing] the importance of the teacher: of knowing the teacher, of listening to the teacher and of speaking with the teacher" (Goodson, 1992, p. 234), thus attempting to understand and to engage with the dilemmas and tensions that these teachers were confronting in their professional spaces.

Contradictions, as my preliminary analysis indicated, were evident in both the teachers' spoken discourses and their actions. Yet, such inconsistencies in the data only served to confirm the existence of multiply constructed realities and to provide further insights into the ongoing identity work my participants were engaged in. A good grasp of the contexts in which the participants were situated allowed me to construct 'meaningful stories' out of those events and to develop a more balanced, methodologically rigorous and nuanced understanding of their identity work. Seeing myself as a 'travelling scholar', who has not

only been exposed to the global dynamics of knowledge, moving across discourses, but also physically crossing geographical boundaries, I have become greatly intrigued in exploring the intercultural space and investigating how other professionals relate to and understand interculturality as well as how this understanding may be enacted in practice.

Indeed, a more in-depth analysis of the data suggested that contextual factors held an important key to understanding the teachers' identity work, revealing hitherto unknown explanations for the inconsistencies or contradictions they had displayed. While the teachers' understandings generally served to mediate their work, contextual factors, such as meeting institutional demands and policy imperatives, as well as the wider social and cultural factors were found to have also influenced their pedagogical planning and classroom practices, which, in turn, could result in conflict and tension within these teachers' selves. An instance of how contextual factors and sociocultural structures interrelated and mediated teachers' work can be clearly seen in Nancy's teaching of her *Intercultural Communication* class. In interviews, Nancy constantly emphasised the importance of instilling and fostering critical thinking in her students, which she herself had been much exposed to through study abroad. I was therefore puzzled when I discovered in my early classroom observations that much of her teaching was transmissive and teacher-centred. I was also perplexed when she told me that she neither required her students to show proactive participation nor considered their lack of overt participation as a problem. While Nancy could have been seen as being inconsistent in her intended and enacted curriculum, a closer scrutiny of the context pointed to the difficulty of maintaining one's professional identity as a dialogic, intercultural educator when one had to teach in a classroom of 50-60 students. Nancy's own cultural conceptions of 'Indonesian students' and her particular understandings of student identity and culture, which she connected to the notion of collectivism, apparently also played a role in her "enacted professionalism" (Hilferty, 2008, p. 162). The concept of *cultural models* was especially useful in making visible some of the underlying beliefs and values that informed the speech and actions of Nancy and the other teacher participants (see Sections 7.2.1, 7.2.3 and 8.2.1).

Nancy revealed, in different contexts, other seemingly contradictory dimensions of her professional identity. In her conversations with me, Nancy was quick to 'speak her mind'. Thus she would speak openly about the dilemmas she was confronting in her work and critique the various policy imperatives and institutional demands that sparked tensions within her professional identity. With me, Nancy never seemed to hide what she called the "sinner" side of her identity. As a colleague of hers, one who worked in the institution

where Nancy was working at the time of study, I would probably have been considered as an 'insider' by Nancy—someone who was in a position to understand and empathise with her experiences. Apparently, our relationship and mutual trust had also encouraged a certain openness in the way Nancy responded to my questions. Yet, when Nancy 'co-taught' with a more senior teacher in the *Intercultural Communication* class, I witnessed a different dimension of her—a compliant "saint" who projected an image of a respectful and conforming member of the institution. On one level, the identity politics played out by Nancy could be read as reflecting a significant degree of sensitivity to the prevailing "Discourse" (Gee, 1999). On another level, Nancy's shifting situated identities were also reflective of how identity construction is relational and co-constructed, confirming that identity work must necessarily be seen as ongoing, dynamic and grounded in context.

Shifting the discussion specifically to the discourses and practices related to the English language within the Indonesian higher education context, Bayu's stance was a particularly interesting one to investigate. His starkly different views about the English language and his critical attitude towards the West distinguished him from the other teacher participants. Yet, in interviews I noticed that he sometimes revealed inconsistencies in what he said; despite a seemingly antipathetic attitude to the West, it was apparent that he was fond of code-mixing *Bahasa Indonesia* with English, while also constantly drawing on Western theories and concepts to convey his ideas and thoughts. Discourse analysis of this phenomenon, however, enabled me to realise that my interpretation of the so-called inconsistencies displayed by Bayu could, in fact, have also been mediated by particular wordviews I held. I initially perceived Bayu's act of speaking as being inconsistent in the above instance because I adopted the philosophical outlook that language and culture are intricately intertwined, whereas Bayu appeared to have been of the conviction that "English is a language of communicational necessity, not of cultural identity" (Kumaravadivelu, 2006, p. 19).

This study's flexible and exploratory nature allowed me to delve into how my teacher participants lived these kinds of contradictions in their everyday work. In the context of English language teaching, a recurrent issue spoken about by many participants relates to the status of English as an international language (EIL). Despite the teachers' awareness that this status had some pedagogical implications for their teaching, the issues of EIL often placed them in a dilemma: on the one hand, they wanted to acknowledge the different varieties of English and to empower their students with choices but, on the other hand, they also needed to maintain their status as members of an institution and to some extent to conform to its culture and expectations. In such cases, the teachers' autonomy

and agency were challenged, and their own stated intentions often had to give way to institutional demands. This study indicated that the teachers' institutions played an important role in influencing their practices and in mediating the ways they enacted the curriculum.

In spite of the aforementioned dilemmas, most of the teachers supported the idea that English is a language of development, opportunity and modernity, associating it with sources of enrichment and empowerment. These teachers also projected a powerful image of the English language as worthy and desirable. Drawing on the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977), I connected these teachers' conceptualisations of English to the notion of English as capital. Their discourses revealed that English was seen to symbolise different forms of capital—economic, social and cultural—all of which had the capacity to convert to some form of symbolic capital. Further, their discourses seemed to point to an understanding of 'capital' as a dynamic notion, in which it constituted not only status and power but also the potential to acquire more assets. English-as-capital, as I have argued in Chapter Six, has been portrayed as offering a pathway to success, while simultaneously encapsulating the notion of success itself.

In the classroom, the discourses of the English language seemed to go hand in hand with the discourses of 'the West'. For many teachers, the West appeared to have functioned as a significant point of reference in defining 'Self'. Yet, their statements and representations of the imaginary West also suggested the existence of a 'love-hate relationship' towards it—'the West' being constantly portrayed as simultaneously the object of desire and resentment. Despite the teachers' complex and dynamic conceptualisations of culture, the study found evidence that the logic of binarism—the self-other dichotomy—persisted in the teachers' construction of cultural groupings (see Chapter Seven). This situation appears to have been exacerbated by the fact that the larger policy mandate, as reflected in curriculum documents, reinforced a reified understanding of language and culture, often with an assumed clear-cut boundary between 'target culture' and 'native culture'. Although subjects such as *Intercultural Communication* and *Cultural Studies* have been recently introduced into the curriculum in an attempt to explore more critical and complex understandings of culture and language, a policy framework that tends to encourage essentialist framings sometimes seems to have prompted unintentional confirmation of cultural stereotypes in my participants' teaching.

The data further suggested that the teachers' understandings of culture had influenced how interculturality came to be conceptualised and how intercultural learning was

ultimately facilitated in the classroom. As Lavanchy, Gajardo and Dervin (2011) maintain, "the term 'culture' [is] a term to which the 'intercultural' is etymologically and epistemologically linked" (p. 8). While the teachers' perceptions and statements worked to support the dialogic connections between the two concepts, the discussion presented in Chapter Eight indicated that the teachers' theorisation and interpretation of 'being intercultural' and 'doing interculturality'—and hence their enactment and implementation of intercultural pedagogy in the classroom—apparently could not be detached from their own personal trajectories, cultural histories and social contexts. In effect, multiple understandings of the term 'interculturality' emerged. Through presenting and critically analysing my participants' perceptions and practices, I have, in that chapter, pointed to the shifting and multifaceted nature of interculturality. Despite the complexity that this concept encompasses, the logic of binarism, however, was found to continue to serve as its 'guiding principle'. While the six teacher participants unanimously agreed that interculturalism embraced the idea of encountering, acknowledging, engaging with, understanding and appreciating 'the Other', the study has shown that Otherness was defined differently by different individuals (see Section 8.3). As a social construct for the teachers in this study, Otherness, indeed, varied in degree and forms (cf. Lavanchy et al., 2011).

Just as identity is relational and dialogic in its interactivity with a range of factors and people, I have shown that the notion of interculturality, too, tends to be co-constructed, dialogic and context-dependent. Further, in the same way as English has been perceived as capital, projecting "the language of power and of upward social mobility" (Kamwangamalu, 2007, p. 270), so, too, the ability to relate to Otherness—an idea contained within the concept of 'intercultural competence'—can be seen as capital that "can lead to fulfilment on a personal level [as well as] awareness and empowerment on a social and political level", hence equipping individuals to become "engaged world citizens" (Pegrum, 2008, p. 137).

9.2 Rethinking Language, Culture and Intercultural Pedagogy: Implications and Recommendations

I went on towards the bamboo house. It was not only from Europe that so much could be learned! This modern age had provided many breasts to suckle me—from among the Natives themselves, from Japan, China, America, India, Arabia, from all the peoples on the face of this earth. … In humility I realised I

am a child of all nations, of all ages, past and present. (*Child of All Nations[34]*,
Pramoedya Ananta Toer, 1984, p. 127)

I wish to begin my discussion here by drawing on the central idea contained in the
epigraph above—the global dynamics of knowledge—to the current idea of English as an
international language (EIL). The global spread of English is, indeed, undeniably real, as it
can be seen to circulate across multiple sites, flowing across national borders shaping and
reshaping localities in varying degrees. In 'Nationalism, Identity and Popular Culture',
Pennycook (2010) explores in great detail the ways in which global flows of language and
culture have opened up complexities as well as new possibilities for identity formation.
Given the global spread of the English language, in the EIL literature English has frequently
been associated with the notion of a "pluricentric" language (Clyne & Sharifian, 2008, p.
28.4), that is, a language which is characterised by different phonological,
morphosyntactic, lexical and pragmatic norms. Embedded within this idea of pluricentric
English is a rethinking of language ownership attached to the English language. In effect,
many scholars in this area have recurrently called for the need to be sensitive to the
diversity and multiplicity of Englishes in communicative norms.

Framing debates about English language teaching in international contexts, Chamberlin-
Quinlisk and Senyshyn (2012) argue that in today's globalised world "a nonnative speaker
can claim ownership of English as much as a native speaker". Accordingly, they believe
that it is important for teachers of English *not* to assume that mastery of the language "will
enrich the lives of disempowered students; rather that empowered students may be
looking for additional voices through which they can express multiple identities" (p. 20).
Yet, we cannot overlook the fact that the notion of 'norms' encapsulated by the English
language has also raised a long-standing debate in many academic circles across the globe,
raising questions about 'standards' and acceptability of grammatical, pragmatic and
discourse variations within pedagogical contexts (see, for example, Byram & Risager,
1999; Farrell, Singh, & Giri, 2011; Sharifian, 2009). Over a decade ago, however, Milroy
(1999) already proposed that "what is involved is only superficially a debate about
language and is more fundamentally a debate about ideologies" (p. 23). As we have learnt

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[34] See Appendix 7 for the original text of *Child of All Nations* (*Anak Semua Bangsa*) in the Indonesian
language.

from this study, English language teaching can never be seen as merely transferring a set of linguistic knowledge and skills that promises language development to students; ELT involves social, cultural, economic and political activity, which carries with it complex histories and discursive or ideological orders (Chamberlin-Quinlisk & Senyshyn, 2012; Dogancay-Aktuna, 2006; Hornberger & McKay, 2010). Seen in this light, language policy imperatives and directives of an institution can reveal a great deal about the cultural, social and political ideologies that frame that institution (cf. Liddicoat, 2009).

In the context of the present study, it is evident that despite a move away in the teachers' perceptions from the "native speaker paradigm" (Álvarez, 2007, p. 126), the larger policy mandates of Indonesia National University and the University of West Java appeared to continue to revolve around the belief that "standard Englishes are inner circle Englishes" (Tupas, 2010, p. 568). These policy mandates also tended to reinforce essentialist framings in studies of culture. While this thesis has critically scrutinised Kachru's model of the three circles of Englishes, it has also pointed to ethical tensions emerging in the teachers' enactment of the curriculum due to policy pressures being set against their beliefs to prioritise the needs of their students in particular sociocultural contexts. This, again, resulted in occasional inconsistencies between the teachers' stated beliefs and their instructional practices. Their autonomy and agency were further challenged by the hierarchical institutional culture as well as the limited resources available to them. The teachers in this study would probably find Tupas' (2010) observation of ELT practices in Singapore to resonate with their own professional experiences: "There is a great imbalance between the powerful sociolinguistic arguments for particular models for teaching English *and* the necessary, but scarce, pedagogic applications of the proposed models" (p. 569, original emphasis).

In drawing attention to the ways in which my participants' agency as teachers in higher education is diminished by policy imperatives, institutional culture and curricular demands, I wish to underline the importance of enabling the "meetings of minds" (Coulby, 2006, p. 253) of various education stakeholders, particularly policy makers, curriculum planners, teacher educators and researchers, to revisit and to fundamentally reconceptualise the current implementation of language, culture and intercultural pedagogy across Indonesian higher education institutions. This study has shown the importance for these institutions to move beyond the rhetorical discourses embedded in EIL and embrace a framework that allows teachers and students alike to explore more critical and complex understandings of language, culture and interculturality. These are understandings that would better enable critical and reflexive dialogue between one's Self

and the Other and genuinely promote tolerance and appreciation of differences. In so doing, the value of seeing students' diverse cultural backgrounds as intellectual capital and social assets in the learning environment should certainly not be overlooked. Previous studies in intercultural language pedagogy (Alred, Byram, & Fleming, 2003; Kramsch, 1993; Leeman & Ledoux, 2003; Liaw, 2006) have underscored the importance for teachers of engaging students in developing an understanding and awareness of themselves and of their own cultures before they are expected to comprehend, tolerate, appreciate and reflect upon the Other. It is important for the students to see the common humanity beneath cultural differences.

In developing "a negotiated interactional space between cultures" (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 20.4), it is crucial for students to realise how becoming more intercultural does not equate with becoming more like 'them'. Here, Kumaravadivelu's (2008) 'tale' of one of India's greatest leaders, Mahatma Gandhi, in his encounters with the Western cultural traditions is worth noting. He writes:

> [Gandhi's] encounters with his native and foreign cultures produced in him an enriched and enlightened cultural persona. While he gladly opened his windows to let alien cultural winds to flow freely into his house, and while he used them to shape his own thought and action, his feet were firmly planted on the cultural core that he inherited. He repeatedly emphasized the importance of embracing the best of one's own cultural heritage, which does not have to be forsaken in order to imbibe what is best in other cultures. (Kumaravadivelu, 2008, p. 169)

In seeking to transform students' identities through the study of language, culture and interculturalism, it is thus critical that key concepts embedded within it—'language', 'culture' and 'interculturality'—first and foremost, be unpacked as social, cultural and political constructs that are subject to contestation and debate. It follows that a more robust framework of language, culture and intercultural pedagogy, which in higher education can be embedded in a wide range of subjects, is needed to develop the content of relevant curricula and thus to improve the current classroom practices. To avoid essentialist approaches and imperialistic framings, Leeman and Ledoux's (2003) suggest that these renewed understandings need to integrate both a "social relations" orientation (p. 280), which highlights the affective and socio-psychological dimension of intercultural encounters and engagement, and critical perspectives, which take into account the macro sociocultural and political contexts of these processes. In so doing, it is important that

curriculum and pedagogy pay attention to intra- as well as inter-group differences, while also encouraging contextual analysis of cultural processes and differences. Moreover, intercultural competence, as Leeman and Ledoux argue, needs to be developed as an integral part of teachers' professional competence, and hence should be included in both pre-service and in-service teacher education.

I would like to think that the kind of knowledge presented in this thesis could be used in professional conversations among teacher educators to support the growth and development of teachers like Nancy, Sandra, Benny, Hendra, Edi and Bayu. This study has pointed to the ways in which institutional and policy directives will always mediate, and at worst compromise, even the best prepared and intellectually transformative individual educators. However, it also highlights the importance for policy-makers and curriculum planners of engaging more with these educators' voices and experiences. Future studies would benefit from incorporating the voices and experiences of students and other education stakeholders in their engagement in the intercultural space using different methodological approaches. I would particularly recommend further studies that focus specifically on classroom discourse analysis, which investigate, among other things, how meanings evolve as teachers and students mutually construct classroom discourses, and how knowledge related to interculturality and interculturalism may be produced, negotiated and even resisted in the classroom. I would also recommend that a longitudinal comparative study (perhaps involving teachers in higher education as well as secondary schools) be undertaken that involves examining the intercultural knowledge, attitudes and skills of Indonesian teachers of English over longer periods of time. This would provide insights into the ways in which English language teachers develop over time in response to changing policy environments, shifting institutional cultures or indeed the introduction of new subjects like *Intercultural Communication* and *Cross-Cultural Understanding*. From such a study, university administrators and federal policy makers could build a clearer understanding of the kinds of ways English language teachers need to be supported in order to bring about real educational change in the area of intercultural knowledge and understanding.

This study has shown that new offerings in the curriculum are, on their own, unlikely to bring about the expected educational changes if the teachers themselves are not supported to develop a strong sense of agency and autonomy that would foster their professional growth and development. As Lee (2005) argues, "intercultural pedagogy is importantly about *how* we teach rather than what we teach. Hence, to incorporate interculturalism in teaching means more than just the introduction of new courses" (p.

203, original emphasis). Teachers need to be given the space to innovate and to be curriculum developers, not merely implementers. They also need to be given opportunities to be involved in ongoing conversation, collaboration and co-construction of knowledge with other academics to support their growth and development. Only then are they likely to approach their teaching with a sure sense of their identity as "transformative intellectuals" (Giroux, 1988).

Appendices

Appendix 1: Research Approval from MUHREC

MONASH University

Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC)
Research Office

Human Ethics Certificate of Approval

Date:	**22 March 2010**
Project Number:	CF10/0362 - 2010000168
Project Title:	From beliefs to practices: Exploring interculturality in the English language classroom in Indonesian academic settings
Chief Investigator:	Dr Phan Le Ha
Approved:	From: 22 March 2010 To: 22 March 2015

Terms of approval

1. The Chief investigator is responsible for ensuring that permission letters are obtained, if relevant, and a copy forwarded to MUHREC before any data collection can occur at the specified organisation. **Failure to provide permission letters to MUHREC before data collection commences is in breach of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research and the Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research.**
2. Approval is only valid whilst you hold a position at Monash University.
3. It is the responsibility of the Chief Investigator to ensure that all investigators are aware of the terms of approval and to ensure the project is conducted as approved by MUHREC.
4. You should notify MUHREC immediately of any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants or unforeseen events affecting the ethical acceptability of the project.
5. The Explanatory Statement must be on Monash University letterhead and the Monash University complaints clause must contain your project number.
6. **Amendments to the approved project (including changes in personnel):** Requires the submission of a Request for Amendment form to MUHREC and must not begin without written approval from MUHREC. Substantial variations may require a new application.
7. **Future correspondence:** Please quote the project number and project title above in any further correspondence.
8. **Annual reports:** Continued approval of this project is dependent on the submission of an Annual Report. This is determined by the date of your letter of approval.
9. **Final report:** A Final Report should be provided at the conclusion of the project. MUHREC should be notified if the project is discontinued before the expected date of completion.
10. **Monitoring:** Projects may be subject to an audit or any other form of monitoring by MUHREC at any time.
11. **Retention and storage of data:** The Chief Investigator is responsible for the storage and retention of original data pertaining to a project for a minimum period of five years.

Professor Ben Canny
Chair, MUHREC

cc: Dr Graham Parr, Ms Isti Gandana

Postal – Monash University, Vic 3800, Australia
Building 3E, Room 111, Clayton Campus, Wellington Road, Clayton
www.monash.edu/research/ethics/human/index/html
ABN 12 377 614 012   CRICOS Provider #00008C

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Appendix 2: Advertisement to Recruit Participants

RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS NEEDED

Dear Colleagues,

Are you currently teaching **culture-related subjects** such as:

- ✓ *Cross-cultural Understanding;*
- ✓ *Intercultural Communication;*
- ✓ *Cultural Studies;*
- ✓ *Literature/Literary Theories;* or
- ✓ *Language and Society* at the English Department?

If your answer is 'YES', I would like to learn more from you!

I am particularly keen on understanding ways in which your beliefs and your understandings of the English language, of culture and interculturality mediate classroom practices and your professional identity. Your teaching experience can contribute valuable insights into understandings of professional identity and intercultural pedagogy in the Indonesian context.

You will be invited to participate in a one-hour pre-classroom observation interview and be asked for consent to be observed while teaching one of the above-mentioned subjects during the semester. To follow up the observation, there will be a thirty-minute interview for reflection.

If you are interested in participating, please email me on

███████████████████████████████ with some details about yourself, such as the institution you are affiliated with, your academic and professional history, the subjects you teach, etc.

I look forward to hearing and learning from you. Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Isti Gandana

PhD candidate at Monash University, Australia

Appendix 3: Interview Questions

Pre-observation interview

- Personal background and learning experiences:
  - Tell me about yourself (and your educational background).
  - How did you learn English?
  - Have you had a good (English) teacher that you benefitted from?
- Teaching experiences:
  - How did you first get into the profession?
  - How long have you been teaching?
  - Do you enjoy teaching?
  - How do you see your teaching role?
  - What experiences have had the greatest influence on your teaching? How do these experiences mediate your current teaching practices?
- Perceptions about English:
  - What do you think is the goal of English language teaching at the higher education level in Indonesia?
  - How important is it for students to learn English?
  - How important is it for you that your students acquire native-like fluency?
- Conceptions of culture and the teaching of it:
  - What is 'culture' to you?
  - What is your view of the relationship between language and culture?
  - How do you deal with the need to teach language *and* culture?
  - How do you teach culture in your class? What aspects do you emphasise?
  - Do you make cultural connections in your teaching? In what ways?

- Pedagogical aspects:
  - Please describe the curriculum for this subject (in terms of objectives, content, approaches, and assessment).
  - How do you plan for the classes you teach?
  - Do you always achieve what you plan to teach? Why/why not?
  - Could you identify problems or challenges in teaching this subject? What strategies do you normally resort to?

Inter-observation interviews

- What were your teaching objectives for today's class? Do you think you achieved these objectives?
- On what basis have you chosen to teach particular content and to use the activities you used?
- Did you encounter any challenges or difficulties in the lesson? If yes, how did you attempt to overcome them?
- What was your reason for acting (in particular ways) and/or saying (certain statements)?

Post-observation interview

- Personal-professional beliefs:
  - Please describe your beliefs about education.
  - What kind of teacher do you aspire to be?
  - Do you see yourself as an intercultural teacher? If so, in what ways?
- Conceptions of teaching and learning:
  - What would an ideal class be like for you? How does the reality of your teaching compare with this?
  - What competencies and skills do you wish your students to attain by the end of the course? What criteria do you use for assessing students' learning?
  - What is good teaching to you? Do you think you have been successful in your teaching?
- Tensions/conflicts:
  - Do you think the institution has been supportive of your professional development?
  - Reflecting on your professional journey, have you ever experienced any kind of tension with the institution, or have you ever been put in a dilemmatic situation in your workplace in regard to the enactment of your beliefs? If yes, How do you negotiate these tensions?
  - Are there any issues or challenges in teaching this subject (in terms of the curriculum, the classroom culture, etc.)? How did you attempt to overcome them?
  - Could you compare Western and Indonesian views on education?
  - Is there any aspect of the curriculum that you would like to change or modify? In what way(s) and why?

Appendix 4: Excerpts from Bayu's Pre-Observation Interview

I: Tadi kata Bapak kesadaran masyarakat akan artefak-artefak sejarah kan sangat minim ya, jadi apa yang harus dilakukan atau minimal Bapak sebagai dosen lah, bagaimana cara menumbuhkan kesadaran akan hal-hal tersebut di kelas?

B: Saya sempat intens sekali sangaaat prihatin ya terhadap hilangnya kesadaran atau tidak adanya kesadaran, baik itu dari stakeholder – pembuat kebijakan, maupun mahasiswa. Toh, khalayak ramai ya, terutama – insya Allah kedepan itu mahasiswa saya jadi pembesar, sehingga mereka saya harapkan punya perhatian terhadap sejarah. Punya perhatian terhadap budaya. Hasil budaya. Terutama yang bersifat material. Karena apa? Ini sebuah kekayaan yang sangat ini sekali –ini tidak bisa diukur dengan materi. Sangat mahal sekali. Nah, banyak sekali mereka para hunter – orang-orang yang hunting mencari benda-benda peninggalan budaya yang ada di Indonesia, itu keuntungannya luar biasa. Mereka beli dengan harga murah, dengan dua ratus lima puluh ribu, tapi mereka jual dengan ratusan juta. Itu ini sekali, hanya dengan nominal dua ratus lima puluh kekayaan ini hilang.

I: Jadi bagaimana Bapak memupuk kesadaran tersebut di kelas misalkan?

B: Artinya saya tekankan bahwa hasil-hasil budaya sejarah ya, jadi kebudayaan masa lampau itu ternyata punya nilai yang tinggi. Punya nilai yang tinggi. Nah, saya pernah punya kasus, ada seseorang yang datang ke rumah. Dia membawa sebuah keris. Kebetulan saya pengoleksi keris dulu. Koleksi keris-keris ya. Jadi koleksi keris. 'Pa, abdi teu kiat' ceunah 'saatos aya keris ieu. Di bumi teu damangan' ceunah. Artinya keris itu punya nilai mistik. Dia punya nilai mistik. 'Mangga atuh kabumikeun.' Karena saya itu tidak percaya mistik, eh ya collect-collect saja, kumpulkan. Begitu saya ga punya uang, ya saya jual (tertawa). Artinya gini, kalau keris itu kenapa saya jual ini karena keris pasaran – keris market – yang dibuat oleh home industry lah gitu ya. Kalau di Indonesia itu sudah banyak, kecuali kalau keris-keris yang punya ciri khas, kemudian saya melihat ini jarang sekali dan punya nilai tinggi, tidak saya jual. Saya tahu itu. Jadi ada beberapa kasus, ah ini mah keris ecek-ecek lah, didamelna oge nya di pinggiran lah gitu ya. Buat apa dikoleksi gitu ya. Seperti pisau biasa. Tapi keris-keris yang khusus, ya saya simpan. Nah, yang kasus tadi tuh dari Pak Wawan. 'Pak, pang ningalkeun keris abdi' ceunah. Bentuk keris itu pamor. Pamor itu artinya ada bunga-bunga. Itu bunga-bunga itu dari keris kan ada guratan seperti nah itu. Itu lipatan baja. Jadi baja yang sudah ditempa, dilipat, ditempa lagi, dilipat, ditempa lagi, kemudian setelah jadi, nanti tidak halus seperti pisau-pisau sekarang, tapi di sana ada bunga-bunga, ada guratan-guratan. Dan di sana fungsinya untuk menyimpan racun. Untuk menyimpan racun. Jadi kalau ada racun dari tumbuhan maupun dari hewan, itu bisa tersimpan lama di sana. Namun kasus ya keris ini beda dengan keris yang lain. Keris itu seperti kuningan. 'Ah ini mah Pa Wawan keris kuningan yeuh'. 'Cobi, Pa, cepeng we ku Bapa'. Subhanallah, begitu keris itu saya pegang, ternyata nyetrum. Treeeet. Wah. Hebat sekali. Nyetrum itu keris. Mungkin, nah saya melihat -- bukan saya tidak melihat mistik, kalau Pak Wawan dengan prolognya ternyata di sana, punten, aya nu ngancik segala macam ya, aya siluman segala macam, gitu ya, harus nyuguh segala macam, itu kan di Indonesia seperti itu. Nah, saya tidak melihat seperti itu. Saya melihat hasil karya masyarakat Indonesia. Keris itu dibuat asli Indonesia, saya paham. Namun...

I: Keris hanya ada di Indonesia ya Pak ya?

B: Indonesia.

Appendix 5: Excerpt from One of Hendra's Essays

Membaca dan Menelaah Sastra

Simpulan pertama dari uraian sebelumnya menekankan pentingnya mempertautkan pengetahuan tentang sastra dengan kegiatan masyarakat akademis. Dalam hal ini frase *belajar sastra* yang digunakan di sini mengandung implikasi yang tidak sederhana. Sekurang-kurangnya, ada dua soal yang harus dijernihkan: *apa yang kita pelajari* dan *bagaimana kita mempelajarinya*? Pertanyaan pertama berkaitan dengan objek studi, sedangkan pertanyaan kedua berkaitan dengan metode atau pendekatan. Kedua pertanyaan itu lazimnya dipersoalkan dalam *teori sastra* atau — dalam istilah A. Teeuw— *ilmu sastra*.

Dalam buku babon yang pertama kali terbit lebih dari setengah abad yang silam, *Theory of Literature* (Harvest, ed. ke-3, 1956), Rene Wellek dan Austin Warren menekankan kedua hal itu sejak dini. Kedua penelaah sastra yang lazimnya disebut-sebut dalam kaitannya dengan *New Criticism* ini bilang:

> Pertama-tama, kita harus membuat pembedaan antara sastra dan studi sastra. Keduanya merupakan kegiatan yang berlainan: yang satu adalah karya kreatif, seni; yang lain, jika bukan benar-benar ilmu, adalah sejenis pengetahuan atau kajian.

> *We must first make a distinction between literature and literary study. The two are distinct activities: the one is creative, an art; the other, if not precisely a science, is a species of knowledge or of learning.* (Wellek & Warren, 1956: 15)

Ungkapan "karya kreatif atau karya seni" tentu saja, sangat terbuka. Banyak dan beragam nian gejala yang dapat tercakup ke dalam batasan pengertian tersebut. Dari kaligrafi hingga cerita komik, misalnya, bisa saja disebut sebagai hasil kegiatan "kreatif" atau karya "seni". Keunikan sastra sebagai "karya kreatif" atau "karya seni" belum tampak. Rupa-rupanya, menunjuk sastra tidak semudah menunjuk kupu-kupu. Adapu ungkapan "jika bukan benar-benar ilmu" seakan menyiratkan semacam kebimbangan. Jika studi sastra dapat dimasukkan ke dalam golongan ilmu, masih belum terlihat hal yang membedakan ilmu yang satu ini dari ilmu-ilmu lainnya, semisal ilmu alam.

Di situlah, rupanya, keunikan bidang studi kita sebagaimana yang lazimnya menggejala dalam cabang dan ranting ilmu budaya pada umumnya. Ilmu yang satu ini bukan hanya belum tuntas, dan barangkali tidak akan kunjung tuntas, merumuskan objek studinya sendiri, melainkan juga tiada hentinya meninjau dan meninjau kembali metode atau pendekatan yang diandalkannya.

Wellek dan Warren sendiri, sebagaimana penelaah sastra lainnya, berupaya merumuskan "hakikat sastra" (*nature of literature*), terutama dari segi kebahasaan, dan merumuskan sebentuk bidang keilmuan yang disebut studi sastra (*literary study*). Namun, alih-alih mengajukan rumusan yang pasti, keduanya lebih cenderung memaparkan kompleksitas tiap-tiap upaya untuk merumuskan pengertian yang terkandung dalam istilah *sastra*.

Appendix 6: Excerpt from 'Sanghyang Siksa kandang Karesyan'

Bogoh di kaceuceub, ceuceub di kabogoh, itu tan yogya dipitwah ku urang hulun. Ini pakeun urang nurut ka tohaan … pakeun urang sebeul diasa ku tohaan urang. … Bireungeuh na panghulu tandang. Lamun nyeuseul tohaan, milu rang nyeuseul deui deung tohaan. Lamun muji tohaan, milu urang muji deui deung tohaan. Lamun hamo ma milu muji milu meda deung tohaan tosta cingcing tegang urang bakti ka tohaan. ('Sanghyang Siksa Kandang Karesyan', 1518, original text in Old Sundanese)

Suka terhadap yang dibenci (oleh raja), benci terhadap yang disukai (oleh raja). Hal itu tidak layak kita perbuat selaku orang hulun. Ini untuk kita menurut kepada raja … agar kita lama diaku oleh raja kita. … Lihatlah sang penguasa. Kalau raja marah kitapun harus ikut marah bersama raja. Kalau raja memuji kitapun harus ikut memuji bersama raja. Kalau tidak ikut memuji atau mencela bersama raja, itulah tanda mungkir bahwa kita berbakti kepada raja. (Indonesian translation by Sundanologi, 1987)

Appendix 7: Excerpt from *Anak Semua Bangsa*

Aku berjalan terus ke arah rumah bambu it. Dan bukan hanya Eropa! Jaman modern ini telah menyampaikan padaku buahdada untuk menyusui aku, dari Pribumi sendiri, dari Jepang, Tiongkok, Amerika, India, Arab, dari semua bangsa di muka bumi ini. … Dengan rendahhati aku mengakui: aku adalah bayi semua bangsa dari segala jaman, yang telah lewat dan yang sekarang. (*Anak Semua Bangsa*, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, 1980, p. 165)

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