Language Policy Rationales, Appropriation and Debates:

A Case of English as Medium of Instruction

in Indonesia's International-Standard Schools

by

Anis Sundusiyah

B.A., Diponegoro University, 2000

M.Ed., State Univerity of Semarang, 2004

M.A., Ohio University, 2006

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This dissertation was presented

by

Anis Sundusiyah

It was defended on

October 21, 2019

and approved by

Maureen Porter, Associate Professor, Department of Administrative and Policy Studies

Richard Tucker, Paul Mellon University Professor of Applied Lingusitic Emeritus, Department

of Modern Languages, Carnegie Mellon University

John Weidman, Emeritus Professor, Department of Administrative and Policy Studies

Dissertation Director: Maureen McClure, Associate Professor, Department of Administrative and

Policy Studies

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Anis Sundusiyah

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Beyond its pedagogical technicality, language policy is both ideological and political. The English as Medium of Instruction or EMI policy in Indonesia's international-standard public schools (IS-Schools) was an exemplary picture of how ideologically and politically contentious a language policy could be. The policy marked a significant shift of the nation's language policy orientations, from post-independence state-nationalism and sociopolitical cohesion, to global economic competitiveness and political alliance. With unequal educational access in this populated, multicultural country, the EMI policy faced not only technical challenges at school level, but also normative, ideological and political resistance from micro- and macro-level stakeholders.

In this constructivist study, I described and analyzed the Indonesia's EMI policy goals and its surrounding debates, including a school-based case study to illustrate micro-level practices and challenges. Generating data from policy documentations and interviews, I applied an interpretive policy framework to analyze policy-relevant artifacts, meanings, interpretive communities and discourses. The analysis primarily explored differences between policy meanings—as intended by national policy makers—and various, contrasting meanings—as framed and constructed by multilevel stakeholders, including local teachers and domestic and international scholars.

Key findings revealed divergent values, beliefs and approaches to problems, constructed out of stakeholder's social situatedness. Despite optimistic tones from policy makers and several

school members, many were alarmed with schools differing capacities related to teachers' language competence and logistics. Many praised global-oriented goals of EMI policy in increasing individuals' opportunities and mobility—supposedly resulting from instrumental and integrative values of English-mediated education—and hence the nation's global economic and sociopolitical existence. Most stakeholders acknowledged utilitarian merits of English language competence, but many disapproved of English being an instructional language. Opponents argued that officiating English as additional medium of instruction in public schools may empirically and hypothetically contribute to youth's national identity erosion, national language marginalization, and speedy decrease of local language speakers. Some scholars believed that incentive-loaded IS-Schools had deepened socioeconomic divides among formal schools. Such differing viewpoints may not always be in opposition. However, ideological and political alignments seemed to be challenging, resulting in wicked language policy situations.

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1.0 Introduction

1.1 Overview

In this dissertation, I attempt to elucidate educational language policy in Indonesia, through the policy context of English as medium of instruction in International-Standards Schools. English as a medium of instruction (EMI) refers to an instructional mode in which English is partially and incrementally used to teach non-language courses to learners who do not speak English natively (Baker, 2003). The EMI policy in Indonesia (2005-2013) was coupled with an international education initiative, called the International-Standard Schools Project (IS-Schools). In a later section, I provide operational definitions of EMI and IS-Schools, which are specific to the Indonesian context.

Students in IS-Schools were all Indonesian citizens who had studied English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in their formal schools, starting from grade 7 at the latest, and who did not speak English natively inside and outside of school. There was a great deal of familiarity with the English language both inside and outside of schools in Indonesia, but the language was not natively used in public spaces. Also, most teachers in IS-Schools were not formally trained to teach their courses in English—except for English language teachers. This lack of training raised a red flag for several stakeholders from the beginning (Sundusiyah, 2010).

Many praised the intended goals of the language policy for global economic competitiveness, but were alarmed by poorly prepared and poorly-managed bilingual resources in many IS-Schools, especially during the first years of implementation. Both the IS-School project and EMI policy stirred contentious debates, from concerns about a) the potential marginalization

of *Bahasa Indonesia* as the national language (Constitutional-Court, 2012); b) national identity; and c) linguistic exclusivism and social divisiness, or "education castes" in public schools (Darmaningtyas, 2010), among others. After about eight years, and following a series of judicial hearings in 2012, the National Constitution Court ruled against the IS-Schools project, which also officially ended the EMI policy (Constitutional-Court, 2012).

The main goals for this study were both descriptive and analytical. Descriptively, my goal was to provide a coherent overview of EMI policy and practice—covering policy goals from policy makers' perspectives, school-wide appropriation, and competing arguments raised by multiple stakeholders in the debate. Analytically, my goal was to delve into stakeholders' values and worldviews in order to understand, represent, and come to terms with the central issues surrounding the EMI policy case. For contextual relevance, I referenced literature on language policy-planning and educational policy.

I present this dissertation in a three-essay format. Each of the three essays comprises a literature review and methods section specific to each inquiry. In the *first* essay, I aim to identify discourses or ideas embedded in EMI policy goals. Identifying discursive contexts of EMI policy was necessary to understand the rationales behind the policy. In the *second* essay, I attempt to portray a school-based micro-implementation of EMI policy in an IS-School—i.e. what happens when a language policy is put into action at the local levels (Johnson, 2013, p. 236). This aided understanding of how and to what extent school members responded to the policy. In the *third* essay, I examine contested framings of EMI policy offered by multiple stakeholders. Examining stakeholders' contested frames was useful for designing strategies for future language policiese.

To address the inquiries above, I applied interpretive policy analysis as a theoretical framework or method (Yanow, 2000, 2006, 2007; Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2012). The

interpretive policy analysis, or IPA, is an extended strain of qualitative work for researching multiple perspectives in policies (more detailed in Methodology chapter). Generating data from interviews and document reviews, I explored policy artifacts, meanings, stakeholders, and discourses relevant to the topics and settings of inquiry. Considering stakeholders' conflicting responses (e.g., from enthusiasm to disapproval), employing an interpretive policy analysis allowed me to explore differing values and arguments held by multiple stakeholders.

The targeted audience for this study includes, but is not limited to, language policy scholars, education policy scholars, and language teachers as well as governments in related development sectors. I intend to submit the three essays to peer-reviewed publications as well.

Researching issues within educational language policy needs to be highly interdisciplinary. I am aware of how risky it is to go beyond my previous training in English language teaching. However, in the context of language policy and education, it seems to be even riskier not to do so.

1.2 Research questions

There are three main research questions, which were explored in a three-essay format. Rationales for each inquiry are discussed in the subsequent section.

1. What constitute the discursive context within which EMI policy goals and rationales were formulated?
2. How was EMI appropriation in the IS-Schools understudied?
3. How was EMI policy framed by various stakeholders in the debates?

1.3 Rationales

I designed this study primarily based on three of my previous research papers: a policy brief paper on teacher shortages in Indonesia's International-Standard public schools, or IS-Schools (Sundusiyah, 2010); a case study of three IS-Schools in Semarang City (Sundusiyah, 2014); and a literature review of the motives and consequences of English as a medium of instruction in non-native English school settings (Sundusiyah, 2016). From these preliminary studies, I came to understand that EMI policy in Indonesia was less about language cultivation and more about language policy, resulting from global political economic trends. This policy nuance was dominated by normative (e.g. beliefs, values, norms) and political (e.g. power relation, identity) aspects of language policy and planning. If the policy makers formulated this top-down national EMI policy on the basis of global political and economic interests, then any explorative EMI studies should also cover issues beyond teaching-learning technical aspects.

To better understand the complexity of its determination, implementation, and contestation, I believe it is necessary to research Indonesia's EMI policy from educational language policy perspectives. Educational language policy is part of the language policy field, which arises from the facts that (i) schools have been increasingly studied as sites of language policy contestations; (ii) there has been growing concern and interest in language acquisition planning in/for schools; and (iii) many recent theoretical and conceptual works in language policy were based and developed on empirical work in education sectors, schools, and classrooms (Johnson, 2013). I discuss various concepts of educational language policy in the literature review sections. In short, the nature of educational language policies requires interdisciplinary and multi-layered approaches derived from diverse, non-isolated fields, such as sociolinguistics, sociology of language, and anthropology of language, as well as educational and social change theories.

Findings from my preliminary studies, recontextualized within educational language policy discourses, helped set the course of my research questions and rationales.

1.3.1 Essay 1: Policy goals and rationales

The Indonesia EMI policy was a fraction of a world-wide English Bilingual Education trend within formal schooling in non-English speaking countries, where English language was/is not used natively (Dearden, 2014). The British Council uses the English Bilingual Education (EBE) term to refer to generic practices of English-mediated instruction targeted at already-bilingual students groups in many non-native English speaking countries (British-Council, 2009). These EBE or EMI were mostly top-down policies and funded by national authorities. Within the country itself, the EMI policy was heavily tied to internationalization, amidst the initial implementation of school-based management and decentralization policies. Hence, to interpret the goals and intentions of a national, top-down EMI policy, it is also necessary to understand a macro-level overview of working relations among state and other stakeholders, domestically and internationally.

Hence, the focus of the first essay is to examine EMI policy goals and intentions (i.e. determination stage) from the macro perspectives of policy makers, such as the Ministry of National Education or MONE.[1] I guided the inquiries above based on the following research question: *"What consititutes the discursive context within which EMI policy goals were made?"* I

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[1] Starting in 2014 administration, the name of the Ministry of National Education (MONE) was changed to include "culture" in it, becoming the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC). However, most literature and legislation on IS-Schools and EMI were published before 2014, when the ministry was abbreviated as MONE. Hence, in this dissertation, I decided to consistently use the MONE abbreviation to refer to the Ministry of National Education, which is the same as today's Ministry of Education and Culture.

present the findings to address not only goals and intentions, but also the embedded messages of rationales and contextual backgrounds that contributed to policy design.

1.3.2 Essay 2: Policy appropriation

For successful implementation of national EMI policy from 2005 to 2013, top policy makers badly needed support from micro-level policy implementors, including school leaders and teachers. Arguably, local school leaders would need to translate the national policies, appropriating them into a set of achievable and affordable structures and strategies in order to deliver the policy goals and outcomes. Successful policy implementation required support from school members who are surrounded by cultural norms, rules, values, and power relations (Oakes, Welner, Yonezawa, & Allen, 2005, p. 288). Hence, policy appropriation in schools entailed not only a *technical* dimension, such as curriculum and classroom practices, but also *normative* and *political* dimensions within and outside schools (Oakes, 1992; Oakes, Quartz, Gong, Guiton, & Lipton, 1993).

In Essay 2, I aim to describe school-based policy appropriation by identifying its multiple policy dimensions—technicality, norms, and politics—from teachers' perspectives. I based this inquiry on the following research question: "*How did the school appropriate the EMI policy?*"

1.3.3 Essay 3: Policy debates

In a multilingual, multiethnic, highly-populated country like Indonesia, foreign languages can be valued as a) a resource, b) an entitlement or right, and c) a problem at the same time (Ruiz, 1984). Different groups of stakeholders framed language values in those overlapping-yet-

conflicting ways that could lead to tensions, perpetuated by differing educational priorities and mindset. This was evident in the case of Indonesia's EMI policy.

In Essay 3, I examine differing framings of EMI policy that were contested by various stakeholders. I cross-analyze the findings with broader literatures in politics of education, language policy, and educational and social change theories. I grounded the inquiry based on the following research question: *"How was the EMI policy framed by various stakeholders in the debates?"*

1.4 Significance

The past is the prologue. Findings and discussions in this study serve as a prologue, or a preliminary background for language policy projects in the future. Understanding policy goals, appropriation, and debates are critical for developing comparative strategies on what could possibly be done in the future in cost-effective and cost-sensible ways.

Some findings are, in fact, very relevant to contemporary discussion in the educational language policy field. For example, stakeholders connected the language policy to global literacy, national identity, and linguistic commodification, among others. As similar policy contexts have also been found in schools in other non-native English-speaking countries, I hope the Indonesia case can contribute to understanding the sociopolitical and economic nuances and implication of English language usage in non-English speaking countries.

On a personal level, this interpretive policy study provided an opportunity for me to identify and cross-examine multiple perspectives in educational language policy and planning. It allowed me to learn to be a "policy translator" who was expected to paraphrase and convey

stakeholders' viewpoints, so that each could understand others', and to speak like a member of each stakeholder's group, without necessarily becoming one.

1.5 Previous studies

Many foreign language studies in Indonesia's education discourse have focused on policy technicalites (e.g., structures and arrangements), without further analysis on contributions or influences of normative (e.g., values, norms) and political (e.g., identity, power relation) aspects. The lack of research on norms and politics of an educational policy has been, in my observation, due to the history of programmatic foreign language teaching courses in higher education, among others. This was also the case in EMI policy literature.

To address this gap, I extend my literature review to politics of education in order to focus the analysis on three dimensional aspects of policy—i.e. technicality, norms, and politics. The concepts of technical, normative, and political dimensions stem from an equity-minded policy framework that views schools, policy, and other entities as zones of mediation (Oakes, Welner, Yonezawa, & Allen, 1998; Welner, 2001). Within a zone of mediation, a myriad of internal and external forces interact and shape a policy into a various range of responses that affect the nature of policy implementation and reactions. For analysis sake, those forces were grouped into technical, normative, and political dimensions (which I will discuss more in the literature review section of this essay).

I found that many EMI policy studies by Indonesian domestic scholars mostly focused on technical dimensions. Several studies touched on structural learning issues in English-mediated classroom instructions, such as school infrastructures and human resources (Kande, 2012; Noor,

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2012; Ulumudin, 2012). A study by a MONE-affiliated researcher evaluated the effectiveness of EMI policy in IS-Schools by observing its classroom implementation during the initial years (Mariati, 2007). All of these studies focused on the policy's technical dimensions.

Several studies employed learners and teachers' perceptions. They focused on the normative dimensions or beliefs and attitudes toward the EMI experience in their schools (Artini, 2011; Susetyaningtyas & Manara, 2013). Some studies addressed the complexity of policy norms, yet their recommendations represented a technical-corporate way of resource management. For example, a study by Indradno (2011) on teachers' professional development schemes addressed how these led to other managerial problems. Other studies acknowledged the complexity of EMI norms and politics, as the policy progressed for years, yet their findings shied away from issues of cultural struggles and unequal access (Agustina, 2012; Handayani, 2012; Sumintono, Said, & Mislan, 2012; Wijayanti, 2012).

There were also studies of the political dimensions of English language in Indonesia. EMI policy was seen by some as a symptom of this problem. Sugiharto (2013) juxtaposed the role and status of English in the globalized economy and how it affected the linguistic ecology of the country. Santoso (2014) discussed globalization and hegemony in order to analyze practices of foreign language learning (including English) in Indonesia. Lauren Zentz (2012) provided an "etic" perspective of language ideologies and language identities of Indonesian citizens considering their multilingual baggage.

A Symposium on English Bilingual Education (EBE) by the British Council of Indonesia resulted in a proceeding with insightful studies of the benefits and consequences of policy practices similar to EMI, not just in Indonesia but also in other countries with overlapping policy characteristics (British-Council, 2009).

At a broader regional level, studies related to English language education policies in Asian contexts have revealed and examined norms and politics of various learning modes of foreign language policies, beyond technical arrangements (Nunan, 2003; Sakhiyya, 2011). Issues surrounding English language choice and status have been heavily contested in many non-native English speaking countries (Bruthiaux, 2002; Tollefson & Tsui, 2004). Similarly, Indonesia's EMI policy resulted in debates by various actors, each holding distinct ideologies and agendas.

All of the domestic studies mentioned above laid out contextual knowledge, mostly along the technical dimensions of EMI policy, such as language requirements and teacher training, as well as various English language learning modes in Indonesia. All of these helped me to identify pre-existing discourses on EMI debates, such as logistics and teacher shortages.

In sum, more studies are needed to explore normative and political dimensions of the policy. Identifying technical, normative, and political dimensions altogether can provide a more complete picture of how schools and community members responded to cultural forces, structures, ideologies, and politics embedded in the EMI policy. Their evolving responses seemed to have many effects on EMI policy promotion and maintenance, as well as resistance and eventually its termination.

1.6 Key terms

I needed to clarify the terms EMI and IS-Schools, which were specific to this study. The term IS-School was even more exclusive to Indonesia's school system. Hence, this section provides operational definitions and contextual origins of the two terms above.

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1.6.1 English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI)

For this research, I prefer to use the term English as a medium of instruction, or EMI. Generally, this term refers to an English-mediated mode of teaching and learning in classes other than English language courses. In Indonesia, where English is not an official and/or national language, EMI practice is often interchangeably termed English immersion or English bilingual.

Starting in the late 1990s, there has been a rapid, massive, worldwide shift from English being taught as a second or foreign language (ESL or EFL) to English being the medium of instruction (EMI) in selected academic subjects (Graddol, 2006). General characteristics of EMI practices are that English is experimentally used as a medium of instruction in selected non-language courses in countries where English is spoken less frequently outside schools. At the same time, English language is also taught as a separate ESL or EFL course. In contrast, ESL or EFL classes may not provide a form of bilingual instruction. By conventional definition, bilingual instruction refers to the use of two different languages for curricular instruction in non-language subjects, with an objective of making students immersed and proficient in the second language while maintaining and developing their proficiency in the first language (Baker, 2003; C. B. Paulston, 1988). Bilingual education is also associated with dual-language instruction, or biliteracy and academic achievement through two languages (Freeman, 1996) . Scholars in the field have used bilingual education as an umbrella term for a wide range of practices in which two (or more) languages are used and emphasized, such as two-way instruction, dual-language, bilingual immersion, two-way immersion, partial immersion, or developmental bilingual.

Traditionally, in non-English-speaking countries, there were more English-mediated instruction or EMI practices in private schools than in public ones. However, a recent finding by the British Council surveying 55 countries in order to map the size, shape, and future trends of

EMI worldwide, confirmed a general trend of fast-moving expansion of EMI in state-funded schools, officially backed by national governments (Dearden, 2014). EMI was explicitly announced as official practice in schools, which, in some countries, made it a overt, *de-jure* (by law) and *de-facto* (by practice) policy. A similar trend in Indonesia demonstrated a growing experimental implementation of EMI in internationalized-public schools, endorsed and financed by the national and provincial governments.

Specific to Indonesia's contexts, the application of EMI was boldly highlighted to promote IS-Schools as foreign-like, bilingual international schools. English was endorsed as the medium of instruction for mathematics, science (physics, biology, chemistry), and English language courses. Other courses were conducted in the Indonesian language. Teachers needed to demonstrate English language competence in order to teach their subjects in English, while head teachers and school principals were required to have "active" mastery of the language. English language teachers were often assigned to be the head teachers, teamed up with another senior teachers. Proficiency in a foreign language, mainly English, was included as one professional indicator required to be demonstrated for teachers' evaluations (MONE, 2007a, p. 30).

1.6.2 International-Standard Schools (IS-Schools)

Following the educational decentralization initiatives in Indonesia, Law No. 20 of 2003 on the National Education System (Republic of Indonesia, 2003) introduced the concept of "International Standard Schools" (IS-Schools, for short).[2] By definition, an IS-School is

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[2] Out of 77 articles in this Act, there is only one article that specifically addressed the IS-School establishment plan, i.e article 50 clause 3 (out of 7 clauses).

a school ... which fulfills all the National Standards for Education and which is further enriched by taking into consideration the education standards of one member nation of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and/or another advanced nation which has particular strengths in education such that it achieves competitive advantage in the international forum. (MONE, 2007b, p. 7)

Law No. 20 of 2003 was considered the principal foundation of and legal mandate for the IS-School establishment.[3] Article 50 Clause 3 in Chapter XIV on "Education Management" stipulated that central and/or local governments must organize an effort to establish "one International Standard School at every educational level" (Republic of Indonesia, 2003). The rest of the articles in the same Chapter XIV were about autonomous territorial distribution of educational management among central, province, and city/district governments.

Since then, local governments nominated and helped transform hundreds of top public schools into international-like schools. It is important to note that the formal status of the participating IS-Schools was more like that of a "nominee." They were nominated by local governments, or they might self-nominate, to be accredited as International Schools. Their nominations or candidacies were periodically evaluated by MONE through a series of accreditation processes. The accreditation criteria were based on the quality assurance fields listed in Table 1.

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[3] I should mention that the Law No 20 of 2003 did not specifically regulate IS-Schools per se. The whole law, in fact, was formulated to create a legal framework for the nation's major educational goal, policies and plans (Republic of Indonesia, 2003). Hence, strictly from the perspective of this 2003 Law No. 20, the proposed experimental establishment of IS-Schools was a part of a quality improvement project under school-based education management policy—which had been in place since the 2000's. However, governments, school leaders, and scholars considered this Law 20/2003 as the prime legal mandate for the establishment of IS-Schools (Constitutional-Court, 2012).

Table 1. Areas for quality assurance in IS-Schools

Extracted from several sources (MONE, 2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2011a, 2011b)

Areas	Examples of managerial and pedagogical quality assurance indicators
Accreditation	Accreditation is by an authorized agency in OECD advanced countries
Curriculum	Content is equivalent to or higher than that taught in OECD advanced countries
Teaching-learning process	Science, mathematics, and core vocational subjects are taught in English… except for primary schools, considering human resources.
Evaluation	”Enriched” with models employed by OECD advanced countries
School leaders, teachers, staff	Teachers of science, mathematics, and core vocational subjects are able to deliver lessons through English. Head teacher has active mastery of English … possesses international vision, capable of developing international links.
Facilities and resources	Internet access
Management	Achieves National Standard for school autonomous management
Financing	Achieves National Education Standard for school financing
Studentship	Academic performance above the national standards

The IS-School project was soon followed up with/through several educational policy documents.[4] For example, Article 61 of the National Government Decree No 19 (2005) on National Education Standards stipulated that the Ministry of National Education (MONE) should work with local governments to establish at least one IS School per district orcity for each educational level (Republic of Indonesia, 2005, Article 61, Clause 1).

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[4] For a more complete list of IS-School policy documents, see Appendix F.

The IS-School establishment was also highlighted in the 2005-2009 Ministry of National

Education's Strategic Plan:

In order to improve the nation's ability to compete … central government and the relevant

rural district government or urban district government develop 112 international standard

primary, junior secondary, senior secondary and vocational secondary schools throughout

Indonesia. (MONE, 2005)

In 2007, a national guideline was published to establish criteria for quality assurance for

IS Schools. The same document identified nine areas in which the quality of IS Schools was to

be guaranteed, with quality indicators for each area (MONE, 2007b, pp. v-vii). The nine areas and

some examples of their respective indicators are summarized in Table 1.[5]

The quality assurance requirements for IS-Schools necessitated upgrades in instructional

and managerial qualities, referring to a set of educational standards applied in Organization for

Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries and other advanced nations (MONE,

2007a, 2007b, 2008). Suggested examples were, among others, advancement in instructional

technology, inclusion of local wisdom content, enhanced curriculum adapted from any world-

renowned educational agency, national and international partnership building, and the suggested

implementation of English as an additional medium of instruction. For these, IS-Schools received

a significant amount of development aid from MONE, apart from tuition subsidies (H. Coleman,

2011a).

The publication of the 2007 IS- Schools guidelines was followed in 2008 by very detailed

handbooks for primary schools (MONE, 2007a) and junior secondary schools (MONE, 2008).

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[5] Table 1 simply provides one or two sample indicators for each of the nine areas, and not all indicators are
sampled in the table due to the document length.

These supporting documents focused more on the enhanced bureaucratic standardization of instructional and managerial practices and on territorial governance and responsibilities.

2.0 Research setting

Indonesia's education system today is one of massive scale, with over 63.5 million students and 2.6 million teachers in more than 250,000 primary and secondary schools (Indriyanto, 2017). This magnitude puts the country as the fourth-largest education system in the world (after China, India, and the United States) (Indriyanto, 2017).

This section will address selected elements of the country's education system that are relevant to the research inquiries. They include the schooling levels, governance, and language policies in schools, among others.

2.1 Levels of schooling

The school system in Indonesia is comprised of four levels: pre-school, primary education (grade 1-6), secondary education (grade 7-12), and tertiary or higher education. The compulsory education program lasts nine years, consisting of six years of primary school and three years of junior secondary school. The law was then amended in 2015 with the launch of a 12-year compulsory education program, consisting of primary and secondary school, in an effort to provide free basic education up to grade 12.

At both the primary and secondary education levels, there are formal, informal, and non-formal tracks. Non-formal education study groups, called package A, B, and C, usually support students or adults who are unable to attend formal schools on a regular basis due to various

reasons.[6] Non-formal schools include home schooling and shadow education outside schools, such as tutorial agencies. Formal schools consist of conventional schools and Islamic religious schools, or madrasah. The latter put more emphasis on Islamic teaching in their curriculum. Although both general and Islamic schools are similar in terms of the age of students enrolled in each level and their curriculum, the general schools are managed by the Ministry of National Education (MONE), whereas the Islamic schools are managed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA).[7] Under MONE and MORA, formal schools consist of public schools and private schools. Both public and private schools must follow the pedagogical polices regulated by MONE, but in terms of financial support, the private schools receive limited subsidies and grants from the central government.[8]

Formal secondary education consists of three years of junior high school followed by three years of senior high school, offering general and vocational programs. The general program is more academically oriented. Graduates are encouraged to continue to tertiary education, more specifically universities and or institutes of higher education. Graduates from vocational programs are oriented to enter the job market, should they choose to.

Tertiary or higher education institutions offer both degree and non-degree programs, giving graduates a broader range of opportunities to choose the program best suited to their professional

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[6] Another consequence of being an archipelago nation is that some people live in isolated areas that are difficult to access. Children in these areas are served by a non-formal school system, which has similar characteristics to regular formal schools. The difference, however, lies in method of instruction and the learning processes that are conducted. The non-formal school is usually affiliated with a formal school (Indriyanto, 2017).

[7] Historically, Indonesia's education system was founded by Muslim priests, and, as a result, the current schooling system includes both general schools under MONE and Islamic schools under MORA's administrations

[8] In regular schools, the public school enrollment is much bigger than private school enrollment. In Islamic schools, private madrasah enrollment dwarfs public madrasahs. This indicates that the government plays a significant role in constructing regular public schools, while the community plays a more dominant role than the government in the construction of Madrasahs. This is not surprising, since in the past the establishment of Madrasahs was predominantly the affair of Muslim priests. It seems that this pattern has continued into the present (Indriyanto, 2017, 65).

aspirations as well their academic abilities. Opportunities to continue to higher education opened wider as the government promulgated Act No. 12, 2012 on higher education. This act encourages local governments to open community colleges that are based on more local needs (Republic of Indonesia, 2012). The community college is, therefore, intended to support local economic growth by providing human capital skills at the mid-skill level.

2.2 Educational governance

The Ministry of National Education (MONE) is the main organization managing the national education system.[9] In so doing it sets the national education targets to achieve over a period of time, setting national education standards, and allocating the national educational budget up to school level. MONE works closely with hundreds of offices of education at provincial, regent/city and district levels. There are two bodies that oversee the quality of education. They are the Board of National Education Standardization and the National Board of Accreditation. The former determines the indicators of national education standards, while the latter evaluates the education institutions.[10]

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[9] I should restate again that in this dissertation, I decided to consistently use the MONE abbreviation to refer to the Ministry of National Education, which is the same as today's Ministry of Education and Culture. Starting in the 2014 administration, the name of the Ministry of National Education (MONE) was changed to include "culture" , becoming the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC). However, most literature and legislation on IS-Schools and EMI were published before 2014, when the ministry was abbreviated as MONE.

[10] In guaranteeing quality assurance, both organizations take guidance from the national education standards, as refined and stipulated by Article 32 Section (1) of Act No.20, 2003, consisting of the standards for content, processes, graduate outcomes, educational personnel, facilities and equipment, management, funding, and educational assessment.

Although the Ministry of National Education is directly responsible for administering most educational institutions, it does not have sole control over all education institutions as there are other ministries that also manage their own education institutions, such as the Ministry of Religious Affairs with their madrasahs, Home Affairs, Defense, and Health Affairs.[11] As far as governance is concerned, these ministries have full autonomy in the areas of curriculum and teacher recruitment and deployment, but share education budgets. Once the budget is allocated to an institution, that institution has full autonomy to allocate and manage the budget themselves.

2.2.1 Decentralization

Another characteristic of the management of the education system in Indonesia is decentralization. The decentralization of education occurred incrementally from early 2000, when reform in the political system was followed by the establishment of a governance system. Decentralization in education took place at the provincial, district, and school levels. Decentralization at the school level is regulated by Act No. 20, 2003 based on the school-based management mechanism. Despite school autonomy, they still have to comply with both the provincial government for senior secondary schools, and the district government for primary and junior secondary schools. Compliance is required, especially in deployment of teachers and school principals. The recent Act No.23, 2014 on local government, stipulated a division of labor in the area of education management between the provincial government and the district government.

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[11] The majority of education institutions managed by these ministries are institutions of higher education, except for the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

The provincial governments manage secondary education, while district governments manage basic education.

One of the primary goals of educational decentralization in Indonesia is to generate education policies that reflect local needs and to strengthen accountability mechanisms by sharing the governance, financial, and managerial responsibility for improving education across a range of stakeholders (McClure & Triaswati, 2001). Under decentralization, school committees and district governments are expected to hold schools and teachers accountable for educational quality. However, because there are discrepancies in fiscal capacity among districts, the central government should intervene in order to avoid these disparities from widening. In the case of education, the central government applies regressive rates in providing subsidies. With this mechanism, the lower the fiscal capacity of a district, the more subsidies it receives.

2.2.2 Funding

In principle, the central government (represented by the Ministry of National Education) still plays a major role in the provision of school funding. Teachers and principals receive salaries paid by local governments, and professional certification incentives paid by the central government. Each school receives a budget from both the central government and the local government. Such funds are allocated for operational costs for school management, such as facilities and equipment.

Elementary and secondary public schools are almost free of tuition charges. The central government provides a grant called BOS (*Bantuan Operasional Sekolah*, or School's Operational Support), distributed via city education offices (or *Dinas Pendidikan Kota/Kabupaten*), and used

to either fully or partially subsidize (locally negotiated) tuition fees.[12] The BOS grant does not reflect actual educational expenses for individuals. While the basic subsidy supports free public school tuition, additional fees may be charged by most schools, including facilities and technology fees, textbooks, workbooks, and uniforms. These fees help explain differences in non-tuition fee rates among top-, middle-, and low-performing schools.

2.2.3 Meritocracy and stratification

Up until the 2018-2019 academic year, the schooling system employed merit-based admission or enrollment criteria. Students and parents could choose which schools they wanted to apply to, without any restricted zoning regulations. The admission criteria were mostly based on students' academic achievements and scores from the National Exit Exam. The National Exam score was factored for admission at the next school level, in addition to school-generated individual evaluation reports. An individual student's exam score was a mandatory requirement for admission to the subsequent grade level.

Traditionally-high-performing schools generally set a minimum exam score for applicants, leading to the obvious facts that these schools competitively cater to high-achieving students. High-performing schools were traditionally those of elite, Ivy League-like schools that have been associated with high-achieving students, well-trained teachers, and well-equipped learning sites (i.e. classrooms, science labs, computer labs, language labs, sport fields, and extracurricular programs). These elite public and private schools were mostly founded decades ago and generally

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[12] Differently, private schools receive limited subsidy and various competitive grants, and thus are allowed to charge tuition fees. Top-rank private schools generate incomes from high tuition fee charged to their students.

located in current urban areas, though not always. Meanwhile, low- to middle-performing schools often, but not always, took students whose academic records were less competitive or lower than their peers in high-performing schools.

While this academic-based school status was not intended to reflect socioeconomic differentiation, most students in high-performing schools were from middle-class and affluent backgrounds, and only a small percentage of high-achieving students came from low-income families. Such merit-based admission systems have been considered as contributing to perpetuating academic gaps among public schools.

2.3 Language policies in schools today

Languages in Indonesia are roughly one-tenth of all the languages in the world today (Steinhauer, 1994), with some languages that have large numbers of speakers, e.g. Javanese (75 million), Sundanese (27 million), and Madurese (nearly 14 million). In addition, Indonesia today is the home for more than 350 ethno-linguistic groups, with more than 700 living local languages (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2014; Mahsun, 2012). The multilingual and multiethnic natures of the country have implications for languages spoken and taught at schools.

2.3.1 National and official language

The official language and national language of the country, spoken throughout the Indonesian archipelago, is *Bahasa Indonesia* (the language of Indonesia). Bahasa Indonesia is written in Latin script. Modern Bahasa Indonesia has been influenced by English, especially in the

media and among the young. A large proportion of Indonesian people learn *Bahasa Indonesia* at schools nd speak it as a *second* language, with the local home vernacular as their first language. It is usually the language of choice among city dwellers.

The *de-jure* history of the Indonesian language as a unified language dates back to the preindependence era. On October 28, 1928, youth activists across major ethnic groups of islanders pledged a resolution known as *Sumpah Pemuda*, or the Youth Movement or the Youth Pledge. Part of the resolution pledged for one state, one nation, and one national language, which is Indonesian. This event marked the consensus on Bahasa Indonesia as the bridging language for sociopolitical and cultural communication across regions. The Youth Pledge become the first official documentation of overt, explicit, official policy on Bahasa Indonesia as the official, national, and constitutional language.[13] After independence, the Indonesian language was officially recognized as the national official language of the Republic, as stipulated in Article 36 of the 1945 Constitution (Indonesia, 1945).

The Indonesian language has played an important role in the growth of the country. National development programs have been explored, communicated, projected, and reproduced through the channel of the Indonesian language. It has become the regional *lingua franca* among ethnic members of the newly sovereign imagined community (Anderson, 2006), and provides a basis for social cohesion.

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[13] The terms official, national and constitutional language may refer to different languages. For example, in South Africa, there are eleven constitutional languages (with some regional heritage languages accommodated in), and there is one official language, which is English. In Philippines, the official language is English, and the national language is Tagalog (though other local language speakers want their languages to be regarded as national language, too).

Teaching the Indonesian language has been mandated in all government-funded public schools. The teaching of Bahasa Indonesia as the literacy language was formulated from the enactment of the first 1947 curriculum as a part of an anti-illiteracy campaign. It was mandated for all types of schools and all levels of education.

The sociopolitical roles of Indonesian language was reinforced in the issuance of the Republic of Indonesia National Law No. 24 of 2009 concerning the National Flag, Language, Emblem, and Anthem. Specific to language, it states that the Indonesia language serves as the nation's identity and pride, and provides cohesion among ethnicities as well as a shared communication form across regions and cultures (Republic of Indonesia, 2009). It also emphasizes the official status of the Indonesian language as the medium of instruction and communication in all educational units. Most formal schools today are conducted in Bahasa Indonesia, as well as nearly all national media.

2.3.2 Local and regional languages

Most Indonesians are also fluent in at least one of many local or regional languages as their *first* language, or mother tongue. Children may speak any of these languages as their home language. In most parts of the country, the local language first acquired by children in one home village may be different from that in another village. For example, the form of Javanese that children learn from their parents in Semarang, Central Java, is a different language from the one acquired by their peers in Tegal, Central Java, although the distance between Semarang and Tegal is only about 150 kilometers, or 93 miles. These two dialects are mutually unintelligible. The eastern part of Indonesia illustrates more examples of unintelligibility between different local language speakers across neighboring islands.

Ten regional languages can be considered major, as having more than one million speakers, such as Javanese (75 million speakers), Sundanese (27 million), and Madurese (nearly 14 million), *Acehnese, Balinese, Banjar, Batak, Bugis, Minang,* and *Sasak* (Steinhauer, 1994). These languages are commonly used at home and within local communities, though mostly orally.

To pave the way to stronger forms of multilingual education, local languages are considered a part of curricula, that is, through using the languages orally or teaching them as subject matter (Mahsun, 2012). Most primary schools outside Jakarta receive a transitional bilingual education, also known as early-exit bilingual education, in which teachers often utilize native local language instruction to help students initially keep up with school subjects, eventually shifting to all-Indonesian-language instruction. These local languages hold transitional or temporary value in helping students achieve proficiency in Indonesian. It is an educational approach that "mainstreams" students to all-dominant-language classrooms. In regions outside Jakarta, local or regional languages are offered as course subjects at many schools, depending on a teacher's availability and students' ethnic homogeneity.[14] It is taught in concert with the teaching of local cultural knowledge in an effort to retain and pass local identity to a younger generation—regardless of the relative shortage of materials.

A gradual movement towards potential mother tongue-based multilingual education has started in the Southeast Asia region. The movement started with local community and NGO efforts in adult and pre-primary education, and was non-formal in nature (Kosonen & Young, 2009).

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[14] For example, in Solo, Javanese is spoken by millions of people in the area as both home language and language for wider regional communication. Javanese is used as the transitional language in early primary (although Bahasa Indonesia remains compulsory). Schools in ethnically mixed metropolitan cities like Jakarta, for example, do not offer local language courses, due both to the relatively low demand from students and parents and to their limited role as a regional *lingua franca* in the multiethnic Jakarta. School members generally speak Bahasa Indonesia to each other.

There were also small-scale pilot projects using local non-dominant languages as media of instruction and literacy in formal school systems. Most of them, however, are still at a preliminary stage, due to logistics issues.

2.3.3 Foreign languages

English language courses are compulsory throughout junior and senior secondary schools and higher education. The language is regarded as the first foreign language coursework taught in schools, since the launch of the 1968 National Curriculum, through the issuance of the 1967 Ministerial Decree (Retmono, 1992). English was optional at kindergarten and primary schools. Starting in the 1990s, many primary schools have started to offer English as an additional subject, depending on teachers' availability (Retmono, 1992). The demand for English has been further enhanced with the growth of technology use and information media.

Other foreign languages, such as French and German, are offered as academic concentrations for students in senior high schools, starting at either grade 11 or 12. This program began with the implementation of the 1975 Curriculum (Abdullah, 2007), in which students had to choose (with school approval) one academic concentration—natural science, social science, or language. Islamic primary and secondary schools, as well as higher education institutions, require Arabic languagein addition to English language instruction.

High school students who major in language studies study more than one foreign language besides English, such as German, French, Mandarin, or Japanese, depending on teacher availability and student interests. The practice remains through today in some schools, with few modification. Some private schools under MONE also offer additional foreign languages based on local demand, such as Mandarin.

Problems facing foreign language teaching, including English, include the lack of appropriate texts (especially in rural areas), teachers' limited language skills, and uncertainties in the curriculum, exacerbated by local variations that confuse teachers about what to teach in the limited one or two sessions a week (RELC, 2008). This is also the case with local language teaching.

2.4 Historical perspective of language education in schools

In this section, I discuss the teaching of foreign languages in Indonesia schools, which partly represent the nature of language contacts since the colonial era. Foreign language contacts did have some influence on Indonesia's educational language policy, both *de-facto* and *de-jure*. Each foreign language had its own symbolic power and none were as accessible as English language in schools today. Most of those foreign languages were attributed to elite bilingualism or elite multilingualism, (i.e. additional foreign language learned and/or spoken by groups of elite people, for any purposes, e.g. to read foreign literature, to travel abroad, to interact with foreigners), to which non-elite folks didn't have such access (C. B. Paulston, 1992).

During the colonization period of more than 360 years, the Dutch developed language policies in order to promote trade, convert souls, and maintain a civil administration, where they expected the natives to learn Dutch. The purpose was to assert cultural domination and assimilation. Their efforts, managed through government, educational, and religious institutions, generally failed (deWaard, 2000).

In the 1600s, under the governance of *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (United East India Company) or VOC, Dutch language promotion was unsuccessful because of certain social,

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political, historical, cultural, and demographic factors at that time (deWaard, 2000). First, in the social domain, the Dutch language competed with (low or vernacular) Portuguese used by European immigrants, and the (low) Malay language, which was used as a regional lingua franca by native islanders. Second, there was also a strong sociocultural hierarchy among VOC officers, army members, royal families, and native islanders, which also affected the Dutch language transfer. In fact, exogamy between Dutch nationals and natives did not lead to intercultural and lingual exchange (deWaard, 2000). Third, in the education domain, the VOC demonstrated a lack of interest in establishing a mass education service, let alone language instruction and language use at schools (deWaard, 2000). There were a few exceptional cases of Dutch language teaching learning in schools of the Dutch Reformed Church, such as in Ambon, for religious mission purposes. However, the school community spoke Malay inside and outside of school. Dutch was taught as a foreign language, with the main goal of competence in Bible reading. Several VOC schools applied Dutch-only policies, but these failed after several years due to the lack of societal function outside the schools and within student communities. Other missionary schools in the area taught Portuguese or Arabic as foreign languages, also with religious goals.

The ensuing Japanese occupation (1942-1945) led to the abrupt abolition of Dutch in favour of Indonesian, based entirely on Malay, as the chief language in the Indonesian community. In the spirit of Indonesia's independence in August 1945, the nation's 1945 Constitution adopted Bahasa Indonesia as the official language of the country. All official administration, press releases, and radio announcements were delivered in Indonesian. As the language became more commonly used by Indonesians, it led to considerable freedom of expression. At schools and universities, the teaching and use of Indonesian became obligatory.

After Indonesia's independence, several Dutch institutions remained in operation. Many Dutch-funded private schools existed and included both Dutch and Indonesian languages. They reflected a model of elite education for upper class community members and were attended by royal families, top-rank government officials, and affluent traders. Dutch language was not widely used in public at that time, and there were few high-paid jobs that required Dutch communication skills, such as translating for government officials and teaching language in private schools. The Dutch language became a salable skill, and mastering the language symbolizes a highly recognized form of social and cultural capital.

Through the 1960s, Russian and English were becoming popular among scholars, scientists, and government officials. They were sent to study abroad in the Soviet Union and the United States to improve their language skills (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Some minority groups were fluent in other languages, such as Chinese and Arabic, but they did not receive as much political attention and validation.

Economic, sociocultural, military, and religious forces heavily backed foreign language knowledge. English speakers from the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia visited Indonesia under several different contexts, from corporate work, Peace Corps teaching, military duty, and missionary efforts. As the Indonesia central government was becoming more involved with the United States in several key sectors, including military, secondary school curricula were mandated to employ more English language coursework.

In the early 1970s schools and universities started to offer English language courses, depending on teachers' availability. Dutch remained popular at that time, as access and opportunity to study the language broadened to include more citizens. The administration in the 1980s developed the state's business and political affiliations with more countries, inviting transnational

companies from Europe and Japan. The impact on language courses at schools was obvious; public and private schools had foreign language options beyond English. The most commonly offered were French, German, and Japanese. Chinese communities lived and nurtured their generations in two or more languages, including the Mandarin language. However, with the ethnic political situation at that time (before the 1998 political reform), the Chinese community and language had a very limited place in the public education curriculum. In the 1990s, when globalization arose, English language gained more popularity.

Engaging with transnational companies required a global *lingua franca* for working efficiency. English became a major pull factor that developed into a more rigorous inclusion of English language in schools (Retmono, 1992). Schools and universities added more hours for English language courses; meanwhile, private schools usually had more rigorous and intensive English lessons. English language learning agencies flourished and gained financial benefit from their high enrollment fees. Due to socioeconomic and political forces, English language commodification or commercialization (Tan & Rubdy, 2008) has been a force since the 1990s.

3.0 Literature review

This dissertation is focused on the interdisciplinary field of educational language policy. The field is based on ever-growing concepts and methods in the language policy and planning (LPP) studies. In the first section of this chapter, I discuss some basic notions and orientations in LPP studies, as well as the nature and scope of the educational language policy field.

In the second section, I discuss three main themes of language policy considerations from the perspectives of policy makers. They are economic productivity, literacy for global competitiveness, and political identity. These themes provide conceptual theories, discussions, and examples that help me analyze and cross-examine my findings.

3.1 Language policy and planning (LPP)

The concepts of language policy and planning have shifted and developed across time and space, influenced by not only macro-sociopolitical processes and events, but also epistemological views and strategic goals employed in language policy research over time (Ricento, 2000b). To better understand the complex and interdisciplinary nature of educational language policy, I will discuss a few basic notions and the history of the language policy field.

3.1.1 Basic notions

The terms "language policy" and "language planning" imply an interdependent relationship, where the two terms may not always be complementary or have a consistent cause-effect link. Some suggest that language planning subsumes language policy, in which language policy refers to "a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the societies, group or system" (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. xi). Other scholars argue that language policy is a part of language planning, wherein language policy is considered a social construct that rests on belief and normative systems as well as the linguistic cultures of the speakers (Schiffman, 1996). With regard to current development of language policy and planning as an interdisciplinary field, a clear distinction of the terms becomes less necessary. In this study, I prefer to use the terms "language policy," "language planning," and "language policy and planning" interchangeably.

In a broad sense, language policy and planning, or LPP, refers to "deliberate,, institutionally organized attempts at affecting the linguistics or sociolinguistics status or development of language" (Nahir, 2003, p. 423). Various authors have their own definitions of LPP from different research contexts and periods. Working on the language policies of several newly independent nations in the 1960s, Rubin (1977) suggests a definition that includes an intentional, top-down act of some governing body in language planning. She proposes that language planning includes "changes in the systems of a language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfill such purposes" (1977, p. 282). Her work in Indonesia, for example, led to the establishment of *Pusat Bahasa,* or the National Language Center, which is a center for development and cultivation of the Indonesian language.

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A contemporary conceptualization of LPP was later developed by Johnson (2013, p. 9), who defines LPP as "a policy mechanism that impacts the structure, function, use or acquisition of language." Such mechanisms include (1) official, overt, de-jure, explicit regulations; (2) unofficial, covert, de-facto, implicit language beliefs and practices prevailing within communities, workspaces and schools; (3) policy products and processes driven by language policy agents across operational levels; and (4) text and discourses across multiple contexts and policy activities.

LPP covers at least three overlapping domains of language planning: corpus, status, and acquisition planning. Popularized by Haugen (1959), "corpus" planning aims at efforts or manipulations related to the structure or the *forms* of the language itself. The most common example is vocabulary modernization and technology-based word borrowing. Meanwhile, "status" planning represents efforts toward the allocation of *function* and/or *uses* of the language in society, as proposed by Heinz Kloss (1969). Status planning includes efforts to decide which language(s) should be official, used in schools, or practiced in public administration, etc. In addition to the two domains above, Cooper (1989) introduces "acquisition" planning to refer to efforts to influence the *users* (speakers and learners), and, hence, the distribution of the targeted language(s). Acquisition planning often relates to language policies in and for schools, which shows an increasing interest in educational language planning activities targeted to school children. As the LPP area is expanding, Cooper (1989) offers a contemporary definition of LPP as "deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes" (p. 45).

Table 2. Definitions and types of works in LPP

Definitions	- Changes in the language code system by an authorized organization (Rubin, 1977) - Social construct based on normative systems and linguistic cultures of the speakers (Schiffman, 1996). - Body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules, and practices to achieve the planned language change (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997) - Deliberate, institutionally organized attempt to influence the language development (Nahir, 2003). - Policy mechanism that affects structure, function, use or acquisition of language (Johnson, 2013)
Types/ Targets	- Corpus planning, focuses on structures or forms (Haugen, 1959) - Status planning, focuses on function and/or uses (Kloss, 1969) - Acquisition planning, focuses on language users (Cooper, 1989)

3.1.2 Theoretical perspectives in LPP studies

The following sections are based on Ricento's (2000a) writing on theoretical perspectives in LPP studies. Since the history of language policy fields is quite vast, I will limit the discussion to types of language policy works, goals, and epistemological frameworks employed in the works of each identified time frame.

3.1.2.1 Early traditional approaches

The field of language policy and planning (LPP) was formally developed in the early 1960s by linguists and scholars who worked with governments in newly independent states. Much LPP work was devoted to deliberate language planning authorized by governing polities

in order to solve communication problems in multilingual settings and to foster socioeconomic opportunities for linguistic minorities (i.e. speakers of non-national-official languages). Much of the work focused on problem-based situations surrounding language corpus (texts)—such as alphabet, grammar, writing system, and dictionary development (Davis, 2011; Ricento, 2000a)— and decisions about language status—e.g., which language(s) would be chosen as national, official, or constitutional. Much of the work was framed by language as a tool for modernization and socioeconomic mobility, especially in the context of developing nations (Tollefson, 2006).

Research on LPP in the early period was dominated by traditional approaches, sometimes called early or classic approaches. Traditional approaches in LPP were dominated by structural or positivistic views (Johnson, 2013; Ricento, 2000a). Researchers in this tradition see language as isolated, detached from its users and linguistic environment. Traditional language scholars are more inclined to frame linguistic competence as an individual cognition and mental process. Traditional analysis tended to divorce individuals' linguistic performance from their ideological and sociocultural implications. Issues of power were absent, let alone in the school or educational domain, where language education is often seen as neutral, disseminated for a neutral cause within a neutral academic setting.

3.1.2.2 Critical approaches

In line with the debate and development of approaches in humanity fields in the 1970s and 1980s (Moss et al., 2009), the structuralist and positivist approaches above were challenged across multiple disciplines. Those assumptions and research frameworks were questioned for the absence of sociocultural and political contexts of the speech communities and society at large. These structuralist linguists focused heavily on the centrality of individual linguistic cognition and mentality, detached from sociocultural context. They were challenged by the so-called post-

structuralist sociolinguists, who were strongly concerned with relationships between languages and inherent sociopolitical and ideological elements. This scholarly encounter led to the emergence and initial development of critical (socio)linguistic studies.

Critical sociolinguistics advised the inclusion of sociocultural, political, and historical dimensions in studies of language acquisition and learning. Such works include Dell Hymes' ethnography of communication (1967) and major theoretical reexaminations of the notion of communicative competence (Hymes, 1972)—all had at their core contextual, normative, and political uses of language.

This critical movement in linguistics and sociolinguistics did affect the language policy field. Many language policy scholars started to explicitly employ political and ideological aspects in their works in order to confront existing apolitical, ahistorical, positivist traditions. This marked the development of critical language policy, or CLP, as an alternative approach or framework.

Tollefson (2006, p. 42) identifies several traits of CLP works and/or approaches. *First*, a CLP approach assumes that a language policy always serves the interests of certain dominant groups, thus maintaining and reproducing social inequality. CLP works assess the ideological subjectivity of policy and power relations within layers of policy stakeholders (e.g. political orientations of language policy in Kloss, 1977; Ruiz, 1984). These ideas were traditionally unexamined in the early language policy research.

Second, in its developments, the CLP approach has been influenced by several prominent scholars of critical tradition, resulting in various strains and research foci (Tollefson, 2006). These include, among other, (a) Gramschi's conceptualization of cultural hegemony as shown in the studies of politics of English by Pennycook (1994, 2003); (b) Bourdieu's linguistic and cultural,

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symbolic capital theory, as demonstrated in studies on language and cultural identities (Norton, 1997; Peirce, 1995); (c) Foucault's sense of discourse and governmentality, as employed in many scholarship today, including multiple agendas of language policies in East Asian countries (Tollefson, 2013; Tollefson & Tsui, 2004), as well as examines how social inequalities are created and maintained in/through language policy processes (e.g. socioeconomic inequality in language learning) (Phillipson, 2000).

The terms linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 2006) and linguistic genocide (Phillipson, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2003, 2006) emerged from critical scholars who highlighted the education of minority children in dominant language(s) without systematic attention to their local and/or native language development, both in colonial and post-colonial contexts, resulting in significant decrease of local language users (or language loss), and thus a violation of their linguistic human rights.

Third, moving into a transformative paradigm, much CLP scholarship has increasingly promoted more democratic policies to reduce language-induced inequality, foster the maintenance of minority languages, and reverse language shift (Fishman & Fishman, 2000; Tollefson, 2006). Examples include studies on the Quecha language in Peru (C. B. Paulston, 1992), struggling minority language speakers of the Maori in New Zealand (May, 2006; May & Hill, 2005) and the preservation of the Rejang language in Indonesia through written folk tales (McGinn, 2005). Such works often focus on the role of education in promoting and maintaining minority languages through bottom-up, grassroots community initiatives. Much of this work could help revitalize and develop indigenous and minority languages, especially in a multilingual context. Such efforts are necessary, though not sufficient, for preserving minority languages. This is partly because minority language revitalization depends on state politics and power disposition

(C. B. Paulston & Heidemann, 2006) as well as the economics of the linguistic marketplace. Despite community-based efforts, in fact, it is often the community members themselves who resist local language education for several reasons, including those based on utilitarian, competing values between local and major languages dominant in the region and nation. The case of the Rejang language in South Sumatera is one example (McGinn, personal communication, 2014).

The CLP approach does illuminate and enrich topics and concentrations in language policy studies, as well as bring together interdisciplinary scholars on language-related phenomena across research contexts. Initial CLP work, though, has been criticized for a lack or absence of micro-level or individual agency in its analysis. CLP approaches could be too deterministic and risk undervaluing the force of human agency (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). It also lacked depiction or analysis of the language planning process, including its initial formulation (Davis in Johnson, 2013, p. 42)

3.1.2.3 Post-modernism and ethnographic approaches

Pennycook (2006) suggests a post-modern approach that highlights and acknowledges the role of "micro agency" in making sense of and appropriating language choices and practices based on self-claimed purposes and local needs. Examples of these works include liberatory bilingualism as an alternative language ideology (Akkari, 1998), learning investment and socially upward identity of English language learners (Norton, 1997; Peirce, 1995), and the creation of bilingual space for critical explorations of self and community (Lin & Luk, 2002). These works illustrate intrinsic, integrative motivations of individuals or local stakeholders in adopting languages in schools or regions for their own purposes, despite the realities that the targeted language(s), like English or French, were associated with politically dominant groups. Critics of

postmodern approaches argue that not every language actor has access, information, and/or opportunity to channel their voices and concerns (Pennycook, 2006). Even fewer can change or dismiss any dominant influences.

Responding to implementation issues or language practices that might have been left or missed in previous periods, a growing body of ethnographic studies focus on capturing the cultural aspects of language practices and examining the agency of the users and actors from critical perspectives. Tollefson (2013) considers this approach to provide a balance between structure and agency, between a critical focus on the power and ethnographic interpretation of the actors' agency. Interdisciplinary scholars have conducted ethnographies of language policy studies in different research locus, from classrooms (Canagarajah, 1993 on ESOL classroom in Sri Lanka; Freeman, 1996 on bilingual practices at Oyster school) to workplaces (Cowie, 2007 on accent training centers in India), among others. These works have contributed to the development of ethnography of language policy as a methodological and theoretical framework to offer thick description and micro-macro examination of "the agents, contexts, and processes, across the multiple layers of language policy creation, interpretations and appropriation" (Johnson, 2013, p. 44).

Table 3 below sums up the section above.

Table 3. Orientations in LPP studies

Characteristics	Critics
Early traditional approaches	
It divorces individuals' linguistic performance from their ideological and sociocultural implications. Issues of power are absent. Language education is seen as providing a neutral form of knowledge, for a neutral cause, used and taught within a neutral setting.	It detaches language from its users and its sociocultural surroundings.
Critical approaches	
It promotes inclusion of sociocultural, political, and historical dimensions in studies of language acquisition and learning. It assesses the ideological subjectivity of policy and power relations within layers of policy stakeholders. It is influenced by various strains of critical approaches.	It could be too deterministic and undervalue human agency (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996). It lacks depiction or analysis of the planning process (Davis, 1999).
Post-modern and ethnographic approaches	
It highlights roles of micro-level agency in making sense of and appropriating language choices and practices based on actors' self-claimed purposes and local needs. It employs cultural aspects of language practices and examines the agency of the users and actors from critical perspectives.	It overly emphasizes group/individual agency, and focuses less on individual limitations and lacking power.

3.1.3 Educational language policies

My study is rooted in interdisciplinary concepts and elements of educational language policies. There are several conceptualizations of educational language policy with different terminologies by various prominent scholars. These conceptualizations have developed the language policy field into an interdisciplinary one, which relies much on anthropological, sociological, and/or educational theory and methodology.

To distinguish the field from sociolinguistics and language planning, Spolsky and Shohamy (2000) use the term *educational linguistics* to refer to a set of policies by educational policy makers (central, regional, and/or local levels), regulated through educational systems and instruments, with intentions to affect languages used, taught, and learned by teachers and students. Analysis is likely to focus on exam results and academic achievements of targeted students, with little or no evaluation of students' language competence and linguistic repertoires.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) discuss the field with the term *language-in-education planning* as a part of government's systemic and official plans, which (i) focus on the language(s) acquisition of school learners; (ii) consist of educational curriculum, personnel, materials, community, and evaluation policy subsets; and (iii) are framed as a part of national literacy and socioeconomic development. Within this framework, the success of language programs would rest heavily on policy instruments and members of educational sectors.

According to Tollefson (2013; 2004), the study of *language policies in education* transpired from social justice discussions in critical linguistics and language policy in schools. He pointed out cases in which educational language policies have historically been used to suppress and marginalize minority and indigenous languages and their users, and, therefore, have been utilized as instruments to dominate educational access and economic opportunities.

Based on Pennycook's postmodernism (2006), Lin and Martin (2005) employed the terminology of *language-in-education policy and practice* to offer a policy process analysis from local, situated, and contextual perspectives, by focusing on how power and agency operate at the microlevel of implementation. The relative success or even failure of an educational language policy depends on how teachers manifest the policy through their acts, desires, and performance in the classrooms.

In a similar vein, Menken and Gracia (2010, p. 256) focus on the critical role of classroom educators in shaping *language education policies,* which represent "the joint product of the educators' constructive activity, as well as the context in which this constructive activity is built". Further, they explain that language education policies embody structure, constraints, and context, in which the policy actors interact in interpreting, negotiating, and reconstructing planned and unplanned policies.

Johnson (2013) provides a relatively integrated conception, in my opinion. He suggests the term *educational language policy* to illustrate "the official and unofficial policies that are created across multiple layers and institutional contexts (from national organizations to classrooms) that impact language use in classrooms and schools" (p. 54). Educational language policy comprises both official and unofficial, de-jure and de-facto, covert and overt language use and practice. This includes written language regulations, languages used in wall signs around the school, and languages spoken in classrooms, for examples. He underlines the multilayer nature of policy processes, through which each subset of a policy is "created, interpreted, appropriated, and instantiated" (p. 54) in a way that could facilitate or hinder the policy goals. Within this conceptualization, policy actors across institutions and levels are engaged in a process in which they interact with and are impacted by one another to shape the policy course.

Based on the above concepts, several key tenets characterize approaches and studies in educational language policy. *First*, educational language policy or policies are *multi-layered*, comprising policy creation, perception or interpretation, appropriation, and instantiation or micro-implementation. Ricento and Hornberger (1996, p. 419) offer a metaphor of educational language planning as a multilayered "onion," with classroom instructors being the heart of the onion, with legislation, political processes, states, and supernatural agencies and other institutions being the outer layers.

Second, the multi-layer acts or processes indicate the presence of the *agency* of every policy actor, including micro-implementers like teachers and family members. Researchers in educational language policy tend to highlight the agency role of policy actors, especially those at micro-levels of implementation. The political aspect of such agency is often describes cases and examples of individuals and grassroot communities in appropriating, responding to, and reshaping top-down policies.

Third, much like many educational reforms, there is sociocultural and political *reciprocity* across policy events and actors. Educational language policies are often created in response to interrelated national and global events happening outside school buildings, such as economic projection, political disputes, schools' internationalization, global migration, and changes in domestic linguistic markets, among others. Reciprocal relations are also demonstrated across policy actors and between schools, families, official government, communities at large, and supranational organizations. Languages used and taught in schools are affected by interests of dominant policy actors or institutions. Likewise, top-down language policies imposed by dominant groups could have been influenced or even changed by less-dominant groups like teachers and parents. In fact, the success of instructional language policies is inseparable from

societal reinforcement outside school domain, all of which require parental and communal supports.

Fourth, analysis in educational language policy includes both *implementational and ideological* spaces (Hornberger, 2002; 2013). The implementational spaces translate the technical steps and measures of policy, especially at local levels. These refer to everyday life in classrooms, including materials, exams, classroom arrangements, schedules, and hours, as well as supports for teachers to plan courses, solve problems, and develop their professionalism. Meanwhile, ideological spaces constitute different and potentially divergent ideologies and orientations about language and language education across contexts, institutions, and layers of policy processes.

Lastly, with its discursive nature, educational language policies entail a linguistic ecology, or *ecological approach* (Hornberger, 2002; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). An ecological approach suggests that language policy and planning activity must consider the interactions between languages and the psychological and sociological environments of their speakers. This also include considerations of issues of language evolution (spread, shift, change), language endangerment (loss, decrease), and language environment (multilingual contexts and multiple sociopolitical forces). Table 4 sums up the section above.

Table 4. Educational language policies: Summary

Various, overlapping terms	- language-in-education planning - language-in-education policy and practice - language policies in education - language education policies - educational language policy
Broader concept	Official and unofficial policies that are created across multiple layers and institutional contexts (from national organizations to classrooms) that impact language use in classrooms and schools (Johnson, 2013, p. 54).
Characteristics	- multi-layered processes - presence of the agency of every policy actor - sociocultural and political reciprocity across policy events and actors - analysis to include implementational and ideological spaces - analysis to include linguistic ecology (psychological and sociological environments of language speakers)

3.2 Considerations in English language planning: Policy makers' perspectives

While I agree that there is no unifying considerations of language planning across countries, the section below presents a general topography of considerations in English language education policy and planning.

When it comes to the English language today, policy motives are loaded with economic and sociopolitical themes that motivate macro policy makers to plan their approaches to English language education. These themes emerged from my research data and my literature review. The selected relevant scholarship for this study was gathered from the fields of educational language

policy, sociolinguistics, and school leadership. These also include government documents and non-governmental organization, or NGO, reports. Literature in the field of educational language policy in this section focusesd more on the notion of language and/in/for development, rather than on individuals' bilingual states. The sociolinguistic readings included discussion of English spread and language contacts in non-English-dominant countries. References from the school leadership area helped me focus the issue on pedagogical and managerial practices of English language policy as a part of educational policy planning. In short, the literature reflects interdisciplinary conversations on language, global pedagogy, and schooling for job market preparation

There are at least three main themes across language policy considerations. They are economic productivity, literacy for global competitiveness and political identity. The first is an increasingly promoted role of English as an income-generating skill, discussed and framed within the human capital theory of language education. The second motive is related to the national literacy scope, which is enhanced for global competitiveness, and, thus, economic attractiveness. The rationales for literacy enhancement are related to the actual roles and/or status of English language today for science and technology exchange, multilateral trading, employment, and economic migration. The third motive deals with a sociopolitical strategy for economic alliances, which requires a continuance of language use for cultural diplomacy schemes.

3.2.1 Language planning for economic productivity

Language planning for economic productivity stems from the scholarly field of *economics of language*, which explores utilitarian values of a language in relation to one's productive outcomes (mostly regarding monetary outcomes). Francois Grin, an economist of language, defines the economics of language as the paradigm of mainstream theoretical economics and uses

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the concepts and tools of economics in the study of relationships featuring linguistic variables (1996, 2003).

3.2.1.1 Basic concepts: Linguistic capital and human capital

Contemporary associations between language competence and economic values have developed over time in social and public policy spheres. One of the most salient scholars of this discourse is Bourdieu, with his notion of "*linguistic capital*" (Bourdieu, 1977b; Thompson, 1991). Bourdieu suggests that linguistic resources are differentially distributed among community members and that ownership of certain linguistic resources would give access to socioeconomic and political opportunities, which could ultimately be transformed into economic capital (Thompson, 1991).

Another influential discourse is the "*human capital of language,*" which is an extension of Schultz's human capital theory (Schultz, 1961, 1980). From human capital theory, linguistic competence is interpreted as an asse that is embodied in the ability to perform labor, and thus to be economically productive. In non-English speaking countries, for example, the human capital value of the English language is highly prized in these countries' job markets. When the majority population does not speak English natively, and when the English language demand from job sectors is high, employers consider individuals with advanced levels of English competence a scarce, highly valued asset.

The two concepts of linguistic capital and human capital of language have deeply affected the language attitudes of many societies. For example, a 2009 study by the British Council in Bangladesh revealed that more than 80 percent of Bangladeshis believe that having English knowledge and skills would help them improve their incomes, and thus, socioeconomic levels (Seargeant & Erling, 2011). Over time, this English linguistic capitalism could become an

ideological state of an individual's mind, as people could come to believe that mastering English would lead to highly rewarding jobs and, ultimately, economic wealth.

3.2.1.2 Individual productivity

Theoretical discussions of linguistic practice and individuals' economic advancement have expanded since the 1960s. Studies in this area can be grouped into three types (Grin, 2003). The first type of study views *language as an ethnic attribute*, i.e. having a particular language as one's mother tongue ascribes a person to a particular group, and this language-based ascription could have an effect on that person's socioeconomic status, particularly her or his earnings. The studies identify ethnolinguistic identities as variables to analyze earnings differences between Black and White United States residents, or between Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec, Canada (Grin, 2003). These studies were mostly made up of empirical, statistical work and largely coincide with the relative socioeconomic positions of certain ethnic groups in the United States in the 1960s.

A second type of study emphasizes the human capital nature of language. It views deliberately *acquired language skills as a source* of economic advantage. Such studies identify relationships among individual immigrants' attitudes toward learning/acquiring English language, their communicative efforts at works, and their socio-economic incomes/status (income and economic status as dependent variables). Most of the research was initially set in United States in the 1970s and early 1980s, particularly with native speaking Spanish immigrants. Most findings show that individual immigrants gain greater economic returns from a good command of English (Bloom & Grenier, 1996), which was barely surprising given the role of English as dominant language in the U.S. and as a main language in Canada. In Asian context, Chakraborty and Kapur (cited in Seargeant & Erling, 2011) in West Bengal found that individuals who had better access to English training earned significantly higher wages and seized better occupational outcomes than

those who did not—even when the level of overall education was controlled for. Evidence like the two studies above emerged to support some sort of causal relationship between English and economic reward.

A third type of study considers both language functions—identity and asset—jointly as determinants of labor income. The relationship is *reciprocal*. Languages are seen not only as elements of ethnolinguistic identity or as potentially valuable communication skills, but also as economic assets (embodied in individuals) that mutually influence socioeconomic status (Vaillancourt, 1996). Scholars started to investigate the reciprocal relationship of language and economic policy, looking at economy as both dependent and independent variables that are associated (not necessarily as causal variables) with language variations, roles, and dynamics.

Critics of studies on individuals' productivity come from social and sociolinguistic perspectives. Economic values of languages can hardly be quantified because the nature of language utility is context-bound, or determined by time, place, groups of speakers, and the exact location of a job, among others. For example, Grin (1995, 2001) compared earnings of workers with high, low, and no English proficiency, taken from a Swiss national language survey data. He looked at the workers' competence level in the country's three main official languages—German, French, and Italian. Although the private rates of return on English-language skills were high throughout the country, the findings revealed significant variation depending on participants' gender, the language region where he/she resided, and the target language considered. As an illustration, English skills were rated first (before French) in German-speaking region, but second (after German) in French-speaking region (Grin, 2001). Another example is Kobayashi's study (2007), in which English competence among Japanese women seemed to provide access to better economic and employment opportunities in Japan. However, it only does so within the pre-existing

hierarchical social structure. When gender was factored in, the female group had less access to job opportunity regardless of their English competence levels.

Any causal relationship between language competence and economic productivity seems to simplify or even reduce the significance of social and other contextual variables. Such variables must always be acknowledged in contributing result variation of earnings and productivity. The current development of the economics of language today is moving toward the accommodation of social factors in its equations and explanatory results (Grin, 2010).

3.2.1.3 Nation, macro-level productivity

Studies of reciprocal, two-way relationships between language and economy started to develop in the late 1990s, mostly in Europe and North American contexts, with applications focused on hte macro policy level. Researchers looked at the role of economics as a tool for evaluating the effects of language policies, in which advantages and drawbacks of language scenarios are weighed against each other (Grin, 2001). Standard economic variables (e.g., prices, earnings, transaction costs, etc.) do not necessarily intervene. This approach has been applied and appropriated in many recent studies in the economics of language, language teaching as a socioeconomic investment, cost-benefit implications of language policies, and language-based income inequality, among others (Grin, 2001; Vaillancourt, 1991).

Governments may need to examine their language-in-education expenditures (or schooling in general) both in terms of individual yields, or private returns, and collective yields, or social returns. To best illustrate this, I decided to use the 2014 Reports by the Education First English Proficiency Index (EF EPI) as an example. This is because large-scale studies like EFI EPI reports have become important references for governments and companies in formulating and evaluating their language policies (EF, 2014).

Implying a call to invest more in English language education, the EF EPI report suggests that strong English language skills correlate with higher national income (Figure 1), prosperity (Figure 2), and human development indices (Figure 3).
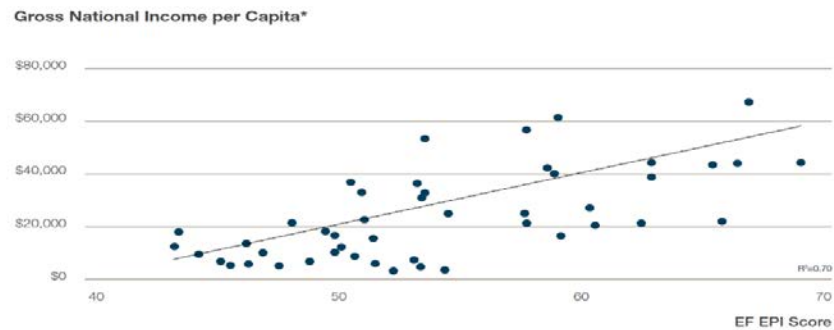
Figure 1. English and National Income (EF, 2014)
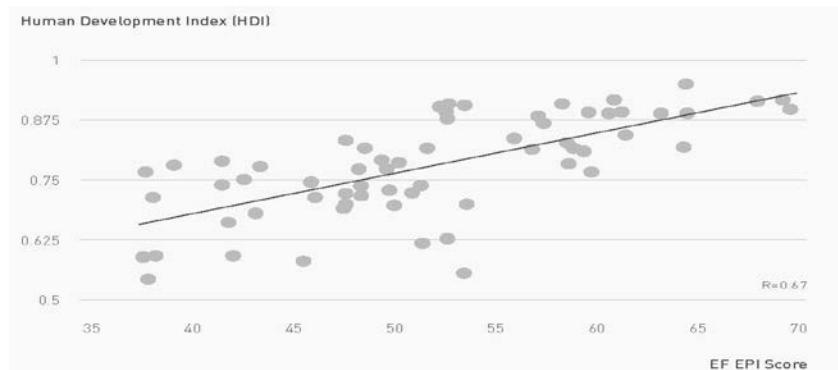
Figure 2. English and Prosperity (EF, 2014)
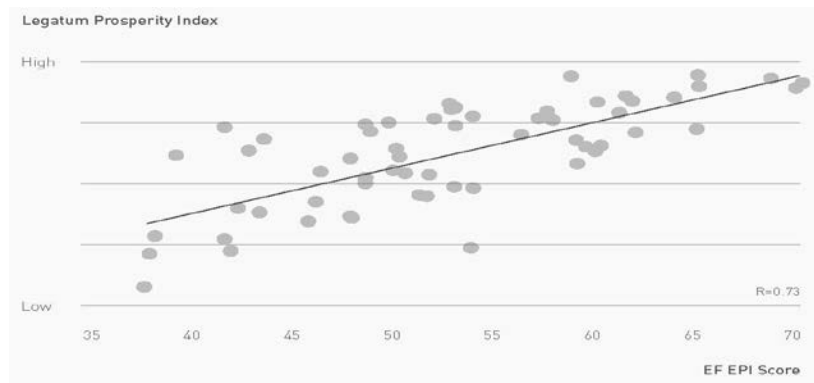
Figure 3. English and Development (EF, 2014)

In Figure 3, the EF English Proficiency Index—which compares and ranks the average English language ability of adults in different non-English speaking countries—was matched against the 2012 Gross National Income (GNI) per capita by the United Nations. Countries with higher EPI showed a relatively higher GNI, such as Denmark, the Netherlands, and Sweden. The report also probed the countries' spending on language training markets in order to make a comparative analysis of investment and proficiency index.

Figure 4 and Figure 5 infer a positive correlation between the English Proficiency Index and indicators of quality of life, such as the Human Development Index (or the HDI, which is based on the 2012 UN Human Development Report) and the Legatum Prosperity Index (2013 statistics from Legatum Institute) respectively, as mentioned in the EF report (EF, 2014). The Human Development Index includes aspects of education attainment, life expectancy, and income. The Legatum Prosperity Index considers economic growth, entrepreneurship and opportunity, governance, education, health, safety and security, personal freedom, and social capital. The report (EF, 2014) claims that all countries with high and very-high English proficiency have done very well in the HDI and Legatum Prosperity Index.

Large scale comparative studies like the EF reports have been valuable references for governments, companies, and agencies in development sectors. However, these references are not without some cautions. Below are some critical notes.

Firsy, the reports exclude countries' historical and political backgrounds. All EF reports from 2011 to 2014 attempted to correlate quantitative outcomes of English investment with selected indicators of macro-economic growth. Underlying their argument was classical economics of education theory, claiming that "education can increase the human capital inherent

in the labor force, which increases labor productivity and thus transitional growth toward a higher equilibrium level of growth" (Mankiw as cited in Hanushek & Wobmann, 2010, p. 245).

Despite this theoretical assumption, the empirical evidence on the macro impact of English language investment on economic growth has been mixed. This is partly due to measurement problems that eschewed contextual, sometimes non-calculable, variables, as Grin (2001) mentioned. These contextual variables may include sociocultural and geographical differences among compared settings, as well as some historical comparative advantages each country may or may not have. Ignoring these circumstantial variables in language acquisition and language use may distort the illustration of how English language investment and economic outcomes are related.

Second, the reports perpetuate a false myth that equates English with productivity. While most high-EPI countries are currently among the nations with the highest income and life quality indices, this does not necessarily mean that, in development contexts, there would be a direct correlation between the acquisition of English and economic advancement. Ironically, as Imam (2005) observed, correlational evidence like the reports above have emerged to support some sort of causal relationship between English and economic return without considering the complexity of the pre-existing sociolinguistic environment, such as languages spoken in the region, or gender or ethnicity attributes. Consequently, the language attitude or the language appreciation index—i.e. the general society's perceptions toward English—is becoming falsely augmented, relying on a very simplistic formula that equates English competence with economic productivity. These faulty assumptions are found to be popular in several countries, such as in the Bangladesh study previously mentioned.

3.2.2 Functional literacy toward global competence

Intended outcomes of a nation's literacy plan have always been modified in relation to the national development blueprint (Hornberger, 1994). The basic concept of national literacy has always been loaded with economic functionality. In today's more globalized economy, the literacy scope goes global—a narrative behind the massive intensification of English language curriculum.

3.2.2.1 Basic concepts: Functional, global literacy

National literacy generally refers to individuals' ability to read, write, and speak in the official language(s) of the polity, as well as to compute and solve problems in order to function in the society. Hence, literacy planning involves deciding what language(s) are taught and used as media of instruction in schools to facilitate national development (Tollefson & Tsui, 2004; Van Els, 2005). This includes competence in foreign languages as a prerequisite for development at national and global levels (Liddicoat, 2007).

With development purposes in mind, national literacy planning implies a *functional literacy*, which is "to equip individuals with the skills and knowledge that enable them to function as workers and citizens in a print-dominated society" (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 15). The term functional literacy denotes a level of traditional literacy beyond traditional reading, writing, and computing capacities. It involves practice-based navigational knowledge and skills to perform certain social and economic functions relevant to current needs. In the context of English language education, functional literacy includes an English acquisition plan, i.e. a systematic attempt to affect learners' language behavior (Cooper, 1989; Hornberger, 1994, 2006), in such a way that enables them to perform social and economic activities in or through the English language.

In communities of non-English speaking countries, where English is not spoken natively, the literacy goal of English language education was perceived to be focused more on language knowledge and less on communicative, functional skills. In the 21st century of curriculum in global education, the functional literacy goal was meant to be scaled up toward a global level. English language education curricula are oriented toward acquiring English as an inter-national and inter-sectoral language so that learners can function and participate in a more globalized society, both domestically and internationally (Nunan, 2003; Reimers, 2008).

Functional literacy with a global orientation has been embedded in international and global education movements. Spaulding et al. (in Sylvester, 2005, p. 136) outline two strands of learning orientation in international education: idealistic and pragmatic. Both idealistic and pragmatic motives in international education may lead to both individual and societal benefits at various degrees and types. *Idealistic interest* stresses education and exchange experience for the purposes of promoting international understanding and peace. This corresponds to sociocultural motives of assimilating oneself with his or her cultural out-groups. Meanwhile, *pragmatic interest* stresses the purpose of global competency and competitiveness for developing human capacity that can effectively serve the country and the world in political, economic, social, and academic sectors.

This pragmatic interest is similar to instrumental motives of language education (Baker, 2003), where participatory engagement in global and international issues is driven by socioeconomic efficiency goals as they occur in some advanced countries. The idealistic purposes of international understanding develops into instrumental motive, in that intercultural skills are nurtured to serve sociopolitical and economic activities across regions and countries (Heyward, 2002; Madrid & Hughes, 2011; Suarez-Orozco & Sattin, 2007; Tarc, 2009).

Within contested sociopolitical and economic domains, the English language appears to be today's *lingua franca*. Consequently, the functional literacy goals of English were oriented for global competence and competitiveness. High standards and expectations for English language acquisition are set to develop individual global competence for sociopolitical and economic enterprises—hence for the nation's competitiveness. Theevolution of English language functionality has been associated with today's roles for English in the following development domains: (a) science and technology, (b) business market, (c) employment, and (d) economic migration.

3.2.2.2 Science and technology exchange

English has been acknowledged to be the language of today's science, technology, and economics worldwide (Seidlhofer & Jenkins, 2003), including as the global working language of medicine, aviation, defense, and health. Over the last half century, the English language has been used almost exclusively for the information flow of cutting-edge science. Wright (2003, p. 151) explains that the world research communities decided to disseminate their debates and to publish in English, even for innovations that originated in non-English speech communities.

The dominant use of English in the science domain comes from years of accumulated sociopolitical events. The post-World War II period marked a power-shift with implications for science and technology networks (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 244). The United States, for example, with its relatively intact post-war economy, accommodated some 2,000 foreign, non-U.S. students to study in approximately twenty U.S. tertiary institutions in 1948 (the first year for

which records exist)[15]. The majority of these students studied science, engineering, and business administration. Being immersed in the English language throughout their school years, these graduates began to contribute to their information networks in English. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 247) suggest that scientific and technical information is naturally cumulative, where its continuation depends on extensive use of existing prior scientific information. Hypothetically, the groups doing the most projects tended to contribute the most information to the network, from which other groups borrowed and reinvented.

3.2.2.3 Global business market

Since the first buzz of economic globalization in the early 1990s, English has been touted as a common language in global business communication. The business community developed a general consensus to use English as today's world language for economic activities. Historically, this consensus goes back to the development of the post-World War II business sector, when the most vibrant business activities took place in the United States and their trading-partner countries. Here, the English language has dominated business communication (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Before then, early nineteenth century British colonization also brought English into contact with a variety of other languages in the colonies for trading purposes as well as socioeconomic and cultural transformation (Culpepper & Nevala, 2012).

Aside from historical factors, a unified, common language is logically needed in business for at least two reasons: mutual intelligibility and efficiency (Cremer & Willes, 1991; Vaillancourt, 1991). Common language in business is believed to decrease the cost of regular contact with a

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[15] To illustrate this trend in the 1980's, Jenkins (1983) reports that the number increased 10 percent per year over the next 30 years, reaching up to a quarter of a million students enrolled in some 2,000 institutions by 1980.

wide range of people using a wide range of languages (Grin, 2003). Also, the existence of a common language between two trading partners may have a positive effect on the volume of trade. Analyzing language use in trading activities in the Far East, Cremer and Willes (1991) concluded that international trading can take place if both trading partners use English as their common language, even at a low proficiency level.

Education First (EF, 2012, 2013) regularly studies the relationships between the ease of doing business and a workforce's English proficiency. This world-wide non-governmental organization promotes and offers English language training. They also publish an annual report on what it calls an English Proficiency Index (EPI). The EF English Proficiency Index (EF-EPI) compares the average English language ability of adults in different countries over time (starting in 2007), using data from English standardized test scores (EF, 2012, 2013). The 2014 report listed and compared test results from as many as 63 non-English countries (EF, 2014). The findings from the 2014 EPI were then compared to the 2012 World Bank's Ease of Doing Business Index, resulting in a positive correlation, as illustrated in Figure 4 and Figure 5 below. The Ease of Doing Business index ranks the regulatory environment of economics around the world by examining how conducive they are to starting and operating businesses.
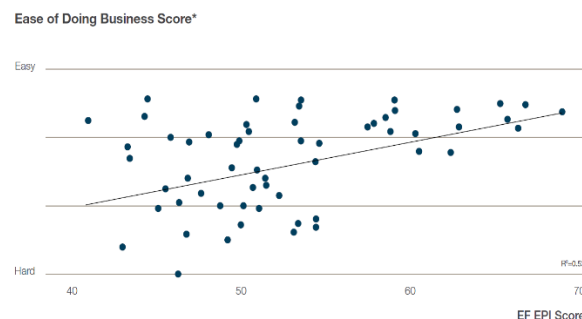
Figure 4. EPI and Ease of Doing Business (EF, 2014)
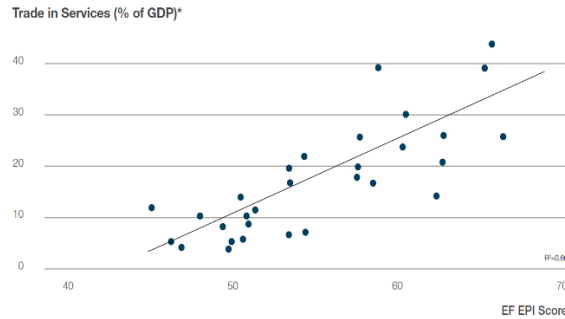
Figure 5. EPI and Trade in Services (EF, 2014)

Figure 4 shows that, based on the 2014 EF report, countries with higher EPI tend to have higher ease-of-doing-business index. They also have greater volumes in both their service industries and their international trade (Figure 5). The report implies that (a) business done in high-EPI countries tends to be relatively easier, and thus, (b) low proficiency in English has negative implications for a country's economic competitiveness and attractiveness to foreign investment. For companies, lack of English proficiency might mean losing business opportunities and falling behind competitors.

EPI results have not been estimated without attention to audience. The EPI report addressed the interests of government and corporations. Companies will look at the education level and English proficiency level of outsourced countries, especially those who are outsourcing their business for cost-benefit and cost-effective reasons. Responding to this investment strategy, governments of non-Anglophone, non-English-speaking countries have been producing large numbers of skilled graduates able to communicate in English as part of an effort to expand their service economy. Providing a worldwide benchmark in adult English proficiency, all of the EF's EPI reports present a provocative fact regarding a country's English investment returns, in the form of economic global competitiveness.

3.2.2.4 Economic migrations

Since the ancient globalization era, migrations have always affected the world's demographic landscape, and eventually contribute to the formulation and implementation of any types of language policy (Tucker, 1994). Global economic migration at unparalleled rates have been created by peoples' movement across national borders for a variety of reasons (Graddol, 2006). These include academic and economic opportunity, political repression, and/or civil disturbances. These include not only less-skilled migrant workers who travel across borders but also growing numbers of college-graduate workers with competitive knowledge and skills. The idea of literacy for global competence is also to prepare graduates to gain access to skilled jobs abroad. The literature in global and international education emphasizes the need of language provision to facilitate cross-border mobility and migration, as well as to anticipate their impacts (Reimers, 2008; Suarez-Orozco & Sattin, 2007).

Widely predicted, worldwide economic migration is expected to rise. Working abroad is evidently more feasible these days because of the increasing availability of support systems, including improvements in immigration regulations, transportation, communication, and financial arrangements. The formation of regional or multinational trading blocs (such as the ASEAN community, the European Union, and the North American Free Trade Agreement) has allowed the increased migration and flow of people, goods, and services across national boundaries, and will continue to expand significantly throughout the next century. From the education sector, internationalization in higher education systems has also contributed to the growth of economic migration (Graddol, 2006).

Considering its global employability value, the English language is considered a key to today's economic migration. For example, the top migrant-destination countries, with a large

number of foreign population inflows, have been mostly English-speaking countries (OECD, 2005, p. 295). They are the United States, Australia, the United Kingdom, and Canada; other countries include Germany, Spain, Italy, Japan, France, and Korea, where English could be required in some communication settings. The United States has been the major OECD destination for skilled workers; the European Union is the second destination, followed by Canada and Australia. However, there are now many non-English-speaking countries with high job-migration rates, such as Saudi Arabia, Oman, United Arab Emirates, and Malaysia. Also, more Asians today are seeking work in other Asian countries, and more Latin Americans are turning to Europe for work opportunities (Wickramasekera, 2002). Regardless of these shifting destination trends, English is often a shared language among migrant workers in non-English speaking countries. On a side note, this demonstrates a bottom-up process of cultural assimilation, as a result of economic migration.[16]

A major purpose of some economic migration is the support of remittance economies. For example, from the perspective of supplier or source countries, migrant workers have been generating remittances as a major source of external funds for cash-strapped countries. Indonesia, for example, received USD 6.1 billion, or IDR 54 trillion, in 2005 transferred back through formal routes (ILO pers release as cited in H. Coleman, 2011a). In five years, the number increased by almost half of the total predicted remittance. By 2010, the World Bank estimated that USD 9.1 billion had been remitted back to Indonesia by migrant workers in the first nine months of the year (Kompas, 2010), or approximately USD 12.1 billion (or IDR 108 trillion) over the entire 2010 year, assuming the remittance flow rate continued unchanged. A rough estimation was that there

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[16] As expected, a top-down approach to a cultural assimilation framed language policy discourse in colonial times.

might be up to 2.5 million migrant workers from Indonesia in other countries producing an annual capital inflow of IDR 108 trillion (+/- 56 million USD, based on 2010 average currency exchange) in remittances (Kompas, 2010). Most of those workers were assumed to have limited English proficiency. This created a logical speculation that a large pool of well-trained migrant workers with better English would result in higher remittances, in addition to non-monetary implications for the country's reputation.

With the increase in economic migration and the growing importance of remittances, governments have been targeting shares of their national budgets to provide targeted-communication skills for future migrants in order to adequately empower these human and financial flows. The role of English for economic migration necessitates improvements in the country's English learning approach, both for professionals and high school graduates.

3.2.3 Language planning for sociopolitical identities

The other dimension of policy consideration is the political aspect of language planning. The political perspective of language policy and planning is often fraught with complex politics of identity (Schmidt, 2006a). The politics of identity is clearly outside of an instrumental view, which takes a generic view of students, teachers, and other individual language learners or speakers. Identity politics denies a generic view, arguing for the importance of recognizing personal and group difference and interdependence.

3.2.3.1 Basic concepts: Social cohesion and social distinction

In the literature of language policy and planning (LPP), identity politics are manifested in roles of language for social cohesion and distinction (Schmidt, 2006a). Language for *social*

cohesion relies on its role to nurture individuals' sense of commonality with others who share similar language(s) and to politically unite its speakers. Language for *social distinction* is language use to distinguish the speakers' identity from others, based on linguistic identity or the language(s) used.

The discourse of language as a social cohesion tool is often shown in cases of newly independent nations in the process of detaching their sociopolitical entities from the colonial authorities (Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 2009). This process dates back to one of the earliest key events, the 1648 Peace of Westphalia in Germany. The peace treaty ended the Thirty Years War, which marked the beginning of the modern international system of sovereign states, with each state gaining exclusive authorities, including languages, within its own geographic boundaries (Krasner, 1995).

During the time of imperialism or colonial occupation, colonists imposed own language on colonized regions for various reasons, from economic exploitation and political domination to religious-orientated dissemination. This is sometimes termed linguistic imperialism (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1994; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2003). If there is a correlation between colonization and linguistic imperialism, then it is possible to retell the world's political history in terms of language contact and conflict, as Appel and Muysken (2005) suggest. Many colonized regions became independent states and underwent a linguistic homogenization process under a one-nation-one-language approach. Examples of this are plenty, ranging from covert, de-facto language policy in the early 1800s to an overt, de-jure policy in the late 21st century, as I briefly discuss below.

In the second half of the 18th century, after the decline of the Ottoman and Austrian empires in parts of eastern Europe, many kingdoms became independent states and underwent major linguistic shifts. These reflected the efforts of new-nation identity building and political exclusion

(Wodak et al., 2009). These nationalistic languages included Hungarian, Slovakian, Romanian, and Polish. Later, in the early 1990s, following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the breakup of the Soviet Union, geopolitical change in the Eastern Europe allowed the emergence of local and regional entities (Bugarski, 2004). These entities associated themselves with certain languages as part of the new nations' identitie. These new states declared an official or national language for the purposes of national identity building and political exclusion—an attempt to de-associate or decolonize from their former colonizer(s).

Another example is Indonesia. The nation's 1945 Constitution, declared after the nation's self-proclaimed independence from the Dutch, referred to the Bahasa Indonesia or the Indonesian language as the national and official language of Indonesians. Its purpose was to politically unite the nation's diverse ethnicities, and to detach the country from colonial languages, including Portuguese, Dutch, English, and Japanese (Anderson, 1966, 2006; deWaard, 2000). Similarly, in South Africa, during the post-apartheid period in 1994, there was an effort to remove colonial languages, including those inherited from the colonial period, such as Afrikaans and English, and to replace them with African languages (Kamwangamalu, 2004).

Political roles of language in those new nations were often translated into one-nation-one-language ideology—a way of uniting an imagined nation under one distinctive linguistic identity (Blommaert, 2006). The phenomenon of one-nation-one-language was recognized and noted in a classic philosophical work by Herder, a German scholar in the 18th century (Herder, 2002). In later literature, Benedict Anderson (Anderson, 2006) popularized the term "imagined communities" to characterize the sociopolitical distinction of newly-separated nations that emerged in Europe and around the world during the post-colonial era. Early language policy projects in the 1960s were mostly established to help new nations solve their language problems, where modernization

agendas were often bundled with language for a national identity (Blommaert, 2006; Ricento, 2000b; Rubin, 1977, 2013).

However, not too long after post-colonialism and post-independence, another force began to surface, i.e. globalization. With the development of communication and transportation technologies, 21st century globalization was characterized by increased interconnectivity—hence, language contacts—among individuals, groups, regions, and states (Dewey, 2007). With academic and economic globalized interconnectivities, to say the least, English has been embedded in the process as the language of inter-nation communication—as historically dicussed in the previous sections. While one-nation-one-language ideologies remain alive in the nationalism sphere, English spread to become a cohesive tool for global sociopolitical and economic enterprises. Hence there are two undergoing movements of linguistic-political identity marking: linguistic deconolonication and globalization (Canagarajah, 2008; Lin & Martin, 2005). The initial process of linguistic decolonization, in favor of building an autonomous nation-state, was not all incomplete; however, at the same time there were inevitable needs for acquiring and mastering dominant language(s) for nation-states' global participation in development sectors.

The best illustration of this hybrid political process is today's adoption of English as a second or additional official language of instruction in schools or public domains in non-native English-speaking countries. Sociopolitical-economic agendas dominate the narratives of such identity politics, both at micro and macro levels, as discussed below.

3.2.3.2 Micro and meso level of aspired identity

In a micro context of individual/personal language learning, Norton (1997; 1995) asserts that most language learners aspire to develop a symbolic cultural identity associated with the speech communities of the learned languages, especially in the learning context of English and

other major languages of high status and value. In several writings, Paulston (1978, 1992) suggests that a complete bilingual program—the use of two languages, one of which is English, as a medium of instruction—should result in the development and maintenance of children's self-esteem and pride in both cultures (1978, p.8). Both assertions stem from Bourdieu's linguistic symbolic capitalism (Bourdieu, 1977b; Thompson, 1991), which refers to non-monetary social assets that could foster social mobility. The cultural capital aspect might not be explicitly mentioned in most policy planning documents, but interpretive language policy analysis work should note such elements of cultural capital in English language acquisition planning.

Case studies in African countries of former British colonies illustrate hybrid cultural identity at a meso or community level. Without replacing their prime identity, local bilingual people started to use English in transcultural ways, such as instruments for social change, for example by communicating issues of health, conflicts, and women's empowerment (Higgins, 2009; Muhleisen, 2003). Along with their heritage language(s), English was learned and used concurrently as an emancipatory tool, appropriated locally to create a new discourse and to achieve certain purposes. The case studies above departed from a critical language approach that portrays English in terms of power, struggle, colonization, hegemony and ideology, and resistance (Pennycook, 2001). By employing the voices of non-dominant groups in struggling and sustaining their collective or individual power, these studies emphasized how non-majority groups attempted to challenge a political linguistic hierarchy and transformed it into a new hybrid identity. This resonated with the concept of cultural nationalism (Hutchinson, 1999), in which nationalism was not centered on the defense of language, but more on "a distinctive and historically-rooted way of communitarian life" (p. 393).

3.2.3.3 Macro nation-state affiliated identity

At a macro, national level, the formal status of English language use in schools is often framed as a political and economic strategy in the economic interests of the nations, without any political orientation related to colonialism or post-colonialism agendas. Examining China's foreign language policy, Pan (2011) identifies China's language policy actors and juxtaposes China's policy using a world-system and national-system framework. The study concludes that the choice of English today is not about political submission or imperialism, but more as a strategic tool for China's economy and sociopolitical interests.

The choice of English for sociopolitical clout reasons was also demonstrated by several African countries, such as Zambia, Malawi, and Rwanda as far back as the 1960s and 1970s. In several former British colonies in Africa, the postcolonial attraction of the English language was obvious. The justification was to use English for national unification. Back in the 1960s, governments of Zambia, a country with some 20 different languages, stated their intent of enacting English as the national language of instruction, claiming that "even the most ardent nationalists of our time have accepted the inevitable fact that English—ironically a foreign language and also the language of our former colonial master—has definitely played a unifying role in Zambia" (Mwanakatwe, the Ministry of Educ, 1968, as cited in H. Coleman, 2011c). The succeeding Ministry of Education added:

> …for the sake of communication between Zambians whose mother tongues differ and in order to promote the unity of the nation, it is necessary for all Zambian children to learn the national language (English) as early as possible, and to use it confidently. (Ministry of Education of Zambia, as cited in H. Coleman, 2011c, p. 44)

Similar reasoning was found in the Malawi case, another former British colony, as it had 14 heritage languages. In addition to Chichewa, which was spoken by the majority, English was instituted as an official language, mostly at the upper levels of government, as it was intended to play a unifying role (Williams, 2011). Another recent example is Rwanda, historically a French colonial possession. The country decided to adopt English in place of French as a national language as well as language of instruction at schools (Deforche, 2015; Samuelson & Freedman, 2010). There were many political and economic motives underlying this language change (Samuelson & Freedman, 2010). The Rwandan government believed that the massive adoption of English as official instructional language in schools would affect regional and national economic growth, as English was deemed the dominant language of science, commerce, and economic development. The intended economic growth was then expected to contribute to political reconciliation and peace in Rwanda, after the genocide in the early 1990s.

One may claim that English language policy considerations in China, Kenya, or Tanzania can be seen as counter-arguments against a colonial hegemonic English approach, which assumes the superiority of the English language and its English-speaking speech community. A debatable view of English as a form of linguistic imperialism is replaced with a pragmatic, voluntary choice of English acquisition for political-economic alliances and global-competitiveness symbols. Akkari (1998) characterizes an adoption of today's EMI policy as a liberatory bilingualism, or owning two or more languages (and/or dialects) to purposely seek cultural, social, economic, and political correspondence with the dominant group. Table 5 below sums up the section above.

Table 5. Considerations in English language planning: Policy makers' perspectives

English for economic productivity	
General idea	Role of English as an income-generating capital/skill.
Key concepts	- Linguistic capital, i.e. ownership of certain linguistic resources, which could give access to socioeconomic and political opportunities, and ultimately could be transformed into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1977b; Thompson, 1991). - Human capital theory of language education, i.e. linguistic competence is interpreted as an asset, which is embodied in the ability to perform labor, and thus to produce economic productivities. (Schultz, 1961, 1980).
Dominant discourses/studies in the literature	- Individual productivity: language as an ethnic attribute, human capital nature of language; identity and skills as determinants of labor income. - National, macro-level productivity: economic evaluation of language policies, cost-benefit implications of language policies, and language-based income inequality (Grin, 2001; Vaillancourt, 1991).
English as functional literacy toward global competence	
General idea	Roles of English within national literacy, which is enhanced for global competitiveness, and thus, economic attractiveness.
Key concepts	- Functional literacy, i.e. practice-based navigational knowledge and skills for workers and citizens to perform certain social and economic functions, relevant to current needs and era (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 15). - Idealistic, sociocultural motives: International/global education for promoting international understanding and peace. - Pragmatic, instrumental motives: International/global education for developing human capacity that effectively serve the country and the world in political, economic, social and academic sectors.
Dominant discourses/studies in the literature	- The rationales for global literacy enhancement are related to perceived roles and/or status of English language today in multiple development sectors. These roles and status are inseparable from the English language use, users, and history. - science and technology sector, where English has been the most-used language in science, technology and academic, including as the global working language of medicine, aviation, defense and health.

Table 5 (continued)

	- global business market, especially after business communities developed general consensus to use English as today's world language for economic activities, for reasons of mutual intelligibility and cost efficiency. - economic migration, or an increased circulation of world's migrant workers entails a requirement of an effective communication skill in an inter-nation language like English.
English for sociopolitical identities	
General idea	Roles of English for/in sociopolitical distinction and/or alliance
Key concepts	- Social cohesion, i.e. language to nurture individual's sense of commonality with others who share similar language(s) and to politically unite them. - Social distinction, i.e. language to distinguish the speakers' identity from others, based on linguistic identity or the language(s) used.

Dominant discourses/studies in the literature	- One-nation-one-language approach in the early years
	  o language as a social distinction, i.e. to distiguisht a nation-state from its colonial institution and other countries
	  o language as a social cohesion for a nation-identity building, for uniting people of the new "imagined community" (Wodak, 2009; Anderson, 2006; deWaard, 2000)
	- Hybrid and collective sociopolitical identities in recent years
	  o Micro: language learners aspire to develop a symbolic, cultural identity associated with the speech communities of the learned languages (Norton, (1997; 1995)
	  - Meso: language as instruments for social change and as an emancipatory tool to achieve certain social purposes (Higgins, 2009; Muhleisen, 2003); language choice to challenge a political linguistic hierarchy and transformed it into a new hybrid identity; cultural nationalism (Hutchinson, 1999).
	  o Macro: language choice for political and economic strategy in the economic interests of the nations, intentionally putting colonialism or post-colonialism agendas aside.

3.3 Comparative Contexts

The EMI policy investigated in this study is not unique to Indonesia. The EMI in Indonesia was in fact a part of growing world-wide trends of the English language education, especially in non-native English-speaking countries. Below is brief description of comparative contexts of selected countries. The country's selection is based on regional and cultural proximity. They are: Malaysia, Thailand, South Korea and China.

I did not intend to compare the countries for comparative analysis purposes—which can be done for future research. Rather, I provide this comparative context to indicate the facts that this EMI policy had/have occurred in different countries and contexts.

For each selected country, I attempted to identify the country's language policy in general, ethnolinguistics, and history that potentially related to current language policies, as well as the presence of language policies similar the Indonesia's EMI practices. I excluded discussions on policy evaluation and/or debate in each country, due to time and literature limitation.

3.3.1 Malaysia

Malaysia has diverse ethnolinguistic populations, consisting of Malays (50.8%), Chinese (23.3%), Indians (6.9%), other indigenous groups (11.1%), others (1.5%) and non-citizens (6.9%). Major languages include Malay or Bahasa Melayu, Chinese and Tamil languages (Kosonen & Young, 2009). After its Independence in 1957, the government of Malaysia assigned Bahasa Melayu as the country's official language, to be used in all government functions and as the medium of instruction at all national (or public) primary and secondary schools (Gill, 2005). In Tamil schools, Tamil language is used as the main medium of instruction, whereas Malay is taught

as a compulsory subject. Similarly, in Chinese elementary schools, students are taught in Chinese language, with Malay as a compulsory course. Later at secondary level, students are immersed in Malay as the official language of instruction—excepts in some Chinese schools, where the main medium of instruction continues to be Chinese. Several indigenous languages were introduced as subjects in primary and lower secondary schools, back then in the 1980s and 1990s, for the purpose of minority language maintenance. Today, local languages are taught as elective courses, depending on schools' policies and teachers' availability (Kosonen & Young, 2009). Joining the membership of British Commonwealth has an obvious consequence of officiating English as a second language that must be taught and learned at schools. Other foreign languages are also offered, including French, Japanese and German, depending on schools' resources (Kosonen & Young, 2009).

In 2002, driven by the forces of the internationalization of education, the Malaysia government called for a switch to English as a medium of instruction in the national schools at all levels (Gill, 2003, 2005). English was made the medium of instruction for Science and Maths from primary to secondary levels. Public universities had to prepare themselves to accommodate students graduating from English-mediated high schools. Malaysia government promoted the formations of international universities, which offered English-mediated instruction (Gill, 2006). In this context of globalization and the knowledge economy, the main motivation of the EMI policy was the acquisition of English language for mastery and innovative use of knowledge and information in the fields of science and technology. However, not long after that, there was another policy reverse. The EMI on national schools was ended on a basis of maintaining national identity and a sense of nationalism through language.

3.3.2 Thailand

Thailand, a multilingual nation, has no specific, de-jure national language policy plan, but the government intends to develop policies to improve the teaching of Thai the official national language (Kosonen & Young, 2009). Thai is also used in education and mass communication in public sectors. There are also several other major languages such as Paktay, Kammueang, and Lao Isan, that have been supported by government, as part of their mother tongue language education program (Kosonen & Young, 2009). Thailand was the only country in South East Asia which was not colonized by Europeans (Smalley, 1994)

As for foreign language, English has been in a great demand among Thailand students and parents. Competence in English has been associated with job opportunities and socioeconomic mobility. Private language tutorial agencies and schools offering various models of English language learnings, and there has been no sign of reducing such demands (Bax, 2010). There are private schools, with high price tuitions, that offer extensive English in the way of immersion or bilingual education.

The high and positive attitudes toward the perceived benefits of English partly motivated the Thailand government to formulate an English immersion program in their public, more-affordable schools, in primary and secondary level (Bax, 2010). The immersion program attempted to integrate English into the curriculum as a medium of instruction, with the hope that such method can respond to the newly emerging demand for higher levels competence of English in Thailand development sectors.

In 2005, the policy started to be implemented in 67 schools, where English is used as the medium of instruction for all subjects except Thai, Social Studies, Religion and Culture

(Prasongporn, 2009). Schools were supplied with appropriate personnel and teaching media to support its EMI policy.

Specifically, in Thailand, there were two types of EMI-like policies (Keyuravong in Bax, 2010). They were the Mini English Program (MEP) and the English Program (EP). The Mini English Program (MEP) were about teaching two main subjects (out of the total of nine subjects) in English, excluding Thai language and social studies. The English-mediated instruction was implemented at least 8-14 hours per week. The second type, the English Program (EP), offered at least four core subjects taught in English, for at least 15 hours per week, excluding Thai language and social studies.

The Thailand EMI project was a top down policy regulated by government decrees which controlled what and how schools can appropriate the policy. Some regulations included minimum required qualifications for teachers, permission for schools to charge parents for extra access to the program scholarships for low income students (Bax, 2010). Challenges in the fields included teachers' competence and adjustments to their teaching demands. After several years of experimenting, many teachers were reported to be able to manage the problems in appropriating the language policy, though the trainings should remain be continued (Bax, 2010).

The British Council was one of the intermediary organizations who worked with the Ministry of Education of Thailand, providing trainings and policy evaluations. They also conducted a small-scale project in six schools for the purpose of designing and testing a learning module for selected subject contents to meet the principles of the EP program and to accommodate local capacities (Bax, 2010). The British Council reported that the most challenging issues of EP project were about classroom management, continues language trainings for teachers and solid benchmarks for policy evaluation, among others.

3.3.3 South Korea

With a population of over 50 million, South Korea has several regional dialects that are mutually intelligible overall. These means, speakers from different regions are able to understand one another without much difficulty. For example, Standard South Korean and Standard North Korean are intelligible to each other. There are as many as five dialect groups in South Korea, namely, Central, Chwungcheng, Cenla, Kyengsang and Cheju (Song, 2012).

The official language of South Korea is the Korean language, which is developed and regulated by national institution of the Korean language. There are two types of written Korean, namely Hanja (Korean name for Chinese characters) and Hangul (the national writing system). Hangul is used widely in government documents, literatures, and textbooks, among others. Schools provide Hangul as mandatory language course.

Schools also offer foreign languages, such as Japanese and Chinese, with English as the language studied most. The 1995 Globalization policy endorsed a strong reform of English education for a stronger economic presence in international affairs.

The Korean government had concerns that the outcomes of English language education were not as expected, as reflected in the world-wide TOEFL result comparison (Bax, 2010). In 2009, Korea ranked 89th out of 120 countries in terms of TOEFL results, which was below the international average (Korea Times as cited by Bax, 2010). Meanwhile, more than 90 percent of elementary school students received private English education outside schools, with the total cost spent on English tutorial reached up to US$13.35 billion per year (Korea Times, as cited by Bax, 2010). To address this, the Presidential Transition Committee in 2008 decided to work on to implement a bilingual/immersion approach, known in Korea as *mol-ib* (Bax, 2010). This policy

promoted the teaching of content subjects such as maths and science through English. There were a small number of schools involved in piloting the *mol-ib* scheme, or the Korean version of EMI.

Considering the limited English competence of most teachers, and that they were not equipped to teach through the medium of English, the policy received strong criticism from teachers' unions, among others. They also raised concerns about students' content comprehension, as well as policy consequences on the Korean language status.

The government ordered a review of the project immediately. After several public hearings, the policy was then abandoned, after only six months of implementation (Bax, 2010). The Ministry of Education decided to adopt different approach to remedy issues surrounding minimum English competence. To replace the *mol-ib,* they proposed a new pilot project called 'TEE' certification, or 'Teaching English in English'. The project aimed to encourage teachers of English to use English more in class, hoping students will have enough exposure of English. Parts of the project were also recruitments of overseas native English speakers and improvement of infrastructures for English teaching and learning.

While the EMI policy was completely abandoned in the Seoul area, it continued in other districts, such as the Busan Metropolitan City (Bax, 2010). The Busan area adopted what is termed by some the "Reinforced English Program", which still aimed to teach content subjects through English in a form of Content Based Instruction (CBI).

3.3.4 China

With population of more than 1.3 billion people, China has more than 120 ethnic languages. The big ten ethnic groups are Han (the biggest, almost 90%), Zhuang, Hui, Man, Uyghur, Miao, Yi, Tujia, Tibetan, and Mongolian. Some ethnicities have maintained their own languages and

some other groups share the same language and/or dialect with neighboring ethnic regions. China's national official languages is Hanyu (Mandarin or Putonghua)[17] or Chinese (as foreigners often call). Some provinces have their own official languages, such as Cantonese, Mongolian, Tibetan, Uyghur, Zhuang.

There are many legal regulations on language policy, such as in the Constitution, that regulate or accommodate the freedom to use own local languages, foreigners to use their own (foreign) languages in courts, and the promotion of the nation-wide use of Putonghua (common speech based on Beijing pronunciation). For example, in 2000, Putonghua and the standardized Chinese characters is officially used as the official language by State institutions and media. Schools must promote the use of Putonghua, while accommodating local and regional languages used by minority language speakers. In 1978, the China's government implemented the open-door policy, along with modernization and internationalization policies, which had several consequences on the country's language practices (Pan & Block, 2011).

In the late 90's, an English-Mandarin bilingual or immersion program was once initiated as a sub project of the China-Canada Immersion project (Qiang, Huang, Siegel, & Trube, 2011) They started the English immersion program in the Xi'an area schools. The Canadian counterpart helped with teacher qualification and professional programs, where Xi'an school teachers were involved in developing immersion instruction strategies. However, resources were not able to keep up with the increased demands and the growing number of immersion schools. The problems were more complicated as schools and teachers also needed to meet the content of the national curriculum as well as the nation-wide exams.

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[17] *Mandarin* is the standard spoken and written Chinese (in simplified characters). *Putonghua* is the standard spoken Chinese.

In 2001, the Chinese government decided to make English a compulsory subject nationwide, starting from grade 3 in primary school (Feng, 2007). Chinese policy makers and other stakeholders perceived foreign language education, particularly Russia and English, as crucial for the economic development of the country and individual advancement in the society. English, however, have become the language most learned (Pan & Block, 2011).

As the English market grew, the school system was fundamentally modified to accommodate the demand for bilingual or dual language education. Schools frame the bilingual model as an effort to meet the challenge of globalization and economic growth, that is by nurturing international talents or individuals who have knowledge in specialized areas and strong competence in a foreign language (Pan, 2015). Private and public schools offered bilingual or dual language instruction, in which a foreign language (mostly English, and Mandarin Chinese) are used as the medium of instruction in non-language subjects or courses. These models of English-Mandarin instruction have been adopted in schools in major metropolitan areas, such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou, and special economic zones, such as Shenzhen.

Attitudes toward English have been so highly positive that even Chinese kindergartens have set up bilingual program for young children, where they are taught English along with Mandarin. Private international schools for domestic students have flourished and attracted parents and students who are willing to pay extra tuition. Private English tutorials for adults have mushroomed to target working professionals and retired people (Pan, 2011). It was said that over 200 million K-12 students in China (or about 20% of the total in the world) and about 13 million university students were learning English (Taylor as cited in Pan & Block, 2011). An educational industry analysis claimed there were as many as 30,000 institutions that offered English lessons outside schools (Dyer as cited in Pan, 2011). The expenditure on learning English was estimated

around 30 billion yuan ($4.4bn) by 2010, which made English language a very profitable business worth $10 billion, when the English textbooks market was included (Niu and Wolff as cited in Pan, 2011). Several catalytic factors drove the English business in China, such as the internationalization of higher education institutions, China's 'open-door' policy, the 2008 Olympic Games, and membership of the World Trade Organization (WTO) (Pan, 2015).

3.3.5 Comparative synthesis

Comparing Indonesia and the four selected countries above, there are several key variables I can synthesize from.

- These countries consist of vastly diverse ethnic groups and local languages, which make their citizens bilingual, if not multilingual.

- There is one national/official language that serves as a communication hub for national development across sectors, including education.

- Educational trends in all countries demonstrate an increasingly positive attitude towards English learning and its wider use for inter-nation communication and economic transactions.

- English learning in schools is considered an *additive* repertoire to existing national and local languages spoken/used by students and teachers.

- Considerations employed in planning various model of English learning are instrumental, referring to the economic values and academic roles of English today—rather than about colonial celebratory purposes.

- Despite the high positive attitudes toward English and/or EMI-like policies, the challenges rest on pedagogical logistics and teachers' competence for teaching in English, alongside the national language.

4.0 Methodology

This research is constructivist in nature. Data were generated from policy-relevant documents and semi-structured interviews. Employing interpretive policy analysis as a methodological framework, I attempted to co-construct knowledge of Indonesia's EMI policy goals and rationales, school-wide appropriation and micro-macro debates, as instantiated in IS-School establishment contexts. The following section addresses my research design, its appropriateness, and its application for the research process.

4.1 Research questions

As stated, the study is intended to provide an account of dynamics of educational language policy in Indonesia, as recontextualized in the EMI policy in IS-Schools. There are three main research questions, which will be explored in a three-essay format.

1. Essay 1 on policy goals and rationales: A macro view from the policy maker's perspective

   What constitutes the discursive context within which EMI policy goals and rationales were formulated?

2. Essay 2 on policy appropriation: A micro practice in a selected IS-School

   How were the EMI appropriations in the IS-Schools understudied?

3. Essay 3 on policy debates: Macro and micro views

   How was the EMI policy framed by various stakeholders in the debates?

4.2 Methodological framework: Interpretive policy analysis (IPA)

Given the nature of my research context and purposes, I applied an interpretive policy analysis based on Yanow's framework (2000, 2006). The interpretive policy analysis, or IPA, is considered an extended strain of qualitative work, specifically designed for researching policies.

Interpretive analysis often focuses on a "puzzle" or "tension" of two related groups or types (Yanow, 2000). Such a puzzle or tension could be in the form of differences between what one intends or expects to find versus what one actually experiences in the policy field. Differences in aspects of policy intentions, expectations, and actual implementations are often derived from individuals' prior experiences, educations, and backgrounds, among other factors. When such differences or mismatches exist, tension emerge. Such tension creates opportunities to explain why individuals or policy actors are doing things differently. An interpretive approach to policy advises researchers to consider such differences as alternative ways of viewing, believing, understanding, and doing, based on differences in experiences, positionalities, and backgrounds (Yanow, 2000, 2006; Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2012). Such differences or tensions should be treated as potential bases for policy insights and strategies that follow.

Interpretive policy analysis does not utilize a singular methodological approach (Yanow, 2000). It is compatible with a variety of methodologies, including case-study research, observation, interviewing, archival data collection and analysis, and ethnographically-informed methods, among other means of collecting data. It also accommodates various research designs, subjects or participants, and contexts related to the topics of inquiry.

4.2.1 IPA research process

IPA research is oriented to establish *contextuality* of the topics of inquiry in order to *(re)construct meanings* through an *explanatory sensibility* of the inquirer and the inquired (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2012). In other words, an IPA framework emphasizes those three principles as research foci or orientation. They are aspects of contextuality, knowledge construction, and explanatory sensibility.

The contextuality aspect necessitates prior knowledge, exposure, and thick-rich description principles. The knowledge construction aspect implies consensual meaning-making between inquired and inquirers, which corresponds to a social constructivism perspective. The explanatory sensibility aspect of policy studies requires hermeneutic-phenomenological logic, which involves principles of interpretive subjectivity and is developed through an abductive, iterative process of recontextualizing interpretations. Below is a brief explanation of IPA principles and how they affect or influence IPA researchers' attitudes toward their own research designs.

4.2.1.1 Establishing contextuality

First, IPA research is oriented toward establishing *contextuality,* or situatedness. Contextuality in general refers to understanding in crafting research plans and situations—starting from initial selection of issues, settings, key events, actors, etc.—that could lead to necessary *exposures* and *thick-rich research description*s, including ways to thicken and enrich the encounters as the research unfolds (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2012). Contextuality is built and refined continually throughout the research process, from the topic identification phase up to the formal execution and final presentation of research. Hence, to establish contextuality, researchers

need to acquire *prior knowledge* and *exposure,* or access the topics of inquiry in order to present a thick description of the inquiries.

Prior knowledge and exposure are developed through purposeful observations, communication, and readings to generate materials for contextualization (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2012). Preliminary assumptions are also included as prior knowledge. Prior knowledge and exposure are essential for the selection of settings, events, actors, archives, documents, and artifacts, among other sources of information. Some cultural prior knowledge is also important to initiate and maintain contacts with participants and to deal with power dimensions of inquired-inquirer relationships. As the research process unfolds, the researcher's contextual understanding and exposure should grow deeper, thicker, and richer.

4.2.1.2 Knowledge construction

Second, IPA researchers view research as a "world-making" meaning,or meaning construction or *knowledge construction*. This orientation corresponds to both ontological and epistemological outlooks of *social constructivism* (Guba, 1990). Within the paradigm of social constructivism, the social world or realities "exist in the form of multiple constructions, socially and experientially, local and specific, dependent for their form and content on the persons who hold them" (Guba, 1990, p. 27). Epistemologically speaking, a constructivist researcher leans on the power and value of personal and collective experiences and interpretations. These experiences and interpretations reflect the baggage or the positionality (e.g., education, involvements, affiliations, social backgrounds, etc.) of "the knowers" in making sense of their realities. The knowers include both the inquirer and the inquired, or both the researchers and the participants. Participants are considered information agents with valued local knowledge, while researchers serve as experts in the processes of inquiry and consensual knowledge making (Yanow &

Schwartz-Shea, 2012). The positionality of participants and researchers must be explicitly identified and factored into the analysis. Identifying and weighing positionality demonstrates a reflexive and transparent analysis process as well (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2012).

Accordingly, social constructivism entails principles in which (i) knowledge is acquired and constructed through *subjective interpretations* of the knowers; (ii) the constructed knowledge is understood as a *consensual co-construction* between the "subjectivities" of the knowers (Guba, 1990); and (iii) the *positionality* of both sides plays vital roles in constructing knowledge.

4.2.1.3 Explanatory sensibility

Third, to achieve an *explanatory sensibility* of results or findings, there needs to be a *dialectical process* of comparing and *exchanging perceived meanings* between frames of references of the inquired and the inquirer, or the researcher and the participants, or the analysts and actors (Crotty, 1998). This is similar to the verisimilitude principle, i.e. representability principle, in which the findings represent participants' experiences with sufficient details, in such a way that the portrayals are not only sensible but also recognizable as "truly conceivable experience" (Bruner in Garman, 1996).

Such dialectical exchanges entail two traditions: the study of *phenomenology* and *hermeneutics*. Phenomenology focuses on processes of perception, while hermeneutics focuses on principles of interpretation.

Phenomenology aims to identify the "essence" of a phenomenon through an *individual's perceptions and experiences* of that phenomenon (Bazeley, 2013, p. 193). The phenomenology tradition considers knowledge of social phenomena to come from a "willed (or intentional) interpretation of our sense perceptions . . . against preexisting conceptual categories derived from life experience in interaction with others" (Yanow, 2006, p. 12). To understand a social

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phenomenon is to understand a willed or conscious experience from one's subjectively perceived points of view. In the original phenomenology tradition, I have to put myself in the place of my participants or respondents and "to maintain the subjective experiences of the respondents" (Crotty, 1998, p. 83).

Even if their reconstructions were somewhat in conflict with my own pre-conceived understanding, I have to be able to retell their views as best I can, given my own world views. A group of existential phenomenologists (e.g. Heidegger, Merleu-Ponty, Sartre) recognized the element of intersubjectivity in one's experiences and attempted to interpret the original intentions and meanings of the participants (Bazeley, 2013, p. 193).

Contemporary interpretive phenomenologists have also developed a more subjective approach, in which they aim to understand a participant's perception and experiences while also attempting to make sense of participants trying to make sense of what is happening to them (Smith, Flowers & Larkin in Bazeley, 2013, p. 139). All things considered, the phenomenology tradition is limited to being descriptive rather than evaluative (Bazeley, 2013; Crotty, 1998). It is limited to reconstructing life experiences from the participants' lenses, relative to their own subjective experiences.

Combined with the phenomenological study of perceived experiences, IPA research also employs hermeneutic tradition in order to construct an explanatory sensibility or receptivity. In its general concept, hermeneutics is a theory of textual interpretation. The hermeneutics tradition aims "to uncover meanings and intention that are hidden in the text, . . . an explicit awareness of meanings that the authors themselves would have been unable to articulate" (Crotty, 1998, p. 91). The hermeneutics process resembles "a dynamic, iterative process of understanding the meaning of the whole and the parts within it as interdependent activities" (Bazeley, 2013, p. 203).

In policy analysis research like IPA, a hermeunetic tradition is employed as *abductive and iterative activities of policy analysis*, to reconstruct meanings embedded in, or projected onto, policy artifacts by their creators or knowers (Yanow, 2006, p. 15). Abductive logic implies an iterative or dialectical interchange between existing theoretical understanding and empirical data in such a way that the theory is relevantly recontextualized (Bazeley, 2013, p. 336). This could also sometimes lead to renewed or additional interpretation. Illustrations of hermeneutic cycles could be found in the iterative course of coding the data, or in the cyclic, multilayer phase of cross-analyzing meanings among theoretical references, participants' reconstructions, and researchers' interpretations, among others.

The explanatory nature of hermeneutic-phenomenological sensibility above shows the strong fit of the IPA framework for analyzing broad policy issues, including public debates or tensions, as I noted in essay 3 on EMI policy debates. In the United States itself, the hermeneutic-phenomenological tradition was bolstered by studies in program evaluation and policy implementation, including the works of Egon Guba (1984) and Guba and Lincoln (1989).

4.2.2 Units of analysis

To meet the principles of the IPA orientations above, researchers need to employ the following *four elements of analysis* (Yanow, 2000, pp. 14-23): artifacts, meanings, interpretive communities, and discourses.

a) *Artifacts* refer to language, objects, acts that are significant carriers of meaning for a given policy issue, as perceived by stakeholders (or policy-relevant actors and interpretive communities). These will include, but not limited to, spoken and written texts from interviews and legislation statutes, policy-relevant events, and documents.

b) *Meanings* refer to interpretations vested in the artifacts, which represent moral (belief), cognitive (value), and affective (feeling) bases.

c) *Interpretive communities* include policy-relevant stakeholders who hold and express their beliefs, values, and feelings toward the policy issues in a study.

d) *Discourses* refer to specific meanings being conveyed through specific policy artifacts and their associations (in thought, speech, and act). Discourse analysts often identify and construct themes through a series of comparisons and examination across data, contexts, and relevant theories, among others.

Figure 6 below sums up the concepts discussed above.

Underlying Traditions	Research Principles	Units of Analysis	Knowledge Construction Inquiries
Social Constructivism	Contextuality	Artifacts	EMI Policy Goals and Rationales
Phenomenology	Knowledge construction	Meanings Interpretive Communities	EMI Policy Appropriation
Hermeneutics	Explanatory sensibility	Discourses	EMI Policy Debates
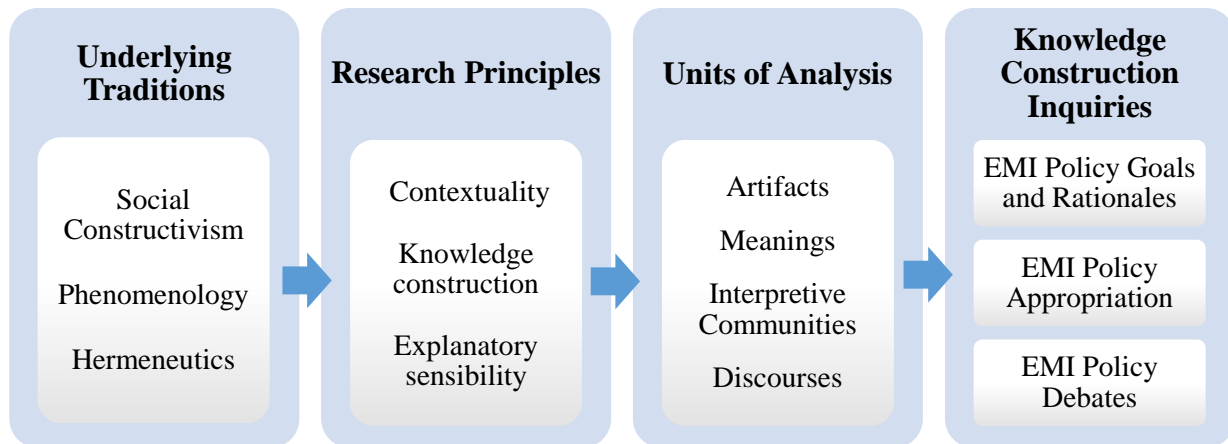
Figure 6. Methodological framework of the study: Interpretive policy analysis

4.2.3 Rationales for choosing IPA as a framework

Interpretive policy analysis (IPA) fits my research aspirations in several ways. *First*, considering the nature of my research purpose and questions, I need a variety of data to describe. Researching policies could be overwhelming by many measures. The IPA framework offers units

of analysis, i.e. artifacts, meanings, interpretive communities, and discourses. These groupings of analysis units helped me to identify types and sources of data I could generate themes from (e.g., what kind of data, who said or created what) and structure my initial analysis course (e.g., what meanings entailed, what discourse suggested). The grouping of units of analysis also helped make my logic of interpretation explicit, e.g. who said what, when, through what instruments/channel, in what way, for what intention or purposes, with what consequences, and so on. Providing a clear interpretive logic should enhance the confirmability of my analysis results.

Second, the IPA framework does not limit the procedure of analysis. Unlike a quantitative approach, for example, the IPA design is flexible and dynamic, as it anticipates the inquiry process to be iterative, recursive, and abductive. Regardless of any prior and contextual knowledge I have established, the research process itself put me in unknown territory, with puzzles, surprises, or tensions. These caused several delays, changes, and set-backs—which are commonly anticipated when dealing with, or generating data from, human participants. Applying an IPA framework allowed me to learn, explore, and revise my design as the research unfolded, without losing the focus of analysis.

Third, the underlying traditions of the IPA framework correspond to my beliefs regarding ways of researching human behaviors, and regarding how policy research should be conducted. IPA is rooted in the paradigm of social constructivism and linked to phenomenology and hermeneutic traditions. My study is based on a constructivist assumption that we live in a social world characterized by possibilities of multiple interpretations, because people make sense of the world based on different experiences. Researching language policies requires me to address multiple interpretations by multiple stakeholders with different positionality. Meanwhile, the combination of phenomenology and hermeneutics allows me to evaluate existing knowledge

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reconstruction (from participants' perspectives) and to explore alternative meanings to them, in such a way that the findings are representable and sensible for my targeted audience, without losing its content authenticity. Since its preliminary phase, I aspired to present my research findings as accumulated knowledge construction (Guba, 1990), i.e. knowledge generated from individuals and collective reconstructions of knowledge, and derived from critical policy interpretations.

The basic arguments in my research take a different view than positivist philosophical presuppositions that seem to dominate quantitative studies at universities in the U.S., UK and elsewhere. Focused on visible measurement, standardization, and predictability, they underlie many traditional policy analysis approaches, based on assumptions of attainable certainty, such as tools of microeconomics, decision analysis, etc. These traditional approaches to policy analysis are constructed by positivist assumptions that a policy assessment can and must be as objective and value-free as possible (Guba, 1990). Despite its current dominance, it would be erroneous to assume that objectivity either exists or is to be desired. As Yanow (2000) notes, the problems of policy enactments are often created by different understandings of policies' language and instruments; therefore, it is crucial for policy analysts to unlock the many other interpretations that various stakeholders might have. **Data collection**

Considering data accessibility and relevance, I generated data through semi-structured interviews and document reviews. There were several groups of interviewees, including governments, EMI teachers, non-EMI teachers, and scholars with different positionalities in policy development. Total interviewees were 21 participants, consisting of four government officials, nine school teachers, and eight scholars (five domestic, three international). Participant details will be provided in the next section.

For document reviews, I collected both official policy documents and policy-relevant artifacts, including school archives, teachers' personal files, and pictures. Having various types of data sets and sub-sets was necessary to respond to the three research questions in this study. Employing this combination of data sources will also hopefully strengthen the credibility of this research.

The following sections will discuss data collection techniques and sources, including the selection of an IS-School for embedded case study of EMI policy appropriation (i.e research question in essay #2).

4.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

Through the interviews, I attempted to understand how various stakeholders interpreted and experienced EMI policy goals, practices, and debates in IS-School contexts. The goal was to delve into their understanding of their experiences or practical involvements, perceived values, and positionalities in the EMI policy in IS-Schools. I referred to these three point (experiences or practical involvements, perceived values, and positionalities) when creating profiles for each interview participant. See Appendix C for participant profiles.

The interviews were semi-structured, in that I had pre-determined questions listed for all participants. As the interviews progressed, more questions were prompted and added, based on the direction and progression of the conversation. This way, I had more room to probe and seek for further deliberations, considering each participant's differences. For a list of questions, see Appendix A.

The interviews were conducted via phone call, emails, and in person. I used Bahasa Indonesia for Indonesian-speaker participants, and English for non-Indonesian ones. Verbal

interviews were recorded and immediately transcribed, with no translation into English, except when quoted for direct excerpts. For anonymity, I used pseudonyms for the IS-School names and for all the interview participants (see Appendix B for participant lists of pseudonyms). Interview sessions lasted intermittently for ten months. For a more detailed procedure, see the section 4.3.1.2 on the course of interview.

I should explain the role of informants in my study. There were several individuals who served as my informants, but they were intentionally not disclosed in this research. This is because their identities were not relevant to the inquiries. Their primary roles were to help me establish contacts with prospective participants, and/or to supply me with information for checking on and validating involvements and positionalities of several prospective interviewees. An example occurred when I needed more information on one participant's activism during the judicial hearing of IS-School termination. Most of my informants were my colleagues in Indonesia. There were a few teacher informants as well, whom I knew from my previous studies.

4.3.1.1 Participants and selection techniques

When looking for, identifying, and recruiting interviewee participants, I had to consider the three main research questions. The first question, on policy makers' discursive perspectives, required participants who were or are part of national and/or local government officials involved in the EMI policy and/or IS-Schools. The second research question, a case study of school-wide implementations, required insights from school leaders and teachers of a purposefully-selected school(s). Hence, I selected Olympus High School (discussed in the later section) and its corresponding teachers. The third research question, on policy debates, necessitated participants with differing values, perspectives and positionalities on the inquired policy, preferably from various affiliations and capacities.

Those considerations led me to employ a combination of purposive sampling techniques (Patton, 2002). They are criterion, maximum-variation, and snowball samplings. Table 6 sums up information on interview participants and sampling techniques.

Table 6. Interview Participants and Sampling Techniques

Essay / inquiry	Sampling Technique	Participant Groups	Number of Participants
Essay 1 EMI policy goals and rationales	Criterion sampling	*Government officials*, i.e. national provincial and/or local government officials involved in policy making and development.	3 (three)
	Snowball sampling		1 (one)
Essay 2 School-wide EMI policy appropriation	Criterion sampling	*Teachers*, i.e. those teachers in the corresponding IS-Schools, including those who were not assigned to apply EMI policy in their courses.	9 (nine)
Essay 3 EMI policy debates	Criterion sampling	*Government officials* and *teachers* sampled above, and *scholars*	8 (eight)
	Maximum-variation sampling	*Scholars*, i.e. practitioners and/or activists with diverse experience, perspectives, and stances on the policy.	
	Snowball sampling		
Total participants	**21 (twenty one) individuals**		
	4 government officials 9 school teachers 8 scholars (5 domestic, 3 international)		

I applied a *criterion sampling technique* to identify prospective interviewees from different groups of stakeholders for all three research questions. The logic of criterion sampling technique is to study cases or conditions that meet pre-determined criteria of importance (Patton, 2002). The criteria are not meant to provide clear-cut categorization, because an individual's associations

might overlap. Rather, the criteria are intended to identify and recruit specific individuals who have information that is rich, relevant, and specific to the research questions, as described below.

To respond to research question #1, the pre-determined criterion was that the participants must be government personnel who were actively involved in formulation and/or developing EMI policy at national levels or beyond school levels. I validated their active, practical involvements in the macro policy-making process throughout the interview process, as well as via information from my colleagues and my previous studies. There were *four government officials* interviewed. Three were personnel at the Ministry of National Education, based in Jakarta. One was a provincial official, who also had EMI-relevant experience in city governance and school-level practices, based in Semarang City. I contacted all four of them via phone. I got their phone numbers from my previous studies and from my colleague informants.

The pre-determined criterion for research question #2 was teachers of the selected IS-School who were assigned to implement English as Medium of Instruction policy (EMI) in their respective classes. I was able to interview *nine teachers* of the Olympus High School. They were teachers of physics, biology, chemistry, English, economics, and geography, who applied EMI in their courses to various degrees. The other three were teachers of non-English languages—Indonesian, Javanese, and Japanese. Although they did not apply EMI policy, their observations and positionalities as non-English language teachers also contributed to the EMI debates, such as those on local language maintenance and political identity of language.

I contacted the teachers through a teacher informant, whom I knew from my previous studies and who, later also became one of the interview participants. This informant gave me the direct phone number of the Olympus School principal. It is culturally common in Indonesia, in general, for a school principal to be contacted informally via phone or, in my case, via Whatsapp

messenger. After a brief introduction, I sent a formal request letter via emails. Attached in the emails were a research request letter from the School of Education and an invitation to be voluntarily interviewed (along with brief information on my research). They did not require me to send an approval letter from the IRB. This was customary, because a formal request letter was enough, signed by my academic advisor at the University of Pittsburgh. Also, the fact that I am an Indonesian citizen was another factor. It would take more bureaucratic paperwork for foreigners to conduct research in schools or other formal settings in Indonesia.

The Olympus School principal welcomed and approved my request. He referred me to the vice principal for further communication, who then gave me a list of teachers who used to apply the EMI policy in their courses and were willing to be contacted. In addition to the list, I also requested to be introduced to non-English language teachers. I contacted those 10 teachers on the list, via Whatsapp messenger, and resent my introduction and invitation letters to reconfirm their agreements. One refused to be interviewed, due to his busy schedule, as he wrote. I offered him a written interview via email, but he did not respond to my message.

For Essay 3, I identified arguments and frames surrounding EMI policy debates by multiple stakeholders above. In addition to government officials and Olympus teachers, I also contacted several domestic and international scholars. The pre-determined criteria for scholar participants included language scholars and/or education scholars (including practitioners and activists) who were professionally involved in some parts of EMI policy discourse, and who publicly showed diverse experiences, perspectives, and stances on the EMI policy. I confirmed their EMI-related involvements throughout the interview conversations, their academic publications, contemporary social media platforms (e.g., news portal, editorial, blogs, and Facebook posts, among others),

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and/or my colleague informants. I was able to reach them all via phone messages, with the help of my colleagues.

The other sampling technique I employed was *maximum-variation sampling,* or heterogeneity sampling. It is a type of purposive sampling used to capture and describe the central themes that cut across a great deal of variation (Patton, 2002). The logic is that "any common patterns that emerge from great variation are of particular interest and value in capturing core experiences and central, shared dimensions of a setting or phenomenon" (Patton, 2002, p. 235). I applied this technique to identify raw themes and individual stakeholders whose names were written in the Legislation Passage of Court Decision on IS-School termination (Constitutional-Court, 2012). Though the legislation was titled IS-School Termination Decision, the issues of EMI policy were scattered but explicitly addressed in the passage. This legislation revealed petitions and rebuttals by various stakeholder groups from different affiliations and capacities—from parents, teachers, school principals, government officers, to educational scholars/activists. These stakeholders held differing EMI-relevant framings and arguments. The legislation documents explicitly divided the groups into two, i.e. those who supported the IS-Schools versus those who were not in support of policy continuance. Such divisions allowed me to identify at least two extreme variation of themes—agree vs. disagree, or in support of vs. against. There were many individual names in the documents, but not all of them were reachable through my informant network. I was able to contact *four domestic scholars* who served as expert witnesses in the court case above. All four were relatively prominent in their academic fields.

In the interviews, I always asked my participants to recommend individuals to be contacted. I applied this *snowball or chain sampling* technique to look for information-rich key documents, informants or sources based on referrals or recommendations of well-situated people (Patton,

2002). I was able to be introduced to and to reach out to *four additional participants*, i.e. one national government officer, one domestic scholar, and two international scholars.

Outside those four participants, two other scholars initially agreed to be interviewed, but they did not respond to my emails for interview scheduling. In my experience, this snowball technique is useful to locate disclosed key stakeholders whom I might not have noticed before or from whom I didn't have contacts. An individual recommendation also came with an offer to introduce me to a recommended person, which was helpful to build an initial rapport with the referred interviewees. It was also a way to validate the referee's involvement in the policy.

In sum, by employing a combination of purposive sampling techniques above (criterion, maximum-variation, and snowball samplings), I was able to generate data from 21 individual participants of different groups. They included four government officials, nine school teachers, and eight scholars (five domestic, three international). With multiple stakeholder categories and the number of interviewees above, I had more insights for linking and cross-examining my data. This helped strengthen the credibility of my findings.

4.3.1.2 Course of interviews

I started the interviews after a contact had been established. Before the actual interview sessions began, it was important for me to maintain the relationship, such as by sending them a holiday greeting via WhatsApp. First, it was to build a good rapport and trust. Second, it was necessary to occasionally remind them of my presence and my interview plan, considering that I knew I would not be physically present in Indonesia for the interview sessions.

I conducted the interviews in three ways: via *phone calls, emails,* and *in-person*. Most of the verbal interviews were done through internet-based phone calls, i.e. WhatsApp phone call and Google Voice. This tool was chosen because of my inability, at that time, to be physically present

in Indonesia. The other considerations were its affordability and its tolerably good sound quality, except for the occasional two-to-three second delays. Several participants asked for a written interview via emails so that they could be, in their own words, more structured in responding to the questions. I interviewed one international scholar in person in the United States. In the middle of the research process, I was able to go to Indonesia. Hence, I did several follow-up interviews in person, mostly with teacher participants.

All verbal interviews were recorded with a digital recorder. Both verbal and written interviews with Indonesian participants were conducted in an Indonesian language; some were mixed with Javanese expressions and terms. Interviews with international scholars were in English. All verbal interviews were transcribed afterwards, with the help of paid transcribers located in Indonesia. They agreed to maintain the confidentiality of the participants, the audio recordings, and transcripts, and to delete all related files after the transcription was done. I myself checked for the accuracy of the transcripts.

The interview sessions were conducted intermittently for ten months. There were two pre-determined cycles of interview sessions. The first cycle lasted for about three months, starting from April 2017 to June 2017. The second cycle was a follow-up interview, along with member-checking session, which occurred from October 2017 to January 2018, based on the participants' availability. Three participants had relatively frequent contact with me. They continued to supply me with additional information and documentation until April 2018.

While the interview process was iterative and intermittent, below is a step-by-step course of the interview.

- *Initial contacts*

I sent my participants an informal invitation to participate in my research, along with a research brief (see Appendix D for research information and invitation form). I also informed them regarding the anonymity of their identity in the research, as well as the interview procedure. There was no script for this; the online conversation was very much informal and casual but remained culturally appropriate. Based on the development of my interaction with prospective participants, I decided to come up with two format options for the interviews, i.e. verbal or written.

- *Pre-interview questionnaire*

I sent participants a link to complete a questionnaire via messages or emails. The questionnaire link was also available in the previously-sent introduction form. This applied to those who chose to do verbal phone call interviews. The questionnaire, composed through the Qualtrics survey tool, contains items on demographic information and scheduling options for the first interview (see Appendix F for survey content). It also included a short paragraph to be signed by participants, to indicate their written consent. Several respondents did not fill out the questionnaires. However, they did reach me for interview scheduling. I did not push them to fill out the questionnaire, as I could ask for demographic information during the interview. Technically, their scheduling confirmation also served as their verbal consent for my research participation. Verbal consent for research participation is very common in Indonesia as well.

- *Confirmation of interview schedule and formats (verbal or written interviews)*

I sought participant confirmation on the interview format (verbal or written) and the interview schedules (dates, time, and duration). Verbal interviews would be for one hour maximum.

- *Interview sessions*

Most verbal interviews took place for less than one hour, except for one teacher and one scholar. I did not set a deadline for written interviews. However, I occasionally reminded them. In less than three months, all written interviews were completed.

The verbal interviews were conducted in a more conversational style, less scripted and less structured. This conversational approach was established in the way I articulated the questions during the initial contacts and interviews, for example. For respondents who self-identified as Javanese, I mixed the conversation with mid-rank or high-rank registers of the Javanese language to explicitly show my cultural relationship and respect for older interviewees. This conversational approach was evidently effective in eliciting feelings and opinions. The interviewees tended to sound more relaxed and less anxious when talking about their problems or disagreements. Though the unscripted nature of the interview could cause the conversations to become too-far-ranging and too long, it was beneficial for tapping hidden themes that might be missed in my initial notes.

- *Verbal interview transcription*

I sent the audio files for transcription to Indonesian-based paid transcribers. As mentioned, there was an agreement to maintain confidentiality of the data. I also checked the accuracy of the transcripts, and completed several words or sentences they missed. The interviews were transcribed in the actual language, with no translation into English, except when they were quoted for direct excerpts in the dissertation chapters.

The transcriptions are verbatim, word for word, sentence for sentence. However, fillers, pauses, and mumbles were excluded intentionally since I did not intend to analyze non-verbal cues for their perspectives and values.

- *Member checking*

I sent back the transcript to each participant for any corrections and/or additional information. Transcripts were sent both via emails and WhatsApp (as requested). Several participants did not provide any responses or feedback on the transcripts. Most participants approved and did not change any parts of the transcripts. A few participants did make some corrections and additions to their transcripts, such as clarifying certain terms and adding more examples of activities.

- *Follow up interviews*

As mentioned, I contacted selected participants to seek further explanations on what they said or wrote in the interviews. Most of these were teachers. There were also two domestic scholars I contacted for follow up information.

- *Creating pseudonyms*

To establish the anonymity of the interviewees, I created a pseudonym or alias for each participant. I chose names that are relatively common and familiar for English language readers or audience. The alias names were randomly assigned, so they were not associated with their demographic information, jobs, ethnicity, class, capacities, nor values on the inquired topics. However, as the principal researcher, and for analysis purposes, I had my own mnemonic methods to associate the alias name with the individual participants.

- *Creating participant profiles*

After each interview, I created a brief profile of each participant. For analysis purposes, the profile contains brief information on participant policy-relevant roles/capacities/ involvement, their perspective/values, and their positionality/stance on the EMI policy in general. I also added a few notes or highlights on anything that stood out in their interviews. See Appendix C for a profile example.

- *Ending the interview process*

I decided not to pursue additional interviews when I knew I had enough data to synthesize and to address the research questions sufficiently. As I completed more interviews, I began to deliberate on the extent to which the sub-questions were covered, how much pre-determined themes and codes emerged from the interview data, and how saturated my data were. Data saturation was established, in practice, when I knew that I had an adequate understanding of the on-going analysis situations and that no further major changes or alterations needed to be made (Bazeley, 2013, p. 311).

4.3.2 Document reviews

Document review denotes a critical reading and interpretation of policy-relevant documents as a method to generate data (Yanow, 2000). The key principle in reading documents, as Yanow (2000) asserts, is to understand how the policy-relevant stakeholders make meaning of an activity or a message in the minutes, report, or legislation, or how meanings are construed and represented in policy and its practice. It is also important to identify the languages and local terms used to frame a particular issue or a community.

Details of the collected documents are listed in Table 11 of Appendix F. The document search started as months before I finalized my research proposal. I also had collected several policy

documents from several years prior, when I did a classroom research paper in 2010. Meanwhile I collected teachers' files (e.g. lesson plan, syllabus in Appendix J) and school-wide documents (e.g. policy decision letters, photos of students' activities in Appendix K) during and after the interview sessions.

I sought, selected, and verified the collected documents based on four criteria:

- *Authorized sources*

  I verified the sources of publications by looking at their sources, such as government (national, provincial, or local), related IS-school, local university partner(s), etc. Teachers' personal files were considered an authorized source, as they were owned and distributed to me by the teachers themselves.

- *Significant types of documents*

  I selected the document types by considering their significance. Examples of selected document types were legislation and non-legislation passages, handbooks, school archives, relevant photos of events, etc. I also compiled several presentation slides and memos. However, I exchanged them after I found other types of documents with the same evidential content but more significant authority.

- *Explicit content relevance*

  I collected documents, photos, and archives that were directly and indirectly relevant to EMI policy. Explicit content was an important criterion, since several legislative documents had overlapping content. IS-School Handbooks, for examples, were part of documents that I reviewed to respond to the research inquiry for Essay 1, because the contents were all explicitly about IS-School and EMI policy. Meanwhile, documents of MONE Strategic Planning were not exactly a data set. Although they mentioned IS-Schools

several times, the whole document content was not about IS-Schools or even EMI policy. I considered such documents as part of my bibliography for cross-referencing, but not as a data set.

- *Periods of publication*, i.e. from the inception years (early 2000) up to the policy termination (year 2012-2013).

Based on sources and types, I categorized the documents into four groups below.

1. *Legislation documents*

   By legislation, I referred to documents that serve as legal provisions, instruments, stipulations, or laws that reflect legal authority, instructions, mandates and/or consequences, *relevant* contents primarily on the establishment of IS-Schools and/or the language policy in IS-Schools.

2. *Publications by national ministries*

   These included supporting policy documents, which could be any types of non-legislation documents with *explicit* content relevance to the research questions.

3. *School archives*

   These were policy-relevant documents and archives that were owned, managed, and distributed by the school or its representatives. Examples are policy-specific documents, textbook collections, web-based documents/information, and photos of policy-relevant school sites and activities.

4. *Teachers' files or archives*

These included teachers' lesson plans, teaching materials, and evaluation materials, which were owned and given to me by the teachers themselves. See Appendix J for selected examples.

I collected most policy documents from online, offline, and on-site. Some documents I received on-site during and after my interviews. I copied several school-wide archives, including textbooks, and took photos of the school's English linguistic landscape, i.e. English words and images exposed in public spaces (Shohamy, Ben-Rafael, & Barni, 2010). Appendix H shows selected images of English linguistic landscape at the IS-School studied in this research.

Some legislation passages in this study were available and accessible online in public domain websites. I collected most passages from the ministerial and government-affiliated websites by searching for certain keywords, such as IS-Schools, bilingual class, management of IS-Schools, guidelines, etc. in Indonesian. Using similar keywords, I also utilized the Google search engine to find more variety of documents, such as IS-School handbooks.

Most documents were written in Indonesian. For a few documents, I was able to search and find English-written versions. Examples include English-written documents, such as the Act of Republic of Indonesia No. 20 Year 2003 on National Education System and the Constitutional Court's Decision Number 5/PUU-X/2012. Being a native Indonesian language speaker myself, I was able to validate the equivalence of both English and Indonesian language versions.

4.3.3 IS-School selection for case study

I employed *typical-case sampling* to identify which IS-school would be explored for the case study in Essay 2 or research question #2. Typical-case sampling is a technique often used to

describe and illustrate what is considered a typical case, especially for audiences unfamiliar with the research setting (Patton, 2002). It allowed me to develop a profile of what is considered typical, average, or normal.

With the help of my informant, and based on my previous Supervised-Research study, I developed criteria to define the typicality of IS-Schools. Regarding their institutional establishment, IS-Schools were typically top-ranked high schools, nominated by local governments to be transformed into IS-Schools, supervised by the Provincial Office of Education, and with a large pool of high achieving students. IS-School students and teachers were Indonesian learners of English who did not speak English language natively and had varying degrees of English language fluency. In its implementation, typical IS-Schools would apply EMI practices in math and science classes, and possible a few other courses such as computer/information technology and geography. The schools normally developed a transitional English immersion approach, wherein during the first years of implementation they would use both Indonesian and English to varying degrees. Based on the above criteria, I decided to conduct a case study of EMI appropriation at Olympus High School in Semarang City. Olympus High School was the first batch or cohort of IS-School in Semarang City, as well as at the national level.

I found this typical case sampling to be useful for site selection, especially when the variance pool was large, as was the case with IS-Schools. There were approximately 192 IS-Schools at the senior secondary level established by the end of 2008 (H. Coleman, 2011a).

My initial intention was to compare best practices of two selected schools, Olympus High School and Apolonia High School. However, after getting approval to contact prospective participants, teachers at Apolonia High School did not return my messages. Out of nine teachers, only two responded and showed a willingness for further conversation. The rest either politely

indicated their unavailability or did not respond my messages. After reaching out for more than twice in a two-month period, I decided not to include Apolonia High School in my case study. Voluntary participation is necessary, and hence, unresponsive participants would hurt my study. I did not probe further as to why most teachers were unwilling or unavailable. Since it was a case study, data from one school (i.e. Olympus High School) would suffice.

4.4 Data analysis approach

Each essay requires a different approach in data analysis and findings presentation. In the first essay, I employ discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2010, 2017) to identify discursive contexts within which EMI policy decisions were made. In the second essay, I group the findings into three dimensions of policy change, i.e. technical, normative, and political (Oakes, 1992; Oakes et al., 1993; Oakes et al., 1998). In the third essay, I apply a critical frame analysis (Hulst & Yanow, 2016; Rein & Schon, 1996) to identify stakeholders' frames and core arguments raised in the EMI policy debates. Details of each approach will be discussed in each respective essay in Chapter 5, 6, and 7.

The whole analysis process employed the IPA research principles, i.e. contextuality, knowledge construction, and explanatory sensibility (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2012), as previously discussed. The analysis process was quite lengthy, abductive, and iterative, as anticipated. It involved a series of interpreting connections between context and data, along with developing multi-tier categories based on emerging conceptual meanings, in such a way so that they responded to the research questions. This iterative, non-linear technique was repeated as often as necessary for me to reach informed findings and conclusions. I constantly sought, revisited, and

reorganized the concepts, themes, meanings, and discourses as I used tools to refine and present the findings.

I decided to conclude the analysis process when I was sure that the results were saturated enough. Saturation generally refers to the point at which no new categories emerge, and the existing categories are sufficient to address the inquiries. Saturation is reached when each category has been fully developed and described, preferably with concept variations in each identified category. Bazeley (2013, p. 311) suggests that saturation is reached when the researchers have gained an adequate understanding of the situations for the inquiries, and that no major further changes need to be made.

For coding tools, in addition to paper-based notes and boards, I utilized qualitative data management software called MAXQDA. It is a software program designed for computer-assisted qualitative data, text, and multimedia analysis. Much like NVIVO, the software allowed me to import, read, and code text documents, tables, audio, video, images, Twitter tweets, and surveys. Because I had several subsets of data, the software helped me to reorganize and systemize my analysis. Much of the work in MAXQDA involved multi-layer coding, creating memos, and creating matrices of themes.

Although each essay has different analytical approach and presentation of findings, I essentially went through a similar course of analysis for all three essays. The course of analysis will be described in the following section.

4.4.1 Course of analysis

This section demonstrates my data exploration process, from general to specific analytical activities. The analysis course below is not necessarily presented in chronological order due to its

iterative nature in practice. This section discloses measures of data management, exploration, and categorization, as a part of research transparency and systematicity. In an interpretive policy study, transparency is achieved by clearly informing and revealing the process. Unlike quantitative procedures, systematicity is not shown from a chronological sequence or order of analysis. Rather, it is represented from the way the data are carefully managed and explored in correspondence with the research inquiries (Yanow, 2000; Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2012).

4.4.1.1 Establishing contextuality

This process was a part of mapping exposure and contextuality/situatedness, in the sense that I attempted to understand what kind of data I had generated, what I might have missed, and to what extent they could respond to the inquiries. The following measures were performed in an iterative, non-sequential manner.

- Reading the policy documents, both legislation and non-legislation ones for general understanding.

- Reidentifying and sorting out school and teacher documents, based on content relevance.

- Reading the interview transcripts for general understanding, while making notes for further follow up or clarifications.

- Creating profiles of each interview participant by summarizing their policy-relevant involvement, perspectives, and stance on the policy. The profiles were rewritten iteratively, as more information was revealed during the transcript coding process.

- Reinterpreting and making sense of main ideas, technical concepts, norms, and relationships used by participants and policy actors (e.g., of legislation documents) in expressing their views and intentions in the inquired EMI policies.

- Deciding whether or not I need to pursue further materials and data.

4.4.1.2 Identifying units of analysis

Before starting the analysis, I identified the units of analysis based on Yanow's interpretive policy framework: artifacts, meanings, interpretive communities, and discourses (Yanow, 2000, pp. 14-23). This process helped me to identify and map what kind of *materials* I had collected and what kind of *data could be generated* from those materials. Table 7 below illustrates the identification of analysis units.

Table 7. Types of generated data and materials

Units of analysis	Generated data	Materials
Artifacts	Spoken and written texts, language (including local concept and terms), acts, events, and/or objects that are significant carriers of meaning for a given policy issue, as perceived by stakeholders.	- interview transcripts/files - legislation passages - government policy documents - school's documents - teachers' files - pictures of documented events - pictures of school sites relevant to inquiries
Meanings	Interpretations vested in the artifacts, which represent beliefs, values, and feelings.	
Interpretive communities	Categorizations of policy-relevant stakeholders, who hold and express their beliefs, values, and feelings toward the policy issues in the inquiry.	
Discourses	Specific meanings and/or arguments conveyed through specific policy artifacts and their associations (in thought, speech, and act).	

4.4.1.3 Generating coding system

As mentioned above, I used MAXQDA software to perform the coding process for identifying themes. Beforehand, I generated a list of codes derived from literature and previous studies. There are many ways of generating a coding system. Bazeley suggests a starting list of

codes by looking at the actors, events, actions, contexts, beliefs, arguments, emotions, characteristics, and frames of reference (Bazeley, 2013, p. 182). Such predetermined codes were not prescriptive and were not intended to limit or impede me from identifying new codes or ideas. Rather, having a set of pre-determined codes helped me to ensure that my coding would link to important questions needed to respond to reseach inquiries. Table 12 in Appendix G illustrates my initial predetermined list of codes for each research question.

Due to the amount and types of data I have, I created three separate files in MAXQDA, based on the research questions. I began to generate codes and sub-codes when I worked on my literature review. Additional predetermined codes emerged during the first data review.

When generating codes, I came up with a leading question to help me elicit several concepts. For example, to generate codes related to policy goals, I started with the question of "who did what, to whom, for what goal/purpose, with what rationales, through what channel or instruments, …" and so on. This way I was able to keep the emerging codes relevant to the research questions.

4.4.1.4 Multilayer coding for themes, arguments and categorizations

Whole coding activities employ three coding techniques, including open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Open coding is an analytic process through which concepts are identified and their properties and dimensions are discovered in the data. Axial coding is a more focused process of relating categories to their subcategories. Selective coding is a process of integrating and refining the categories.

The coding process was not sequential or chronological, starting from open to axial to selective techniques. It was an abductive sequence of making sense and refining themes and

categories. In its practice, I repeatedly went over the coding process, applying three different techniques as necessary until saturation was reached.

At the initial stage of coding, I applied an *open coding* technique by identifying and labelling my data based on the predetermined codes I had generated beforehand. Several times I also coded the data as is, based on the original wording in the texts. This initial coding stage also helped to open up more codes, categories, and themes.

The second stage of coding was to refine and develop more analytical categories, and to relate them to subcategories or sub-codes. This was where more codes, themes, and categorization were altered, added, sorted out, exchanged, and the like, as more texts and artifacts were coded. Coding alteration was required for several reasons, such as to clarify meanings, to extend the concepts being coded, to look for patterns of associations, and to break down ambiguous concepts, among others.

To refine the categorization of growing themes, I also applied *selective coding*. Themes and categories were refined to link data, context, and theories. Hence, the altered codes and themes were more conceptual or theoretical. At this phase, I used the MAXQDA memo feature to jot down the coded concepts, or to put a note on existing codes that required conceptual clarification without changing the labels. Selective coding, or labelling, or theme identification at this phase also affected my subsequent analysis. Conceptualization during this coding phase influenced final themes and frames presented in my findings.

I should clarify that, in my study, *themes* were synthesized from *either* the predetermined and emerging codes (during initial and second coding phases), *or* from a synthesized meaning derived from several codes and sub-codes combined (during selective coding phase). For example, I had "academic mobility" listed as an initial code, which was then considered a theme because I

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knew there would be many conversations about students' academic mobility. Meanwhile, new fresh concepts or themes could also be identified from several sub-codes combined (aggregated codes). For example, I came up with a new theme of "symbolic responses" to refer to several coded transcripts on how teachers attempted to comply with the EMI policy by translating their teaching materials into English for administration compliance, but not actually attempting to change their language of instruction.

4.4.1.5 Comparing and contrasting

This course of analysis required a constant comparison process. It involved continuous refinement of categories, relationships, and reinterpretations based on increasing depth of understanding (Bazeley, 2013). The activities of contrasting and comparing ideas can be developed from theoretical examples, imaginary or hypothetical examples, or other researchers' findings and experiences.

The comparison activity was an ongoing process that began, at least, with the identification and selection of materials and data. I did comparison within or across research questions, regarding which data were relevant to which research questions. There were also comparisons within or across code categories (e.g. stakeholders, organizations, involvement, arguments, core values, perspectives) that differ in some regard. To address research question #3, I identified and compared perspectives and arguments across stakeholder groups. During the selective, conceptual coding stage, there was definitely a constant comparison of categories and themes to theoretical concepts, especially when I came across certain texts or ideas but had difficulties in conceptualizing it.

These comparison-contrast activities helped increase my sensibility to my data and the research itself. This was especially true when I compared my ongoing analysis to concepts found in literature and previous studies. While there were clear benefits to this approach, this compare-

contrast stage lengthened my analysis period, as it prompted me to re-read more literature and to change theoretical references in my existing collection.

4.5 Positionality

In interpretive policy research, the researchers' background presents a methodologically relevant issue. It is impossible for me, as the main researcher, to stand outside of the EMI policy issue, free of its values and meanings and of my own values, beliefs, and feelings. This relates to aspects of contextuality (access and exposure) and positionality that I have as an individual researcher with specific capacities, characteristics ,and histories (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2012, p. 41). Positionality entails at least two aspects, i.e demographic characteristics and personal background; and geographic or locational factors (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2012).

My demographic characteristics and personal background are critical for accessing research settings and/or participants. These include my personal identity, which could contribute to obtaining access (or to having it prevented), such as citizenship, ethnicity, age, gender, physical ability, class, religion, language, identification proof, and more. Being an Indonesian citizen allowed me to gain access with less bureaucratic paperwork, unlike non-Indonesian researchers. Speaking similar languages registered with Indonesian-Javanese teachers' participants, somehow, and eased the interactions during interviews, as we occasionally exchanged terms in Javanese.

As an English language learner and an English language teacher myself, I have developed local knowledge of English-mediated instruction policy and practice in Indonesia. My professional affiliation as a lecturer in the English Language Teaching Department in Indonesia gave me an opportunity to interact with several International-Standard (IS) Schools, where many of my

students conducted their teaching internships. In addition, having the privilege of studying abroad in an English-mediated learning setting also enabled me to better grasp the complexities related to the political economy of the English language, at least at the individual level. My prior engagement in the EMI policy context, both personally and professionally, has affected my decision to research these topics.

Meanwhile, my location or geographic position also contributed to how much access and exposure I could have. The geographic position, especially during data collection phase, affected my access and interactional relationship with participants. All of my participants were informed of my location in the United States. Most of them showed support and appreciation, knowing that I was completing my study and would not be able to visit them in person for the interviews. Before finalizing the interview dates, I continued maintaining contacts with them, via Whatsapp messages and/or email, in a hope of building access, rapport, and trust.

4.6 Ethical responsibility

There were at least two matters regarding ethical responsibility that I needed to bear in mind. First, I needed to make sure that the findings would identify and describe inquiry-relevant arguments, scholarly stances and professional engagements, and not necessarily to address personal attributes, such as religion, race, and nationality. The findings and discussions were meant to identify and explain the phenomena at the center of the inquiry. This inquiry focused on participant voices, thoughts, and arguments rather than their personality. For example, instead of characterizing a participant as a "nationalist," I preferred to use "nationalist thinking" to refer to their nationalism-oriented views. Hence, the focus was on their arguments and rationales, and not

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necessarily on the persons or their characters. There was a very fine line on this, since their characters could affect their arguments. This was the hermeneutic part of my analytical reading, where I had to be critical and cautious in differentiating irrelevant personal identity versus scholarly and professional arguments.

Second, I had to differentiate between interpretation of data and judgment of personal character—though they sometimes may overlap. For example, there were participants who kept self-promoting and bragging about their involvements in policy development, or there were some who kept disregarding my messages and showed unwelcoming gestures during the first encounters. While they could be infuriating and could affect my interpretation, I needed to present their self-prides and voices only as relevant as possible to the research inquiries.

The ethical aspect was even more apparent when considering most participants' welcoming attitudes in all of my contacts with them. They were also willing to share and email me their personal archives, with no hesitation. Teacher participants didn't feel ashamed or reluctant when sharing their occasional frustrations with the policy, and government officials were similar. Their schedules were full, yet they were willing to make time to respond to my messages and set phone interviews by considering time zone difference. To me, their openness and welcoming attitudes signaled not only their trust, but also their supports of my research—something I was indebted to for my study completion.

4.7 Quality assurance

Guba and Lincoln (1989) proposed a set of criteria to assess the quality of qualitative research: a) transferability, b) credibility, c) confirmability, d) dependability, e) authenticity, and f)

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emancipatory. These criteria are considered parallel to the evaluation criteria for the quality of a positivist quantitative study. Based on such criteria, below are my methodological measures, as outlined by Merten (2005), to assure my research process provides optimum quality.

To enhance the *transferability* of my study (or external validity), I attempted to provide rich, thick description that delivers sufficient details that include extensive, careful illustrations of the time, place, context, and culture. The term transferability employs similar meaning and implication to *contextuality* in IPA research, that is, a necessity to establish rich, descriptive knowledge on the topics, background setting, research designs, and all that entail. In my efforts, this can be seen from previous chapters and sections that describe my contextual understanding on the policy, from its inception to its termination, in the general context of IS-School establishments, general context of the high school education system that affects the normative and political nuance of the research topics, and participant sampling and recruitment, including the way I approached and communicated with them.

To establish my research *credibility* or *trustworthiness* (parallels to internal validity), I employed triangulation, or the use of multiple data types and sources to verify their accuracy. I also conducted a series of member checks after the interviews in order to verify my interpretations. To improve internal credibility, I also monitored my own developing knowledge construction on the topics by sharing my ongoing analysis and findings to peers and/or supervisors in order to keep my mind and interpretation open.

Enhancing *confirmability* (or objectivity) is very critical in a qualitative study. Confirmability means that the data and interpretation processes are transparent and are not fabrications. I attempted to make the data analysis process available and tangible enough for checking and back-tracking. I spelled out my units of analysis and the logic of the interpretation

(or the thought process) explicitly. Having a clear interpretive logic should enhance the confirmability of my analysis results. I also shared the field notes and interview transcripts or excerpts, and discussed them with my peers or supervisors, to establish a "chain of evidence" (Yin in Mertens, 2005).

Part of my research was to account for various stakeholders' conflicting views. Presenting a fair, balanced view of all perspectives, values, and beliefs, or *research verisimilitude* (Garman, 1996), would enhance the quality of the study. I tried to make sure that different meaning constructions were solicited and acknowledged, and each participant stakeholder in my study was appropriately identified.

4.8 Methodological limitation

Followings are several points on my methodological limitation. They did not lessen the significance and usefulness of this research. Rather, they served as prompts for improvements and future projects.

- The first interview sessions I conducted through phone calls, hence I missed the participants' facial expressions and gestures, which would have contributed to my analytical interpretations. Regardless, phone call or email written interviews were still legitimate ways of generating data. I was still "present" for the participants. To compensate for the limitation of non-face-to-face interviews, during interview sessions I took notes on any cues that might indicate feelings or certain gestures.

- There were several internal documents of the school and of the MONE offices that I was promised. These documents could have provided me with additional supporting evidence

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or examples to their arguments. However, they never got back to me with the promised documents or files, since the files were either missing or otherwise unavailable.

- Had I had more time and resources, I would have interviewed parents and students. It would take more effort to contact students graduating form IS-Schools, but their perspectives and experiences were critical since they were essentially the beneficiaries of the MEI policy. Parents' perspectives would enrich the findings for cross-examination, especially on the policy goals, expenses, and their language ideologies. I was inclined to have students and parents for interviews, but I had time and location limitations.

- The findings would have been richer if I could have elicited more data from social media (Facebook and Twitter, primarily), online blogs, and unpublished works at domestic universities. Some of them could be searched online, but they were not always accessible for download. Data generated from social media platforms and online blogs would be very informative. I decided not to include them due to my limited training on social media research.

- The findings could have been furthered by conducting comparative examination against similar practices in other countries with comparable contexts, such as Thailand, Taiwan, and Turkey. Since there is vast scholarship on relevant topics (e.g. schools internationalization, global bilingualism, content based language instruction, etc.), identifying comparative variables are important in the beginning phase. I decided not to conduct such comparisons due to time limitation. This line of inquiry could be pursued later as a future research project.

4.9 Summary

This study received a clearance under the Institutional Review Board of the University of Pittsburgh (Appendix M). The clearance was approved based on my research proposal paper and was issued before data collection process took place.

Table 8 below sums up the methodology of this research as elaborated above.

Table 8. Summary of Methodology

Methodological Framework	Interpretive Policy Analysis, employing social constructivism, phenomenology and hermeneutics.		
Data	Semi-structured interviews (4 government, 9 teachers, 8 scholars) Document reviews: Legislation statutes, publications by National Ministries, schools' archives, teachers' archives		
Research Questions	Goals and rationales: What constitutes the discursive context within which EMI policy goals and rationales were formulated?	Appropriation: How were the EMI appropriations in the IS-Schools understudied?	Debates: How was the EMI policy framed by various stakeholders in the debates?
Data analysis	Discourse	Theme-based	Frame

5.0 Essay 1. EMI policy goals and rationales: A policy discourse analysis

5.1 Introduction

In the past two decades, there has been a rapid, massive, worldwide shift from English being taught as a second or foreign language (ESL or EFL) to English being the medium of instruction (EMI) in selected academic subjects (H. Coleman, 2011c; Dearden, 2014; Graddol, 2006; Madrid & Hughes, 2011). General characteristics of EMI practices were that English was experimentally used as a medium of instruction in selected non-language courses in countries where English was spoken less frequently outside schools. At the same time, English was also taught as a separate ESL or EFL course. The British Council used the phrase English Bilingual Education (EBE) to refer to generic practices of English-mediated instruction targeted to already-bilingual students groups in many non-native English speaking countries (British-Council, 2009). These EMI practices were mostly top-down policies and funded by national authorities.

Indonesia was one of the countries joining the wagon of EMI policy. The Indonesia's Ministry of National Education (MONE) coupled the EMI policy with the establishment of the so-called International-Standard Schools or IS-Schools in Indonesia. The concept of IS-Schools was legally introduced and mandated in the Law No. 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, Article 50 Clause 3, which required that the central government and/or local governments make an effort to establish "one International Standard School at every educational level" (Republic of Indonesia, 2003). In 2005-2006, the first cohort of IS-Schools was nominated, along with the initial experimental phase of EMI practice in selected courses, such as math, science, and

English courses. Under this EMI policy, English was used, partially or fully, as an instructional medium in the classrooms.

The background above led me to understand that EMI policy contexts in Indonesia were less about language cultivation or preservation, and more about language practice resulting as a symptom of global political economic trends. In this essay, I intended to describe and explain messages that informed the goals and rationales of the national policy makers to formulate EMI policy in Indonesia's IS-Schools. Hence, the following question emerged and guided this essay: "What constitutes the discursive contexts within which EMI policy decisions are made?"

While aiming to understand governments' perspectives on EMI goals and rationales, I also addressed the findings of this essay to non-government stakeholders, especially scholars and activists who opposed against this policy. Findings would present a sensible explanation of ideologies or normative considerations of the policy to inform the complexity of its determination from the policy makers' perspectives.

5.2 Contexts and settings

This study focused on the policy goals and rationales underlying the formulation of English as Medium of Instruction or EMI policy. The EMI policy was a language practice used in the so-called International-Standards Schools, on IS-Schools, in several provinces in Indonesia.

By definition, IS-Schools were national public [or private] schools that had met the national standard of education and were enhanced with selected features of internationally-benchmarked programs or activities (MONE, 2009). These international features could range from a set of international curricula adopted from partner schools abroad to the use of English as medium of

instruction for selected courses. The transformation of IS-Schools was supposedly conducted in two main phases: the candidacy period (i.e. nominated, probation, under full scrutiny) and official accreditation (i.e. full-fledge implementation).

Below is detailed information on the provisions and various interpretations of what constituted EMI policy. For deeper context, I also provide information on background policies and key events that occurred in line with EMI policy, as well as their implications for the EMI practices in IS-Schools.

5.2.1 EMI provisions and variance

The establishment of IS-Schools was mandated in the Act of RI 20/2003. However, the application of English as Medium of Instruction, or EMI policy in IS-Schools, was officially structured in the 2007 IS-School Handbook (MONE, 2007b) and stipulated in the Ministry of National Education (MONE) Decree in 2009 on IS-School implementation (MONE, 2009). Most IS-School and EMI policy documents contain the expected goals and ideal criteria for full-fledge implementation.

The documents suggested teachers use English or other foreign languages (e.g. French, Spanish, Japanese, Arabic, and/or Mandarin) for instruction in their classrooms, particularly in English classes and math and science courses, which have "competitive value" in international forums (MONE, 2007b, p. 8 and 11; 2009, Article 6). Other courses were required to be taught in Indonesian, e.g., religion, civics, and, of course, Indonesian language. This entailed requirements for schools to supply and provide English-written learning and teaching materials, including for homeworks, exams, and other learning evaluation tools (MONE, 2009, Article 15).

When English became the instructional language, teachers and school principals were required to improve their own English, and ultimately demonstrate a TOEFL score of no less than 7.5 points (MONE, 2009, Article 6 & 9). Other skill sets for teachers included pedagogical competence, international characteristics and social skills, international communication, and advanced skills in instructional technology (MONE, 2011b, p. 11). When necessary, schools could hire foreigners or expats with English competence, providing that the total number of expats were no more than 30 percent of the teacher pool, and the expats were literate in Indonesian (MONE, 2009, Article 7).

The EMI policy was channeled through several policy instruments, including legal mandates and official handbooks, as well as incentives and capacity building programs. The primary mandates were those regarding IS-School legal initiation, implementation, national education standards, and educational management (MONE, 2009; Republic of Indonesia, 2003, 2005, 2010). These were followed by the issuance of several handbooks and publications on quality assurance, management, and grant distribution, among others (MONE, 2007b, 2011a, 2011b). Meanwhile, the amounts of financial incentives were dependent of each school's needs and levels (primary, junior, and senior secondary levels). For senior high school, the grants could be proposed and allocated for teaching learning resources (up to 30 percent of total grant proposed), physical facilities (up to 25 percent), managerial improvement (up to 20 percent), and scholarship and studentship (up to 25 percent) (MONE, 2010, pp. 26-28). In addition to MONE grants, provincial governments could also offer or provide IS-schools with competitive grants for capacity building programs, including study visits to sister schools abroad.

It is important to note that those operating IS-Schools could strategize their EMI implementation in several ways. Depending on school capacity and teacher availability, some

schools implemented EMI in all classes, and some other schools implemented the language policy in selected classes within schools (MONE, 2009, Article 12) .

Specific to mainstreaming students into English-mediated instruction, the schools could choose to do parallel classes or integrated classes (MONE, 2011b, pp. 53-54). Parallel schemes were when students remained to receive instructions in the Indonesia language, and in the same period, they had additional curricular courses of English for Math and Science. The integrated scheme occurred when students had their math and science courses delivered in English.

The integrated, immersion scheme was the most popular in most IS-Schools. However, most schools did not call those classes immersion class or even EMI classes. They featured those classes under various names, including "ISS class" or "bilingual class." The label "immersion class" was not used in most IS-Schools, because it could refer to specific English immersion programs some schools had a few years before IS-Schools were launched. Many schools felt comfortable using the term "ISS class" but avoided the word "English" to indicate that the classroom practices were not just about English language use. All in all, all those various practices fall into the category of English-mediated instruction, with differing scales and proportions of English use. These various names were also referenced in Chapter 1.

Most schools, however, implemented EMI policy only for grade or class 10 and 11. For grade 12 students, instruction was all in Indonesian, for one consideration: preparing students for the National Exam. Back then, the National Exam was in Indonesian, covering math, physics, biology, chemistry, and English language courses, among others. To prepare for the exams, the schools usually had extra hours of preparatory classes. Due to time demands and test material loads for grade 12, the EMI policy was not implemented for them.

5.2.2 School-based management and decentralization

It is important to understand situational contexts of the EMI in IS-School initiatives during that specific time frame by explaining the relevant key policy events that were similar to or in conjunction with the IS-Schools establishment. Several key policies in education had affected EMI policy initiation and implementation, including school-based management and educational decentralization.

The school-based management policy provided autonomy for schools or educational units to plan, invent, and manage a school's pedagogical and managerial tasks, with the help of school members and community members (MONE, 2002; Republic of Indonesia, 2003). Community members would work as advisory, supporting, and controlling agencies, as well as mediators between school and government regarding a school's educational management practices (MONE, 2002). The ultimate purpose was to empower school and community members in the practices of educational administration and quality assurance.

The school-based management policies were considered a democratic process to start enabling schools to be fully involved in planning and developing their own capacities. The central ministry was confident that each school would be able to build and improve its capacities in managing its own development plan.

> This represents a democratic learning process; we support schools' autonomy as they are implementing school-based management, and the push for local government autonomy was very strong, that the schools belong to and under direct supervision of local government. (Patrick, government)

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First, the schools should have been able to manage themselves, they just didn't have a chance to do that before. Isn't that a school is also an autonomous professional unit? They can do this, they're just not used to it. For decades, everything was centralized, schools received instructions and they just complied to whatever planning came from central, province, district. That's wrong. Schools are smart. They're more knowledgeable than us. We just pretended as if we knew what the schools needed. (Thomas, government)

The school-based management policies corresponded to the educational decentralization policy for regional governments and authorities in managing educational units and human resource potential (Republic of Indonesia, 2004). In the spirit of local autonomy after the political reform, educational decentralization was introduced and incrementally implemented from that point. It was also implemented for IS-Schools.

Initially, the IS-Schools project was entirely administered by the central Ministry of Education (MONE). Starting around 2009-2010, after the first cohort of IS-School candidates were launched, the administrative operations of IS-Schools were then transferred to provincial governments. The transfer of responsibility included the arrangements of investment, operational costs, teachers and staff hiring, and quality assurance programs (MONE, 2009, Article 23). MONE remained responsible for IS-School supervision and evaluation, but with limited authority to impose sanctions for any instructional and managerial oversights. It was local provincial; governments who had full authority regarding schools' accountability (Republic of Indonesia, 2010, Article 13). This applied to all types and ranks of schools, nationwide.

Despite all the democratic and empowerment learning processes, the school-based management and decentralization policies had some negative implications for EMI policy and IS-Schools. It has been known that governments' and schools' capacities varied across regions in

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Indonesia. Local governments with slight resources often lacked in managerial capacities and human resource readiness, among other constraints. Schools with minimum competitive advantages and resources tended to have more hardships and major adjustments:

> There were remarkable autonomous practices going on for districts with enough or lavish resources. But for poor and marginal districts, they were still far behind. That's our homework. We helped them, so they could keep up. (Patrick, government)

The practice of making their own development plans was relatively new, which then caused some managerial problems. These challenges affected the EMI and IS-Schools practices:

> So there were IS-schools that wanted to improve themselves, they wanted it quick, all were accelerated, but they didn't properly assess their own capacities… so some schools ended up experimenting EMI in selected classes only, not the whole schools… in the end, that led to a lot of critics and problems. (Patrick, government)

> … decentralization and school-based management have been on the right track. The timing worked. But there were issues with several districts and local offices who were anxious and jumpy, that they suddenly had to manage and invent their own development plans. (Thomas, government)

Another caveat involved misalignment between MONE and local government policies and practices. There were times or cases where local government would apply different degrees of lenience and tolerance for managerial and pedagogical misconduct. With the local autonomy policies in place, MONE could not intervene in the regulatory strategies of local governments. Even local governments did not have full control on how IS-Schools appropriated or applied their EMI policies:

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That's a downside of it, that some schools tended to push themselves too hard. We warned

them, but they insisted [to go with their own EMI policy arrangement]. The policy at that

time was that Jakarta had their own autonomous education authorities. (Patrick,

government)

When central government run a national project, many times there were unauthorized

activities or misconducts at schools. With autonomy and decentralizations, we couldn't

sanction the schools. Say, the principal did something wrong. We couldn't impose any

sanction or punishment, because, by administration, the principal works for the local

government. The local government may not even impose any sanctions, especially if the

principal had any political ties with the mayor… Yes, that's one of the biggest challenge

for the central government in enforcing the rules of the games. (Patrick, government)

5.2.3 Internationalization of education

Another related key event was the internationalization of education in primary, secondary,

and tertiary levels. The nuance of Indonesia's educational policy in the early 2000s had been about

international competitiveness and internationally benchmarked quality improvement. IS-Schools

were initiated and introduced amidst this international education movement. The 2004 Educational

Report of the National Planning Agency (NPA) narrated an incubatory project of

internationalization of vocational secondary schools (NPA, 2004). Funded by the Ministry of

Education, the project supported the development of international-standard vocational schools by

piloting selected vocational secondary schools and featuring English enrichment program in the

schools and applied technologies:

The supervision and development of 500 national-standard vocational schools and 100 international-standard vocational schools in 2001 were continued with the distribution of subsidies for infrastructures in 327 national and international-standard vocational schools in 2002. In 2003 as many as 100 international-standard vocational schools were established. (NPA, 2004, p. 24)

The 2005-2009 Ministry of Education's Strategic Planning document explicitly mentioned IS-School programs in elementary and secondary as a part of quality improvement and educational competitiveness goals:

The quality improvement, relevance and competitiveness for secondary schools… The government develop competence-base curriculum, teaching material, learning models and evaluation system toward national and international standards…. MONE aims to develop at least one primary and one junior secondary school with local-national standards by 2009, and the target applies for international-standard schools. (MONE, 2005, pp. 49-50)

In the same document, the internationalization of higher education was also emphasized. Most of these international programs had been initiated in top-rank, full-fledged, ivy-league universities:

International-standard departments/programs in higher education level will also be fostered, targeting as many as 32 programs by the end of 2009, with specific considerations in scientific development, cultural preservation and skill competitiveness among nations. (MONE, 2005, p. 52)

Hence, the trends toward education internationalization in state-subsidized schools had begun in the late 1990s and early 2000s during the inception period of IS-Schools.

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5.3 Conceptual notions

5.3.1 International education for global competence: Political economy perspectives

There has been no unifying concept of "international education" and "global competence." There is a plethora of operational conceptualizations for *international education*, ranging from those with instrumental perspectives (Heyward, 2002; Hughes, 2009; Süssmuth, 2007), sociocultural assimilation (Mansilla & Gardner, 2007; Reagan, 2005), and intercultural dialogue for social justice (Gorski, 2008).

Similarly, the term *global competence* has been used to refer to slightly different concepts. Drawing from ethical concepts, Sylvester (2005) argues that global competence refers to an education about the nature of the planet Earth (environment), nature of human beings, and nature of social structure of the world as a whole. These correspond to Spring's (2004) propositions for balanced integration of environmentalism, human right issues, and social efficiency goals in global education. Employing three learning domains, Reimers (2008) sets forth three interdependent key features of global competency: (1) ethical dimension, applying global values and positive disposition toward cultural differences; (2) disciplinary and inter-disciplinary dimension, referring to knowledge of world issues; and (3) skill dimension, specifying ability in foreign or non-local language for wider communication.

Combining the two concepts—international education and/or education for global competence—(Spaulding et al. (in Sylvester, 2005, p. 136) outline two strands of learning interests in international education: *idealistic* and *pragmatic*. Both idealistic and pragmatic motives for international education may lead to both individual and societal benefits at various degrees and types.

Idealistic interest stresses education and exchange experience for the purposes of promoting international understanding and peace in increasingly globalized communities. This idea corresponds to sociocultural motives of assimilating oneself with his or her cultural out-groups. The idealistic thinking encourages community members to understanding globalization processes in order to cultivate global consciousness—e.g. sensitivity, understanding, and self-representation (OECD, 2017). This set of skills is intended to develop competence in interacting with people from diverse backgrounds in multicultural contexts. Sussmuth (2007) promotes "intercultural skills, consisting of cognitive, social, emotional and digital, that go beyond local context" (p.197). Mansilla and Gardner (2007) suggest international education that informs learners about what globalization entails and how individual learners should perceive globalization. Reagan (2005) suggests a constructivist learning approach in international education practices, where the truth and existence of knowledge and facts are relative in nature, and thus, multiple perspectives in reality are worthwhile. Within this constructivist education, conversation and engagement with people from different cultural groups is necessary and sufficient to (re)construct one's cultural knowledge. Similarly, learning from failures of hegemonized curriculum and constricted ways of knowing, Gorski (2008) endorses critical inquiry on multiple, and to some extent balanced, perspectives in examining reality and reshaping knowledge. Multiple cultural realities assert knowledge seeking from various social, cultural, and political entities through authentic intercultural dialogue and interaction.

Meanwhile, *pragmatic interest* stresses the purpose of global competence for developing human capacity that can effectively serve the country and the world in political, economic, social, and academic sectors. This is analogous to instrumental motives, in which engagement in global and international issues are driven by social efficiency goals of education, as occurs in some

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advanced countries (Spring, 2004). Without leaving these idealistic goals, many international educations programs seemed to lean toward global literacy for sociopolitical and economic enterprises across regions and countries (Heyward, 2002; Madrid & Hughes, 2011; Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Suarez-Orozco & Sattin, 2007; Tarc, 2009).

The pragmatic concept of global competence in international education had also been associated with increased political prestige and participation (Spring, 2009; Tarc, 2009). Competence in English, or other major international languages become a necessary sociocultural tool for global political interactions. Foreign language literacy had been assigned as a prerequisite for global competence (Liddicoat, 2007; Reimers, 2008). The functional roles of English have been expanding, turning English into not only a language for employability and international mobility (H. Coleman, 2011c), but also for unlocking political opportunities and networks. High standards and expectations for foreign language skills are expected in the curriculum for international education, such as in many International Schools in non-English speaking countries, and those of International Bachelorette education programs (Madrid & Hughes, 2011; Tarc, 2009).

It is important to note that programs in international education were not merely targeting cultivating or maintaining the *language*. It was targeted to the learners, i.e. to modify the span of learners' English literacy. Accordingly, it reflects language acquisition planning, i.e. a systematic attempt to affect learners' language behavior (Cooper, 1989; Hornberger, 1994, 2006). The acquisition planning involves deciding what language(s) to be taught in schools —or even used as media of instruction—not only to provide enhanced educational learning and experiences, but also to improve political economic competitive advantage in international settings.

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5.3.2 Critical discourse analysis in language policy

Discourse analysis in the field of language policy and planning flourished from different intellectual traditions, such as systemic functional linguistics (Halliday, 1978), critical applied linguistics (Pennycook, 2001), and Foucauldian critical theory (Johnson, 2013), among others. Studies and scholars in language policy could employ discourse analysis as an approach to systematically identify and interpret a large set of policy-relevant artifacts (e.g. spoken and written text, objects, events, interactions, etc.).

The challenges of discourse analysis application have been about ways of connecting data and multi-tiered contexts, as well as the critical process of making interpretive claims. These gave rise to several different forms of critical discourse analysis, offering methods for data-context connection and interpretive process.

Below I will discuss three varieties of policy discourses analysis that I used in my research and analysis, or that have characteristics that transpired in my analysis process. All three critical discourse traditions below consider a language policy as a discursive event or process, which is "generated, sustained, and manipulated in spoken interaction and policy documents that, in turn, interact with each other—and may appropriate, resist, and/or possible change dominant and alternative discourses about language and language policy" (Johnson, 2013, p. 152).

Derived from the Vienna School of Discourse Analysis, Ruth Wodak proposes a discourse-historical approach, which employs multiple methods and data sources to analyze the social, political, linguistic, and psychological dimensions in the analysis and interpretation of specific discursive events embedded in policies, over a certain time period (Wodak, 2006; Wodak, Cillia, & Reisigl, 1999; Wodak et al., 2009). Hence, the method application is, first, to analyze all information and historical background embedded in the discursive events; and second, to apply a

diachronic approach by identifying the identified discourses over or within a certain period time, should there be any changes along the way or differing findings from previous studies. Similar discourse analysis application was also found in the works of Jan Blommaert, in which policy discourses are cross-analyzed not only across development domains but also space and time (Blommaert, 2010).

Another approach is Foucauldian critical discourse analysis, based on Foucault's critical theory, in which policy discourses are viewed as instruments of power and resistance enacted by multiple policy actors (Johnson, 2004, 2013). The element of agency is highlighted, in that voices and views of local language implementors must be accommodated in order to identify any reaction, appropriation, ignorance, or acceptance of resistance against the supposedly top-down policies. The principle of Foucault's critical discourse analysis was to investigate how past discursive events could affect currently-investigated policies, and what could come up as strategies or recommendations to deal with the issues based on the past and existing constructed discourses (Bazeley, 2013). The past is used to comprehend the present, and as a foundation to forecast the future.

A British variety of critical discourse analysis, which has critical elements of Foucault's theory as well, is advocated by Norman Fairclough. Critical discourse analysis, in his view, employs "power" as a primary interest, and language and social contexts tend to shape each others (Fairclough, 2010). He asserts that, "Language is always socially and historically situated mode of action, in a dialectal relationship with other facets of 'the social life' (its 'social context')—it is socially shaped, but it also socially shaping or constitutive" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 92). Fairclough (2010, 2017) suggests that critical discourse analysis should employ aspects of "dialectical reasoning," consisting of. critique, explanation, and action. This means that critical policy

discourse analysis should recontextualize data with ideological or normative social processes, include systematic explanations, argue against or address social wrongdoings, and advocate for action-oriented solutions.

Methodologically speaking, critical discourse analysis is prone to several caveats, such as bias, subjective interpretation, wide-ranging concepts and methods, lack of agency, and simplistic description of contexts, among other (Johnson, 2013, pp. 164-165). To anticipate the above, I employed the principles of contextuality and triangulation. To provide deeper and relevant contextual understanding, I provided thick, rich description of the EMI policy backgrounds and contexts. My data were generated from different sources, i.e interviews and document reviews. The interviews were followed up with member checking to every participant in order to minimize misunderstanding of interpretation, and, hence, an uninformed subjectivity. The policy documents consisted of various types, from legislative to unofficial internal documents. When cross-analyzing discourses, I combined various interdisciplinary approaches in language policy and education policy, such as economic, academic, and political perspectives. A strong, descriptive account of context, combined with repeated triangulation, should increase the credibility, confirmability, and authenticity of this discourse study.

5.4 Methods

This essay is intended to provide a macro view on the goals and rationales of the English as Medium of Instruction (EMI) policy from the perspectives of policy makers. It specifically responds to the main question of "What constitutes the discursive context within which EMI policy decisions are made?"

The study was based on an Interpretive Policy Analysis, or IPA, framework (Yanow, 2000, 2006, 2007; Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2012). The IPA framework emphasizes three aspects of research foci or orientation: contextuality, knowledge construction, and explanatory sensibility. Contextuality necessitates prior knowledge, exposure, and thick-rich description principles. The knowledge construction implies consensual meaning-making between inquired and inquirers, which corresponds to a social constructivism perspective. The explanatory sensibility of policy analysis requires hermeunetic-phenomenological logic, which involves principles of interpretive subjectivity and positionality, and is developed through an abductive, iterative process of recontextualizing interpretations.

5.4.1 Data collection

Considering data source accessibility and relevance, I generated data through semi-structured interviews and document reviews. There were four interview participants—three were personnel at the Ministry of National Education, based in Jakarta; one was a provincial official, who also had EMI-relevant experiences at city governance and school-level practices, based in Semarang City. I applied a *criterion sampling technique* (Patton, 2002) to identify these elite groups of decision makers and decision influencers. The pre-determined criteria were that the participants must be government personnel actively involved in formulation and/or development of EMI policy at national levels or beyond school levels. I contacted three participants via phone messages with the help of my colleague informants. One national official referred me to his colleague in the Ministry, who also met the interview criteria (i.e. *snowball or chain sampling*) (Patton, 2002). I validated their active, practical involvements in the policy throughout the interview process, as well as with information from my colleagues and my previous studies.

The interviews were semi-structured, in that I had pre-determined questions listed for all participants. As the interviews went on, additional questions were posed, based on the direction and progression of the conversation. (For a list of questions, see Appendix A.) The interviews were conducted via phone, mostly in Bahasa Indonesia, and recorded and immediately transcribed, with no English translation, except when quoted for direct excerpts. I returned the transcript to each participant for any corrections and/or additional information. Transcripts were sent both via email and Whatsapp (as requested). All four participants approved and did not change any parts of the transcripts. For anonymity, I used pseudonyms for all the interview participants (see Appendix B). As a part of my data analysis, I created a brief profile of each participant, which contained brief information on their policy-relevant involvement, their perspectives and values, and their positionality or stance on the EMI policy in general (see Appendix C).

For document reviews, I collected eight legislative statutes and 12 ministerial publications and internal documents. Most statutes were available and accessible online in public domain websites. Most documents were written in an Indonesian language. For a few documents, I was able to search and find the English version in order to anticipate any future evidence-related needs. Being a native Indonesian language speaker myself, I was able to validate the meaning equivalence of both English and Indonesian language versions.

I sought, selected, and verified the collected documents based on four criteria: authorized sources (e.g., published by government or authorized units), significant types of documents (e.g., legislation and non-legislation documents, handbooks, relevant ministerial publications, etc.), explicit content relevance (i.e. weighing its relevance to IS-Schools and/or to its language policy), and periods of publication (i.e from the inception years in early 2000 up to the policy termination in 2013). Based on sources and types, I categorized the documents into four groups: legislation

statutes and publications by national ministries. By legislation statutes, I referred to documents that served as a legal provision, instrument, stipulation, or law, which implied legal authorities, instructions, mandates, and/or consequences, with relevant contents primarily on the establishment of IS-Schools and/or the language policy in IS-Schools. Publications by national ministries included supporting policy documents, which could be any types of non-legislation statutes with explicit content relevance for the research questions. Table 11 in Appendix F lists the variety of documents.

Policy intentions are not always easy to decode or to discover. The key principle in reading documents, as Yanow (2000) asserts, is to understand how the policy-relevant stakeholders make meaning of an activity or a message in the minutes, report, or legislation statutes, or how meanings are construed and represented in policy and its practice. It is also important to identify the languages, jargon, and local terms used to frame a particular issue or a community.

5.4.2 Data analysis

I apply critical discourse analysis to respond specifically to the research question: "What constitutes the discursive context within which EMI policy decisions are made?" For this inquiry, I focus on identifying and exploring discursive contexts within which EMI policy was initiated by the national policy makers, as denoted and implied in the policy documents and interviews.

Fairclough's (2010) multi-tiered approach helped me analyze the complex nature of EMI language policy, along with IS-School establishment and other circumstantial key events. There were essentially three units of analysis: text, discourse and sociocultural practice or contexts (Fairclough, 2010, p. 133). He suggested that the process of discourse production involved a reiterative process of interpreting texts in relation with sociocultural practices, consisting of

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situational, institutional and societal factors. This was also in line with Yanow's framework of interpretive policy analysis, which involved a multi-layered analysis of policy artifacts (e.g. texts, transcripts, events, etc.), meanings (e.g. contextual values, beliefs, and norms), interpretive communities (e.g. policy makers an /or other stakeholder groups), and discourse (Yanow, 2000, 2007; Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2012).

My analysis involved a recurring process of connecting and recontextualizing the texts, discourse practices and sociocultural-political contexts. First, I established my contextual understanding by re-reading the policy text or artifacts. These included legislative statutes, official and unofficial policy document texts, and interview transcripts with policy makers. Secondly, I synthesized the discourse practice, essentially by looking at the involvement and positions of my interview participants, and intertextual relationship emerged between the texts and the inquiry or research question. Thirdly, I cross-analyzed my data against the identified discourse and sociocultural practice. Sociocultural practices comprised of discursive events, which occurred at situational, institutional and societal levels. Also embedded in the practice were normative aspects, such as norms, beliefs, and ideologies that characterized the EMI policies.

The analysis course was iterative and abductive. It involved an interlocking cycle of identifying units of analysis, establishing contextuality, coding for themes and categorizations, comparing and contrasting, and synthesizing emerging concepts and discourses. The iterative analysis helped me to interpret connections between context and data, along with developing multi-tier categories based on emerging conceptual meanings, in such a way so that they respond to the research question. This reiterative, non-linear approach was repeated as often as necessary, until saturation was reached (Bazeley, 2013, p. 311), i.e. when I believed I had gained an adequate

understanding of the situations or the inquiries, and that no major further changes needed to be made.

In addition to paper-based notes and boards, I utilized qualitative data management software called MAXQDA, a software program designed for computer-assisted qualitative data, text, and multimedia analysis. The software allows me to import, read, and code text documents, tables, audio, video, images, Twitter posts, and surveys. Having several subsets of data, the software helped in reorganizing and systematizing my analysis process. Much of the work in MAXQDA involved multi-layer coding, creating memos, and creating matrix of themes, among others.

5.5 Findings

The purpose of this essay is to interpret and explain policy-makers' views on the goals and rationales of, as well as messages embedded in or underlying EMI policy in Indonesia's IS-Schools. It specifically seeks to explore the discursive context within which EMI policy decisions are made.

Because the EMI policy was embedded in or bundled with IS-School projects, it is necessary for me, first, to explore the concepts associated with IS-Schools. Conceptualization of IS-Schools refers to what policy makers thought and valued regarding the schools' design. Conceptualization of IS-Schools should respond to questions like, "What did they think of when initiating and launching IS-School project?", "What valued outcomes did they project from the IS-School's development?" and "Why did they decide to launch IS-School projects?", among others.

I found that understanding the concepts of IS-Schools would help in developing a more informed analysis of EMI policy goals.

5.5.1 Conceptualization of IS-Schools

Because the EMI policy was embedded in IS-School projects, I needed to explore the concepts associated with IS-Schools from the policy makers' perspectives.[18] "What do they think of IS-Schools?" "What were the rationales for upgrading or transforming top-rank schools to be ranked as schools with international standards?" Understanding concepts on the school establishment is vital for establishing context and reinterpreting goals of EMI policy, because the language policy was bundled in the IS-School project.

From the policy documents and interviews with government officials, there are several basic concepts and principles underlying the IS-Schools' intended establishment. IS-Schools were framed as a long-term quality improvement and development project, to develop selected schools as centers of excellence for their best practices, and to upgrade them from national-standard schools to meet the so-called international-standards.

First, the IS-School project was oriented as a *long-term quality improvement and development* project. The long-term nature was indicated in several documents, including a piloting report, which stated that the project consist of at least three stages: candidacy, consolidation, and full-fledge establishment (MONE, 2010, p. 11). To obtain candidacy or nomination, schools were required to demonstrate evidence of national-standard accreditation, international partnership and benchmarks, recommendation by local government, financial

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[18] For a detailed operational definition of IS-Schools, see Chapter 1, 'Research Setting'.

sufficiency to sustain the project for the next six years, and the school's development plan toward international-standards, among others (MONE, 2009, Article 27). The school's development plan, which was also a part of school-based management policy, was called the School Development and Investment Plan/Program (SDIP). The SDI plan constituted a more focused guideline with supposedly clear and achievable objectives for the schools to fulfill the eight national standards of education—i.e. standards of content, process, graduates' competence, assessment, teachers and staff, facilities, and support management (MONE, 2007b, 2009, 2010; Republic of Indonesia, 2005)—and a set of international knowledge and benchmarks to indicate adoption or adaptation of international visions in their curricula (MONE, 2011b).

The School Development and Investment Plan (SDIP) was considered a very essential element in this long-term project. It was a demonstration that the school-based management policy was starting to take off. At the same time, it was a part of IS-School candidacy evaluation and funding disbursement:

> We called it the School Development Improvement Plan. Each school must file the Plan, as an annual accountability measure. The plan was long term… what did you want to be in five years? How was your annual investment plan? That became the basis for the 500 million [Rupiah] grant… was it for development of infrastructures, student learnings, and the like. (Thomas, government)

> The essence of SDI Plan was school-based management … schools must project their five-year [investment] plan, including outcomes, sequences and expenses, so that the we could see how much government's fund they needed, how much they got from the communities [parents], from local government… And all of those [funding] were mostly allocated for teachers' quality, because that was what the program aimed for. (Patrick, government)

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By 2009, 319 secondary IS-Schools filed SDI Plans and underwent candidacy and evaluation processes. These schools were located across provinces, mostly in Java and Sumatera islands, several in eastern Indonesia, and one high school in Papua island (MONE, 2010). Some IS-School applicants were mediocre schools and were granted candidacy and funding because of their potential. Mediocre or mid-ranked schools were usually allocated grants for physical learning facilities, such as technology aids and science labs:

> Not all top schools [that applied for candidacy]. Some schools were mediocre. Each schools had different programs. Mediocre schools tended to plan for basic infrastructures, unlike SMA 8, SMA 70 [in Jakarta], which had advanced to the next level. (Thomas, government)

Second, IS-Schools were conceptualized and oriented to be *centers of excellence*. The centers were intended to be regional learning satellites, working with clusters of schools on pedagogical and managerial matters. Considering the quantity of schools in Indonesia, having selected schools as region-based centers of excellence would help the government. This was intended to produce trickle-down effects in disseminating best practices to other neighboring schools:

> The situation necessitated a trickle-down system… we couldn't improve the quality of all schools across Indonesia simultaneously… no we couldn't cover all at the same time… How much was our revenue, and what kind of assets our country had…. (Patrick, government)

> The initial framework was we viewed IS-Schools as a strategy to improve school's quality in more massive ways. We wanted to develop IS-Schools to become center of excellence, that later could spread out best practices in educational quality… They would disseminate

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their strategies and outcomes to other schools. Other schools could learn from IS-School's challenges, failures or success stories… that's the hope… as a center of excellence and a model for quality schools. (Thomas, government)

From the frameworks of quality improvement and centers of excellence above, I can surmise that the rationale behind the IS-School project was to help the national government with nation-wide school improvement, something they could not do on their own. If the government had to wait until all public schools met or exceeded national standards, it would take decades:

When we talk about Indonesia, we talk about scale. Indonesia has more than 200.000 educational units, more than 200.000. … if we only created 30 [centers], when are we going to be done covering all schools? With the decentralization policy underway, and each province had one or two [centers], properly managed, then that makes more sense. (Thomas, government)

When it came to massive and large-scale school improvement, the Ministry of Education needed help from qualified schools in each region or province. Therefore, the IS-Schools as centers of excellence project was initiated, by incrementally upgrading the status and capacities of selected schools to be centers of excellence, through selective nomination, evaluation, and financial support. MONE's strategies were to monitor the investment plan and learning outcomes and to do continuous upgrading from that point forward.

Instead of building new international educational units from scratch—which was costly and took time to recruit new teachers, to build the facilities, etc.—the government decided to make use of what was already available in schools' networks, i.e. top-ranked, national-plus schools. The internationalization project was basically a revitalization programs to upgrade the national-standard schools to international-standard institutions. The standards for international qualities

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were rooted in national education standards, which were enriched with internationally-benchmarked components of instructional technology, teaching methods, partnerships, and the use of English, among others.

5.5.2 English language is embedded in internationalization

The EMI policy appears to be considered as a consequential feature of international schools. Because of the status of English as an international communication tool, any international schools, by default, employ the language in their curricula. English use could be in many forms and degrees, from partial immersion to full integration of language and subject content. This belief seemed to underlie the rationale of EMI policy in IS-Schools:

> So, becoming IS-Schools, international-standard… one of the international indicators was language. In addition to other indicators was the use of international language, in this case, it's English. That's why most IS-Schools had Bahasa Indonesian combined with English language in their bilingual programs [EMI-red]. (James, government)

Article 2(e) of MONE Decree No. 78/2009 on IS-School Implementation explicitly set a level of English language competence—or other major foreign languages. High school students were expected to reach an internet-based TOEFL score of no less than 7.5 points, and a job-oriented TOEIC score of no less than 450 for vocational students (MONE, 2009). In practice, these language tests were never assigned or applied to students (and teachers), as this goal was considered a long-term direction when IS-Schools were fully established.

In addition to the language policy, parts of schools' internationalization projects had been focused on international recognitions for the IS-schools. This meant at least two things: IS-schools'

certificates would be internationally acknowledged; IS-school graduates would have relatively similar curricula to their peers abroad, and foreign or international students could enroll in the IS-Schools. Consequently, the language of instruction must be an international language that most foreigners were able to speak, such as English:

If I was asked about the ultimate goal, I think it's international acknowledgement, that our education would be acknowledged, equal to other international schools abroad. There were opportunities that our graduates will continue their study abroad or maybe international students coming in to our schools. So the goal was also to equip our students to go abroad, and to invite foreign students to come in, and of course that entailed international language. It's English. (James, government)

The automatic employment of English language in current schools' internationalization was related to literature on global competence. Reimers (2008), for example, proposed three dimensions of global competence: (1) ethical dimension, or attitudes toward cultural differences; (2) disciplinary and inter-disciplinary dimension, referring to knowledge of world issues; and (3) skill dimension, which emphasizes communicative aptitude for inter-nation communication. The campaign for the 21st century curriculum also promoted global communication skills for international participation (Heyward, 2002; Reimers, 2008; Tarc, 2009).

In non-English speaking countries, including in the Southeast Asian region, those messages on communication skills translated into intensive uses of English language in schools. When it came to strengthening students' foreign language competence, the first choice was English:

We tried to comply with directions set by the eleven ministries of education [in ASEAN], focusing on 7 priorities in education… Priority number 7 was the adoption of 21st century curriculum… it included communication, collaboration, high-order thinking, and the

like… Communication meant communicative ability in world's language, in English language… that's the direction of our faith is now. (George, government)

The MONE report also added a specific objective of language as a global competence skill, that is, "to prepare high school graduates who have particular skills and competences, as stated in the standard of graduates' competence, with additional points of international qualification. (MONE, 2010, p. 15)

Indeed, historical development in educational curriculum reform demonstrates the emergence of various language policy practices with particular differences in country settings, school settings, and choice of languages. For example, in the midst of school internationalization in many South American countries, schools offered courses taught in English, which was offered as a second/foreign language for students (Madrid & Hughes, 2011). They labeled the practice as pedagogical bilingualism. In a similar policy setting, Vez (in Madrid & Hughes, 2011) proposed the term "global or international bilingualism" to refer to the introduction of English in school curricula in a context where opportunities for natural communication outside the classroom were significantly less common.

5.5.3 Science and technology

The policy documents repeatedly highlighted the status and the roles of English in the academic world. To increase academic participation rates beyond national levels, one of the promoted measures included improvement in foreign language competence, especially English as today's world language in academic domain. English language competence was associated with competitiveness in students' academic achievements, as a means to acquire science and technology experience and knowledge, as tools to apply and develop communication and information

technology, and as skills to communicate ideas and information to a wider international audience (MONE, 2005, 2009, 2010).

This academic consideration also departed from the low academic participation rate of Indonesia's students among other Asian countries:

Considering such problems, hence, the challenge was to increase participation rates to match the level of other Asian countries, to officiate English language to be the language of science and technology, …. (NPA, 2004, p. 27)

The 78/2009 MONE Decree on IS-School implementations specifically referenced academic competition as one of the goals, along with improvement in English competence:

(c) Ability to compete in various international competitions, as demonstrated through gold, silver, bronze medals of honors and other forms of international awards. …

(g) Ability to utilize and develop communication and information technology in professional manners. (MONE, 2009, Article 2)

There was quite an increase in the number of high school students and schools who participated in the International Academic Olympiad and won medals (Personal Communication with MONE, in 2012). The MONE grants for IS-Schools also partly contributed to accommodate the schools' participation.

The implementation of EMI policy was integrated into selected courses in science, technology, and math (MONE, 2007b, p. 8 and 11; 2009, Article 6)—rather than into more domestically structured courses such as geography, history, or citizenship. The role and status of English language in academic domains are not supposedly limited to hard science, math, and technology. In fact, English language has also been the formal language for many international

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journals and other types of disseminations in social science. However, in the discourse of EMI policy in Indonesia's IS-Schools, the academic functionality of English language use was reduced to math, natural science, and technology content.

The above courses were emphasized because much of the scholarship in science and technology is in English. Also, there was an assumption of universal transferability of content knowledge in science, technology, and math. Because the contents were the same across countries, competence in English as an international language would make science and technology exchanges more convenient.

5.5.4 Economic utility

The choice to employ English as a medium of instruction had been associated with efforts to improve graduates' English language competence for economic purposes. This consideration stemmed from the roles and status of English in business sectors. Competence in English had been closely associated with economic advancement, ranging from job opportunities, promotion, and retention as well as economic rewards and compensation.

The economic considerations of EMI provisions mostly rested on job opportunities. Bundled with the socioeconomic orientation of IS-Schools, the efforts to enrich graduates' English language competence were oriented toward preparing them for jobs in the country and abroad. Graduates with English language skills were assumed to link to higher economic competitiveness in domestic and international job markets, including those of vocational graduates (MONE, 2009, Articles 2 (b), (d), (f)). Language knowledge was deemed relevant to the needs of learners, parents, community, surrounding environment, schools, and capacities of local government (MONE, 2011b, p. 1). The goals and orientations of education, including language education, cannot be

separated from its relevance to economic development. Language education, therefore, must consider the bigger pictures of global, regional, and national economic trends:

> … you see what's going on in the world today, and what [education] policies happening in Southeast Asia, what happened in Indonesia the past five years… then you would see the economic trends that's coming toward us… so, form there, where we're going to direct the language education, the use of it. Because education is always related to economy. Education cannot be *an sich*, merely for educational purposes. Education must have economic relevance. (George, government)

The economic value of English has shaped attitudes regarding the utility of English as an employability skill—or the ability to get a job, maintain it, or get a new one (Kirubahar et. al. in H. Coleman, 2011c). Foreign languages, in this case, English, was associated with a basic requirement to gain job access, qualifications, and employments, especially abroad:

> … for job vacancies in Southeast Asia, for example, they had to be able to speak the language. For now, it's English… it's a plus if they could speak Chinese, or Thai language. That's the program I pushed for. If you wanted to enter a job market in Thailand, you have to speak Thai, understand Thai culture. Specific skills could be learned on sites, but language and attitude took a while [to be acquired]. (George, government)

Hence, in order to "export" the country's work force abroad, foreign language education was the first priority, established as early as possible in the school system. Other specific working skills were considered secondary necessities that could be acquired on job sites or through short-term trainings. The importance of English language competence was also deemed a priority for job competition. The domestic market was thought to be internationally competitive as well, and graduates would compete with expats and foreign workers for promotions and jobs in the country:

Actually, globalization is not only about exporting [people]. The truth is, we are equipping ourselves so that we're ready to anticipate the coming of high-skilled labors from abroad. Even now we've got [low-skill] foreign workers from China, Vietnam and Philippines coming and working in Indonesia, and we're not ready for them yet… now we see this [competition]… this not even [competitions in] those of managerial levels. (Patrick, government)

When the government weighed in on the communicative needs of employers or job providers, the economic utility of English has been evident over the past few decades. Transnational industries definitely need more skilled labor with sufficient English language competence, especially for middle and upper managerial positions (Stroud & Wee, 2008; Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Most employers consider English competence a value-added professional qualification, which, in some cases, entails additional working tasks and monetary incentives for employees (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, ch. 6). A 2012 survey by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EF, 2014) mentioned that nearly 70 percent of 572 executives at multinational companies said their workforce would need to master English to realize corporate expansion plans, and a quarter said more than 50 percent of their total workforce would need English ability.[19]

For decades, this belief trickled down to local companies who anticipated or aspired to global business expansion—sometimes, regardless their existing needs and uses of English language. In Indonesia, an English language requirement often appeared in various ranks and types of job advertisements in national and local newspapers (Lamb & Coleman, 2008). Identifying five important skills in Indonesia's export and non-export service, the World Bank's Skill Gap Report

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[19] Unfortunately, the 2014 EF report did not mention the types and shares of labor market of the corporate executives they surveyed.

found English skills to be one of the required competencies for managers, professionals, and skilled workers (Gropello, Kruse, & Tandon, 2011). Similarly, in Uganda, most people would single out English as the most important language for jobs (H. Coleman, 2011c), while languages like French or Arabic could also play a key role in business. In India, people must be proficient in English to be government officials or teachers, let alone to work in multinational outsourcing companies (Azam, Chin, & Prakash, 2010). Warschauer (in H. Coleman, 2011c) observed that many non-native English speaking countries like China, Japan, and India have increasingly been conditioned to perform their daily tasks in English, such as for government presentations, negotiations, and international collaboration. These roles, status, and uses of English in economic and business sectors has contributed to justifying an ambitious English learning policy like EMI.

5.5.5 Sociopolitical identities

Language for identities implies a sociopolitical approach to policy rationale. It defends the importance of recognizing personal and group differences and interdependence. In the case of EMI policy, the choice of English entailed the recognition of Southeast Asia nations as one sociopolitical entity. Having English as a linguistic commonality, the Association of Southeast Asia Nation (ASEAN) country members collectively agreed to recognize English as the working language for the Asean Economic Community (ASEAN, 2009; Hew, 2005). The ASEAN community pact explicitly promoted English for direct communication among ASEAN members and for more active political participation in the broader international community (ASEAN, 2009). This practice indicated an official use of English language for political diplomacy, economic activities, and cultural exchanges across Southeast Asia regions:

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Correct. The language [within the Asian Economic Community] is English. So we have to use English in any meetings with any of those eleven countries. (George, government)

… what I see from the ASEAN community this year is that we have to get to know our neighbors. One of the most practical channels of communication is through English. (George, government)

The rationale was that developing high schoolers' English language competence as early as possible would facilitate their future work in Southeast Asian regions and as community members of the region. The intention was that citizens of ASEAN countries would have a regional lingua franca, or a unified language for regional communication, which would be English (SEAMEO/CRICED, 2015).

EMI policy, as well as other intensified language learning models, were also applied to young learners in primary schools, as well as to their teachers, through various collaborative projects, such as language teaching and instructional technology:

… if we see from the Southeast Asia perspective, today our kids must be equipped to be able to communicate with their peers abroad, and that's what we had been facilitating. One of the agreements was, first, the use of English language, so everyone was on an equal basis [for not being a native English speaker]. Secondly, from the Indonesian government itself, we sent out many teachers to many countries, and to Southeast Asian countries, including teachers of Indonesian language. I facilitated 20 Indonesian teachers to schools in Thailand to teach Indonesian and English language, and that worked. (George, government)

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Although the language exchange did not have to be English, the majority of participants had learned and practiced English as their foreign language for years—which was a shared experience that united school members in Southeast Asian region.

The development of supra-nation cooperations, such as the ASEAN Economic Community, gave rise to new layers in the Southeast Asia's linguistic environment. Characterized by language diversity, and united by mutual global development agendas, these entities had to create consensus on common language(s) for regional communication. Such language-related regional consensus often provided a base for new language policies for the country members, which have implications for national identities (Blommaert, 2006). EMI policy was one important example. Within the same time period in the 2000s, similar EMI practices were also found in public schools in Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines, among others, as well as in other Asian countries like Taiwan and China (H. Coleman, 2011c; Dearden, 2014; Wee, Goh, & Lim, 2013).[20] The similarity of the program characteristics were apparent, i.e. English was not natively spoken in school communities, the roles of national government in mandating or endorsing the policy, and challenges in teachers' English language competence . All of these efforts shared a common goal of socioeconomic competitiveness and political affiliation.

The principle of language for national political identity set forth a new understanding of social cohesion. Traditionally, language for social cohesion was intended to unite culturally diverse speakers across regions or islands, under one imagined citizenship, community, state, or nation (Anderson, 1966, 2006; Blommaert, 2006). The case of EMI and ASEAN communities

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[20] For more comparative examples of language policy, globalization, and evolving identities in Southeast Asian countries, see Joel Khan (1998).

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illustrated another dimension of social cohesion in the post-colonial era, where a foreign language like English was positioned to help in developing intercultural citizenship (Byram, 2014; Guilherme, 2002; Sawyer, 2014), i.e. sense of inter-culture and inter-polity collectivity across states or nations. This inter-culture and inter-polity collectivity concept existed in the discourse of foreign language education, where learning goals were associated with critical awareness to acknowledge local, national, and global co-existences and to develop inter-cultural connections among cultures and nations.

5.6 Analysis and discussions

The goals of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) policy in IS-Schools had been associated with the roles, status, and appeals of English language use today. Hence, the rationale for EMI policy fell within the functionality of English language in multiple development sectors. Policy makers' perspectives were very much macro in scale, in addressing the relationship of language policy and/in/for development, rather than individuals' bilingual state and language acquisition processes. The findings above reflect ideological frameworks of language planning from the perspectives of policy makers. There are four key themes embedded in the findings discussed below: structural functional approach, linguistic instrumentalism, market failure anticipation, and supranational networks.

5.6.1 Structural functional policy approach

> The issue is what educational interventions the government can offer to high achiever students? Every year we got smart kids who won international [academic] Olympiad, went to Harvard, received scholarships, … we need to prepare these kids for a higher level of competence, so that they wouldn't become a spectator in their own country. (Patrick, government)

The development of EMI policy in Indonesia's IS-Schools exemplified the structural-functional theory of social change through language education. Structural-functional theory in language education asserts that the possession of a particular language, merit, and IQ, when combined, will lead to scholastic skills, gained in a "meaningful education," as prescribed by certain groups, to social and economic success (C. B. Paulston, 1978, 1992). Paulston (1978) characterizes such "meaningful education" as a balancing mechanism to enhance social equilibrium. Social equilibrium here is considered a development mindset for maintaining society through harmonious relationships of different social components and through smooth and cumulative change.

With the ultimate goal of global participation and competitiveness (MONE, 2005, 2007a), the EMI policy in IS-Schools could be framed as "a meaningful education" through the provision of English language, merit, and IQ (i.e. student's existing academic capacity). This meaningful education arguably would lead to global competence and multi-sectoral participation at national and global levels, as prescribed by certain groups, such as the ASEAN Community, World Bank, or other international development agencies. The merit and IQ factors were represented from high achiever profiles of the schools and their students. Schools' capacities and students' profiles were

among the criteria for the Ministry of National Education (MONE) to approve and proceed with a school's candidacy for internationalization. The whole nature of EMI practices in IS-Schools was considered "a meaningful education" to enhance social equilibrium, i.e. to equalize opportunity of children from non-English speaking countries by providing compensatory English-medium education.

From a structural-functional perspective, equilibrium is maintained by the educational institution, whose major function is seen as the socialization of youth, involving two dimensional aspects, instrumental and expressive (Larkin as cited in C. B. Paulston, 1992). The instrumental aspect was the provision of technical competence: education to provide students with salable skills (of which, in IS-Schools, include English proficiency). The expressive aspect is a normative orientation in harmony with the values of society, or facilitating (individual) assimilation into the dominant, mainstream culture in global politics. The expressive aspect of the socialization process includes socialization of youth by instilling values necessary for the continuation of the social system. In the EMI case, the expressive aspects were school internationalization and global competence-competitiveness values.

The structural-functional approach of EMI policy rationales was mostly rooted in human capital theory in language education, which assumes that proficiency in the chosen language(s) is highly instrumental and necessary to improve the productive capacity of an individual and a population (Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1985). From a human capital perspective, the EMI policy reflected an educational investment in learners' linguistic capacity, as English proficiency was understood to be a salable skill with high economic utility in Indonesian and Asian markets, and thus, would increase individual and regional productivity. This market-oriented policy is often referred to as linguistics instrumentalism (Wee, 2003), in which language acquisition planning is

dominated by prioritizing utilitarian values of language, mostly of technical and economical values (Baker, 2003; Mesthrie, 2000). Hence, I turn to the second policy framework, linguistic instrumentalism.

5.6.2 Linguistic instrumentalism for socioeconomic and political enterprises

> … to prepare the nation's future generations… to have respectable, decent competence, so they can live up to the globalized world, and be on an equal level [with advanced countries]. That's what's important to me. (Patrick, government)

Reinterpreting EMI policy goals and rationales, I identified one overarching theme, linguistic instrumentalism. This notion refers to a political economy discourse of language planning, which emphasizes the usefulness of language skills in achieving utilitarian goals (Wee, 2003; Wee et al., 2013). At least two assumptions informed the linguistic instrumentalism of EMI policy in Indonesia's IS-Schools.

First, English language competence was valued highly for the nation's knowledge economy. Policy makers viewed language as an instrumental form of knowledge to facilitate individual academic and socioeconomic mobility. EMI-related policy documents promoted global competitiveness as an ultimate goal of language planning, resulting from individual success in academics, employment, socioeconomic progress, and wider access to deliver local talents to the global arena. At the macro level, individual economic mobility was aggregated to a national scale. Increased individual mobility would supposedly have positive implications for the nation's regional and global competitiveness. From the economic perspective of linguistic instrumentalism, learners' English language capacities were positively associated with increased chances of

individual economic mobility that, eventually, would improve the nation's economic competitiveness.

The economic consideration of linguistic instrumentalism is mostly rooted in human capital theory (Schultz, 1961). It assumes that proficiency in the chosen language(s) is both highly instrumental and necessary for the improvement of productive capacity in individuals and populations (Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1985). From a human capital perspective, language planning reflected an investment in learners' linguistic capacity. Certain language proficiency, such as English, has been considered a salable skill set with high economic utility in regional or global markets, and correlated to increased personal and national economic productivity (Stroud & Wee, 2008).

Second, political considerations of linguistic instrumentalism were well exemplified in the official status of English as a working language in the ASEAN community—for those who don't speak English natively. The status of English in the ASEAN community contributed to the formulation of EMI policy, which made EMI practices effectively political. English language use provided social cohesion for international political alliances and common economic pursuits.

The political rationales of English in EMI and IS-Schools resonates with Bourdieu's "linguistic capital," or "symbolic capital of language" (Bourdieu, 1977b; Thompson, 1991). He suggests that linguistic resources are differentially distributed among community members, and that ownership of certain linguistic resources would give access to socioeconomic and political opportunities, which could ultimately be transformed into economic capital (Thompson, 1991). At the macro level, this concept applies when language planning implies an aspiration to be politically affiliated with certain entities, in order to gain access, participate, and earn benefits in economic engagements.

Another point of comparison is a supra-nation agreement like the Bologna Process in the European higher education context. The Bologna pact endorsed the teaching of major world languages—such as English, French, German, and Dutch—in most European countries, including those of ex-Soviet Russian-speaking states (Graddol, 2006). The primary purposes of the language teaching policies mostly involved political affiliations and socioeconomic transnational mobility of students and skilled migrant workers across Bologna membership countries (J. A. Coleman, 2006). Clearly, there were elements of political collective affiliation and economic rationales.

5.6.3 Market failure anticipation

The world's trends and directions are changing fast, so are the economic needs… Hence, it is government's responsibility to anticipate [those changes] and to equip our youth to get ready for [those changes]. (George, government)

The environments of English language education in non-English speaking countries, such as Indonesia, may indeed exhibit forms of market failure. Within economic discourse, there are conditions where the market—systems, institutions, procedures, infrastructures—is not enough for the national economic system to work. These conditions are termed "market failures," or situations where "the unregulated interplay of supply and demand results in an inappropriate level of production of some commodity, where 'inappropriate' can mean 'too little' or 'too much'" (Grin, 2003, p. 31). The logic is, if the market does not work, the government needs to step in.

There are six main conditions that could create a market failure: insufficient information, high transaction costs, no market, market structure imperfections, externalities, and public goods (Grin, 2003, 2006). Grin argues that, from the standpoint of economic welfare theory, government intervention to prevent market failure is justified "if some linguistic environments are socially

preferable to other linguistic environments, and if at least one form of market failure occurs in the production of at least one feature of linguistic environments" (Grin, 2003, p. 31) The existence of one type of market failure is enough to justify a state intervention on language policy.

In this study, the EMI policy in IS-Schools was considered a national policy maker's intervention to prevent or to anticipate market failure in English language regulation. There were at least five forms of market failure anticipation that could justify the formulation of EMI policy.

First, government intervention was justified because they thought there was *insufficient information* pertaining to English language access and training in many parts of Indonesia outside big cities. Due to comparatively unequal educational information access and resources for intensified English learning, some groups of potential students might not have sufficient information regarding EMI options and learning decisions that could lead to wider opportunities at the global level. The national government decided to remedy the unequal-insufficient access by promoting an affordable EMI program in as many public schools as feasible.

Second, there was a *high transaction cost* for public schools to offer EMI experience in their buildings. Hence, the government decided to financially support the project. *Third*, there was *market structure imperfection* in EMI and international schools in Indonesia. The existence of monopolies and oligopolies distorted free markets. Most EMI programs were (and probably most still are) taught in high-paid, elite private schools. Access and opportunities to enroll have been dominated by students from high-income groups. Consequently, affordable versions in public schools were thought necessary by national policy makers.

Fourth, there were many *market externality* aspects of EMI policy. These refer to behaviors of one agent that affect (positively or negatively) the positions or values of another agent. Externalities in EMI policy discourse were present when one person's language choice affected

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the value of another person's language competence, especially in a linguistically diverse community. Such externalities could build up a demand in the society that then drove the policy makers to launch EMI policy.

Fifth, the promotion of EMI policy was considerably viewed as *public goods*, even more when the policy was implemented mostly in government-subsidized public schools. Generally, public goods are commodities that can't be fully privatized, such as air, national defense, and language. Economically speaking, the nature of "public goods" can be explained through the concepts of "non-rival consumption" and "impossibility of exclusion." Languages are examples of "non-rival" consumption, because the use of a language by one person does not eliminate the "amount" of language for use by another person. In other words, it is "non-subtractable," unlike food and drinks. Languages are also a case of "impossibility of exclusion," as there is no practical mechanism for keeping a person from experiencing a particular linguistic environment. However, the language learning activities or units are not necessarily a public good. There is a "possibility of exclusion" since students need to pay or to make to the effort to enroll in schools that offer EMI learning environments.

5.6.4 Supranational networks

Schools and educational institutions in Southeast Asia region must collaborate to prepare our kids and youth to be community members of Southeast Asia. … that's what I have been pushing for. I set the condition, I set up the preparation [in my organization]. (George, government)

The EMI policy in IS-Schools also embodied a language planning approach for political clout or networks, as partly indicated with the presence of multi-national and transnational

organizations in Indonesia's education reform. These transnational organizations worked as alternative inter-state networks. Such networks consisted of regional and world organizations (e.g. ASEAN, World Bank, and OECD), multinational industries (e.g. English First (EF), and Cambridge International, among others), as well as bilateral or multilateral agencies (e.g. SEAMEO, RELO, and British Council). Specific to language policies, the presence and roles of these organizations relied on at least three premises.

First, the presence of supranational networks indicated inevitable global forces operating on national and local school systems. Changes, reforms, and issues surrounding local schools are inseparable from their global contexts. Clearly, schools resemble a mediating or interactional site for local, national, and global forces, in such a way that the interaction resulted in either consensual or conflicting practices, or somewhere in between (Oakes et al., 2005; Welner, 2001). Acknowledging the influence of external global forces does not entail a devaluation of local forces. Rather, identifying the presence and impact of such external forces is central to understanding the overall fate of an educational change or reform, as well as the its effect on some stakeholders.

Second, connections between Indonesia and those organizations illustrated a convergence of language policy across nations or states. There had been an increasing tendency for many national educational systems in the world to converge a common set of structures and practices by borrowing structures and practices, usually from countries deemed economically and politically advanced (Spring, 2009). In the case of Indonesia's EMI policies, the convergence occurred by embracing the perceived values of English language knowledge today and its significance in political and economic enterprises. Similar EMI policy convergence was applied in other Asia-Pacific countries, such as China, Vietnam, and Hongkong (Wee et al., 2013). A world-wide survey of more than 50 countries by the British Council also illustrated this convergence (Dearden, 2014).

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Starting in the early 2000s, global pressure for offering English language instruction increased. Amidst the pressures, those supranational organizations worked with the government to air their messages and facilitate the transfer of policy structures and practices. For examples, the Regional English Language Organization (or RELO, operated under the U.S. State Department) and British Council have been prominent supporting agencies for programs related to English language learning policies in many countries. Similarly, the English First (EF) and Cambridge International have been leading institutions worldwide in English language education, testing, and English-mediated international curriculum.

Third, the presence of supranational networks demonstrated the working relationships of state and inter-state stakeholders involved in the formulation of EMI policy and IS-School projects. The connections signaled that the country's public mass-education plan had been affected by the knowledge-economy approach of its supranational network. This external network sent downward messages on the significance of English languages for socioeconomic and academic development. ASEAN, through SEAMEO (Southeast Asia Ministry of Education Organization) and ASEAN Economic Community, promoted the use of English as working language within the region and beyond, for cultural-political integration and economic instrumental purposes (Acharya, 2012; ASEAN, 2009; Hew, 2005; SEAMEO/CRICED, 2015). World Bank reports on the employment skill gap in Indonesia (and several other countries) suggested the need for increased capacities in English language learning and mastery for professional sectors (Gropello et al., 2011).

In the IS-School provisions, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was mentioned repeatedly as a benchmark for IS-Schools to adopt and adapt educational best practices from countries with advanced education systems and standards. OECD countries themselves have been advocating for the importance and integration of global competence in

education curricula, but their messages were not focused on the English language. In their global competence framework, OECD included language competence for inter-nation and inter-culture communication (OECD, 2017; OECD/ADB, 2015). It was up to each government to determine the language selection and learning models.

The influence of supranational and world organizations in the education sector had been increasingly studied since the late 1990s, mostly under critical frameworks, including critical theory (Pennycook, 1994), post-colonialism (Tollefson & Tsui, 2004), and world systems (Wallerstein, 2004). Under this critical lens, the presence of these supranational organizations mostly represented the economic power of global institution networks that influenced national education authorities. Spring (2009) typifies such relationships as political imperialism through economy-oriented educational design. The terms political imperialism is commonly intended to legitimize political and economic powers of those economic institutions by injecting its development values into the national school systems of periphery nations.

5.7 Closing

My study contributed to literatures in political and economic discourse of EMI in non-English speaking countries as follows.

1. The goals and rationales of the Indonesia's EMI policy represented a language planning approach for socioeconomic mobility and political affiliations. The rationales stemmed from years-long perceived and imagined status and perceived benefits of English language literacy for academic, economic, and sociopolitical cohesion purposes.

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2. The Indonesia's EMI policy discourse implied at least four normative frameworks of language planning from the perspectives of policy makers: structural functional approach, linguistic instrumentalism, market failure anticipation, and supranational networks. Referring to these normative frameworks,

   a. EMI policy was more instrumental in nature, where the choice of English acquisition planning was voluntarily chosen for political-economic alliances and global-competitiveness symbols.

   b. The adoption of English for instructional purposes was framed in the interest of the nation's political and economic strategies. Hence, EMI policy and the choice of English had less to do with colonialism or post-colonialism agendas.

Findings of this study also informed non-governmental stakeholders on the complexity side of governing a nation's language policy. On top of policies to foster schools' capacities, such as the school-based management, internationalization and education decentralization, there are constant demands and responsibilities to provide language education that facilitates economic growth and political engagement. Hence, governments needed to ensure that schools offered communicative skills that keep up with the emerging markets in global economy and political diplomacy.

While the EMI policy goals and rationales are noble, its implementation is what matters. The essay 2 in the next chapter described the EMI policy appropriation, that is how a school reinterpreted and appropriated the policy into deliverable tasks.

6.0 Essay 2. EMI policy appropriation: Case study of the Olympus School

6.1 Introduction

In the first essay, I explored the discursive contexts of goals and rationales of the English as Medium of Instruction (EMI) policy at the national, or macro level, which were loaded with political and normative dimensions of language planning. In this second essay, I attempted to study a micro level, school-wide EMI policy appropriation in one IS-School. I employed the term "policy appropriation" (Johnson, 2013, p. 236) to reiterate many possible alterations, reinterpretations, and situational adjustments that happened when a language policy was put into action at micro, or local levels.

I extended the literature review to politics of education, where the analysis focused on three dimensional forces of the policy—technicality, norms, and politics—in order to gain more comprehensive insights into how school members appropriated and strategized EMI policy to their school contexts. The concepts of technical, normative, and political dimensions stemmed from an equity-minded policy framework, which views schools (or other entities) as zones of mediation (Oakes et al., 1998; Welner, 2001). Within a zone of mediation, a myriad of internal and external forces mutually interact and shape a policy into a range of responses that affect the nature of policy implementation. For analysis sake, those forces were grouped into technical, normative, and political dimensions. (I will discuss this more in the literature review section of this essay).

Most educational change studies have focused on technicality of a policy (e.g., structures and arrangements), without balancing the analysis on contributions or influences of normative and political aspects. The lack of research on norms and politics of an educational policy is, partly, due

to the history and domination of factory or corporate ways of structuring school systems (Oakes & Lipton, 2002). The factory ways of thinking tend to assume that an organization is comprised of people with good behavior, compliance, and cooperation, in such a way that a regulation or a policy transition will run smoothly. Scholars and reformers have relied greatly on policy change literature in industrial organization contexts and applied them to education and schooling systems. Improvement strategies in industrial sectors were traditionally translated into sets of outcome-oriented instrumental measures, such as product ratings, scores, performance achievements, and advanced infrastructures, among others (Oakes & Lipton, 2002; Oakes et al., 2005), which typify technical dimensions of policies. Managing policy technicalities have also been viewed as more affordable, compared to dealing with conflicting norms, cultural struggles, and unaligned political interests (Oakes et al., 1998, 2005). However, applying such a mindset to school reform contexts, and disregarding the cultural and political foundations of schools, often led to awry or wicked policy situations.

Many EMI policy studies by Indonesian domestic scholars mostly touched on the technical dimension of the policy.[21] Several studies focused on structural issues, such as human resources and school infrastructure, in achieving full-fledged English-mediated classroom instruction (Kande, 2012; Mariati, 2007; Noor, 2012; Ulumudin, 2012). Many other studies acknowledged the complexity of norms and politics of the policy, yet their recommendations or solutions typified a technical corporate approach to resource management, and would shy away from issues such as

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[21] In Essay 3 on the policy debates, I interviewed several domestic scholars whose writings touched upon normative and political issues of EMI policy. I consider their writings as their voices to be incorporated with their interview data. Hence, I do not cite their works in this section.

cultural struggles and inequal access (Agustina, 2012; Handayani, 2012; Indradno, 2011; Sumintono et al., 2012; Wijayanti, 2012).

Aside from EMI policy, there were only a few domestic studies discussing political dimensions of English language spread in Indonesia; they juxtaposed roles and status of English in the globalized economy and how it affected the linguistic ecology of the country (Sugiharto, 2013). They also analyzed hegemonic practices of foreign language learning in Indonesia (Santoso, 2014). Meanwhile, studies related to English language education policies in Asian contexts have increasingly covered norms and politics of the policy, beyond its technical arrangements (Nunan, 2003; Sakhiyya, 2011; Tollefson & Tsui, 2004).

To fill in the research gap described above, I intend to explore the technical, normative, and political dimensions of EMI implementation in the selected IS-School. Hence, this study is guided by the following questions: How did the school appropriate the technical structures and arrangement of EMI policy? What were some normative forces that contributed to the policy appropriation? What were some political events and process that affected the policy nuance within and across schools? Findings will help in explaining interactional natures of those forces in shaping the process and the outcomes of the EMI policy appropriation at the Olympus School.

6.2 Policy background and contexts

To contextualize my analysis, first, I will discuss the nature of English as Medium of Instruction (EMI) policy in IS-Schools at the national, or macro level. To provide contextual knowledge on the policy shift, I briefly describe the profile of the selected IS-School and its language policy prior to the EMI policy initiation.

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6.2.1 EMI policy in most IS-Schools

The EMI policy was a language initiative in the International-Standards Schools, or IS-Schools, in several Indonesia provinces. By definition, IS-Schools were national public (or private) schools that met a national standard and were enhanced with features of internationally-benchmarked programs (MONE, 2009). These international features could range from a set of international curricula adopted from partner school abroad to the use of English as medium of instruction for selected courses. The establishment of IS-Schools was legally mandated in the Act of RI 20/2003, followed by several legislative acts and supporting policy documents. The transformation of IS-Schools was conducted in two main phases: the candidacy period (i.e. nominated, to probation, to being under full scrutiny) and official accreditation (i.e. full-fledged implementation). Details on IS-Schools provisions and conceptualization can be found in Essay 1.

The initiation of English as Medium of Instruction, or EMI, in IS-Schools was officially structured in the 2007 IS-School Handbook (MONE, 2007b) and stipulated in the Ministry of National Education (MONE) Decree in 2009 on IS-School implementation (MONE, 2009). Most IS-School and EMI policy documents contained the goals and criteria for full-fledged implementation.

The documents suggested the use of English or another foreign languages (e.g. French, Spain, Japanese, Arabic, or Mandarin) for instruction, particularly in English classes as well as math and science courses, which have "competitive value" in international forums (MONE, 2007b, p. 8 and 11; 2009, Article 6). Other courses must be taught in Indonesian, i.e. religion, civics, and Indonesian Language. These requirements meat schools had to provide English learning and teaching materials, including for homework, exams, and other learning evaluation tools (MONE, 2009, Article 15).

With English as the instructional language, teachers and school principals were required to improve their own English, and ultimately demonstrate a TOEFL score of no less than 7.5 points (MONE, 2009, Article 6 & 9). Other skill sets for teachers included pedagogical competence, international characteristic and social skills, international communication skills, and advanced skills in instructional technology (MONE, 2011b, p. 11). When necessary, schools could hire foreigners or expats with English competence, providing the expats totaled no more than 30 percent of the teacher pool and were literate in Indonesian (MONE, 2009, Article 7).

It is important to note that those operating IS-Schools could strategize their EMI implementation in several ways. Depending on school capacity and teacher availability, some schools implemented EMI in all classes in the schools; some other schools implemented the language policy in selected classes within schools (MONE, 2009, Article 12) .

In regard to mainstreaming students into English-mediated instruction, the schools could choose to do parallel classes or integrated classes (MONE, 2011b, pp. 53-54). In parallel classes, students remained to receive instructions in Indonesia language, and at the same period, they had additional curricular courses of English for math and science. The integrated scheme was when students had their math and science courses delivered in English.

The integrated, immersion scheme was the most popular in most IS-Schools. However, most schools did not call those classes immersion class or even EMI class. The label "immersion class" was not used in most IS-Schools because it could refer to specific English immersion programs some schools had before IS-Schools were launched. They listed the EMI classes under various names, including "international class" or "bilingual class." Many schools felt comfortable using the term "international class" but avoided the word "English" to indicate that the classroom

practices were not just about English language use. All in all, these various practices fell into the category of English-mediated instruction, with differing scales and proportions of English use.

6.2.2 The Olympus School profile

Founded in November 1877, Olympus High School is famous for its academic excellence as the oldest Ivy League high school in Semarang City. The school is located at a historical site in the center of the city. The building was turned into a high school first by the Dutch and then by the Japanese administrations. Olympus High School has had a high student enrollment for the past two decades, ranging from 1,400 to 1,600 students (school documentation, retrieved in 2017). The school had 90 to 100 teachers, excluding administrators and part-timers (Olympus highschool, 2010). Data on students' socioeconomic background was unavailable. In addition to my local knowledge of several Ivy league schools in Semarang, my anecdotal observation showed that the majority of the students appear to come from middle-income groups and a significant portion of them are relatively affluent, as seen from the numbers and types of vehicles in student parking lots and those that stopped by the school during drop-off and pick-up times.

Olympus High School was categorized as an "autonomous" school (or *mandiri* in Indonesian language), which was an advanced, higher than "national standard" school category. Due to its academic reputation and students' achievement, the school was nominated for an upgrade to be an International-Standard School in 2006/2007 academic year. At this point, the school's language policy started to shift.

Prior to becoming an IS-School, the one and only official language of instruction was the Indonesian language. All classroom spoken and written activities were conducted in an Indonesian language, except for foreign language courses—e.g. English and Japanese languages. Textbooks,

learning materials, and evaluations were written and delivered in Indonesian. Teachers wrote and submitted their lesson plans in Indonesian as well. There was no specific demand for English language fluency imposed on teachers, principals, and staff, except for teachers of English.

6.3 Conceptual notions: Zone of mediation

In analyzing the Olympus High School's appropriation to EMI policy, I guided my analysis primarily on a non-neutral policy framework called "zone of mediation," developed by Oakes, Welner, Yonezawa, and Allen (1998) and Welner (2001). Zone of mediation is an analytical concept that refers to policy latitude. The concept is primarily used to envision a collective territorial zone, incorporating all internal and external stakeholders, from macro policy makers to micro, site-based practitioners. It signifies the complexities of schools as non-vacuum, non-neutral settings.

6.3.1 Basic notions

This conceptual framework marries the concepts of "mediating institution" and "zone of tolerance"—notions from literature on the politics of education. "Mediating institutions" refer to organized systems or social settings (such as school networks) that channel or mediate interactions between individuals and micro-level units within those sites. Each individual and unit channels macro-level political, social,` or economic forces into the sites, which could result in either stability or conflict or any situational nature in between (Lamphere in Oakes et al., 1998). Schools as

mediating institutions are shaped and reshaped by value-loaded boundaries, brought in by these individual members and units or groups.

"Zone of tolerance" refers to the area or the degree to which local community members allow educational policies to be changed and developed by considering community social goals and values (Oakes et al., 1998). In a similar concept, Charters (as cited in Oakes et al., 2005) proposed the "margin of tolerance" to describe boundaries of values embraced by a particular community. This means that schools would attempt to meet community values in order for their polices to be effectively implemented. If schools' policies were in conflict with societal values, the community would tend to object, reject, or resist the policies, and hence, the policies fell outside the zone or margin of tolerance (Boyd in Oakes et al., 1998). If schools' policies respond to values of local and wider communities, then the policies likely fell inside the zone or margin of tolerance. However, as Welner (2001) puts it, in reality, the relationship is always two-way. The value boundaries of margin of tolerance are reshaped and negotiated among individuals and groups inside and outside schools, including government groups and educational activists (Welner, 2001).

The combination of "mediating institutions" and "zone of tolerance" concepts demonstrate the complexities of schools as non-vacuum, non-neutral settings. Organizations like schools or school districts are "situated within locally constructed 'zones' of normative and political mediation that embody larger cultural patterns, present in the broader community" (Oakes et al., 2005, p. 283). The institutions thus mediate the external normative and political forces that shape interactions within local contexts and among individuals (i.e., classrooms, teachers, and students). These normative and political forces define the boundaries within which school districts construct policy (Oakes et al., 2005; Renee, Welner, & Oakes, 2010).

Adopting the two concepts, Oakes (1998, 2005) and Welner (2001) suggest a theoretical framework to analyze educational policies, i.e. zone of mediation. As Welner (2001) explains, within this framework of zone of mediation, schools are

… situated within particular local enactments of larger cultural norms, rules, incentives, power relations and values. These forces promote either stability or change, and they accordingly set the parameters of beliefs, behavior, and policy in schools. The intersection of forces around a particular issue shapes the zone of mediation for that issue. (p. 95)

The definition embodies *three* ways of making sense of school's policy dynamic. *First*, schools are formally and hierarchically organized interactional settings, distinguished by power relationships (roles, associations, positions) among internal and external members of the schools, whose interactions with any policies represent local enactment of larger forces (Oakes et al., 2005). This means that schools are situated in their own local context, history and political structure. Hence, each zone of mediation may differ, depending on the school's situated enactment and the issues at hand. It is also important to note that zone of mediation is always in flux (Boyd in Oakes et al., 1998), because it is dependent on the perception or standpoint of individuals. At the same time, an individualized and collective zone also changes with time, identity, and place.

Second, schools are considered to be "mediating institutions" in that they "channel larger social, economic, and political forces (i.e., forces that help create the zone of mediation) into particular sites where they impact individuals" (Oakes et al., 2005, pp. 289-290). As mediation agents, schools are not only affected by the larger social, political, and economic forces that prevail within their local, regional, and national contexts, but they also simultaneously mediate those forces by counteracting and re-enacting those external forces into particular, local-level policies, practices, and values unique to each school's context (Oakes et al., 2005).

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The term "forces" is defined broadly, encompassing, among other things, people, groups, values, phenomena, strategies, and events (Welner, 2001). Such forces include far-ranging matters like legislation, judicial decisions, the support of foundations, demographics, housing and nutritional needs, economic and market forces, social/state political climates, educational influence groups (such as teacher unions, publishers, foundations, accrediting and testing agencies, and professional associations), district history, individual players within districts, political ambitions, and the media (Oakes, 1992; Oakes et al., 1993; Oakes et al., 1998, 2005; Welner & Oakes, 2008). Influential groups and forces inside school systems include students, teachers, parent, principals, curriculum specialists, and superintendents. Cuban (1992) also adds that "historical curriculum" exerts pressure for schools to maintain stability. Also, research on educational policies and school change have shaped the zone of mediation for school policy, including studies and findings on international education trends, and political economy and market-oriented concepts of schooling (Welner, 2001).

Third, the interacting forces within and outside the mediating institution interconnected to affect how individuals or groups respond to the policies. The forces within and surrounding the mediation zone both enable and constrain individuals and groups to engage in "situated behaviors," which then allow the persons to appropriate and to respond to the situations. Their responses and engagements affect the natures and outcomes of the policies, which could modify the policies' course into a stability-versus-conflict continuum (Oakes et al., 2005). The continuum could range from a blind acceptance to an extreme rejection, or from a negotiated consensus to an organized resistance. This concept circles back to the notion of "zone of tolerance." If a policy falls within the zone of tolerance, it will likely proceed in a smooth, stable, and uncontested manner; if it falls outside the values boundaries, it will likely be challenged or confronted (Welner, 2001).

With the above characteristics of schools as a zone of mediation, Oakes and Welner (1992; 1993; 2008) identified three policy dimensions—i.e. technical, normative, and political—to analyze interacting forces within schools (or any mediating institutions). They consider the analysis to be equity-minded, as it involves examination of normative and political aspect of a policy, beyond *technical* dimensions (such as textbook supplies, language use, or professional training). The concept of zone of mediation addresses *normative* aspects of policies or school practices, such as deconstructing or reconstructing particular language ideologies, academic meritocracy, and language utility values. Normative aspects involve a critical look at the school's "deep culture" by examining non-dominant cultures and cultural capital, among others. Meanwhile, identifying a *political* dimension is to examine existing power relations and power dynamics, which often relate to policy resource distribution, elitism, or minority struggles over access and opportunities, among others. I will discuss more on these three dimensions in the next section.

Figure 7 illustrates school as a zone of mediation framework, as discussed above.
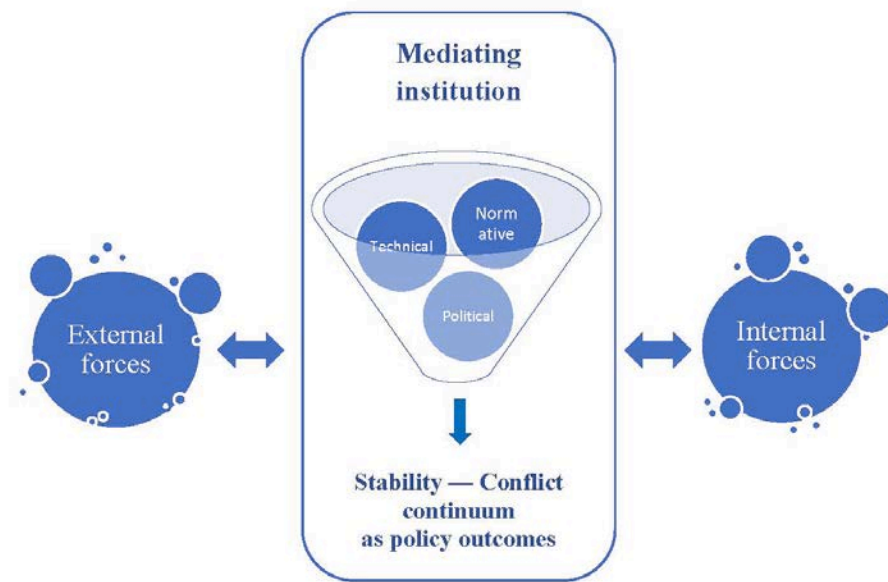
Figure 7. School as a zone of mediation

Any changes in schools, of course, are not labelled in terms of technical, normative, and political dimensions. But these dimensions of policy changes help extract external and internal forces existing in most school communities, and therefore, they require serious deliberation before fundamental changes in schools can take place. Oakes (1992; 1993) argues that viewing schools from technical, normative, and political lenses allows traditional school practices to be understood and explored in the context of the values, beliefs, relationships, and power allocations that keep school members and practices in place.

6.3.2 Technical, normative and political dimensions

In a sense, each of these perspectives—technical, normative, and political—resembles a lens that magnifies one dimension of a particular policy practice while temporarily filtering out the others. Technical, normative, and political perspectives allow us to examine traditional school

practices in the context of the beliefs, values, relationships, and power allocations that keep the policies in place. The three dimensions also permit us to consider how proposed curricular, organizational, and classroom changes could challenge regularities of school cultures—something that is rarely questioned or even challenged.

6.3.2.1 Technical dimension

The technical dimension of a policy includes the organizational structure and internal functioning of schools, including time and resource allocation, equipment, materials, and curriculum. Technical aspects often center around policy structures (e.g. arrangement of space, time, people and materials), strategies (e.g. governance, pedagogical rules, curricular activities), and knowledge or capacity building (e.g. adult learning, teacher training) (Oakes, 1992; Oakes et al., 1993; Welner & Oakes, 2008). It focuses on types of pedagogical and managerial knowledge that affect educational purposes, and eventually school practices, structures, and strategies.

From technical perspectives, which reflect an industrial or corporate learning model, the school's purpose is to produce a set of pragmatic outcomes, such as academic achievement and workforce preparation (Oakes & Lipton, 2002). The school's practices and structures are then designed as the means to accomplish these pragmatic, technical outcomes. Consequently, the school's strategies are targeted to improve these means in order to meet the outcomes. Some scholars address the quality of life and satisfaction of the school members, for example, but these aspects are treated or analyzed as part of the instrumental mix for improving outcomes (for examples, see studies by Agustina, 2012; Handayani, 2012; Indradno, 2011; Sumintono et al., 2012; Wijayanti, 2012). Hence, their analysis focused on technical dimensions

6.3.2.2 Normative dimension

While technical changes in structures and instruction are, indeed, an important foundation for change, policy outcomes will not succeed without changes in a school's norms and politics. Normative forces arise from beliefs and values. They reflect matters like conventional conceptions, deep-seated beliefs, and attitudes, both positive and negative (Welner, 2001, p. 93). Normative aspects are also often about common sense understandings of school cultures (Oakes, 1992). Policy goals that require an alteration in normative aspects would demand "third-order changes" (Cuban, 1992), i.e. fundamental changes that seek to completely alter core normative beliefs, for example, about race, class, intelligence, and educability, held by educators and other school stakeholders. Normative or third order changes require culturally responsive leadership at the school level. This also entails a deep understanding of cultural capital—e.g. values, norms, and beliefs—embraced by internal school members, and how these forms of capital affect their practices, directly or indirectly, relevant to the policy at hand. For example, investigations on normative policy dimensions may include questions on how various school members think of an inclusive classroom seating layout, or what an international school should be and should not be.

6.3.2.3 Political dimension

Normative changes in schools would not occur without the presence and engagement of other constituencies—the political dimension of a policy. Political dimension refers to the dynamics of existing power relations among internal and external school constituents or members that affect and are affected by the policy. Based on several studies, the political dimension in a school could range from conflictive "dark side" politics and group-level behaviors to formal decision-making processes (Blase, 1998). A more inclusive definition of (micro) political dimension is proposed by Blase (1991, cited in Blase, 1998, p. 545), to refer to

… the use of formal and informal power by individuals and groups to achieve their goals in organizations. In large part political actions result from perceived differences between individuals and groups, coupled with the motivation to use power to influence and/or protect. Although such actions are consciously motivated, any action, consciously or unconsciously motivated, may have political "significance" in a given situation. Both cooperative and conflictive actions and processes are part of the realm of micropolitics.

The definition above considers the decision-making process at a school level as a political dimension resulting from a top-down, macro policy initiative. It recognizes political capital as symbolic or intangible and tangible resources within school settings, enacted through both overt and covert ways through formal and informal actions. Blase's definition also acknowledges the significance of all types of interactions in the school-wide policy appropriation process, such as conflictive and cooperative consensual, group-level and individuals, and formal and informal (1998). This concept is very relevant to a school's cultures, where technical restructuring or arrangement is commonly driven by both conflictive-adversarial (power over) and cooperative-consensual (power with) approaches, despite the ideal intention of participatory or democratic rhetoric.

Political forces often appear through demands and concerns of stakeholders or constituents that could lead to power relation imbalances. Several studies suggest examining political dimensions by looking at the kinds of pressures or struggles experienced by marginalized groups and those excluded from resource allocation (Holme, Diem, & Welton, 2014; Oakes & Lipton, 2002). Studies show that, such marginalization and struggles, whether covert or overt, often come from indirect and direct pressures from powerful, higher level groups, such as government,

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institutional elites, or influential community members. When this happens at a school level, it means that school leaders surrendered to the demands of powerful groups.

To illustrate the relationship of technical, normative, and political dimensions of a certain policy, Figure 8 provides a visualization of findings taken from Oakes' study on school tracking initiatives (1992). Figure 8 illustrates technical, normative, and political dimensions of the tracking policy regarding how school district members responded and acted out the proposed policy.

New norms:
- Conception of ability
- Puposes of schooling
- Democratic processsess

NORMATIVE

DIMENSIONS
OF
CHANGE

New relations:
- Within school
- Between schools and
  their constituents

New technologies:
- Curriculum
- Instruction
- Meeting special needs
- Assessment
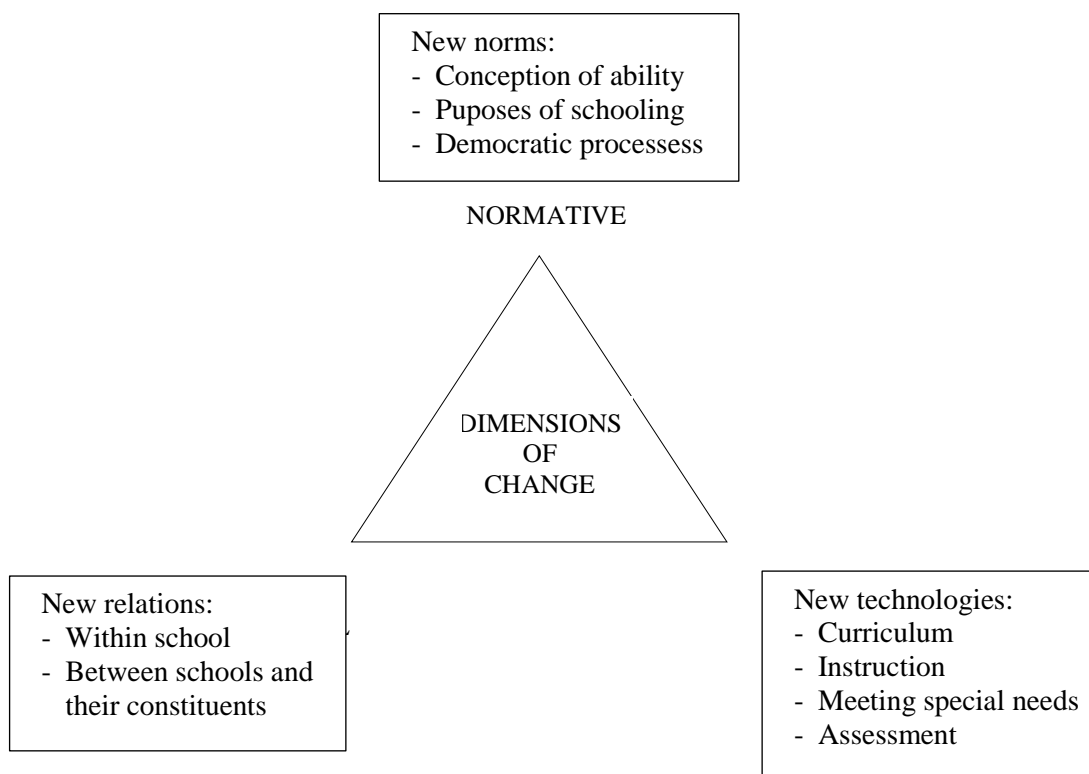
Figure 8. Dimensions of change in educational tracking studies (Oakes, 1992)

The study showed that in order for the policy to succeed, the policy actors within schools should consider changes in the norms (e.g. conception of ability, purposes of schooling as well as democratic practices, where all choices were considered) and in the new political relations within schools and with external constituents. Political issues also covered racial subjectivity and

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prejudice toward certain groups of students, which affected the groupings in the school's tracking program. Although the technical measurements were well organized—such as the curriculum, instruction, special needs requirements, and assessment tools—the policy was not widely accepted by students and parents. The resistance was partly due to an overlooked treatment on the normative and political concerns above.

An equity-focused policy initiative is unlikely to be successfully initiated or implemented if political and normative environments are neglected, no matter how extensively the technical needs are met (e.g. school structures and resources). Arguably, identifying the three dimesions— technical, normative, and political—will help researchers, and policy actors, to move beyond technical focus on school's structures, curriculum knowledge, and classroom strategies, to accommodate dynamic values and beliefs of the school community, to strengthen political supports, and to emancipate those politically less-privileged members (Renee et al., 2010).

6.4 Method

6.4.1 School selection for a case study

I employed a *typical-case sampling* to identify and select the IS-School. The typical-case sampling is a technique often used to describe and illustrate what is a typical case, especially to audiences unfamiliar with the research setting (Patton, 2002). It allows me to develop a profile of what is considered typical, or average or normal, IS-Schools.

With the help of my informant, and based on my previous Supervised-Research study (Sundusiyah, 2014), I developed certain criteria to define the typicality of IS-Schools. Regarding

its institutional establishment, IS-Schools were typically top-ranked high schools, nominated by local governments to be transformed into IS-Schools, supervised by the Provincial Office of Education, and with a large pool of high achiever students. IS-School students and teachers were Indonesian learners of English, who did not speak English language natively and had varying degree of English language fluency. In its implementation, typical IS-Schools would apply EMI practices in math and science classes, and possibly a few other courses such as computer/information technology and geography. The schools normally developed a transitional English immersion approach, where in the first years of implementation, they would use both Indonesian and English to varying degrees. I find this typical case sampling useful for site selection, especially when the variance pool was large, as it is with IS-Schools.[22] Based on the above typicality criteria, I decided to conduct a case study of EMI appropriation in the Olympus High School, Semarang City. Olympus High School was the first batch or cohort of IS-School in Semarang city, as well as at the national level.

6.4.2 Data collection

This case study was qualitative and interpretive in nature, employing semi-structured interview and documentation techniques. I interviewed *nine teachers* of Olympus High School, who were sampled through a *criterion sampling technique,* to meet pre-determined criteria (Patton, 2002), i.e. teachers who were assigned to implement EMI policy in their respective classes. Six teachers, of physics, biology, chemistry, English, economics, and geography, who applied EMI in

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[22] There were approximately 192 IS-Schools at the senior secondary level established by the end of 2008 itself (H. Coleman, 2011a).

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their courses, to various degrees. The other three were teachers of non-English languages—Indonesian, Javanese, and Japanese. These last three teacher participants were considered relevant to the inquiries in that they shared their experiences and perceptions as observers of EMI practices in their schools, and that their positionalities as non-English language teachers also contributed to the political discourse of the EMI debates. Details of interviewee recruitment can be seen in the methodology chapter of this dissertation.

The interviews were conducted in Indonesian, via phone calls, emails and in person. Verbal interviews were recorded and immediately transcribed, with no translation into English, except when quoted for direct excerpts. For anonymity, I used pseudonyms for the IS-School names and for all the interview participants (see Appendix B for participant lists of pseudonyms). The interview sessions lasted intermittently for 10 months. For a more detailed procedure, see Chapter Methods on the procedure or course of interview.

The documentation techniques were used to gather information from school and teacher archives. School archives included school-based exam documents, local policy documents, textbook collections, web-based documents/information, and photos of policy-relevant school sites and activities. These were obtained during school visits as well as through Internet library research. Teachers' personal files included lesson plans, teaching materials, and evaluation materials, which were owned and shared with me by the teachers themselves. Several national government documents are purposively selected and examined to support data analysis and to establish a policy context.

6.4.3 Data analysis

Specifically, I applied inductive analysis or analytic induction (Pascale, 2011) to identify the core concepts or meanings manifested in the texts relevant to the inquiries. This type of research is not a set of expectations; rather it serves to provide cues for analysis. Pascale (2011) characterizes inductive analysis as an approach that primarily uses detailed readings of raw data to derive concepts, themes, or a model through interpretations made from the raw data by an evaluator or researcher. Unlike deductive analysis, the main purpose of the inductive approach is to let the research findings emerge from the frequent, dominant, or significant themes inherent in raw data, without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies.[23]

The analysis was carried out through multiple readings and interpretations of texts, meanings, and discourses that emerged in the interview transcripts, school and teacher archives, and supporting policy documents. It generally involved a series of reinterpreted connections between context and data, by constantly seeking, revisiting, and reorganizing themes and sub-themes, until the synthesis was saturated. A laborious and orderly reading and coding of the transcripts allowed major themes to emerge. Similarities and differences across sub-themes were also explored. Much of my analysis involved multi-layer coding and creating memos, which I did through qualitative data management software called MAXQDA.

A mentioned, this study examined the responses of Olympus High School to EMI policy through the zone of mediation framework. In my coding process, I generated a set of pre-

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[23] In deductive analyses, such as those used in experimental and hypothesis testing research, key themes are often obscured, reframed, or left invisible because of the preconceptions in the data collection and data analysis procedures imposed by investigators.

determined themes based on my understandings of the concepts of technical, normative, and political dimensions within the zone of mediation framework (Oakes et al., 1998; Welner, 2001). Therefore, thoughout the analysis, I looked closely at meanings and discourses that entailed technical (structures and practices), normative (beliefs and ideologies), and political dimensions (power and politics) of school members' responses. I then analyzed, hermeneutically, how these technical, normative, and political responses were shaped by the forces within which Olympus High School was situated, as well as how these three-dimensional aspects were shaped by larger contextual forces and macro policy structures.

6.5 Findings

6.5.1 Technical dimension: Structures, strategies and capacity

When I asked how their school implemented or appropriated EMI policy, all teachers mentioned a wide array of technical changes and adjustments adopted by the Olympus School. There were extensive changes adopted in terms of structures (such as arrangement of space, time, people, materials, and resources), strategies (such as pedagogical, curricular, and administrative governance), and knowledge or capacity building (including adult learning and teacher language training). Teachers also responded to my questions on internal or classroom-level challenges of implementing those changes. Several important responses on challenges included teachers' readiness and language competence as well as logistics.

Below are technical key themes of EMI policy appropriation in the Olympus High School. They were: teachers' assignments, language use, learning materials/resources, assessments, and language support systems for teachers.

6.5.1.1 Teachers' voluntary assignments

Nationwide, the application of EMI only occurred in selected courses, i.e. math, physics, biology, chemistry, and English. The reason was because of the universal natures of Math and Science subject contents across countries:

> …. Especially in five courses… math, chemistry, biology, physics, economics… because the contents are almost universal… when I visited a school in Australia, I recognized that the course contents were the same, the topics were the same. … We even exchanged and shared the exam materials. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

Implementation of EMI policy entailed demands for teachers to be functional in employing English in their classroom instruction. Considering teachers' differing English proficiency levels, and that not all teachers were prepared for even a partial English immersion, the Olympus High School decided to call for "a voluntary but strongly-suggested assignment," especially for math and science courses:

> In such classes, teachers were encouraged to use Indonesian and English languages altogether. That's the proposed regulation. … We especially encouraged teachers of science to be able to employ English. And then there were non-science teachers [economy, geography, computer] who were able to use English in their classes, because they had good competence of the language. … So teachers were expected to be able to apply the two languages. But, it's up to them, it's voluntary. For teachers who didn't have sufficient

[English language] competence, we did not impose the regulation on them. (Anthony, EMI teacher)

The voluntary assignment was essentially a strong call for those math and science teachers who were prepared and willing to put in extra effort. It was not mandatory for all math and science teachers who were not ready and not fluent in English. There was no sanction either for those who did not sign up. Other subject teachers were allowed to sign up, as long as they were relatively fluent and/or familiar in using English for teaching, and did not teach Indonesian language, civics, and religion courses.

In the first year, the voluntary call yielded a handful of teacher volunteers. They were teachers of math, physics, biology, chemistry, economics and geography. However, there was no clear exact number of EMI teacher volunteers, since the practice was experimental in the beginning. The school considered the first year as "a training class" for teachers to experiment with EMI policy.

So yes, if we referred to the legislation, we must employ English language, in addition to Indonesian language. But, considering teachers' conditions, only few of them were able to employ English. It's not good if we impose the policy without considering their conditions… maybe considering it as training class for teachers to use English. (Anthony, EMI teacher)

In a big school like Olympus High School, several teachers taught the same subject content. For example, there were seven biology teachers, teaching grades 10, 11 and 12, and only three teachers signed up for the EMI practice. The school did not impose the policy on the other four biology teachers. The three teacher volunteers were assigned to teach grade 10. The other four teachers were free to opt out and assigned to teach grade 11 or 12.

[so for example there were seven Biology teachers] … three were ready and were trained. They taught grade 10. The first year [of implementation] was with grade 10. … it's an incremental phase… eventually all Biology teachers would be expected to try [to apply EMI]… they had to enroll in the English course, too. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

For teachers who were willing to try to employ English materials in their teachings, common challenges were, among others, tricky translations, limited choices, and difficulty in making impromptu improvisations in English language. To match the minimal requirements of English use, often teachers had to translate the homework or evaluation materials themselves. Even with peer assistance, sometimes they felt lost with the translation, due to limited English translation competence and tools. They often went to subject-specific e-learning websites to download their exercises or evaluation sheets, but the available material types, contents, and choices were limited to what the website had. So, the downloaded English-written evaluation contents, for example, might not be structured or modified exactly the way teachers wanted. This happened especially in the first year, when English-written textbooks and workbooks were limited:

If I had to write and translate all exercises in English, I'll be drowned. So most of us sought and downloaded from internet. When we did that, we got whatever materials already posted up there. They're relevant, but they're not always exact items we wanted to test out. What we found was what we gave to students. This downgraded my evaluation quality. (Stanford, EMI teacher)

Regardless of the challenges and the assignments, all teachers of math, English, and science were strongly encouraged to incorporate in their teaching any English expressions they were familiar with, such as greetings and thank you. Teachers were invited to enroll in English language

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training (discussed in the capacity building section), hoping they would eventually be ready to apply the policy:

> The school didn't impose that the learning must be in English language… But we didn't restrain ourselves to learn and incorporate English-written materials. We're open to that. So when delivering the lessons, we did not force ourselves, but we also tried to have English bit by bit. That's what I did in my EMI classes in the beginning, I tried to incorporate English language when doing evaluation. (Evelyn, EMI teacher)

Although not all teachers were experimenting with EMI, a handful of teachers who did apply partial EMI were thought of or reported as representational evidence that the Olympus School applied EMI since its first year.

6.5.1.2 Exposure to academic English terms

Another first-year challenge was the sense of unease or anxiety teachers had when orchestrating their classroom teaching. This was related to situational communications in the classroom. There were times where teachers wanted to improvise their classroom talks but felt reluctant because they were not fluent enough to articulate further explanations in English. Moments like these led to their decisions to employ English in their written materials more than in their spoken interactions:

> This was my personal experience. I only can tell from what happened to me. So I decided to create a teaching script in English. I wrote it quite details, what to say and everything, including motivational sentences. I scripted almost everything. But then I ended up stuck with the script. My utterances were limited to what I scripted on paper. So it's hard for me to improvise when I had to speak English all the time. … When the discussion expanded

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to other topics, or any unplanned conversations, I found it difficult to keep using English. So I sticked with English for written materials, such as work sheet and lesson plan. But for impromptu classroom activities, I didn't always use English. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

Because their English was limited, even though they joined the course and studied hard, I guess it's age constraint… when they taught, sometimes they had to stop talking because they forgot the words, it because funny, anxious and awkward, then they continued the talks in Indonesian language. (Paul, EMI teacher)

Considering teachers' anxiety and English language fluency, the school's goal of *improving* students' English competence (through subject content teaching) was reduced to *exposing* students to more English academic terms or vocabularies. If providing English-mediated instruction was not yet feasible, or might risk limiting student learning, then at least the school would provide increased exposure to academic English terms to students—and arguably to teachers:

It's different. In English language class, students would focus on general conversation, on grammar, on accuracy. But in physics or biology, or say, economy, students need to learn specific vocabulary, for examples, … in economy, we use 'demand', not 'request'… 'miscellaneous', not 'other expenses'… it's different terms that students need to know, too. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

Types of English exposure varied, but mostly occurred in written channels. Most teachers opted to employ English through written materials, as exposed through their Power Points, homework, and handouts. This way, students would get to read English-mediated materials, hence, would get exposed to academic English. To avoid misunderstandings due to linguistic issues,

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spoken interactions remained in the Indonesian language, especially when explaining and discussing important concepts.

For new or difficult concepts, teachers preferred to speak in Indonesian and use terms they were comfortable with. Content comprehension was primary:

The main thing was that teachers must master the materials, [not the language]. If they lacked in English competence, then the materials were discussed in Indonesian language. (Hannah, Non-English Language teacher)

For difficult concepts and materials, we use Indonesian. In this city, we even used mix languages, including Javanese language if necessary, that's what it takes for lesson. comprehension (Deborah, EMI teacher)

I always repeated my explanation in Indonesian language, to avoid risky misunderstanding…. Right, to explain new or difficult concepts, I'm not confident or dare enough to talk fully in English. (Stanford, EMI teacher)

Spoken, communicative engagement occurred when the classes were familiar with the topics and vocabularies. In mathematics class, for example, teachers and students code-switched a lot to English, as they both were comfortable in saying numbers in English. They spoke in Indonesian only for complicated math formulas and explanations.

Some teachers may have opted not to use English at all, written or spoken, in their materials, textbooks, or slides. They, however, tried to insert English phrases into their classroom talks, such as during opening, closing, initiating student responses, etc.:

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At least using English for communication to start and dismiss the class… Good morning … How are you today… Last lesson yesterday to what… Yesterday there was a job … We end today's lesson… You guys today are very eager to learn. (Paul, EMI teacher)

Exposure to English was not only through in-class activities, but also in out-of-class environments. These can be seen from the Olympus English linguistic landscape or public signs and images around the school. See pictures of signs in the school's environment in Appendix H.

We put signs, written in English, to motivate school members. All hang on school walls were mixed with English language. ... There were posters, too, in several classrooms that used English…. Several signs or boards around the school… such as notices on environment or water use. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

6.5.1.3 Language use by percentage

There was consensus on the language use percentages. The school decided to integrate English into classroom learning interactions with an incremental percentage model. Incremental or gradual percentage was mostly for administrative records, where total English used in bilingual classes is pro-rated in percentage and was supposed to level up every year.

For analytical description, I characterized the policy appropriation at Olympus into three stages: initial, transitional, and full-fledged. Initial years were roughly around the first three to four years of EMI appropriation, when all technical executions sounded irregular, premature, and experimental. The transitional phase, i.e. Year 4 and onward, was characterized with more sufficient language-related resources and teacher confidence and familiarity in navigating daily EMI-related tasks. Teaching materials and designs were in place and better developed. The full-fledged phase could be after 10 years or more from the enactment year. This was the period when

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all resources are expected to be established and sustained, including human resource and problem-solving tools. With the IS-School policy termination in 2012-2013, the full-fledged phase was never documented in any studies.

During the initial phase, schools applied 20 to40 percent of their time to English use, as tangibly and quantifiably demonstrated through learning materials and activities, such as English-written slides, handouts, textbooks, homework, class exams and quizzes, end of semester school-wide exams, and classroom talks. The 20 to 40 percent was the minimally required amount of English use, both written and spoken, which was pro-rated within one semester of teaching-learning tasks:

> At that time, I try as can [much] as possible to try [teaching in] bilingual. Of course, it's very limited for us as a teacher so I don't force me [myself] to use [English], may be less 50%.... right, 50% included books, homeworks, exams… we were expected to compose evaluation items with 30% English back then. (Stanford, EMI teacher)

In the transitional phase, Year 4 and onward, Olympus IS-Schools applied up to 75 percent of English use. Exposure to English written texts still dominated, as most teachers preferred applying EMI in written forms (such as slides, handouts, and homework). At this phase, it had become second nature for many teachers to use English in their instructional scaffolding, such as opening-closing lessons and prompting questions for discussions. Thus, there was a great increase in familiarity with English, but competence and confidence to produce spoken academic English remained lacking:

> The classroom learning should have more English, around 75%, and Indonesian language 25%/ So more and more percentage for English. And so was for the evaluation. The exams were also 75% English. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

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In the beginning, there was an increase, but as I said before, the ultimate challenge was in the learning process… English-mediated communication went decreasing, especially spoken direct communication. But for written materials, teachers remained to use English, in fact almost 100% written materials were already in English. Power point, textbooks, everything, was in English. But for direct spoken conversation with students, we lost it. It got mixed a lot with Indonesian language. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

By this point, teachers had gathered more English-written textbooks from many sources. Some teachers even composed English-written modules, based on their own teaching notes, slides, handouts, and evaluation tools. Teachers were then encouraged to assign bilingual textbooks for students, because they were available in most bookstores at relatively affordable prices.[24] See Appendix I for examples of textbooks and Appendix J1 for an evaluation tool.

I could not get a clear response regarding how many teachers were willing to apply EMI partially, or even fully, by the time Olympus High School reached the transitional stage. There was no mandatory assignment for teachers to apply EMI. Also, there was no systematic study regarding the increased use of English by teachers—or at least no study intended for public and external research audiences. Peer-based anecdotal observations demonstrated that many teachers did incrementally employ English language for basic conversation, but they did not use English-written materials for textbooks or homework. Hence, it was not easy to get a clear prediction as to how many teachers increasingly applied partial-EMI policy:

So the target was, in the first stage, at least there were 30% teachers who were functional in English, and applied EMI. Second stage at least 60% teachers, and thirst stage would be

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[24] Which is 50 to 100% more expensive than regular, non-bilingual, Indonesian-written textbooks.

100% teachers could apply EMI. But even after year three, four and five, there was only, say, 20% teachers who actively employed English in their instruction. That was the fact. (Anthony, EMI teacher)

On language use, different scenarios played out for grade 12, which needed to take the National Exit Exam at the end of each school year. For grade 12 students, the instructions were all in Indonesian, and preparing students for the National Exam was a top priority. Back then, the National Exam was in Indonesian, covering math, physics, biology, chemistry, and English courses, among others. To prepare for the exams, the schools usually had extra hours of preparation. Due to the time demands and test material loads for grade 12, the EMI policy was not implemented for them. Teachers felt the need to hurry, making sure all the tested materials were covered before the National Exam took place. Since using two languages was less efficient for time, and since the national exam is in Indonesian, teachers did not feel a compelling need to apply EMI in grade 12. This also applied to most IS-School in many provinces:

> We only had it [EMI] for grade 10 and 11… Using English could lengthen the lesson cycle, because some explanation must be repeated in the Indonesian language… students of grade 12 needed to study extra for the National Exam… yes, the exam was in the Indonesian language. (Stanford, EMI teacher)

6.5.1.4 Internationally-benchmarked materials and resources

The promotion of EMI policy required the materials to be written in English as much as possible in order to provide language exposure and communicative tasks. Therefore, schools had to provide English learning and teaching materials, including for homework, exams, and other learning evaluation tools (MONE, 2009, Article 15).

In the first years of the policy launch, around 2005-2006, there were not many English-Indonesian bilingual textbooks available in general bookstores. Students still used Indonesian-written textbooks, with supplementary English-written materials from teachers. The schools bought English textbooks from publishers based in Singapore or Australia for teachers' reference and for library collections. As the schools started to build networks with sister schools abroad, a greater supply of English-written textbooks became available:

> Back then, we used books by Cambridge and Oxford. We used their publications a lot, so our students got good quality materials… Cambridge publications like A-Level and the like… also Pearson education… we introduced [teachers to] various English-written textbooks. So those who were not fluent in English, at least they knew how lesson contents are structured in those books, they also learned materials with higher level of thinking skil. (Anthony, EMI teacher)

> We also had a syllabus exchanges with schools in Australia and Queensland. I communicated a lot with them, with Mr. Riley, back then, it was our sister school. They even gave me a lot of textbooks. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

A year after the ministry officially endorsed the EMI policy, by 2006, several prominent publishers released English-Indonesian textbooks.[25] Some books were basically an English translation of already existing textbooks, following the National Curriculum Guideline. Some had content adopted from international curriculum agencies, such as Cambridge International Curriculum (see Appendix I for selected examples).

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[25] Bilingual textbooks in this policy context are books written in two languages, with one page written in Indonesian, and the next adjacent page written in English. This was the most common format of bilingual textbooks during the IS-Schools development period.

Such as *Erlangga* publisher and the like, they immediately responded and published something called bilingual textbooks. (Stanford, EMI teacher)

For textbooks, we use bilingual books … After IS-Schools was launched, a lot of publishers issued bilingual textbooks. That's phenomenal. Any kinds of bilingual textbooks were out. You could find ones fully written in English. You could look for ones with English-Indonesian translation in one page. English-written worksheets were available, too…. Yup, but quite expensive. (Evelyn, EMI teacher)

In addition to bilingual textbooks, many teachers wrote lesson summaries in English, which were often presented as Power Point compilations to the class, and/or handouts distributed to students. Technology-wise, most teachers were literate enough to browse the Internet and find English-written supplementary materials, including e-books, glossaries, and educational blogs:

For teaching materials, teachers were trained to create their own materials in power point slides. They created the slides in English. (Evelyn, EMI teacher)

In my class, students commented how I can creatively vary the materials and exercises. It's because I learned and look at curriculums from America, and British… I also searched from internet. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

The school also set up an access center in the library called Teacher Research and Resource Center (TRRC). The resource access center provided a variety of English-written textbooks. As part of the resource center, the Olympus School also upgraded their school-wide internet-based resources, specifically for teachers to explore teaching materials on the web. One of the activities in the center was translating and compiling lesson plans, syllabi, and evaluation instruments for teachers' reference.

6.5.1.5 Assessment principle: Comprehension first

Homework was often assigned in English, and students might opt to respond to tasks in either English or Indonesian. Content relevance and comprehension were the primary assessment foci, and language accuracy came second. Occasionally, teachers gave a bonus grade for students who completed quizzes, class exams, or homework in English:

> For evaluation, we tried to use as many English as I could. Later, I could add the percentage of it. … For essay items, we could use Indonesian language. But it's different for chemistry, for example. The question could be in English, but the answers were in equation model or mathematical format. It was not a problem for students. (Evelyn, EMI teacher)

> [exercises] were written in English. Students could choose to respond in English or in Indonesia… sometimes I used worksheet [from textbooks], it's already written in English. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

> Students responded their homework mostly in Indonesian language… not an issue at all… [if responding in English] I appreciated the efforts for those who tried, bonus score. (Stanford, EMI teacher)

At the end of each semester, the schools administered final exams in two stages. Unlike the regular schools, IS-School students had two exams, written in two different languages, with the same material weight and scope. The first test was Indonesian-based, designed by *Dinas Kota/Kabupaten,* or the City Office of Education, whose exam items were the same with those of other schools in the city. The second test was bilingual, written in Indonesian and English, designed collaboratively with home school teachers:

The end of semester exam was in English. We did it incrementally, step by step. Year one was less, year two were more. In the first 5 years, we expected all exam items were already in English. It was planned that way. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

Teachers got to decide which part of the exams were written in English and which were in Indonesian. The language percentage ratio varied, from 50-50 to 70 percent English and 30 percent Indonesian, depending on several factors, such as student grade level and years of implementation. See Appendix J-1 for exam or evaluation sheet sample.

6.5.1.6 Capacity building: Language and technology supports

Ideally, an EMI implementation should be preceded with extensive preparation for pre-service and in-service teachers so that they could teach and be functional in the two languages. Some Olympus teachers encountered English as a foreign language course during their high school and college years, and most of them were not active English users. The Olympus teacher hiring policy, even as of 2006 when the policy was launched, did not specifically impose English skill as a requirement, except for English language teachers.[26]

Considering most teachers' English language competence, the Olympus School provided teachers with English language training for all teachers and specifically for those applying EMI in their courses. The tutorial content was mostly on basic English language for general transactional communication:

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[26] Although the nationwide teacher's recruitment test contained an English language section.

We were all sent by the School to enroll in an English course, all teachers of all six courses I mentioned before [Math, Physics, Biology, Chemistry, Economy, Geography], those teaches were prepped very hard with language tutorial. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

… yes, the language tutorial was from the first year… there was one time where all teachers in the School were sent for the language course. Then there were language tutorials for selected teachers, those teaching Physics, Biology, Math, Economy… So there were general English groups, and specific content groups. (Evelyn, EMI teacher)

At certain times, there were also specific English language trainings for academic purposes:

The school also invited several university lecturers, who were fluent in English, from specific departments, such as Math and Economy. Because this was a special case. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

We had a joint work with local university lecturers. We invited them on a regular basis. For example, Economic lecturer from UNNES and UNDIP [local universities] helped us in creating lesson plan, exams, teaching media, and the likes. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

The Olympus school members were very much aware that the biggest challenge of the EMI policy was teachers' English language insufficiency. All factors were contributing considerably to this issue, including age, motivation, and burnout. The language trainings were also considered too generic, disregarding some psycholinguistic factors:

Teachers' language competence was limited. Some tried, but they kept forgetting [vocabularies and grammar]. Maybe it's age factor. The spirits were also worn out. When they tried to use English, the communication was disrupted, it became funny and anxious… The main challenge was the age factor, especially of senior old teachers, and that affected

their motivation to try to improve their English… The language course iself was not enough. The tutors were not very communicative and didn't pay much attention to what we actually needed. They just gave us the general language materials, and that's it. (Paul, EMI teacher)

Other than from school budgets, which were described as limited, the language trainings were funded through various sources, such as MONE grants and the City or Provincial Office of Education. The trainings were also hosted or organized by different School partners, depending on funding availability, such as local universities (either from the University Language Center or from the English Language Department), private language learning agencies, and/or intermediary organizations (such as British Council, RELO, or MONE-affiliated units):

We also had a third party, such as the Language Center of UNNES [local university]. We asked them to train the teachers. (Anthony, EMI teacher)

There were language courses in partnership with language agencies, they came and taught at our school. This was from government's grant [MONE], because the grant was not only for students' learning, but also for teachers' development, including English communication. (Evelyn, EMI teacher)

Back then we asked UNNES [local university]. The next year we continued to work with LIA [i.e. private language tutorial agency]. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

On daily basis, the school's English language teachers also became a source for immediate help, from proofreading and translating to conversation partners:

They [the School's language coordinator] helped correcting the grammar, and the likes. Some of us relied on google translate tool. (Stanford, EMI teacher)

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There was on teacher in our School who got his Master degree from the United States, American graduate. He helped me when I had troubles, I came to him. That's what I'm grateful for. His English is very fluent… The other Biology teachers also consulted with and learn from him… We had to help each other. In the first years, we all worked hand in hand together, all teachers. (Deborah, EMI Teacher)

Sometimes when I created an exam, I went to the English teachers to consult… but economic terms are sometimes translated differently… but at least I consulted for the grammar accuracy. … We also had an English day for teachers, but since I wanted to improve my English, I tried to use it every day with teachers of English language, to develop my skill. (Wilma, EMI Teacher)

Another support was from teacher forums, both at school and provincial levels. Teacher forums in this context resembled subject-specific peer study groups. At the school level, the group could consist of teachers who teach similar subjects (e.g., math only), or comprised of teachers who had overlapping teaching fields (e.g., geography, history and sociology—social science group). In general, they worked together to discuss and solve daily pedagogical matters. During the EMI period, they did English-mediated microteaching and language preps for each subject:

[at the school level] there was also a peer discussion model. So before those teachers actually started their EMI practice, they had sessions discussing scientific terms in English [relevant to their fields]. (Anthony, EMI teacher)

[at the school level] We also did a micro teaching where we practiced the teaching, until closing, based on our respective subjects. So for teaching biology, we had our colleagues pretended to be students in biology class. We also had to make a lesson plan [written in English] and practiced the teaching until we felt relatively confident with, then we took

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turn. Then we got feedback from our colleagues, and so on. That's how it worked. The English expressions were also integrated in. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

Beyond school, teacher forums existed at district, city, and provincial levels. The groups consisted of teachers of the same specific subject. The district level had more frequent meetings, e.g. once a month, compared to the provincial level forum (once every semester). During the IS-School project period, there was a special teaching forum at the provincial level, consisting of teachers of IS-Schools who applied EMI in various degrees. One of their meeting agenda was exchanging materials and creating an English-written teaching modules and evaluation tests:

We composed English-written teaching modules for Biology, with the teacher forum. Under the IS-School project, we had an IS-School Teacher Forum at Central Java province level. I happened to be one of the committee members, too. The Forum composed teaching modules. And we did material sharing and exchange among IS-School Biology teachers. Back then there were only 17 IS-Schools in Central Java, until later it grew to many schools… we really collaborated in dealing with any problems back then, finding the solutions. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

There was also a period when the Olympus High School hosted an English native speaker. This was a part of their partnership with the Regional English Language Organization (RELO), channeled through MONE:

I took care of her… She's an American, staying here for several months. She was at the school as our native speaker fellow… helping the English language courses… and also for us [teachers] to try to converse with her. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

Also, in addition to language courses, teachers also had instructional technology training. The training materials were about, among other topics, creating Power Point slides for lesson presentations, operating classroom computers for audio visual materials, nda exploring instructional websites for material developments:

There were also instructional technology trainings. IT trainings. Because IT was our teaching tool. So in addition to English language courses, teachers also got IT workshops to create teaching materials, including power point slides. … Before IS-School project, there was no pressures, no demand, to use IT in our teachings. After IS-Schools, our classes had computers and LCD projectors. So teachers had pressures to be able to use them. Even senior, old teachers were getting used to them, getting used to operate laptops. (Evelyn, EMI teacher)

Beyond the technical pedagogical structures and strategies above, there were questions that I found compelling and worthy of exploring. These were questions on the norms and politics of the policy, and the roles of these dimensions, that could help to explain why those technical changes continued to be practiced, while at the same time, the challenges remained persistent.

6.5.2 Normative dimensions: Values and beliefs

By identifying normative aspects of EMI in the Olympus School, I aimed to identify and analyze prevailing beliefs, values, and norms that had implications for the EMI policy-decision making process and its appropriation. Essentially, I identified values and beliefs that motivated the policy appropriation and continuance. The questions I asked (predetermined questions and impromptu follow-up questions) included: What did you value about being a part of a school with

International-Standard? What did you value about the EMI policy practice? What did you think were the goals or intention of the policy? What did those mean to you?

There were, as anticipated, an array of responses that could be categorized as normative, such as participants' beliefs and values on the technical implementation of EMI, on their daily teaching activities, on being part of an expensive national education project, etc. As with the nature of interpretive policy analysis, I interpreted and triangulated those responses with a set of tangible policy artifacts I had collected, with participants' backgrounds and involvements, as well as with discursive contexts that I considered relevant to participants' beliefs and perspectives.

6.5.2.1 Individual's competitiveness and mobility

Teachers' believed that EMI would improve students' English language capacity, which was associated with wider potential for academic competitiveness and mobility at the international level. They believed that English capacity has direct and indirect relationships to increased academic competitiveness and mobility. Academic competitiveness was perceived as existing and potential participation in academic championships at national and international levels. Academic mobility was understood as students' potential to study abroad after graduating from high school or college or university.

Teachers perceived academic competitiveness as students' ability to compete and to win in academic championships or competitions at global levels, as well as to perform in international tests, such as PISA, TIMMS, and the like:

> The goal was for students of IS-School to be able to compete in international world, keeping up with global educational development at the international level. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

In addition to meeting the national educational standards, we also prepared our students for global competition. For example, if they had to take certain tests… at NTU or Oxford test, or the like, they would be able to perform the test in the English language. So in general, [we want them], being able to perform well both in the National Exam and in the English-written exams, especially for university admission tests. (Anthony, EMI teacher)

Students' fluency in and familiarity with English for academics were associated with their increased participations in academic competitions at national and international levels:

Students at Olympus often won international competitions, like Math. They won because they were able to present in the competition in English language, because they were trained to, so it's easier for them to do English-mediated presentations. They're used to talking and presenting in English when they participated in academic competitions. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

It was a fact that Olympus students are able to compete with other international students. They won several international championships. That's true. Those championships were mediated in English. That's one of the reasons they needed to get introduced with Cambridge books and many other English-written international tests. (Anthony, EMI teacher)

International mobility in students' academic careers was associated with future possible opportunity for study abroad. Since most international schools overseas (especially those accepting international students) would apply English as the language of instruction, cultivating students' competence after high school level was considered a necessity:

Because someday they are expected to continue their academic endeavor beyond national. If they happened to continue their schools abroad, they won't have a language issue anymore. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

I used to have a doubt on this, but the goal is noble, that is to prepare students to go abroad someday, to study in other foreign countries, they'd be ready. It's a noble intention. (Stanford, EMI teacher)

It is also interesting to note that teachers framed the language policy goals more as competitiveness and mobility at individual levels. Teachers were keener on the impact of the English-enrichment program on individual students. Meanwhile, in Essay 1 on government perspectives, the policy makers framed the policy within macro, economic mobility and political participation discourses. None of the teachers mentioned political diplomacy or identity purposes related to the EMI policy.

6.5.2.2 Highly-appraised attitudes toward English language

The association between English language capacity and individual's competitiveness and mobility was derived from the role and status of English as today's global language in/for education sectors. The status of English as today's global lingua franca was also associated with furthering access to world knowledge and international information:

It is inevitable that we've lived in a globalization era. Globalization demands us to develop our educational curriculum beyond national scope. [For this reason], like it or not, we have to learn English language. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

We live in a globalized era where English language is the language for global communication. Whether you want it or not, you have to use English, because we can't

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access knowledge and information from outside, where the knowledge is more advanced, without us learning English language. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

All of the above demonstrated a deep penetration of English language attitudes in Indonesia's society, where English language has been appraised in association with its existing utility in academic and business sectors, and has been overly correlated with globalization.

From the name itself "the International-Standard School", hence, the language [of instruction] must be an international language. That's how it is. (Stanford, EMI teacher)

… IS-School means "International-Standard"… the international language has been English, so the school put priority on English language [as additional medium of instruction], and that's what the government also referred [in the policy documents]. Japanese language is also an added value. (Olivia, non-English Language teacher)

… if we want to go international, compete internationally, then we had to be familiar with English as the international language, teachers are learning English, those will take us there [to international level]. (Anthony, EMI teacher)

The embedded relationship of English in the globalization process is evident in much literature as well (Cameron, 2012; Graddol, 2006; Heller, 2003; Mufwene, 2010). Similarly, many teachers also thought that the English language is, by default, inherent in the internationalization of schooling.

6.5.2.3 School's international excellence

Teachers believed that the whole EMI policy was a part of the Olympus School being transformed and upgraded into an international-standard educational unit. For teachers, this implied the school's long-standing academic excellence or meritocracy, of which they were proud:

Yes, we're the first [in Central Java]. Of all schools in Java, we're among the first IS-School. (Anthony, EMI teacher)

There's an evaluation from the Central Ministry… every year… national assessment. They uploaded the evaluation results publicly, so everybody was aware that Olympus High School has always been on the top rank. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

The nomination to be an international-standard school entailed at least three normative implications from teachers' perspectives. They are: accountability as an internationally-certified school, accountability as a model school, and expanded networks with domestic and international educational entities.

Aiming to be an international-standard school entailed efforts to demonstrate that the Olympus School was improving their educational curricula and practices to meet internationally benchmarked standards. Internationally benchmarked standards were indicated n many waysi, including the language of instruction, learning facilities, and teachers' capacities, among others. These processes or efforts at meeting international standards were oriented to meet schools' international accreditation. Having a formal, official, and certified international accreditation was equal to having the Olympus School's certificate (hence, its graduates) recognized by any educational organizations domestic and abroad.

… I think the government wanted to have as many as possible schools with decent quality level whose graduates, whose certificates were acknowledged at international level. So the courses we gave in Olympus were at the level that would be recognized, acknowledged by schools overseas. So the government wanted our schools be equal and acknowledged by the international world. (Evelyn, EMI teacher)

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In addition to external accountability for being internationally-certified, being transformed into an IS-School also implied Olympus' accountability as a model for other schools in the region. The Ministry of National Education (MONE), in fact, conceptualized the IS-Schools as a project to transform nominated schools to be educational centers of excellence. For many teachers, being IS-Schools entailed responsibilities to be model schools, or centers of excellence, which were to spread out best practices to other educational units:

> Back then, the intention was so that we could disseminate our best practices to other schools, because the government's capacity was limited to do this alone, hence, there was a pilot model school [like us]. They selected best schools from several cities to pass along best practices to other schools. … Indonesia has so many schools and the government couldn't afford to support on their own, so they did this project, this pilot model school, to disseminate and circulate best practices from one school to another. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

Being a model school also meant building more partnerships with local schools in the region and across provinces:

> We have partner schools, we have apprentice schools, hoping that we could level up their qualities. … I was once asked to share our journey to a high school in Ponorogo City. Also one in Kendal City for sharing our achievement. … We welcomed many schools, back then, from various different regions, to come and visit our schools for a comparative study, we gave them and told them everything that they might want to adopt. … There was also one from Kendari city [from outside Java island], from every where. … We also did a teleconference to save to cost [of travelling], so we can have a sharing forum online. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

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Being an international school also meant reaching out to educational units overseas. The Olympus School had sister schools overseas, in Queensland and Singapore, where they did comparative study visits, curriculum benchmarking, textbook and materials comparisons, as well as student exchanges. This was where several teachers valued the EMI policy initiative, since they felt a positive pressure to try and to improve so that they had international experience working with teachers from overseas:

> … we have to have or be in partner with educational institution abroad. We happened to have school partnership with those in Queensland and Singapore. We were in a very good partnership in terms of education, culture, and the like. … there was also a student exchange program at certain time. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

The Olympus School have been known as Ivy League, long before they were nominated to be IS-Schools. Their students had been high achievers and high performers, partly due to the school's high admission criteria. Even before becoming an IS-School, Olympus had had their hall ways and several rooms full of of trophies and awards for their students' achievements in academic forums and competitions. This pre-existing academic meritocracy was one of the conditions for their International-School nomination.

After being nominated, the pressures to maintain and improve the school's excellence was higher. Several teachers felt the demands and efforts, but it was all ultimately for the merit and prestige of the Olympus School establishment. It was in this excellence-driven spirit that EMI policy was appropriated, regardless of the challenges and shortages. Such norms represented the symbolic, cultural values of being a part of an academic excellence center, which motivated school members to continue improving and sustaining their practice, regardless of challenges.

6.5.2.4 Citizenship and social virtues

In addition to many language-related technical fixes, some teachers emphasized that being an IS-School was not merely about the English language or the EMI policy. During the interviews, there were several moments where some teachers attempted to clarify that the spirit of IS-Schools was not only about English language infrastructures and international accreditations. There were intra- and extra-curricular activities, which were designed to engage students in citizenship and community-oriented programs:

> It's not right, I think we did not just focus on developing language competence only, but in Olympus, we strived to develop many skills. That's what make Olympus is so dynamic, because we had so many curricular activities. Students are not only improving their English, but also developing a social empathy and consciousness. That's what we strived for being IS-School. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

> After we became international school, we had more [grants for] social programs for students, not just for physical infrastructures. There were many other things. For example, grade 10 had a program called "live in", free for students [due to government grant]. In that program, students had a three-day homestay in rural villages, shadowing the host parents' daily activities. If they went to the rice field, students must go the rice field. If they sold herbal drinks, students must follow them around, too. And then for grade 11, there was "a CBC or character-building camp". They had a semi-military camp and were trained on character development. For grade 12, there was also a "social care" program, where they visited places like orphanage or senior (nursing) homes and helped doing certain tasks. Through such programs, their social empathy was sharpened, as well as their social awareness. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

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Our vision remained on local culture and wisdom. Our vision is to become the best IS-School which hold the nation's culture. That's our vision. In Indonesia's culture, we have gotong royong [cooperation], respect and so on. We don't ignore those. Students still got character development programs. Olympus had a character-building program for grade 11, where they were sent out to join a camp. Grade 10 had a live in, home-staying in a village for four days. … They lived with their villager hosts, who were relatively poor. They had to learn social issues there. … My students, for example, met and stayed with a family who had a child with hydrocephalus. They continued the relationship, they even visited the hosts during school break with the students' parents and gave donation. … Grade 12 had a social care program, visiting orphanage for 3-4 days, mingled with kids of special needs. They had to do a service there. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

By such, through this study, they wanted to express that the MONE grants Olympus received were not allocated for physical infrastructures only but also for soft-skill programs that emphasized citizenship and character development. Such programs were not possible before, without additional grants from MONE:

Yes, there were good impacts. I supervised students for social care program, I followed them. … now we didn't have budget for those programs anymore [after IS-School termination]. We wanted to continue those programs, but we were not supposed to ask for parents' donation. … So we decided to continue it, providing that students had to save and collect money in order to participate. … It is running again now in the past two years. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

6.5.2.5 Silver-lining-seeker culture

In addition to morality-oriented programs above, some teachers also demonstrated their moral support for the policy through their silver-lining-seeker perspectives. Silver-lining-seeker culture refers to a choice to focus on implied benefits of any hardships, rather than focus on the problems, because every storm has a silver lining, just as every policy would have a benefit.

When asked about policy challenges, some teachers preferred not to focus much on language issues or other problems. Rather, they preferred to value those issues and difficulties as a learning process that, in the end, would yield some unforeseen benefits:

> In the end, it was more about the process, how to change teachers' mindsets. … It was more about internal development of the school, how Olympus could improve and change teachers' mindsets to be more open and knowledgeable. … specific on EMI, the demand was to understand scientific terms in each of our field. … It should help me to have more learning experience, to gain more international knowledge. (Evelyn, EMI teacher)

> … indeed, there was a positive change in me, from year to year, my English got activated again. Eventually I was able to use the language, because I forced myself to try, and after a while I used English more in my classes, because I had to understand what I wrote in my slides, too. In the end, we became, what's it called, literate in English. (Deborah, EMI teacher).

Similar responses were found in interviews with most teachers. Being nominated as an IS-School entailed rigid, uneasy adjustments in both pedagogical and managerial affairs. However, considering the noble, good intention of the policy, teachers consider the language-related hardships as learning curves to benchmark and improve their English knowledge and skills.

Focusing on the unexpected benefits seemed to be a cultural way of coping with professional demands and the problem of sense-making.

6.5.3 Political dimension: Power shift and relations

Political dimensions of a policy are reflected in power allocations, or power relations, as well as the diplomatic process in appropriating the policy (Oakes et al., 1993; Welner & Oakes, 2008). Changes in policy technical arrangements are usually followed by modifications in leadership, authority, and resource distributions, which are enacted in both overt and covert ways, through formal and informal actions.

In this study, to explore political dimensions of EMI policy, I attempted to identify the recurrent political events, experiences, and processes, as well as (micro)political groups, that facilitated the implementation of EMI policy. Examples would be formal or informal events of new task force formation, a new authority appointment, risk-taking, redistributing resource redistribution, strategy decisions, and so on. These came down to an analysis of "who gets to do what, in what way and with what consequences." The findings show political use of structures that led to stratified elite leadership within the Olympus school and unintended disparity across public schools.

6.5.3.1 The new institutional elites with new authorities

The EMI policy stressed individual teachers' English language competence. Fluency in English was highly valued. Such appraisal produced a language-based elite group within Olympus. Domhodd and Mills (Wells & Serna, 1996) characterized this as the rise of the new institutional elites, or school members with power and authority within the education system. This elite spread

or enforce ideologies or norms that affect the political nuance of school-wide policy decisions and implementation. Institutional elites could refer to existing or emerging "high-level" employees in most institutions. They see their roles as serving the needs and demands of other high-level decision makers.

The institutional elites in Olympus EMI policy context are those with the following positionalities: First, they had relative fluency and familiarity in English, as well as willingness to attempt to apply EMI policy in their respective courses. They committed to practice EMI from day one of the policy launch in July 2006. Hence, their efforts strongly represented the Olympus school's commitment to the Ministry's nomination. These teachers' commitment and efforts partly tied back to their English competence. Arguably, language became one of the factors of their EMI classroom assignments, which inevitably entailed other EMI-related responsibilities.

The new institutional elites were also represented in a new team assignment, called "the IS-School coordinating team." This small team worked closely with the principal's office and the Ministry, through the Province and City Office of Education. The team was comprised of selected teachers who experimented with EMI policy, and hence were relatively fluent in English.

The team was responsible for planning and appropriating the policy. In other words, the team had authority to make decisions on school-wide EMI policy appropriation. One of the teachers, Anthony, was assigned to be the chief of the team, who was in charge of the policy planning, decision-making, and appropriations from the first years:

> My job was to plan the programs. All IS-School programs. Say, from how we prepare our
> human resources and physical learning resources, to the program implementation or
> execution in the field. Also, on the partnership program…. with schools overseas, with

countries of OECD members. We built those programs. All of them went well, except for the human resources, we didn't meet the target, not successful. (Anthony, EMI teacher)

I was the Vice Principal for Infrastructures affairs, and I was involved a lot with developing Olympus to be IS-School. … I was the secretary, too [of the IS-School coordinating team]. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

The new language-based responsibilities came with notable authority. These responsibilities shifted the political landscape among teachers in the Olympus School.

6.5.3.2 Rewards and privileges

The new authorities came with rewards and privileges, mostly non-monetary. The IS-School coordinating team members, as well as other teachers committed to apply EMI, did not receive any monetary compensation for voluntarily implementing the policy—when other teachers opted not to. There was a financial compensation in the beginning, but after some debate, the incentive was dropped:

The school used to have a policy to provide additional financial compensations to motivate teachers of those five subjects [Math, Physics, Chemisty, Biology, and English], because they're the ones who worked really hard. But then some teachers protested, because they received different amount of money. Isn't that supposed to be obvious, because the demanded responsibilities were different, right? But then finally it was removed, no additional financial compensation. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

However, the non-monetary rewards remained. Teachers who applied EMI policy were often appointed to represent the Olympus School in many IS-School-related events, such as being guest speakers in formal IS-School forums, liaisons for members of the House of Representative

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visiting the school, teacher trainers, and school representatives for meetings with the Board of Quality Assurance, among others.

They might not receive a monetary return, but the acknowledgement and the earned trust represented a symbolic political reward for those teachers. The appointments implied that they were acknowledged for having the ability, in addition to their field expertise, to represent the prestigious Olympus School before many external stakeholders. A modest amount of funding might be provided, such as transportation or per diem allowance, but they were mostly for operational purposes, instead of rewards:

> I was once served as an IS-School teacher model. I presented in front of all principals of IS-School in Central Java. … I was sent out to be a representative at the Board of Quality Assurance… I showed them how I applied various teaching methods, to play games while delivering the materials on economic principles, based on what I learned from the American curriculum. The audience were entertained. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

> When there were official visits from the central government, I was asked to get involved… we had members of the House of Representative coming in…. only selected people… handy-selected people were asked [to be representative], so that it won't humiliate the School's performance. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

> I was asked to assist other schools who were trying to prepare themselves for IS-School nomination. (Evelyn, EMI teacher)

> I was involved as the Committee of the IS-School Teachers' Forum at the provincial level. It was only nine people at the provincial committee…. Only nine. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

Another perk for getting involved in the EMI policy was the chance to represent the school to visit sister schools in overseas. The criteria for overseas participation was obviously English language competence, since comprehensible English-mediated communications were necessary:

> I once had an internship in Queensland, and then Singapore, and Malaysia. Mr. Anthony, teacher was also there, too, and few other teachers who were fluent in English. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

There were mixed responses regarding how other teachers responded to rewards and privileges enjoyed by teachers with English competence. The Javanese language teacher, for example, claimed that she did not feel like she was treated differently as a result of the policy. Her perception was based on the fact that all classroom teachers received the same obligations and supervision when it came to their classroom teaching duties regardless of their extra other assignments:

> I had been supporting the EMI policy, and I never felt marginalized or ignored. We got the same obligation. For example, EMI teachers had to create lesson plans in two languages, English and Indonesian; meanwhile I also had to do the same, I wrote the lesson plan in Indonesian and Javanese language. All teachers had their lesson plans reviewed by the Principal office. (Agnes, non-English Language teacher)

Other non-EMI teachers were quite comfortable with their choices, for not being willing or ready to apply EMI. They were aware and attentive of the micropolitical changes in the school, but they displayed their reactions in non-offensive, witty ways:

There were several [non-EMI-implementor] teachers who felt those [anxious, envy], but they showed it through jokes or funny comments, so it was not a stressful [environment], they made a joke out of it [the policy], because there were so many teachers chose not to use English, so they got a lot of friends, they're in their comfort zone. Say, when only 5% teachers doing it, then the rest 95% were in a safe zone with their confidante. (Stanford, EMI teacher)

Meanwhile, there was also another group of teachers who tended to confront the new elites.

There were many senior teachers back then who were so challenging to be motivated. They even saw me as an enemy. … It's hard for senior teachers, when in fact they're the one who taught Math and Science, even I had to chase them around to get them enrolled in the language course. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

6.5.3.3 The new elite schools

At the meso level, the IS-School establishment was also a representation of emerging elite schools. The existing elite schools were traditional international schools that catered to expats or foreign students only. The other emerging market of elite schools were private international schools that catered to any nationalities, including Indonesians. Both types of international schools offered curricula adopted from international education agencies or from certain countries, depending on their affiliations or cooperation. Their learning and service qualities were considered high, and so were their educational fees:

[before IS-School was initiated], there were many private international schools, flourishing everywhere, like in Semarang, there was a private international school, in many big cities, too, so many schools with international labels. It was then a concern for the government,

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because they charged very expensive fees to parents and students. That's why the government initiated a policy to establish international-standard schools in every province. So this was kind of a competition, too, with those schools. … At least one international-school in each province… this was more affordable for parents and students. (Evelyn, EMI teacher)

The launch of IS-Schools demonstrated an effort by the government to provide Indonesian students and parents schools with international flavor at a much affordable cost. They're affordable because they were public government-subsidized schools. They offered internationally benchmarked curricula with international language as medium of instruction, which were supposedly intended to level the playing field with those existing elite international schools. In such a competition, Olympus and public IS-Schools were considerably new elites.

6.5.3.4 School's incentives and unequal competition

With all the upgraded programs, IS-Schools could claim grants to MONE, to be allocated for teaching learning resources (up to 30 percent of total grant proposed), physical facilities (up to 25 percent), managerial improvement (up to 20 percent), and scholarship and studentship (up to 25 percent) (MONE, 2010, pp. 26-28). The total grant for each school could be up to five hundred million rupiah (up to USD$ 50.000 based on average currency ranges during the policy period). In addition to MONE grants, IS-Schools could also propose competitive grants from local and provincial government units, especially for capacity building programs, including study visits to sister schools abroad. In addition to the above, IS-Schools were allowed to charge parents/students additional fees in order to generate revenue. The extra financial provisions above only applied to

IS-Schools and did not apply to non-international public schools. This revenue differentiation created a widening disparity, and hence, jealousy among public school networks:

> There was grants from the government to help school's finance, to improve human resource, and for other activities. This had become a source of jealousy for other non-IS-Schools. Those schools might envy us. Even some private schools then nominated themselves to be IS-Schools, so they could legalize their additional revenues from parents. Back then, it was true that there was a significant portion of funding that came from parents. (Evelyn, EMI teacher)

Responding to finance-related disparities above, members of the Olympus School thought that such jealousy was politically short-sighted. While it was true there was more money for IS-Schools, there were also more mandates and responsibilities that Olympus had to implement and demonstrate. The grants came with more responsibilities, work, and demands for teachers, as well as for a school's accountability. Such demands did not apply to non-IS-Schools:

> They didn't know what IS-School was like, and what we did here. … The grants entailed a very intense demands for teachers. [For examples] an IS-School must have at least 30% of their teachers having a Master degree. … There's that minimal percentage of teachers' education. There were also several tasks we must do in the first year, second year and onward, things like technology literacy, partnership with international entities, exchanges with schools overseas. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

Some teachers also thought that such jealousy was irrelevant. Instead of being envious regarding money or grants, those non-IS-Schools should have focused on improving their own schools' academic achievement:

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… they envied the money, while they should have envied our achievements. It's healthier if we competed on academic achievements basis, right? But it's always economic reason, always the money. … I don't think they really understood the essence. This was just irrelevant jealousy. They felt excluded, they saw us as being exclusive. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

6.5.3.5 Symbolic and cultural capital gap

The grant was not the only thing that was factored for a widened disparity among schools. The school's label, i.e. international-standard vs. national-standard) was also considered a causal factor for a deepening gap, especially among public schools. The phrase "international-standard" implied a prestigious and exclusive image for the school, which arguably could attract more parents and high-achiever student applicants. For non-IS-Schools or national-standard schools, such labelling made their institutions less appealing and greatly affected their chances to compete for high-achiever student applicants:

> They seemed to have a lower number of applicants, because parents preferred us, or maybe the students liked us more. They were proud to be admitted in Olympus. … So yes, there was a gap between IS-Schools and non-IS-Schools. … That was the example, community and parent's preference toward non-IS-Schools were not a high as their enthusiasm toward IS-Schools…. That's for sure, because as I said, parents and students were more proud when the students got enrolled in IS-Schools. So yes, there was quite a gap between IS-Schools and non-IS-Schools. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

As always, there was a mixed response from teachers of non-IS-Schools. Some teachers viewed and recognized the emerging disparity, in terms of school rank:

Among school teachers, they said, "yeaa, our school was still below the standard", something like that… or "your school was on top"… that [the jealousy] was very obvious. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

Some other teachers were not bothered at all, considering the fact that IS-Schools had been already top-ranked schools in the region; hence, the academic gap was there long before the international-standard label was promoted:

I didn't know if they [non-IS-School teachers] had jealousy or else… hmm did they feel so? I think they seemed alright. … It was not jealousy. They didn't really care of the label. (Stanford, EMI teacher)

Regardless of the mixed responses and perspectives, the international labelling or naming did reinforce the politics of stratification in Indonesia's school system, considering the pre-existing academic rank and merit of many IS-Schools (which was also a criterion for their international-standard nomination or candidacy). Hence, a disparity among schools did exist, inevitably. What should not exist or happen were political decisions that could deepen and widen the disparities.

6.6 Analysis and discussions

In this study, I identified and analyzed major technical, normative and political dimensions elicited from teachers' experiences with EMI practices in the Olympus schools, from mid 2006 to mid 2013. The policy was terminated in early 2013. However, the termination was decreed by the National Constitutional Court, and not by individual local IS-Schools. Had there been no termination in 2013, the Olympus School would have continued the policy. Hence, I could

conclude that, based on the findings, the seven-year period of policy appropriation in Olympus was relatively stable and uncontested.

From the policy decisions, transitions, and stages of implementation, there were, indeed, challenges and frictions, both overt and covert, solved and unresolved. The day-to-day implementation was definitely not all smooth. However, those challenges and tensions did not lead to any significant conflicts that led to policy rejection. In other words, strictly from teachers' perspectives, the EMI policy in the Olympus School did not meet significant resistance. EMI policy at the Olympus School fell in the stability range, rather than in the resistance or conflict zone.

Such relatively smooth, stable policy transition and appropriation were partly because of the pre-existing and prevailing norms among school members. The political consensus between institutional elites and EMI teacher implementors also contributed to the smooth transition and decision-making process, among others. In other words, the interaction between technicalities, norms and politics of EMI policy at Olympus School was relatively stable, resulting in a smooth policy appropriation and continuation. The roles and relationship of the three dimensions are visualized in the Figure 9. It magnifies how specific interacting forces—technicalities, norms and politics—within the Olympus School shaped the policy appropriation and the nature of policy outcomes.

This following section will discuss the relationship and the roles of the three dimensions above in maintaining the stability and continuance of the EMI policy at the Olympus School.

NORMATIVE PULLS:
Competitiveness & mobility
English language attitude
Schools' excellence
Citizenship and social virtues
Silver-lining culture

NORMATIVE

EMI
Policy
Dimensions

POLITICAL

TECHNICAL

POLITICAL LANDSCAPES:
Institutional elites, new authority & privileges
New elite school, new merit, & monetary incentive
Symbolic capital gap

TECHNICAL FIXES:
Teachers' assignments
Language exposure
Language use
Materials and resources
Assessments
Capacity building

Figure 9. Technical, normative and political dimensions of EMI policy at the Olympus School per this study's

data

6.6.1 Technical fixes led to wicked challenges

I describe technical dimensions of a policy as the structures (e.g. arrangements of people, materials, space and time), strategies (e.g., pedagogical and managerial governance pertaining to specific policies), and knowledge (e.g., adult learning, teacher training, capacity building) that are central to achieving the policy goals. Hence, in this study, technical dimensions focused on the kinds of structures, strategies, and capacity building that the Olympus School incorporated in order to translate the macro national EMI policy into micro, school-wide policy appropriation.

The findings revealed several major technical appropriations, from teachers' assignments, rules on language use, language exposure, to material benchmarking, assessment principles, and capacity building. Many of these internal technical alterations were a direct effort to respond to changes and challenges in the language instruction policy.

The changes referred to fundamental instructional shifts at the Olympus School, as it changed the classroom language use and some major parts of teaching preparation and performance. Prior to the EMI era, all learning activities were mediated in Indonesian, including classroom talks, materials, textbooks, discussions, exams, and homework. The changes were slated to take place after being nominated as an International-Standard School.

The challenges referred to pre-existing and emerging problems, issues, and difficulties related to EMI technical planning and implementations. The challenges varied depending on the developing situations. Language-related issues occurred throughout the years. However, in general, the perceived challenges were claimed to be diminished or became less and less significant over the years, as school and teachers applied various strategies, such as increasing material resources and adult learning programs:

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God Bless. … Even though EMI policy was not easy, it was manageable. We could implement it. Problems emerged in the initial years. Always. Every new policy would deal with problems in the beginning, but after a while, it's nothing. Just like a machine. It was so stiff in the beginning, but eventually it went smooth, easy. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

In the first years, the school leaders identified technical challenges and came up with remedies and solutions, which were also technical in nature. Technical fixes might seem affordable and feasible. However, in practice, such technical fixes led to another layer of challenges, or wicked problems.

For example, on the issues of teachers' lacking English language competence, the school leaders proposed language training as a solution. But this training solution also came with another layer of challenges, such as age, motivation, and burn out factors. The expected outputs of language training were seen as a technical measure, while in fact, the language training process would involve a complex interplay of feelings, values, and principles—all of which were non-technical factors.

Another example of a wicked challenge was teachers' voluntary assignments to apply EMI. This was a "two sides of a knife" situation. On one side, having several EMI teachers in the first one to two years helped save the reputation of the Olympus School before the Ministry of National Education (MONE) and the local provincial government. The Olympus School was considered the first IS-School cohort that was committed to apply as many instructional innovations as feasible. However, on the other hand, privileges earned by EMI teachers had created a group of institutional elites, defined by English language capacity. This created a symbolic political division, overtly and covertly, among school teachers, especially with senior aging ones.

The two examples above also signified the high logistics cost for effectively putting a language policy in place. Language training, English-written textbooks, and teachers' resource access centers, among others, were very expensive. Once the EMI policy was ended nationally, the funding decreased, and, consequently, the availability of the resources above was depleted. The only technical fixes that were "free" were teachers' EMI assignments and language use rules. Yet the incentives that came with the EMI teaching assignments, for example, also required financial support.

This study was an exemplary case on how technical challenges were smoothly and stably managed through the appeals and maintenance of the school's norms. In sum, technical dimensions of a policy (e.g., structures, strategies, capacity building) might seem affordable to manage, but the implied problems and challenges could not be managed with or through technical solutions. In the next section, I will discuss how the Olympus School was able to manage the challenges.

6.6.2 Normative pulls: Mobility, meritocracy and local virtues

The main technical aspects above denoted pragmatic approaches for transforming the school's instructional language policy and practice. Analyzing the policy appropriation from the normative dimension, I learned that prevailing values and beliefs surrounding EMI policy in the Olympus School represented key norms and values that interacted with the technical and political decisions in appropriating the policy. The ideals of student competitiveness and mobility, positive attitudes toward English, school's excellence, social virtues, and silver-lining culture powerfully shaped the EMI policy forms and functions at Olympus School. The norms represented teachers' beliefs and values regarding the expected policy outcomes on individual graduates' mobility, on

the academic merit of the Olympus schools, and on the cultural virtues that kept them experimenting with the policy to their maximum capacities.

Most teachers interpreted and valued the EMI policy in association with international mobility, utility values of English, and academic excellence and competitiveness, tied with local cultural and moral virtues. The considerations underlying these norms were hard to disagree with.

My evidence showed that teachers and other school members wouldn't mind continuing with EMI policy if it could help maintain and continue building the respectable meritocracy of the Olympus School. Students' individual mobility and academic competitiveness were definitely parts of the school's purpose. Improving students' competence in English as today's international language was an unquestionable aspiration, regardless of teaching methods. Most teachers knew that students' learning comprehension was of the utmost importance, hence, they strategized the use of English language in such as way that did not impede understanding, as discussed in the findings above. On the non-language specific goals, the grants allocated to IS-Schools allowed students to participate in citizenship and social empathy programs, which were also a vital educational orientation in the country. Nobody could position themselves against all the ideals above.

These norms or ideals had developed and evolved in each individual's mindset, over the years, with the influences of external and internal forces. They represented the interplay of internal and external forces that emerged and prevailed within the community surrounding the Olympus School. Examples of influencing external norms are mainstream society beliefs or media portrayals of the English language status and appeal in academic sectors, as well as indirect relationships between English as today's international language and mobility goals. Examples of internal forces are the spread of teachers' opinions on the social virtues and benefit of having the IS-School project

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in place. The silver-lining-seeker culture was also an example of internal values that spread among Olympus School teachers—while it is also a typical stereotype of the Javanese cultural way of valuing problems. These external and internal values together consciously and unconsciously drove and sustained the daily EMI decisions and practices, until the EMI policy was terminated by the central government—not by the school's decision.

The interplay of internal and external forces created a new moral foundation that pushed the implementation of IS-Schools and EMI policy. Instead of feeling satisfied with the Olympus academic achievements as an Ivy League national-standard school, the newly evolved norms had created additional school orientations, i.e. what could make Olympus a great international-standard institution, and how could such internationalization supposedly benefit students, teachers, and parents, among others? These international-driven orientations required the school members to agree that the new policy (along with its technicalities) were noble and doable—hence, hard to disagree with, as mentioned above. The agreements implied a moral support and commitment, which was expressed in daily activities.

For the Olympus School to be certified as an International School, it must seem normal for teachers and students to employ English as an additional language of instruction. This norm regularity did involve teachers' efforts to improve their English fluency, or at least, familiarity. Similarly, for the policy to be called EMI or bilingual or dual language, it must seem normal for teachers to use English-Indonesian bilingual textbooks and materials.

For a smooth policy transition and appropriation, the entire school community must buy into the concepts of what constitutes an International-Standard School and what constitutes an acceptable EMI practices. Once the Olympus school teachers and members bought into the concepts, a new set of norms surfaced. These norms—students' competitiveness and mobility,

positive attitudes toward English, school excellence, social virtues, and silver-lining culture—laid foundations for what constitute EMI practice in IS-Schools. These kept the school members participating in the policy in any ways they could, for the meritocracy of the school.

6.6.3 Political landscapes: New elites, incentives and growing gaps

While I learned that the school's norms drove and shaped the policy technicalities, the biggest mystery remained: how could the new norms on being international schools reduce the clear and present problems of language competence? The answer was that a smooth policy transition and appropriation would necessitate a redistribution of valued resources, materials, and intangibles (e.g. authorities, incentives, privileges). This is why it is vital to look at the political dimension, as it helped explain the entangled, complex relationships between technical structures and normative aspects of the EMI policy in the Olympus school.

In this case study, the key political themes of EMI policy at the Olympus School were exhibited in the formation of the school's institutional elites (along with their new authority, incentives, and privileges) and the rising status of the Olympus School as the new elite international school (along with their new meritocracy status and monetary incentives). The two events and processes above were believed to cause disparities among public schools, in terms of revenues and merit competitions, and thus, indirectly contribute to the increasingly unequal academic status among public schools.

The formation of Olympus institutional elites, i.e. the IS-School coordinating team, represented a political power redistribution and diplomacy process. With their allocated authority, the team led and coordinated most of the policy structures and strategies—including planning, implementing, and redesigning new strategies. Their leadership tasks involved a political process

of persuasion, deliberation, and compromise. From the beginning, part of their job was about political bargaining acts to get buy-in or committed agreement from as many school members as possible. It was also implicit in their tasks to propagate the new emerging norms (i.e. what a great international school should entail) and to pave the way for trying the EMI policy—which was a completely new language practice. Once the school members embraced the new EMI norms and practices, the team continue to improve all school members' commitments and participation through selected incentives (e.g., trainings, scholarships, and school visits) and compromises (e.g., rules of language use percentages and exclusion of grade 12 students from EMI practice).

The political dimension of EMI policy at Olympus School represented micropolitical shifts and dynamics within the school and across public schools. The political shift and nuance within schools were relatively subtle, compared to the external political and power relations across public schools. The latter one was visible due to the EMI policy consequences on the community's social construction of Olympus symbolic capital.

Findings also indicated that the transformation of the Olympus School—from an autonomous National-Standard school to an International-Standard institution—implied a creation of a new elite public school in Indonesia's schooling marketplace. The "international" label meant an expansion of school choice, from parents' and students' perspectives. Some group parents and students, especially the wealthy ones, would want to have an "international schooling experience" and a taste of EMI policy in schools like Olympus, without having to deal with academic and commercial competition with applicants of traditional, high-priced international schools. On the other hand, responding to choices and demands, Olympus and many other IS-Schools would showcase their features to compete with other schools in attracting and retaining students. Such school competition comes down to striving for excellence, where schools would attempt to provide

the highest quality education to attract both high achiever students and greater enrollment. The elite status of Olympus School was even complemented with government grants and additional tuition fees—all of which were allocated for physical and non-physical curricular development, which might not exist or endure without such grants, as some teachers claimed. With those incentives, parents, students, and schools with fewer resources were at a competitive disadvantage. Educational equity is a moving target, hence, competition in school marketplace has and will become increasingly unequal.

Through educational provisions like EMI policy, new elite schools like Olympus did utilize their economic, political, and cultural capital to acquire symbolic cultural capital. Symbolic capital signifies culturally important attributes, such as status, authority, prestige, and honor (Bourdieu, 1977a; Thompson, 1991). Academic merits—including rank, high-status titles, and qualifications—are to cultural capital what money and tangible assets are to economic capital. The forms and manners of academic merit play important roles. Students and their parents would tend to choose high schools with proper (if not high) status and qualifications, that would supposedly give them decent (if not prestigious) credential and future opportunities and mobility.

These cultural and economic considerations are very much associated with purposes of schooling, which were highlighted in the macro discourse of EMI policy in Indonesia. In the subsequent chapter of this dissertations, I will discuss EMI policy debates where schooling purposes, along with many other key issues, were exhaustedly contested, leading to the termination of the IS-School project.

6.7 Closing

In this case study, I presented findings on the Indonesia's EMI appropriation by identifying the technical, normative and political dimensions of the policy at a selected school. Aside from context specificity, the three-dimension categorization of findings also contributed to the literature on the politics of education, regarding language policy.

1. The findings suggested that the Olympus school leaders tended to respond to the new language policy by adopting more straightforward technical fixes and remedies.

2. While technical changes in structures and strategies were, indeed, an important foundation for the EMI policy to take place, such fixes would not succeed without subtle modifications in school norms and political relations (and outside schools, to many degrees). Normative aspects, as well as norm changes, involved altering "common sense" understanding about the values and merits of the EMI policy and of being an International School for the Olympus members in the daily work of schools.

3. Normative changes could not occur without the political commitment of all members. The special elite institutional team had given authority to lead a relatively smooth policy transition at Olympus School through a series of technical and normative compromises, including incentives and privileges for those willing to commit to pursuing the targeted goals of EMI policy. These elite teams did their job well in positioning themselves politically within the school and in translating government mandates into a series of technical strategies, arrangements, and capacity building in order to achieve the propagated norms and goals of the EMI policy.

Findings in this case study also spoke to those who criticized or undermined teachers' and school leaders' capacities in managing EMI policies. Many studies pointed out school's lacking capacities to meet the policy intentions and to manage challenges in the fields. I found that, despite identified problems and challenges, the school had a capacity to manage and appropriate the policy demands into deliverable tasks that school members considered successful. A successful implementation was seen from the fact that, (i) the policy did not meet any significant resistance, (ii) the school was able to negotiate the policy deliverability that were manageable for teachers while still complying with the main rationale of the policy, and (iii) there were a significant increase in the school's participations in many English-mediated forums and activities, both for students and teachers. Some forms of resistance were admittedly there, such as teachers' low participation in the English course and low number of teachers willing to voluntarily applied EMI in their classrooms. However, such low participation did not disrupt the policy continuance in Olympus School.

The Olympus case study demonstrated that, for a successful, smooth policy change, technical aspects must be accompanied, or preceded by, normative and political cultivation. Otherwise, the changes or the appropriation would be hard to maintain. Changing or altering technical patterns of an educational policy is not easy, let alone shifting norms and political power distribution within a school's network. As difficult as they are, neglecting such normative and political aspects would cost even more.

At this school level, the normative dimension of the EMI policy helped reduce or eliminate resistance. However, based on several previous studies (e.g. H. Coleman, 2011b; Darmaningtyas, 2010), the debate at the macro levels were loaded with normative issues, such as values and beliefs

on language and nationalism. This brought me to the subsequent essay or chapter, that is to investigate the contested ideas and norms framed in the EMI policy debate at the national level.

7.0 Essay 3: EMI policy debates

7.1 Introduction

In a multilingual, multiethnic, highly-populated country like Indonesia, foreign languages can be seen as a resource and a problem at the same time. These views of language have informed policy views (Ruiz, 1984), as well as sources of tension, perpetuated by varying stakeholders' interests. This is evident in the case of English language immersion in Indonesia's public schools.

My preliminary studies indicated a wide range of argumentative framings and rebuttals proposed by those supporting and those opposing the EMI policy (Sundusiyah, 2014). National policy makers justified the language policy goals based on human, social, and cultural capital development for national and global participation. Meanwhile, many critiqued the technical issues of the policies, such as teachers' English language competence and textbook supplies (H. Coleman, 2011a, 2011c; Haryana, 2007), educational norms (Sakhiyya, 2011) and power relations surrounding EMI policy practices (Darmaningtyas, 2010). Following such debates and tensions, after fewer than 10 years of implementation, the EMI policy was officially terminated in early 2013 through a judicial decision by the National Constitution Court.

Employing frame analysis and generating data from multiple stakeholder interviews, I intended to explore various frames and arguments of those in support of and those against the EMI policy. I developed this essay through the following research question: How was the EMI policy framed by various stakeholders in the debates?

In the findings section, I identify several policy frames, along with their arguments, by stakeholders in support of and those against the EMI policy. I analyzed the nature of the debates

by examining underlying norms and political views of the stakeholders' arguments. The analysis was based on broader literature in educational and social change relevant to the political economy of the English language.

7.2 EMI policy timeline

The English as Medium of Instruction, or EMI, policy was embedded in the International-Standard Schools, or IS-Schools, project in Indonesia. The concept of IS-Schools was legally introduced and mandated in Law No 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, Article 50 Clause 3, which required that central government and/or local governments make an effort to establish "one International Standard School at every educational level" (Republic of Indonesia, 2003).

In 2005-2006, the first cohort of IS-Schools was nominated, along with the initial experimental phase of EMI practice in selected courses, such as math, science, and English. Under this EMI policy, English language was used, partially or fully, as an instructional medium in the classrooms. The year marked the official launch of the EMI policy.

Many researchers conducted studies on EMI policy in IS-Schools. Their findings were mostly focused on technicality and resource (in)sufficiency, which were intended to inform MONE regarding follow-up strategies. Despite such technical challenges, the number of IS-Schools kept increasing. As of 2011, there were more than 1300 IS-Schools nationwide, consisting of more than 200 elementary schools, 356 junior high schools, 359 senior high schools, and 351 vocational high schools (Constitutional-Court, 2012).

After five year of experimenting with EMI, many local scholars investigated its effectiveness. Political issues like identity and financial discrimination arose and received strong reactions by the public, mostly through social media and news. The debates brought many elements of society, including educational activists and NGOs, to raise critiques to the Ministry of National Education, or MONE.

In 2011, a group of parents, teachers, and educational activists and advocates proposed a judicial appeal to the Court to review the Article 50 Clause 3 of Law No. 20 of 2003 on the IS-School establishment. In their petition, they requested the Court to terminate or abolish the IS-School project. The plaintiff or petitioners brought up the language policy issues as one of the primary reasons for the proposed termination. There were several judicial hearings in 2012. During this period, IS-Schools remained in practice and implemented the language policy.

The final decision by the National Constitution Court in early January 2013 was in favor of the petitioner. Hence, the IS-Schools project, along with its EMI policy, was officially ended. Existing IS-Schools had to remove their international labels and end the language policy by the next academic year of 2013/2014.

7.3 Conceptual notions: Equilibrium and conflict paradigms on social and educational changes

I attempted to understand and explain the EMI policy debates by examining the paradigms or worldviews underlying various disagreements surrounding the policy. I referred to Kuhn's definition of paradigm, i.e. the way a professional or academic community consider a field of

study, pinpoint appropriate problems, and propose concept and methods relevant to them (Kuhn in R. G. Paulston, 1976).

This section was based on work by Christina Paulston (C. B. Paulston, 1978, 1980, 1992) on theoretical frameworks of language policy. Her writings were based on Roland Paulston's selective typography of literature to explain and predict social and educational change (R. G. Paulston, 1976, 1977). Although Paulston's publications were written in the 1970s, I found the concepts and discussions are still very much relevant for this study, especially for an extended application in the educational language policy area.

Drawing on the literature of social and educational change, R.G. Paulston posited two main paradigms, *equilibrium* paradigm and *conflict* paradigm (R. G. Paulston, 1976, 1977). Generally speaking, the equilibrium paradigm emphasized the needs of incremental, smooth policy changes, while promoting harmony among societal components. Meanwhile, the conflict paradigm highlighted the inherent existence of instability and struggle within society, aiming at fostering equity and justice.

Each paradigm holds assumptions about needs, priorities, and characteristics relevant to education and social changes. The paradigm is not to label individual scholars, as Christina Paulston emphasized (C. B. Paulston, 1992). Rather, it is to identify world views and theoretical approaches embodied in scholarly work. Hence, the paradigms discussed in this section, along with its sub-theory, will be used to describe, explain, and analyze the arguments and positions of various individual stakeholders and policy actors interviewed in this study. Details on the two paradigms will be discussed below, specifically in terms of their general definitions, key characteristics, and work samples.

7.3.1 Equilibrium paradigm

The equilibrium, or functional paradigm, is a worldview of seeing educational policy changes as an effort to maintain the society in an equilibrium state (i.e. steady and stable) through the harmonious relationship of its social components, where policy changes are expected to be smooth and cumulative (R. G. Paulston, 1976, 1977). This tradition views society as a functional self-regulating apparatus that is capable of maintaining social stability and harmony. Existing or rising sociopolitical and economic struggles are considered dysfunctional elements, rather than something inherent in or embedded in the society. Equilibrium paradigm encompasses several overlapping theories: evolutionary and non-evolutionary, structural-functionalist, and system analysis.

7.3.1.1 Evolutionary and neo-evolutionary theory

Both evolutionary and neo-evolutionary theories draw heavily on Darwin's theory. It seeks to explain and predict social-educational changes in terms of sequential progression, from early or primitive phases to a more advanced phase of sociocultural categorization and specialties. Evolutionary and neo-evolutionary scholars, as indicated in their work, view that any educational systems will have to focus their needs and orientations in order to adapt to evolutionary developments of the societies. Paulston (1976, p. 7) asserts that these theories

> … are characterized by notions of progress, by stages of development from lower to higher order forms. Society is viewed as an organism with specialized structures facilitating survival. Education, as an "integrative" structure, functions to maintain stability and changes from "simple" or "primitive" forms to more complex "modern" forms in response to change in other structures.

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Considering the characteristics of evolutionary and non-evolutionary approaches, Paulston (1977, p. 377) proposes that they will be useful to "facilitate comparisons and the linking up of the stages of evolution, or development, on the one side, and the corresponding 'generic' types of education, or stages of educational developments, on the other side." However, educational policy makers and reformers should not translate any generalized comparative explanations into concrete, specific policy actions.

7.3.1.2 Structural functional

Structural functional (S/F) theory deals with sustaining harmony among societal components in order to open the path for smooth and cumulative policy changes. R.G. Paulston (1976) considers S/F approach as a twentieth-century version of evolutionary theory, to some degree. While the evolutionary thinking emphasizes adaptability toward stages of socioeconomic and cultural developments, the S/F approach focuses on mechanism to balance and to create harmony in order to avoid conflicts. Within the S/F theories, a society or an educational community is "a system of benign self-regulating mechanism" consisting of a set of values that are "extremely durable, [in such a way that] boundary exchanges between the subsystem and the environment will be equilibrating, i.e. they will tend toward "balance" (1976, p. 13). Hence, both evolutionary and S/F theorists believe in an adaptive change mechanism, where incremental adjustments could and would fix any system imbalances or conflicts. Any conflicts are deemed as influences from external forces, while intra-system conflicts are thought as indicators of internal, systemic breakdowns, which will and can be fixed eventually.

S/F theorists suggest a mutually-balancing mechanism between schools and society (R. G. Paulston, 1976, 1977). Schools are viewed as "pattern-maintenance institutions" that rely greatly on society for supports, resources, and legitimation. In turn, society heavily depends on schools to

be extended arms of families, to provide normative socialization, and to provide technical formal learning for individual youth—all to continue and maintain the intergenerational continuity and societal well being. Hence, schools and similar educational institutions serve to maintain equilibrium, or harmony, or stability in the society at large.

The influence of the structural functional approach in American education is reflected in the U.S. government position on the Bilingual Education Act (C. B. Paulston, 1978), among others. The U.S. government assumed that minority groups lacked scholastic skills required for socioeconomic success, due to unequal access and opportunity resulting from their different language, cultures, and distinctive learning styles. The immediate objective of bilingual education was then oriented "to equalize opportunity for children from limited-English-speaking families by compensatory training in English where such training can be theoretically interpreted as a balancing mechanism to enhance social equilibrium" (C. B. Paulston, 1978, p. 407).

Within S/F approaches, inequality in society is thought to be inevitable as well as necessary to maintain the existing normative order (R. G. Paulston, 1976, 1977). Inequality is inseparable from society. Such unequal comparative advantage is seen as a part of societal components that are necessary to stimulate motivation and rewards, and ultimately individual survival and society welfare.

7.3.1.3 Systems theory

Systems theory was derived from the organismic biology in natural sciences literature. The application was then extended to organized entities in the social sciences, such as social groups, personalities, or even technological devices (Bertalanffy, 1972). Systems theory, as Paulston (1977) concludes, was built based on the fields of biology, cybernetics, applied mathematics, and

information and communication theory as an attempt to provide explanations of complex phenomena in terms of isolable, reductive elements.

Considering complexities of any social phenomena, Von Bertalanffy (1972) proposed a "dynamical system theory" which consists of "mathematical description of system properties (such as wholeness, sum, growth, competition, allometry, mechanization, centralization, finality, and equifinality). These properties of dynamic systems theory were formulated and synchronized to generate differential equations.

R.G. Paulston (1976, 1977) categorizes systems theory under the equilibrium paradigm because the systems approach employs some key notions from both neo-evolutionary and functionalist perspectives, such as functional-dysfunctional, adaptive changes, and incremental processes. Systems theory is often applied to address a system dysfunctionality, or "malfunctioning," as research and development and adaptive changes (R. G. Paulston, 1976, 1977). It also has occasionally been utilized to evaluate and plan (not necessarily to explain variables within) national and local educational policies, and to formulate techniques for addressing problems or decision making processes in schools or educational systems. Examples of these would be studies of cost-benefit policy analysis and educational rates of return. However, in employing applied mathematical features, systems perspectives often failed to recognize, or intentionally excluded or condensed, values and norms of the investigated contexts (R. G. Paulston, 1976, 1977)—except those involved in the planning project who attempted to operationalize contextual variables such as power, values, and interests.

In the language learning literature, the systems theory or the dynamic systems approach has been applied in several sub-fields, such as work in second language acquisition. This work arose to respond to traditional positivist traditions of viewing language strictly as text isolated from

its speakers and contexts. In this perspective, language should be viewed as a dynamic system, which entails complexity, nonlinearity, and unpredictability, among other features.

7.3.1.4 Critiques on equilibrium paradigm

Based on several works of scholarship, R.G. Paulston (1976, 1977) identifies several critiques, or even shortcomings, on equilibrium paradigms. First, theories like neo-evolutionary and structural functional, tend to overly focus on value integration, cultural intergenerational continuity, and social harmony to the extent that they neglected or excluded existing, inevitable issues of violence, conflicts, and revolutions.

Second, equilibrium tradition is unable to explain "exogenous factors and novelty in social form, to demonstrate significant relationships, to show the mechanism of historical transition, or to describe the pathway of change, it causes, rates of change, or other key variables" (R. G. Paulston, 1977, p. 384). Third, equilibrium perspectives tend to be static, since they do not count or factor historical, social, and political norms that contribute to a policy change or reform. For a more meaningful and relevant assessment, normative rules and forces need to be accounted for in policy planning and analysis.

7.3.2 Conflict paradigm

Conflict paradigm is a worldview or theoretical approach that recognizes and emphasizes "the inherent instability of social system and conflicts over values, resources and power that follow as a natural consequence" (R. G. Paulston, 1976, p. 7). Theories that fall within the conflict paradigm tend to highlight issues of economic conflicts, ideological values, and cultural struggles, as well as conflicts arising from unfair governance, repressive institutions, and imperfect human

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nature. Theories that fall within the conflict paradigm include group conflict theory, cultural revitalization theory, and anarchistic-utopian perspective.

7.3.2.1 Group conflict theory

Group conflict theory represents analytical perspectives that highlight and concern problems of economic conflict and power exploitation. The highlighted problems range from unequal education and social opportunity, structured inequity, and persistence of poverty to wicked disparity of incomes (R. G. Paulston, 1976, 1977). From this perspective, a successful policy or reform is seen from efforts and results to address political and economic hegemony of majority ruling groups through revolutionary change. Such emphasis on political and economic inequity has several implications on ways group conflict advocates for, assesses, and explains educational issues. Assessments on and treatments for remedy inequity become preconditions or requirements for equity educational change to occur.

There are at least three key perspectives derived from group conflict theory. First, the theory views formal education and schooling as a part of top-down, structured, massive efforts by the ruling class, or the government in most cases, to maintain control of knowledge, privilege, and hegemony (Gramschi, as cited in R. G. Paulston, 1976, p. 26). The control of the ruling class was assumed to limit the independence and agency of educational actors as subordinate groups (schools, teachers, activists, etc.), as they are thought to be reliant and submissive to dominant political and economic institutions. Hence, educational change is deemed successful when there is a significant transformation of agency—e.g., cases where voices of oppressed groups win over the ruling groups.

Second, with the ruling elites controlling formal education systems, group conflict theorists view national policy initiatives as efforts to maintain and advance the status quo and interests of

elite groups, instead of those of less-privileged groups. For example, group conflict supporters could interpret a pass-fail national exam policy as a channel to maintain elites' control and status. The pass-fail exam policy could place the failing students in a bottom-level academic status, as a consequence for their failure, which could impede their access and competition for further academic opportunities, while the passing students continue defending their academic status quo and meritocracy. From this perspective, an educational policy that no longer serves the interests of the ruling elites is thought to be noble and fruitful.

Third, group conflict theorists consider that schools are linked to social production (R. G. Paulston, 1976, 1977). Differences in learning experiences and gaps in school access are thought to lead to differentiated socialization, and ultimately, to politically hierarchical societies. In other words, schools are thought to contribute to perpetrating sociopolitical inequalities among societies because of the socialization function of schooling. This is a contrasting view against the structural functional perspective that consider schools as sites for youth socialization, among others. A successful reform is, hence, when changes are accompanied with efforts to remedy the structured social relations of production.

In the literature of language policy, group conflict perspectives are embodied in work surrounding the politics of the English language (see pieces by Tollefson & Tsui, 2004; Wee, 2003). Formal education is seen as a part of the ideological structure governed by the authority or government (Pennycook, 2003).

Perspectives in group conflict theory can complement or respond to limitations of equilibrium perspective regarding the ideological, normative, and political aspects of educational change. However, as Paulston (1976, 1977) points out, with its main focus on economic and

political relations, group conflict theory is unable to provide an explanation for cultural conflict and change phenomena—which is another conflict theory I will briefly discuss below.

7.3.2.2 Cultural revival and social movement theory

While group conflict theories emphasize class disparities and inequity, cultural revitalization focuses on cultural change. Wallace (in R. G. Paulston, 1976, p. 30) suggests that cultural revival and social movement theory entails "deliberate organized conscious efforts by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture." Cultural revitalization approaches and movements often consist of "recurring phenomena, a type of culture-creating activity in collective efforts of varying size, which seeks social and cultural change that may take place at local or national levels" (R. G. Paulston, 1976, p. 30). He further explains that this perspective falls under the conflict paradigm since it has a sizable potential for both cultural conflicts and social changes. This can be seen from its intended outcomes of constructing a new set of cultural systems, including new social norms and conduct.

As cited in Paulston (1977, p. 389), Wallace asserts that cultural revitalization could happen under two conditions, high pressure at individual levels and disappointment with distorted cultural forms. Revitalization processes could take place in various types of movements, such as mass, messianic, ethnic, and revolutionary movements. A successful movement requires shared ideologies and collective action for cultural changes.

Considering the characteristics above, scholarly work on cultural revitalization primarily includes movements on valued cultural conflicts and shared-culture changes (C. B. Paulston, 1992; R. G. Paulston, 1976). Examples of revitalization perspectives in the language policy field include Hebrew and Maori language revitalization projects (May & Hill, 2005), which represented successful movements in relatively steady-state societies. These language revitalization

movements sought to create indigenous language education curricula. The biggest success factors in the two projects above were shared ideology and values (e.g., ethnolinguistic injustice, cultural revival, and aspirational hopes of marginalized groups) among stakeholders involved. Also, another success variable was collective action of supervising and controlling the language planning and implementation by local and national policy actors in order to assure logistic sufficiency and language supports (teachers, learning materials, access, etc.). In sum, while structural functional theory requires a high level of normative consensus to maintain social equilibrium or stability, revitalization theory assumes collective norms to initiate and sustain cultural changes.

7.3.2.3 Anarchistic and utopian perspectives

Anarchistic and utopian theories of social change fall into the conflict paradigm as they share goals of radical social transformation and emphasis of cultural revitalization for individual renewal (R. G. Paulston, 1976, 1977). Anarchistic-utopian frameworks, hence, are concerned with problems and remedies for institutional conflicts and human constraints.

Typically, a utopian approach starts with a value critical analysis of socio-educational reality (R. G. Paulston, 1976, 1977). Utopian insights tend to be highly idealistic and hard to disapprove. They could provoke a passionate and stimulating discussion on what learning and schooling should be, often to get a buy-in from an audience. Hence, one could employ a utopian perspective to offer insights on existing inequalities and wicked problems in education in order to develop strategies that follow.

Paulston (1976, 1977) exemplified Freire's arguments on literacy and critical consciousness as a utopian vision of learning. In his famous work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire elaborated an ideological strategy for education that was intended to librate oppressed people through dialectical, reflexive conversation, language development, and committed efforts

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to arise from cultural inferiority. His core points were self-consciousness and reflexive thinking to raise one's status and power instead of being dependent on others' directions and expertise. According to R.G. Paulston (1976, 1977), Freire's main points entailed "cultural action for freedom" when it conflicted with the elite's power and agenda, and "cultural revolution" when it occurred in peace and harmony with the ruling majority. Hence, it leans to a conflict perspective or paradigm.

Despite its usefulness for offering moral and principled insights, much utopian scholarship in education has been criticized for its negligence to validate their reform calls with scientific findings and methods (R. G. Paulston, 1976, 1977). In other words, utopian theories are very challenging to put into practice. While utopian analysts could identify what went wrong in an education system, and could invite emphatic discussions on inequality, they tend to miss clear explanations regarding how existing situations and victims of inequalities, injustice, and oppression would contribute to and affect calls to reform (R. G. Paulston, 1976, pp. 33-34). This has been one of the biggest criticisms of utopian scholarship..

To sum up, conflict theories of social and educational change described above are more concerned with remedies for greater equity and justice. In one sense, their approaches to educational inequality and injustice aim to complement the absence of these variables in equilibrium analysis. To date, both equilibrium and conflict paradigms, along with their sub-theories, remain prevalent in many works on educational and social change. Some works are dominated by one, and more attempt to accommodate and balance both views. International agencies like the World Bank and OECD, for example, have been acknowledging conflict theories to evaluate and diagnose educational issues, and cater to the equilibrium worldview for

constructing a set of normative terms to base their measures on (see World Bank project on mother tongue education in Kosonen & Young, 2009; and OECD's global competence framework in OECD, 2017).

7.4 Methods

For inquiries in this essay, I generated data from semi-structured interviews and document reviews. I used MAXQDA qualitative data software to systematize the coding process and theme categorization. The employed codes and themes were derived from literature in the politics of education and language policy, as well as concepts in equilibrium-conflict paradigm (and sub-theories) and mediation zones, discussed in the literature section. I applied frame analysis (Hulst & Yanow, 2016; Rein & Schon, 1996) to guide my analytical synthesis and finding presentations.

7.4.1 Data collection

This essay was based on the following research question: How were the EMI policies in IS-Schools framed by various stakeholders in the micro and macro-level debates? To address this inquiry, I generated data from semi-structured interviews with different groups of stakeholders and a set of selected document reviews (see Appendix F for detailed list of data for each essay). Collecting various types of data set and sub-sets was essential for me to sufficiently respond to the research questions in this study, considering the broad involvements of various stakeholders. Such data triangulation strengthened the credibility of this research as well.

7.4.1.1 Semi-structured interviews

There were three groups of interviewees for a total of 21 participants. The first group included four government officials, who were also interviewed and sampled in the Essay 1. The second group consisted of nine teachers of Olympus High School (Essay 2), including those who were not assigned to apply EMI policy in their courses. The third group were domestic and international scholars, i.e. practitioners and/or activists with diverse experience, perspectives, and stances on the policy. By combining several sampling techniques, I was able to reach out to and interview 21 individual participants of different groups—four government officials, nine school teachers, and eight scholars (five domestic, three international). They experienced EMI policy based on their distinctive positionality in the policy environment, which led to their differing opinions on policy priorities, goals, implementations, and consequences (see example of a participant profile in Appendix C). Table 9 below sums up the sampling and total participants.

Table 9. Sampling techniques and number of interviewees

Sampling Techniques	Number of interviewees	
Criterion sampling	3	Government (national, provincial)
	9	Teacher
	2	Scholar (international)
Snowball sampling	2	Scholar (intl and domestic)
	1	Government (national)
Maximum-variation sampling	4	Scholar (domestic)
Total interviewees:	**21 participants** **(4 government officials, 9 teachers, 8 scholars)**	

I applied criterion sampling to identify government officials, teachers, and scholars who met pre-determined criteria of importance specific to the research questions and were information-rich relevant (Patton, 2002). The criteria for government personnel were those actively involved in formulation of EMI policy at national or local levels. For teacher groups, there were two sub-criteria, (i) those who applied EMI policy in their classes (six participants), and (ii) teachers of languages other than English (three participants, each of whom taught Indonesian, Javanese, and Japanese languages). These teachers were members of the Olympus High School, an IS-School selected for the case study in Essay 2. I found that voices from the non-English teachers were strongly critical in this study, since their stances and positionalities very much contributed to the politics of language in the EMI debates. Meanwhile, criteria for scholar groups were those language and/or education scholars who were professionally involved in some parts of EMI policy process and who publicly showed diverse experiences, perspectives, and stances on the EMI policy. I confirmed their EMI-related involvements throughout the interview process, through their academic publications and contemporary social media platforms (e.g. news portals, editorials, blogs, Facebook posts), as well as through my colleague informants.

To enlist more scholars, I also employed *maximum-variation sampling,* or heterogeneity sampling, which is a type of purposive sampling used to capture and describe the central themes that cut across a great deal of variation (Patton, 2002). I applied this technique to identify individual scholars whose names were mentioned or involved in the Legislation Passage of Court Decision on IS-School termination (Constitutional-Court, 2012). I was able to contact four prominent domestic scholars who served as expert witnesses in the court case above. Also, I applied a *snowball or chain sampling* technique to look for information-rich key informants or sources based

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on referrals or recommendations of well-situated people or interviewees (Patton, 2002). I was able to be introduced to and reach out to additional participants from government and scholar groups.

Domestic scholars provided emic perspective, while international scholars provided etic perspectives. One international scholar was very familiar with the Indonesian education system and cultural norms; hence his insights were both emic and ethic. The other two international scholars had less familiarity with Indonesia's system; however, their perspectives on EMI and global competence helped me cross-analyze themes and findings across contexts.

For anonymity, I created pseudonyms for the all interview participants (Appendix B). Interviews were conducted in either Indonesian or English, depending on participants' backgrounds. Appendix A shows a list of questions asked of all participants. Each question led to different questions and follow ups, depending on the content of the conversation. The interview sessions occurred intermittently over 10 months. For the detailed interview procedure, see the methods chapter.

7.4.1.2 Document reviews

Interpretive document review denotes a critical interpretation of policy-relevant documents as a method to generate data (Yanow, 2000). Specific to this study, the key is to understand how policy-relevant stakeholders make meaning of an activity or a message in the minutes, report, or legislation. In other words, it is how meanings are construed and represented in policy and practice through frames and/or arguments proposed in the documents. The review process included identifying main messages (e.g. of those against the policy, those in support of the policy, and argumentative rebuttal), categorizing messages by thematic contents, keyword-searching of emerging themes (e.g. global competence, national identity, nationalism, injustice, and competition), and synthesizing messages.

To respond to EMI debate inquiries in this essay, I primarily reviewed the Constitutional Court of Republic of Indonesia's Decision Number 5/PUU-X/2012. This Court's decision was the primary government-issued policy document that uncovered most of the debate discourse surrounding the EMI policy in IS-Schools. It was also a legal provision that officially terminated the IS-School nationwide project, along with the EMI policy. This 200-page-plus legal document revealed petitions and rebuttals by various stakeholder groups from different affiliations and capacities—from parents, teachers, school principals, and government officers, to educational scholars/activists. These stakeholders held differing EMI-relevant framings and arguments. The document explicitly divided the groups into two, those who supported the IS-Schools *versus* those who were not in support. Such divisions allowed me to identify at least two extreme variations of themes—agree vs. disagree, or in support of vs. against.

In addition to the primary legal document above, I also reviewed several policy documents and policy-relevant artifacts that were mentioned explicitly and implicitly by participants during the interviews. These included school archives, teachers' personal files, and documented pictures that were used to support claims or examples.

All documents above were collected and sorted based on at least four criteria, source validity (e.g., issued or given by authorized institutions or individuals), type significance (i.e. weight, consequence), content relevance, and publication year (from 2012-2013). Some documents were generated online, offline and on-site, during or after interview sessions. Most school-wide archives and photos were taken by me during school visits. For a complete list of reviewed documents, see Appendix F.

7.4.2 Critical-value frame analysis

I primarily guided the examination and discussion in this essay based on a critical-value frame analysis (Hulst & Yanow, 2016; Rein & Schon, 1996). Framing generally involves deliberate attempts to influence others; values, beliefs, and sense-making processes and eventually to inspire and drive certain actions. Frame analysis has been applied in many studies in educational language policy, especially for identifying and analyzing how educational leaders frame their policy messages strategically to convince or to get support from different multi-tier stakeholders (Schmidt, 2000 ; Swaffield, 1998).

Frame analysis can be applied in several different ways, such as neutral-value and critical-value analysis. Some studies employ a neutral-value frame analysis (Rein & Schon, 1996), which focuses on examining "core framing tasks" for the purpose of framing, such as diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational. Diagnostic framing identifies issues to be resolved; prognostic framing endorses or promotes certain actions to resolve the issues; and motivational framing justifies the reasons for taking action to resolve the issues. A neutral-value frame analysis tends to intentionally exclude identification of values and ideologies (e.g., normative and political dimensions) to avoid unnecessary "value-smashing exercise" among conflicting stakeholders (Schmidt, 2000 p. 7).

In this study, however, the normative and political aspects of EMI policy were apparent and influential in rerouting the policy course—from internationalization publicity to infamous policy termination. Therefore, I apply critical-value frame analysis to identify normative and political aspects surrounding the debates of EMI policy in IS-Schools (Hulst & Yanow, 2016; Rein & Schon, 1996).

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Typically, a critical-value frame analysis is employed to explore conflicting norms embraced by two or more communities, and to identify the language or the stories used to "frame" the issues. A critical-value frame analysis consists of steps to identify and describe arguments and values that underlie respective frames (Hulst & Yanow, 2016). Ideally, and if the data allow, critical frame analysis deals with not only the framed values and messages (*what*), but also the frame-makers' identities and positionalities (*who*), the way messages are framed (*how*), the meta-communicative framing of policy processes (*how,* e.g. communicative instruments, cues, and evidence), and the intertwining of framing (*what*, e.g. cross-comparative frames, counter arguments, rebuttals) (Hulst & Yanow, 2016). In this study, with the available data, I attempt to identify as many elements as possible. However, the main findings would at least identify the framed messages, underlying arguments, and frame-makers' identities and positionalities.

7.4.3 Course of analysis

While the actual process was non-sequential and marked with several iterative process, below I outline the course of frame analysis I undertook. The following steps for critical frame analysis combine procedures suggested by Hulst and Yanow (2016), Rein and Schon (1996) and Schmidt (2006b):

- Identifying issues in the debates

  This was intended to establish a deeper contextual understanding, by making sense of main ideas played out in the debates, concepts, contexts, and relationship used by the selected stakeholders to express their views on the EMI policy.

- Identifying and describing core value, supporting arguments, examples, and evidence (if any) and raw themes

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Using MAXQDA software, I performed a multilayer open and axial coding process. It involved labelling data with pre-determined codes, derived from several concepts from my references (see Appendix G for list of pre-determined codes), altering the codes when necessary, adding more information from additional data set (such as pictures and school archives) to clarify or support the claimed values and arguments.

- Identifying participants' backgrounds and views

I created a simplified profile for each interviewee, which briefly listed their roles and involvement in the policy process, and their positionalities toward the EMI policy (agree, disagree, in between, etc.).

- Refining identified frames

I applied recurrent selective coding as this stage served many purposes. Selective coding was to refine raw themes and categories; to link them with additional data that could serve as examples, evidence, warrant, and the like; to identify strategies or communication instruments used by stakeholders to channel their framed messages; and to identify relationships across themes and categories (e.g. rebuttal against one's argument or similar framing across different settings).

- Cross-analyzing main frames, values, categories, contexts, and literature

This was the stage for refining the whole analysis course, i.e. by performing another sense-making route, naming the framings (e.g. selecting, categorizing, cross-comparing), and synthesizing findings in sensible ways.

I had to be particularly cautious when identifying and describing the framed messages, values, and arguments. There were dangers of over-thinking rhetorics and overgeneralizing framings across individuals within one group. The over-thinking rhetorics could happen when the

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framed issues were based on hypothetical examples, weak predictions, irrelevant contexts, or language-related fallacies. Examples were an highly-appraised economic value of English language as an independent variable to success, and a weak hypothetical prediction on major local language loss. The latter could happen when those in favor of EMI policy had completely differing opinions, values, and rationales regarding their reasons for supporting the policy. They were in the same group of EMI supporters, but they hold different values and reasonings.

My challenge was that I still had to reveal and clearly present those frames, messages, or rhetorics, especially when they were extensively deliberated and endorsed by many stakeholders. This was where I needed the hermeneutic aspect of interpretive study, which allowed me to reinterpret and represent such findings in a more balanced way, without lessening or diminishing participants' values and baggage.

7.5 Findings

My analysis of the interview transcripts and policy document revealed 12 themes of frames about the overall EMI policy issue. Each of the frames expressed a different perspective, by multiple stakeholders, on the underlying issue of EMI policy goals, implementations, and consequences. They revealed distinctive preferences for language education priorities, relative success, and functions of schooling.

I grouped the findings into three categories, based on its main argument: (1) focused on English as medium of instruction (EMI) practices, (2) focused on English language, and (3) focused on the international-standard school (IS-School) establishment. Table 10 below summarized the findings based on three focused-categories above.

Table 10. Identified framings focusing on three categories

No	Categories	Framings	
		In support of the policy	Against the policy
1	Focus on EMI practices		EMI-teachers shortage
			Insufficient logistics
			Linguistic exclusivism
			Law violation
2	Focus on English language	Utility values of English	
		Symbolic values of English	
			Detrimental for national identity
			Speeding up local language loss
3	Focus on IS-School establishment	Global competitiveness	
		Trickle down quality improvement	
			Expensive
			Perpetuating inequality
			Neo-liberal education

7.5.1 Focus on practices of English as Medium of Instruction (EMI)

Frames focusing on EMI practices referred to the technical, normative, and political aspects of EMI implementations in schools—not the language per sé. There were four identified EMI-focused frames raised by stakeholders who disapproved the policy.

7.5.1.1 EMI-teachers shortage (against EMI)

There were two identified frames. First, opponents of EMI policy strongly criticized the fact that there were only a handful of teachers who could teach content in English. Most teachers

showed minimal fluency in English language for general purposes, let alone for teaching subject matter. From the beginning of the policy launch, there had been a shortage of teachers who were capable of implementing EMI. In addition, some teachers felt frustrated or intimidated by the policy due to their lack of English. Secondly, with teachers' English limitations, EMI practices could disrupt the way teachers taught and impede students understanding.

Counter-arguments were raised by some teachers and government officers. They argued that teachers would not risk students' content comprehension and that schools gave flexibility on EMI appropriation. One teacher gave an interesting insight, arguing that the frame "impede understanding" could be based on partial observation.

Argument: Teachers' English competence were minimal and/or were not ready to teach in English language.

Teachers' lack of English competence was one of the main arguments to frame disapproval of EMI practices. The policy promoted the use of English for instructional teachings, yet most teachers were not even active, fluent users of English. In an instructional language policy like EMI, teachers' English language competence plays the biggest role for an effective practices and outcomes. Meanwhile, in most IS-Schools, the in-service teachers were Indonesian native speakers who were not trained to teach subject content in English language:

Of course, many schools faced difficulties where their Math and Science teachers did not demonstrate competence in English language. (Imelda, domestic scholar)

Almost all teachers dealt with the same issues. They were issues of English language competence and, on the other side, of ability to deliver materials in English. That's the biggest problem of the policy. When a school was transformed into an International-

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Standard School, and had to administer the EMI policy, the language issue became the greatest challenge. Only a handful schools and teachers who did not have language problems. (Daniel, domestic scholar)

Some scholars also noticed that EMI policies significantly burdened and disrupted teachers' teaching practices. In the first years, many teachers prepared some kind of conversation scripts, in an effort to include some English in their teaching. Most teachers would create presentation slides in English and speak in both English and Indonesian languages, whichever was easier for them. They needed more time and effort to prepare their English-written props, such as conversation scripts, presentation slides, handouts, worksheets, and homework assignments. These were very common in the first years, when their textbooks were limited and were not bundled with worksheets or exercise books:

> This was my personal experience. I only can tell from what happened to me. So I decided to create a teaching script in English. I wrote it quite details, what to say and everything, including motivational sentences to students. I scripted almost everything. But then I ended up stuck with the script. My words were limited to what I scripted on paper. So it's hard for me to improvise when I had to speak English all the time. … When the discussion expanded to other topics, or any unplanned conversations, I found it difficult to keep using English. So some of my lessons were clumsy, as I tended to stick up on my script…. But for impromptu classroom activities, I didn't always use English. This was on the first weeks though. After that I just went back and forth between English and Indonesian languages. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

Some teachers even felt intimidated with such language policy demands. They felt undervalued or not confident before their colleagues. The power shift was apparent between senior

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teachers with limited English and junior teachers with better English fluency. One scholar even observed a teacher feeling inferior and humiliated by her student(s) due to her English limitations:

> In my observation, many teachers complained… some great, senior teachers, with longstanding teaching experiences, they felt marginalized due to their English competence and the policy demand. They felt unconfident as they did not possess any levels of English competence. (Nancy, domestic scholar)

> There were some cases that I came across where RSBI pupils from upper middle-class homes already had quite a high level of mastery in English whereas their teachers had very limited English. This created very difficult situations in which the teachers felt inferior or inadequate or intimidated and the pupils had no respect for the teacher. Indeed, I observed an English lesson in a school in *Menteng* [Jakarta] where this happened; the pupils were out of control and the teacher felt humiliated because her English was so much weaker, and less confident, compared to her pupils. (Harrison, domestic scholar)

Counter-argument: Schools did not force teachers to employ English, and not all teachers were frustrated.

A counter argument to the above was proposed by several teachers of Olympus School, as discussed in Essay 2. Many claimed that teachers did not force themselves to use English, should they not be fluent and incapable of using English for instructions. Olympus teachers were aware enough to not risk their teaching-learning outcomes over a language they were not familiar with. They could opt not to implement EMI if they were not ready or fluent enough. Instead, they could employ some English terms in their presentation slides and handouts, code-mix between English

and Indonesian during classroom interactions, or only use English to highlight some basic English scientific terms in their fields:

> I don't think we actually practiced EMI. We called our classes international-standards, but teachers could use either Indonesian or English language, whichever they were good at. So, the point is, teachers could choose to use Indonesian, instead of English. Several teachers were good and fluent. But in general, honestly, there were more teachers who were not able and not ready to use English for teaching. But the school did not force them to. (Anthony, EMI teacher)

Some government officials confessed that, after knowing the language problems in most schools, the Ministry actually never pushed teachers to employ English if they were not ready. The main outcome of the school internationalization was quality improvement, rather than its language policy:

> If using two languages could disrupt the classroom learning process, then just leave it, don't use English … To me personally, the language policy in IS-Schools was not the most important feature. I did criticize the policy, why imposing dual language or EMI when, in fact, we knew teachers 'limited English capacities. The teaching learning activities should not be disrupted due to teachers' language issues. To me, EMI was a secondary feature, except if teachers and students were ready. … I was one of many who disagree with EMI experimentation, promotion of English for instruction, and so on. It's not necessary. (Thomas, government)

Most government officials admitted that EMI policies had a signficant effect on teachers' daily work. But they didn't believe that teachers felt frustrated or intimidated, since they could choose not to implement EMI in their classes. They also believed that many other younger teachers

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were actually excited with EMI policies, since they felt challenged to activate and improve their English:

> Yes, once again, that our human resources varied, from senior to junior teachers. Of course, the old senior teachers had resistance, as they had been using Indonesian language in their teaching careers all these years. But for the younger ones, they were excited. The practice was imposed, yes, because when we're going to start if it was never tried. I saw this as a natural learning process for teachers, too. The seniors could use Indonesian if they chose, too, and the junior ones would eventually get used to EMI, then everything would run as intended eventually. (James, government)

Argument: Teachers' lacking English could impede students' comprehension.

Most teachers could either not speak or not be familiar with English use on daily basis. Many scholars believed that such a limitation would negatively affect the way lessons were delivered and discussed, and hence, impede students' understanding:

> On teachers' side, they had limited English fluency. This led to two problems. First, how much teachers understood what they taught when teaching in English. Second, how fluent they were when delivering materials in English. These two could confuse students and affect their understanding. (Daniel, domestic scholar)

> This harmed the learning process… when teachers' language competence was weak, students did not understand what their teacher said, then the students did not get anything, not the lesson, not even proper language inputs. (Imelda, domestic scholar)

Counter-argument: Assumptions on impeded understanding were based on partial observations.

Most teachers disproved the frame above. They claimed that they would never risk comprehension over language use experimentation. The framing of "impeding students' comprehension" was assumed by many who did not actually observe the classes (and the teachers) on a daily basis over a long period of time. In other words, the observers or the researchers made such conclusions based on partial observation. Even worse, the observed activities could have not reflected actual daily activities, as many teachers would self-impose themselves to employ English.

There were cases, when being observed (mostly for research or report), some teachers acted as if they were already used to teaching in English, regardless of their ability. They intentionally pushed themselves in order to demonstrate to the observers the school's commitment to EMI policy. They tried to save the school's face at the risks of their English (in)competence being assessed. They knew the research observations would only occur for a short period of time. The rest of the semester they would be unobserved, and they would switch back to language(s) they were comfortable with teaching (with some prepared materials written in English to partly comply with EMI policy). Essentially, student's comprehension was not at risk:

> So when being observed, some teachers tried to show their best. Let say, a geography teacher, with limited English, would even try to speak in English when being observed for a research, for example. Yes, it sounded unnatural. That's because, first, he wanted to show their best effort, so he could be considered good. Second, it was to uphold the school's prestige. That's true. Just like Olympus school. There's an impression that, it would feel odd if, as an Olympus teacher, he did not do things well. … Because Olympus is a prestigious school, their teachers must be perfect, too, so they would do their best, even

with their limited English. That's what happened. … This was quite often… not just in Olymous School, but in other IS-Schools, too, their teachers would make an attempt to use English when being observed, while they actually did not use English in their daily teachings. (Anthony, EMI teacher)

I could confirm such phenomenon of self-imposed language use. When planning my supervised research (Sundusiyah, 2014), I casually observed two classes in one of the IS-Schools in Semarang City, in order to get the feel of EMI practices. In my observation, I knew the teacher tried so hard to speak as much English as she could, regardless of her English limitations. She also kept calling on the same students, whose English was very good, to respond to her prompt questions. To me, the classroom interactions did not flow naturally as it could have on a daily basis.

While teachers' lacking competence had been commented on and negatively framed, students' English competence was less criticized. All participants seemed to assume that students had sufficient English competence and would not cause any significant troubling issues. For most students, English is a foreign language that has been learned for more than three years during junior high school. Students might be familiar with English or have become active English users, but most of them did not use English natively outside classrooms. My guess is that teachers' lacking English was framed and loudly criticized in order to get the policy reviewed—and terminated eventually. In this study, I did not interview students to get their perspectives and experiences, since it was not easy to reach out to students of the Olympus School who had already graduated.

7.5.1.2 Insufficient logistic (against EMI)

This oppositional frame was repeatedly expressed by most domestic scholars. They argued that EMI policy was implemented with insufficient logistics at school levels. The logistics here referred to both minimal logistics (e.g. textbooks, teaching aids) and poorly designed training. These scholars laid out their arguments in interviews as well as in their research articles and reports and in writing during a judicial review session at the Constitutional Court. In various ways, they referred to insufficient logistics, such as schools' minimal preparation, insufficient materials, ambiguous international curriculum, and poor textbooks, among others.

Argument: Logistics were poorly managed and limited, and hence, could hurt the practices themselves.

Logistics in this section referred to textbooks for students, worksheets, teachers' handbooks, homework materials, evaluation materials (including end of semester exams), web-based supplementary materials, and adapted international curricula. Some scholars observed that many schools started the EMI policy with limited, insufficient English textbooks. Additional English materials were limited, too, such as web-based handouts, which depended on teachers' time and technology aptitude. Insufficient preparation in the first implementation years would be seen as schools' incapacity in appropriating the policy. This eventually would hurt the policy itself:

> ... then I checked what textbooks they had… the books were written in English, on the left side, and Indonesian language on the right side… the quality was very poor, the translation seemed to rely on google translation… so many grammatical mistakes. Those were the available books, and those were only for few courses. (Nancy, domestic scholar)

Regarding the international curriculum, many IS-Schools claimed to develop and adapt it from Cambridge International. Such curriculum was thought ambiguous since it was developed by adapting materials from Cambridge International Exam Center, a testing center that provided educational tests and materials. This was often confused with the University of Cambridge.

> Many schools thought they had an international curriculum because they adapted their materials from Cambridge. What did they adapt of? Cambridge is a testing center, not the University of Cambridge. … Many IS-Schools claimed their schools had a partnership with Cambridge… This was confusing and not right. (Imelda, domestic scholar)

Access to Cambridge materials and tests were very expensive. Many IS-Schools spent a significant amount of their grants to purchase materials from the Cambridge International (and to pay their exam licenses) in order to build their international curriculum.

Counter-argument: Logistics were limited in the beginning only, as more textbooks and materials were available in the subsequent years.

Schools and teachers admitted that logistics were limited in the first year, when teachers used available Indonesian textbooks, and added some English materials as handouts or modules. However, they claimed that more materials were developed and available in the second year onward. When schools received the MONE grants, they allocated funds for English-written or bilingual textbooks. Schools were able to allocate their first-year grant to purchase teaching and learning materials in the second year onwards. Some schools like Olympus were able to set up a resource center for teachers to learn English and access English-written references. Within two to three years after the policy launch, there were many domestic publishers selling their English-Indonesian dual-language textbooks. See Appendix I for examples of textbooks.

Argument: Language trainings for teachers were not effective and did not solve teachers' language problems.

Many scholars asserted that teachers' English language trainings were not maximal and rather off-target. One of the expert witnesses during the judicial hearing mentioned that the language trainings for teachers were not effective and did not even solve teachers' language problems. The trainings were sporadic, with no coherent curriculum or course structures. The training formats were far from ideal, such as big classes with more than 50 people. They were incidental, e.g. one-week long, and focused on generic English conversation rather than English for academic purposes:

> First, sending Teachers to take a short-term English course with the expectation that they will be able to teach in English in 6 months is, in fact, not enough. According to the Expert, rather than engaging Teachers in sporadic trainings, according to the Expert such trainings should be thoroughly conducted in accordance with the needs for enabling children to think not only to win an Olympic contest.

> If there is a joint training, the participants are approximately 50-100 persons that exceed the capacity for a skill training. Moreover, the Expert once dealt with 200 Teachers in a province in order to enable them to teach in English and they were teachers from elementary schools, junior high schools, senior high schools and vocational high schools. I said, "Wow! Even if this work is assigned to a superior trainer from another country, he/she will not be able to do it" because in 5 days he/she was asked to enable more than 100 persons to be able to teach using English language. It was already difficult to get them to say "how are you today? I'm fine." This matter should be deep concern of the Government.

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In this matter, it seems as if the element of linguistic capability is the only thing required. In fact, there is a pedagogical element in teaching other fields in a foreign language which is also important, for instance, a technique to stimulate thinking in English Language. The question is have fellow teachers ever conducted such matter in Indonesian Language so that they can subsequently transfer it in English Language. The other technique is to stimulate students to reiterate what are taught to them, and so on. Asking students to be able to ask questions is not an easy task and it cannot be conducted with a limited linguistic skill, and it is also not easy even to ask in Indonesian Language. How about the teaching materials? Three teaching materials are for three subjects, namely Mathematics, Natural Sciences and English Language. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, pp. 71-72)

Language learning and language acquisition take quite some time. It then takes additional training to use the language for academic teaching purposes. Providing language training immediately after the policy launch (instead of prior to) seemed to oversimplify the policy requirement and the actual learning needs of most teachers.

Counter-argument: Schools had budgets and plans to improve human resources, including English language competence.

While realizing the complexity of language acquisition process, several government officers argued that teachers' language trainings were a long-term program, and that training strategies changed only a few times, depending on teachers' progress and each school's budgets:

True, that teachers' English competence was low, but they needed to start first. They had intensive trainings. It's a part of schools' improvement, to have a better quality. … MONE

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was aware of the minimum resources many IS-Schools had… that's why IS-Schools were required to identify their problems, to draft their five-year plan, so they could identify their problems, what to improve, and whom they should work with. (Patrick, government)

Also, trainings for IS-School teachers were not just about English, but also about instructional technology and professional development. These various content trainings surely affected schools' budget for a more intensive teachers' language course.

Counter-argument: MONE facilitated colleges provide pre-service teachers with EMI-related trainings.

In their defense, government officers claimed that MONE had prepared several policy instruments to advance human resources, including for in-service and pre-service teachers. There were language trainings for in-service teachers to get familiar with English for instruction. There were also scholarships for IS-School teachers to pursue graduate studies. Regarding language capacities, several teachers were also told to work on curriculum and courses for preparing pre-service teachers to teach content in foreign languages like English:

The plan was going to that direction, there would be hiring policy focusing on language competence, and teacher colleges would offer courses to support bilingual programs… Teacher colleges were responding the IS-School trends. There were several colleges which started to equip their graduates with dual language teaching skills. Those were to respond the IS-School development at that time. (James, government)

7.5.1.3 Linguistic exclusivism (against EMI).

Several scholars called for policy termination since EMI was thought to potentially create linguistic exclusivism among schools. Government officers countered this argument, stating that linguistic exclusivism could happen due to a modified language policy by some IS-Schools. MONE would never have any intention to promote exclusivism among schools.

Argument: EMI created linguistic exclusivism among schools, due to its language policy.

Those in opposition argued that such language policy had created exclusivism in public schools. Considering the government version of EMI goals (in relation to utilitarian and symbolic values of English language; see relevant section below), students of IS-Schools were oriented toward gaining a more competitive language skill set. Meanwhile, the regular non-IS-Schools' students did not have such special provisions:

> Whereas the emphasis on English in international standard schools such as RSBI and SBI also gives rise to language-based discrimination and division of classes in the education system. The students having English proficiency will be the "first class" students, while the students without English proficiency will be the "second class" students. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 48)

This led to what was called language-induced or linguistic exclusivism within public school networks, with English language as a determining factor. Hence, IS-Schools were seen as more exclusive than non-IS-SchoolsThis created dualism in the school's system, one that uses Indonesian and one uses English.

Counter-argument: Differentiated language treatments were school decisions, where MONE couldn't intervene much.

Government officers, both national and local, clarified that each IS-School had its own strategies to appropriate EMI policies. Meanwhile, MONE had a responsibility to supervise IS-School practices, but MONE had limited authority to give sanctions to schools:

It's possible that some IS-Schools thought they were capable of applying EMI according to their appropriated plans… we [MONE] were not in a position that prohibit schools to innovate… if they wanted to try things out, go ahead and innovate… and evaluate, if things went south, go fix or stop them… So in this context, we let them do experiment, we support offices and schools to develop teaching innovations, and we called on them to evaluate their programs. We didn't provide scripts for their plans and programs. That would be back to MONE being too centralistic again. The idea was for schools to exercise school-based management and decentralization… It's normal that some schools or offices might be a bit jumpy with all school-based innovation. (James, government)

Almost all IS-Schools planned to experiment and develop EMI as a part of their innovation for being nominated as international schools. Each school had different strategies for EMI appropriation. Some would do dual language, code mixing, or have an English day once or twice a week (using English all day for all purposes only on a certain day).

While few IS-Schools had controversial strategies, critiques were then attributed to all IS-Schools and the policy as a whole. Several IS-Schools, especially in Jakarta, had differentiated classes in the same building, where few classes were called "international classes with EMI" and the rest were "regular classes." This type of strategy sparked controversy for linguistic

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exclusivism. Although MONE heard or knew of this school-based practice, it was beyond MONE's authority to intervene or even penalize schools for trying to innovate:

> In that case, indeed, there was something missing, we discussed it with the schools, but they already signed up for twinning or sister school programs with schools abroad. Then it led the schools to have international classes, separated from regular non-international classes. … For them, it was a pilot project, since the schools did not have budget to transform all classes to be international-standard. (Patrick, government)

> It was several IS-Schools in Jakarta who had special international classes in their buildings, that's what created divisiness… we warned them, but they insisted to pilot [their international class]… Jakarta had their own special policy… special autonomy for the nation's capital city… they considered themselves capable of allocating the budget, of accelerating the school's internationalization program. (Patrick, government)

7.5.1.4 Violation of language policy law (against EMI)

Several scholars argued that EMI practices violated the language policy law that required Bahasa to be the official language for instructional teachings. Teachers and government explained that ISS did not replace the status and the instructional use of Indonesian with English, except for math and science courses, when possible.

Argument: EMI violated the language policy law that required Bahasa to be the official language for instructional teaching.

Oppositional groups did not completely negate the utility of English language learning. However, they argued that the implementation of English as a language of instruction did violate

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the law. First, it dishonored the 1945 Constitution, Article 36, that specifies Indonesian language to be the official, mandatory language at schools. Second, it also violated Article 29 Verses 1, 2, 3 of the Law No. 24 Year 2009 concerning National Flag, Language, Emblem and Anthem (Republic of Indonesia, 2009):

> The Expert has not rejected foreign languages at schools, as foreign languages certainly deserve to be learned at schools but they are only regular subjects in addition to other subjects. They are not to be used as the languages of communication of learning in place of Indonesian Language. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 81)

> The article 36 of the 1945 Constitution asserts that "the state language is the Indonesian language", so all state-attributed activities must be conducted in the Indonesian language, including teaching learning activities in schools. … because this is a legal case, so I referred to the law, that was the Constitution and the Law 24/2009 on language. (Charles, domestic scholar)

The mandatory use of Indonesian for instructional activities also applied to private schools—except for international private schools for foreigners. A scholar mentioned that even religious-based private schools had to use Indonesian as the language of instruction:

> Back then, there was a Catholic [international] school in Jakarta that applied English as their instructional language… then they switched to Indonesian language. …. There was also an Islamic school, *Jam'iyatul khoir* that used Arabic language, but switched to Indonesian language since 1958. … They [even] had an awareness to use Indonesian language for medium of instruction. (Charles, domestic scholar)

Counter-argument: EMI did not mean to replace Indonesian with English.

Government officers clarified that English should not be interpreted as a language replacement. Indonesian remained to be used in most teaching-learning interactions inside and outside the classroom, spoken and written. EMI was applied in math and science courses only, when possible:

> Indonesian language as the national language remains the language of communication of education. English and other foreign languages are used only for universal scientific communication in social communication and in the context of interaction among nations. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 149)

7.5.2 Focus on English language

Frames focusing on English language were meant to frame the status of English; the uses, acquisition, and distribution of English language; and the structural forms of English (the latter was not mentioned or found in this case).

The supporters of EMI framed the language practice as a language learning strategy to facilitate youth English functional literacy development. Their arguments focused on the English language acquisition of youth, considering the utility or instrumental values of English, in order for the youth to be able to function in development sectors at global or international levels.

7.5.2.1 Utility, instrumental values of English (in support of)

Supporters of EMI saw the choice of English as a medium of instruction had much to do with the utility of English today. Most of these supporters were government officials and several

school teachers, especially those involved in managing the school-wide implementation (see institutional elites in Essay 2). They viewed English as an essential tool for political diplomacy, a required asset for academic mobility, and a salable skill in the job market. A counter-argument to this, proposed by a few scholars, was that English competence is necessary but not enough to lead to all those expected benefits and mobility.

Argument: English has been considered and used for political diplomacy at regional and international levels.

Proponents, especially on the government side, suggested that the role of English in diplomacy was one of the main considerations for choosing English as the medium of instruction in IS-Schools. The rationale of the policy was also very much about the use of English for today's international political interactions across regions. The young generations were considered the nation's future ambassadors; hence it was vital to prepare their English competence as early as possible through EMI intervention:

> In the context of realizing the national goal of developing the intellectual life of the nation as set out in the Fourth Paragraph of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, the Government has spelled out such goals into the Strategic Plan of Ministry of Education and Culture. The implementation of education is directed toward one of the goals of the state of Indonesia as set out in the Preamble to 1945 Constitution is to partake in implementing world order based upon independence, eternal peace and social justice. In order to achieve this goal, English language and/or other foreign languages are taught so that the Indonesian nation is capable of communicating actively and has broad knowledge in international relationships. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 127)

In the Southeast Asia region itself, English has been the working language of Asean nations. This also became the main rationale for choosing English as a medium of instruction in IS-Schools:

> That's right, the Asian Economic Community have been using English as a working language. In every meeting with those eleven countries of ASEAN, we must use English. (George, government)

Argument: English has been considered a necessary asset for academic mobility.

IS-Schools were oriented to prepare their students and graduates for international mobility in academic fields. Since English has been appraised as an international academic language, the outcomes of EMI experience were expected to help students to advance in their academic careers, such as in academic or science competitions and for study abroad after high school or college:

> It is intended for enabling the children to compete when following the competitions at the international level. We know that one of the international languages is English. Therefore, we support our children with one of such languages. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 163)

> … a noble intention, that was to prepare students to study abroad, who knows someday, so they could be more ready for it. (Stanford, EMI teacher)

> … so that we could prepare our students to be able to compete in a global level, say, competing for a test at NTU [Nayang Technical University] or at Oxford [University], and the like. They could answer questions in English. They could complete tests that were written in both Indonesian and English language, especially tests for college or university admission. (Anthony, EMI teacher)

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Argument: English has been a salable skill set in job markets.

Supporters of this argument believe that English as an international language serves as a necessary skill set required for getting many types of jobs or promotions. English competence has been seen as a salable skill set in the job market—from job opportunities, to retainment, to promotion—at domestic, regional, and international levels. This applied not only at transnational companies, or any companies with global relations, but also at local and national companies in domestic markets. Also, with more foreigners and expats working in national companies or institutions, the domestic job market has been more competitive than ever before. The youth are, and will be, competing for jobs with international workers and migrants, both in the country and abroad.

> Yes, I think in the end it's also about workforce. Considering how vast the regions in Indonesia is, our workforce policy should not be about exporting labor to other country, but also about supplying workforce for the domestic market. … what happened now is that we had been flooded with foreign expert workers from other countries, while we have many Indonesians work in other countries as low-level workers, so we the generated fiscal return had been low. (Patrick, government)

The English language has become more and more of a salable commodity with regard to global business and marketing (Tan & Rubdy, 2008). For many, English learning represents an investment in cultural capital, which can then be exchanged in the domestic and global labor market (Heller, 2003; Rassool, Canvin, Heugh, & Mansoor, 2007). In this context, English has continued to be highlighted as a key element of modernity and has gained high exchange value.

Counter-argument: English language is necessary but not sufficient to cause one's achievement and mobility.

Several scholars strongly argue against the "worrying phenomenon on global English rush" (Harrison, international scholar). English has been falsely credited with leading to one's socio-economic mobility. While English competence and/or multilingual background could add value to one's working performance, businesses are also looking for other soft skills:

> There's a larger piece where recruiters and businesses—high value-added industries, manufacturers, professional services and alike—are looking for more flexible employees with better risk-taking skills, with better critical thinking, with better soft skills, critical thinking, intrapersonal communications, and problem solving. And there's an implicit correlation made among employers that [global] bilingual/bi-literate individuals who have perhaps live and work abroad are more likely to have those critical thinking, those critical soft skills. (Bruce, international scholar)

I managed to interview an OECD official who worked on global competence. Specifically, the goal of the interview was to find out the role of language competence in their global competence framework, and to see if there were any major languages they explicitly promoted for international interaction. The OECD's concept of global competence included foreign language competence for intercultural knowledge and awareness, which leaned more on the idealistic view of school internationalization. However, it did not mention the relationship between language and mobility:

> We never prescribed policies to countries. What you can expect at the end of this work is that we make a case of developing global competence, like getting to know about the world, about other cultures, as a way to go up global citizen, respectfully peacefully interact with

each other. We have some policies recommendation and one of the policy recommendations would be to put in place language policies that not only proficiency of the language, but also instrument for getting to know of other places. … So one possible recommendation would be to reflect and to engage in process of rethinking how language is told in the country, and whether there are better ways to use the time that is devoted to language learning. So that the language can be immediately used for global competence. We're also proposing pedagogies that the students develop global competence, for example like groupworks, group activities, dialogs, debates in the classroom. … So we really don't say how many hours of English you should teach, because this is outside of our mandate. It's the countries that decide on the curriculum. (Maxwell, international scholar)

Competence in major foreign languages like English is necessary but not sufficient to guarantee one's employment and welfare, let alone socioeconomic mobility. Likewise, many factors simultaneously contribute to individual and national achievements, where English competence could be one of them. Hence, it is misleading to assume a direct causal relationship between English and one's success.

7.5.2.2 Symbolic values of English (in support of)

In addition to instrumental values of English, many supporters of EMI believe in the symbolic values of the language. There were conscious decisions to favor particular languages like English. It is because these languages are deemed more advantageous compared with other languages and could bring sociocultural benefits to its users. Bourdieu (1977b) considered this as linguistic capital inherent in major languages like English.

There were two arguments identified. First, participants saw a political value of English as a social cohesion tool among citizens of Southeast Asia nations. Second, they also appreciated the English language to symbolically associate English language with international education for global competence, which could give IS-School students a competitive advantage. A counterargument was proposed by one scholar. He argued that the learning outcomes were not significantly different between students of IS-Schools and those of non-IS-Schools.

Argument: English serves as a sociopolitical cohesion tool among citizens of Southeast Asia nations.

While it was not explicitly mentioned in the IS-Schools and EMI policy documents, there was a concensus on English as a hub language among citizens of Southeast Asia nations. This was an example of language as a social cohesion tool among diverse nations:

> … if we see from the perspective of Southeast Asian today, these kids must be prepared to be able to communicate with their peers across nations, and that's what we [i.e. SEAMEO] have been facilitating. And one of the agreement points was using English as the communication hub language. (George, government)

There was no counter argument for this frame. One scholar mentioned that she did not wholly approve EMI policy, but she was aware of the political cohesive value of English in the region. She knew that the adoption of English as a hub language in Southeast Asia has been in place since the early 2000:

> Back then in 2006, nobody talked about the ASEAN Economic Community, we did start talking about AEC in 2015 or so when it was already in front of our eyes, publicly announced. I brought up issues of language policy that implied from the AEC ten years

ago, but people thought I was making up… I found this AEC language provision in the

ASEAN documents, not in IS-School documents. I attended a meeting in Brunei on "the

Integration of English in ASEAN". There I learned that every country in southeast asia

must immediately prepare their young generation to use English as the working language

of ASEAN. (Imelda, domestic scholar)

Argument: English language is for global competence and international education.

Supporters of EMI and IS-Schools recontextualized the language choice in the notions of

global competence and international education. English has been considered embedded within

globalization. With an increasingly globalized world, students and youth are oriented to develop

global competence through their education. While there are many versions of what global

competence entails, it is clear that international communication ability is one of them. With the

status of English as today's international language, a school's internationalization project has been

associated with the use of English as an instructional language as a part of developing students'

global competence:

We have met the national standard of education now, that might be enough for now, but if

we want to compete globally, to go global, then we should start introducing our students

with English as international language for academic. (Anthony, EMI teacher)

Counter-argument: There was no significant increase on students' learning outcomes.

A counterargument by one scholar was focused on learning outcomes. He argued that

learning outcomes were not significantly different between students of IS-Schools and those of

non-IS-Schools. His argument was based on a study by an Australian educational

nongovernmental organization, which compared National Exam scores across different types of schools. Hence, EMI in IS-Schools did not lead to a significant increase on students' learning outcomes:

> In terms of academic impact, it is very difficult to come to clear conclusions because the data are not available. However, a study by ACDP [Australian NGO] came to the tentative conclusion that IS-Sschools, despite their selectivity, vast funding and beautiful facilities, actually achieved examination scores which were not significantly different from the average scores achieved by all Indonesian state schools. In other words, there was no obvious added value. (The ACDP researchers were not given access to the average scores of the IS-Schools, so it was not possible to say whether their scores improved, nor were they given access to the scores achieved by elite state schools. So again it wasn't possible to see whether the IS-schools performed as well as or better than those schools which were already perceived to be outstanding even without IS-Schools. (Harrison, domestic scholar)

7.5.2.3 Detrimental for national identity (against)

Another oppositional framing against the status of English in IS-Schools was around issues of nationalism. The use and status of English language in IS-Schools has been thought to be detrimental for youth's national identity, including nationalism spirit. There were at least two arguments. First, over-emphasizing English could potentially erode the political status of Indonesian as part of the national identity. Second, English in IS-Schools presented a threat to Indonesian language. This argument was raised by several domestic education scholar, who have been known for their consistent work in promoting parity and equity in Indonesia's education.

Counterarguments by government and teachers were that there is no causal relationship between English and diminishing nationalism and/or one's national identity; and that the use of English for instruction in math and science classes was not intended to replace Indonesian language as the official language of instruction.

Argument: Over-emphasizing use of English could potentially erode one's nationalism and identity.

The opposition did not ignore the importance of foreign language, especially English, for students. However, the use of English as a medium of instruction in educational units like schools would potentially erode the youths' spirits and pride in national language and national culture. The concern emerged because EMI had been promoted in every school level and educational unit, as several scholars noticed:

> National education cannot be disembedded from the culture and spirit of the Indonesian nation. The use of foreign language as the language of communication in RSBI and SBI will detach the national education from its cultural root and soul of the Indonesian nation. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 192)

One scholar focused on how language could affect one's way of thinking, and hence, character. If younger generations are immersed in a foreign language from an early age, hypothetically, their ways of thinking would mirror speakers of that foreign language, instead of those of Indonesian:

> Language is way of thinking. When students were used to speaking in English, their ways of thinking would be different with those who natively speak Indonesian language. If Indonesian language was cultivated on our young generation as early as they grow, that

wouls instill their Indonesian characters. Indonesian language is part of our culture that unite our diversity. That's why a cultivation of Indonesian language on young generation is crucial for Indonesia's manpower development. (Theodore, domestic scholar)

Also, EMI practices were thought to contradict the spirit of the 1928 Youth Pledge on language and nation's identity. On October 28, 1928, a group of young academicians held the so called 1928 Youth Pledge that declared one motherland, one nation, and one language, which are the Indonesian motherland, Indonesian nation, and Indonesian language. The Pledge was one of the early historical milestones toward Indonesia's independence. The date of the pledge has been commemorated annually, through today, to honor nationalism spirit and pride:

The use of a foreign language or English language or other foreign languages as the language of communication for subjects, … is clearly inconsistent with the spirit of the 1928 Youth Pledge that have pledged, "One motherland, one nation, one language which are the Indonesian motherland, Indonesian nation, and Indonesian language". (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 89)

Counter-argument: There is no causal relationship between English competence and diminishing nationalism and/or national identity.

Many argued the above simplification of the language-nationalism relationship. Government and teachers stated that there was no causal relationship between foreign language competence and decreasing nationalism, if any. They argued that there are many other aspects that shape one's construction of nationalism and love of the nation that are not embedded in language, such as local knowledge, local customs, religious beliefs, community events, etc. It was a hypothetical assumption that had no clear rationale, while, in fact, English has been taught for

decades in schools. Also, to cultivate students' national identity and spirit, schools had several mandatory courses, such as citizenship, history, and religion that teach students about nationalism and civic duties:

> I think there is no relationship between foreign language competence and national identity…. There are courses that promote nationalism… We have citizenship course, religion course. (Patrick, government)

> As I said, from my experience of teaching English for decades, I don't see any positive correlation between English fluency and diminishing nationalism. … If English was a problem for nationalism, why it is still be taught until now, right? (Anthony, EMI teacher)

> I think that was just an assumption. Why? Because we have millions of students in international private schools and they showed good spirit of nationalism. For example, my own kid speaks English very fluently and has a strong nationalism. The point is, I do not believe that international exposure could lessen one's nationalism. … Our founding fathers were very much nationalist and spoke many languages. … In this era, we can't claim that nationalism is number one on top of everything. I disagree if foreign language was thought to eradicate nationalism. (Imelda, domestic scholar)

Argument: English language in IS-Schools presented a threat to Indonesian language.

The status of English in IS-Schools was thought to be a threat, as it competed against the status of Indonesian as an official instructional language and a state language. From the ideology of one-nation-one-language, the status of Indonesian was believed to be in competition with English as the second official language of instruction in IS-Schools. In the long run, this could

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undermine the sociopolitical importance of the Indonesian language, which, in turn, could disrupt the nation's social cohesion and destabilize the country, to some extent:

> The problem is its function as state language, as many threats are faced by the Indonesian nation in respect of state language, especially at the present time called the era of globalization, including the threat with the use of English as language of communication at International School Standard Pilot Project although not in all subjects. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 63)

It was also assumed that the choice of English would likely strengthen the appeal of English, while at the same time would undermine that of Indonesian:

> Whereas from the sociolinguistic perspective, using English as the language of communication is substantially strengthening English while at the same time weakening Indonesian language. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, pp. 86-87)

> The status of English in IS-Schools was also thought to exacerbate youths' attitudes toward and skills in Indonesian. One scholar observed that many youths, especially in big cities, did not speak Indonesian language properly or with correct grammar. Some groups of youth even demonstrated minimal competence of Indonesian for academic purposes. Meanwhile, many youth used English formally and informally outside the class for many purposes, such as entertainment, general conversation, and social media. Consequently, the promoted status of English would likely justify the attitude of prioritizing English over Indonesian language:

> The second one is that the use of English language as one of the languages of communication at school also has negative impacts on the effort of the Government in developing Indonesian Language. Such development will be prevented because of English

language. Children would be more proud of English language than Indonesian language. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 115)

If you go to malls in *Pondok Indah* [elite neighborhood in Jakarta], you would see kids with fluent English. They were really Indonesians, you could see from their skin and physical appearance. They kept speaking English, and their Indonesian were horrible. (Nancy, domestic scholar)

The fact that many Indonesian teenagers often code-switched in English was thought to be an indication of favoritism of English over Indonesian. The economic value of English in today's global economy was thought to outstrip that of the Indonesian language, so it could affect youth language use and learning choices.

Counter-argument: Indonesian remains the official language of instruction of the whole courses and administrations.

Supporters of the policy suggest that English should not be seen as a threat, since both MONE and IS-School policies did not replace the official language of instruction of the whole courses and administrations. The official language of the educational activities remains Indonesian:

Whereas English is indeed recognized as the international language nowadays, but it shall not reduce the obligation of the state through the national education system to maintain, develop, and use Indonesian language in schools. Developed countries like Japan and the developing countries like China and India still respect their national languages. Indonesian proverb states: Language indicates the nation. Using proper and correct Indonesian language is a duty of the national education and an obligation which shall be maintained in

order to maintain the integrity and the identity of the Indonesian nation. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 50)

Article 33 paragraph (1) of the Law on National Education System provides that Indonesian language as the language of the state shall become the language of communication in national education. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 126)

Government officers argued that nationalism should not be defined in a narrow sense. Nationalism must also be cultivated in the context of global interaction and partnerships with other nations. For such purposes, foreign language(s) competence is a must. One's foreign language competence should not lessen or downgrade national identities and nationalism.

7.5.2.4 Speeding up local language loss (against)

The argument was that the teaching of many foreign languages, even more the increased use of them, has been attributed as the cause of local language loss or the decrease of local language speakers. The counter argument, proposed by local language teachers, among others, states that local language preservation and maintenance is not dependent on foreign language exposure. Rather, its preservation depends on efforts in using and documenting the language.

Argument: Status of English language contributed to the spread of English, which causes the decrease of local language speakers.

Several scholars consider the status of English in IS-Schools as contributing to students' lack of enthusiasm toward local languages. With more foreign languages being taught, learned, or used, presumably, students would invest their time and resources to learn those languages. Such language attitude was considered to lead to decreasing numbers of local language speakers. The

fewer local language(s) learners, the fewer speakers. Hence, the promoted use of English in IS-Schools has contributed to local language loss or extinction.

In a broader scale, the existence of Indonesian Language as our national language is becoming more threatened by the mainstream language of the world. The helplessness of local languages and "the stuttering" of national language becomes the signifier of the inability of a nation to maintain its identity. Ironically, one of the factors contributing to the elimination of the local and national languages in fact lies in the most strategic field: the education world; Therefore, it the question which should be asked is whether RSBI actually has the background of noble purpose to promote our national education system and to partake in supporting national development of Indonesia or on the contrary whether it is triggered by our "inferiority" as a nation which is left behind by other countries. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 40)

Meanwhile, the language of communication of RSBI which is generally English language, sooner or later, will eliminate local languages and our national language, which will end up in eroding local and national personality and character of Indonesian people. "Englishization" occurs in various institutions, as Siegel (1988) and Guinness (1987) has signaled that the existence of Javanese language will be eliminated when the process of Indonesianization is done so intensively and the fear of Siegel and Guinness seems to become clearer these days. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 40)

When one language is being taught or learned, there is another language(s) being untaught or unlearned. This was pretty much the general picture of language learning in Indonesia, where youth tended to deliberately learn foreign languages for instrumental reasons, instead of refining

their local language(s) knowledge and skills. There were cases where local language courses were substituted with foreign languages, such as English and Mandarin:

> For example, there was a school in *Gunung Putri* [a district in Bogor City, Central Java] that had Sundanese language [major local language in Central Java] and culture taught in their school. When they offered another foreign language, that was Mandarin, the Sundanese class was removed. Why Mandarin? Because they thought it was for globalization, along with English language. The local language was thought to have less utility value in the globalization contest. That's what I witnessed. (Nancy, domestic scholar)

Counter-arguments: Local language preservation and maintenance depends on efforts in using and documenting the language.

Several teachers argued that blaming foreign languages for causing local language loss is irrelevant. They believed that local language maintenance is supposed to be the responsibility of the whole communities, not just the schools or central Ministry. There are many ways to preserve local languages, as well as to maintain or even increase speakers of local languages, such as written documentation and using the language at home.

> Any negative impacts on local language maintenance was not because of foreign language use or even EMI policy. Efforts to preserve local languages must be done together simultaneously by families, communities and governments. It should start from the family. They should be proud if their kids could speak not only English but also local language. They should introduce the proper use of local language to their kids. These days, parents tend to use Indonesian language at homes. (Hannah, non-English Language teacher)

An Olympus teacher of local language confirmed that local language courses are still mandatory, from elementary to senior high school. Outside the class, students speak local language as well with their peers and families. In cases of major local languages (one with more than 1 million speakers), students still use the local language to communicate with families and peers outside classes and schools:

> I don't see that coming, though… my students kept using Javanese language and they seemed to own their heritage culture, to develop and to preserve them. (Agnes, non-English Language teacher)

> Here in the Olympus school, we, in fact, put priorities on local language and local culture maintenance… We had a local language day, much like an English day. That's an example of our efforts to maintain students' local language repertoire. (Hannah, non-English Language teacher)

7.5.3 Focus on IS-Schools establishment

Frames focusing on ISS establishment referred to the internationalization efforts of the schools where EMI was implemented.

7.5.3.1 Global competitiveness (in support of)

Programs and curricula in IS-Schools were expected to increase individuals' and ultimately the nation's global competitiveness. The term global competitiveness was mentioned repeatedly in most policy documents. A counter argument was proposed by several scholars, who disagree with the term, since it reduces the essential meaning of education.

Argument: Global competitiveness is essential to enable youth to participate in economic sectors at domestic and international levels.

The rationale underlying IS-School projects was, among others, to equip students with a global competitive skill set that could help their future academic and employment. In many policy documents and interviews, the government mentioned the necessity of IS-Schools for preparing youth for global competitiveness. Global competitiveness is necessary to respond to inevitable globalization in many sectors, especially the economy. The competitiveness was framed as an ability to participate in development sectors, especially in academic and economic ones, at domestic and international levels:

> … it is stated that the idea of International-Standard School Pilot Project has been initiated based on the globalization era which demands strong competitiveness among countries in technology, management, and human resources. … In addition, the advantages of human resources having high competitiveness at the international level will become distinctive bargaining power in this globalization era. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 22)

> Meanwhile, essentialism philosophy emphasizes that education must be functional and relevant to the needs of either the individual, family, or community locally, nationally, or internationally. In relation to the demands of globalization, education must prepare Indonesian human resources capable of international competition. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 24)

Competition in job sectors has been increasing both in domestic and international markets. Even for domestic markets, or for jobs in the country, graduates are competing for positions and promotions not only with fellow Indonesians, but also with migrant workers from other countries:

Actually, to anticipate globalization is about to equip ourselves with global competence and competitiveness. Now we have foreign experts coming to Indonesia from various countries, China, Vietnam, Philippines. Meanwhile we're not even ready to compete with in the job market… so we must prepare our youths, so that we will not be spectators in our own country. (Patrick, government)

Counter-argument: The orientation of competitiveness reduces the essence of education itself.

Several scholars argue that the term global competitiveness was thought to reduce the essential meaning of education. Instead of competition, youths should be encouraged to collaborate, for example:

The term used in policy documents was to prepare young generations' global competitiveness. The word competitiveness was repeated many times, stating that our youths must be able to globally compete… I think we should not prepare our youth for competition, because competition is about winning ir loosing. Why not use the terms like participation or collaboration. These terms have more values than just competing. (Imelda, domestic scholar)

In many schools, the term global competitiveness was interpreted as academic competition:

It is still in such Regulation of the Minister of National Education. The aim of RSBI or SBI is only directed to increase competitiveness is proven by the acquisition of gold, silver and bronze medals, and other forms of international awards. It really reduces the meaning of the state constitution which mandates to educate the nation because the task of educating is much higher than just collecting trophies or medals. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 88)

7.5.3.2 Trickle-down strategy for school's quality improvement (in support of)

Apart from its language policy, the government initiated IS-Schools to be developed into centers of excellence. Few teachers also emphasized that IS-Schools were oriented to be centers of excellence in each province in order to disseminate best practices among school networks, with the ultimate goal of quality improvement. A counter-argument by a few scholars stated that such trickle-down strategy for quality improvement has never worked.

Argument: IS-Schools were oriented to be centers of excellence in each province to disseminate best practices.

Due to a scale issue, and the number of schools in Indonesia, IS-Schools were oriented to help MONE to create centers of excellence in each provincial region. The centers would work closely with other non-IS-Schools to disseminate educational and managerial best practices. It was intended as a trickle-down strategy for improving educational and managerial qualities of neighboring schools:

> IS-School project was one strategy to improve schools' quality in massive way. The plan was to ave IS-Schools to be sort of centers of excellence, that would disseminate best practices to other neighboring schools. (Thomas, government)

> It was a trickle-down model, because otherwise we wouldn't be able to provide interventions to all schools in Indonesia simultaneously at the same time. We can't do that. We didn't have enough budget. (Patrick, government)

Counter-argument: The trickle-down effect has never worked.

The counter-argument was proposed by a scholar, believing that the centers were never taken seriously, and that the trickle-down effect has never worked:

Some documents mention in passing that there will be a trickle-down effect from the star schools to other schools in their districts but a) this was never taken seriously, b) the trickledown effect from privileged to under-privileged schools in Indonesia has never been demonstrated (even though it is often mentioned in project plans), and c) the elitist RSBI schools wanted to have nothing to do with neighboring non-RSBI schools). (Harrison, domestic scholar)

It was not easy for me to elicit more evidence regarding the centers, since (1) the IS-School project had ended, and (2) I would need other group of stakeholders to be interviewed, such as teachers from non-IS-Schools, to verify the claims or stories surrounding the centers' activities and impacts.

7.5.3.3 Expensive with excessive fees (against)

Many critics frame IS-Schools as an expensive institution. IS-Schools were allowed to charge additional fees, in addition to having government-subsidized tuition. Counter arguments were mostly raised by government officers, stating that quality education surely needs more funding and that each school had different strategies to manage their financial policies, including scholarships for low-income students and voluntary donations from parents.

Argument: Students were charged with higher tuition and/or additional non-tuition fees.

By MONE law, IS-Schools were allowed to charge additional tuition (Monthly Regular Contribution) and non-tuition fees (e.g. New Student Contribution), if necessary, mostly for infrastructures and learning expenses. Several teachers confirmed the additional fees, but the amount charged for Olympus students was considered reasonable. The amount was different among schools, depending on the conditions and policies of each. Regardless of the differing amount of fees, this created a strong stigma that IS-Schools were too expensive, considering they were public schools:

> The documents did not indicate how RSBI schools were to select their pupils. Whether the project planners were aware of this from the start or not is unknown, but the IS-Schools rapidly became the most selective elite state schools in their districts. Ability to pay high fees was one of the most important criteria which schools used, thus taking the IS-School scheme in a diametrically opposed direction to the rest of the state education system (which was supposed to be moving away from charging fees). Consequently, those who benefited from tended to be the children of the local elite and/or those who could make large financial contributions to the schools. (Harrison, domestic scholar)

> Maybe some people labelled us as "international rate", instead of international standard. So it's true that after we became IS-School, there was an increase in the education cost. … This was what the media covered most. (Evelyn, EMI teacher)

> We charged 300.000 rupiah a month for non-tuition fee… other non-IS-Schools were 150.000 to 200.000 rupiah per month. … The new-enrollment fee [one-time fee for new students only] varied, depending on each student' financial capacities, we never asked for a fixed donation. (Deborah, EMI teacher)

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Counter-argument: Quality needs cost.

The government justified the additional fees for the purpose of quality investments. Upgrading school's quality required money. Meanwhile, government subsidies for schools and for individual students were not enough. Hence, it was considered acceptable if schools asked for more contributions from students/parents:

> Some programs were, indeed, expensive and, by nature, required a very high cost budget. But on average, the students' fees were affordable, not too pricey. I used to have the data on this. For example, several IS-Schools needed to renovate their buildings, and that required an expensive investment. Some schools did not have a decent science lab or computer lab, or didn't have sufficient literature and textbooks. Those were expensive but those what they really needed. (Thomas, government)

The high costs of learning in IS-Schools were also justified as a long-term investment to upgrade IS-Schools' logistics and resources:

> It's true, . . . as we, the internal schools, had evaluated, that funding was the main concern. Why funding? Because a big demand requires a big funding. . . . [such as] how we could provide opportunities for teachers to improve their capacities, how we integrate international-standard materials into our curriculum. There were so many things to accommodate. That was why some people thought these demands would eventually burden parents. But this was a long-term investment. (James, government)

Both government and teachers argue that the framing of IS-Schools as "expensive" was mostly based on cases and stories of IS-Schools in Jakarta. Some IS-Schools in Jakarta did charge more; meanwhile, in other provinces or cities, the additional fees were relatively lower and more

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affordable. The framing was taken from limited samples of IS-Schools in Jakarta, but it was generalized as if all IS-Schools nation-wide were high-cost:

> They said it's expensive, but that was only in certain IS-Schools in Jakarta. They charged very high. We [Olympus High School) did not charge much. … We had scholarships for low-income students… There were many low-income students in our school. I was in charged in one classroom back then, and there were even students who paid only 25.000 rupiah, and it was okay. Some also got a tuition waiver. … yet, people kept thinking that we're an expensive school. (Wilma, EMI teacher)

> In the Court's judicial decisions, the pricey IS-schools they sampled were those in Jakarta. Mostly in Jakarta. … and if we checked IS-Schools in Semarang City, Central Java, the additional tuition fees were not so different from non-IS-Schools'. Some were almost the same. … It's ambiguous that the samples of problematic schools were those in Jakarta, some were even international private schools… they affiliated with schools abroad, that's why they were pricey. (James, government)

Counter-argument: Schools had different strategies to manage revenues.

Another counter argument was by the government officer, who explained the fee policies from the perspective of school-based management. He pointed out that each school had different needs and strategies to generate and manage their revenues. Some schools were able to generate donations from companies, alumni, or institutional partners to support student's activities. Some schools lacked or had limited external donations, which led them to request additional fees from parents/students. This led to each IS-School having different non-tuition fees.

Because each IS-School had different capacity, different experiences and strategies in generating incomes… Some would involve parents to contribute extra, some would use funding and donations from companies, and so on. Those were variations from each school to achieve the same goal of financial sufficiency. I am not sure if there was any reseach on IS-Schools' revenue strategies, but I really saw many IS-Schools with different strategies. So it's not true if all IS-Schools were generalized as expensive. (James, government)

IS-Schools were required also to provide scholarships for low-income, high-achiever students. Around 15-20 percent of MONE grants must be allocated for such scholarships:

It was a mandatory for IS-School of secondary level to allocate their MONE grant for scholarships, for supporting low income students. It was 15% I think from their 500 million grants. So IS-Schools must accommodate low income students, to waive their financial requirements, or to give them tuition discount. The concept equity was real here. This scholarship was mandatory. (James, government)

7.5.3.4 Creating a penetrating inequality (against)

Several scholars argued that IS-Schools had penetrated the already-existing inequality among schools in Indonesia, especially public schools. Differentiated classes had also led to some discriminatory treatment and socioeconomic divisions among students Government officers thought that inequality issues were framed by those who disapproved of the IS-School project, while in fact, MONE would never have any intention to create gaps and discriminatory behavior.

Argument: Differentiated subsidies among public schools widened an existing gap on financial capacities among schools.

The MONE subsidies that IS-Schools received were thought to widen and deepen existing gaps among schools in terms of financial capacities and learning infrastructures. IS-Schools received 500 million rupiah of grants every year. Meanwhile, most IS-Schools had already met national standards in their academic infrastructures and achievements.

Up until 2012, schools had been categorized into three types: (1) schools that do not meet the national education standards, which are called minimum standards service (SPM); (2) schools that fulfill national education standards, called *Sekolah Standard Nasional* (SSN, a national standards school); and (3) schools that are ahead of the national education standards, called *Sekolah Bertaraf International* (SBI, or International-Standards Schools).

Critics argued that MONE should have prioritized their subsidies to help improve low-ranking, low-performing schools. Otherwise, the IS-School project would only widen and deepen the gap among schools:

> One of the critiques I raised to the government was about the quality disparity and injusticeness between IS-Schools and non-IS-Schools. IS-Schools received huge subsidies and grants, while the regular schools did not have such privilege. In facts, those who went to IS-Schools were students from middle- and high-income families. (Daniel, domestic scholar)

> Whereas the government's efforts to continue providing the allocation of funds or subsidies for RSBI/SBI although these schools have already owned good and luxurious school buildings with full facilities also cause injustice and discriminatory treatment to the regular

schools suffering from damage and having minimum facilities-infrastructure. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 48)

… injustice among schools. All the schools are equally Government-owned and all the financing needs are borne by the government through APBN and APBD, for example for the construction of school buildings, renovation, telephone bills, electricity bills and stationery but RSBI received Rp500,000,000.00 per year, it was said that the amount had been partly decreased, and also Education Operational Grants (*Bantuan Operasional Pendidikan/BOP*) of Rp75,000.00 per student and the schools could collect very expensive costs from the parents. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 99)

Argument: Differentiated classes led to discriminatory treatment and socioeconomic divisions among students.

In the early years of IS-School implementation, some schools decided to pilot EMI on a few classes at first. These classes were called international classes, featuring EMI policies. Students who enrolled in an international class enjoyed upgraded facilities, such as air conditioners, TV, and instructional technology aids in the class. Meanwhile, student of non-international regular classes, in the same school building, did not have such accommodations. This caused many students to feel marginalized and left out:

What was troubling for me was the gap, the disparity among our students… between those who enrolled in IS-Schools versus those in non-IS schools… between those enrolled in international classes versus those in regular classes [of the same school] . . . because they received different treatments and facilities… those in IS-Schools and international classes enjoyed great, decent facilities, which were inaccessible for regular students. That's what

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I saw. I once saw an extreme case. A regular student, who was sick, was sent home, because the school's clinic was funded by, and was only for, students in international classes. That was very unjust. (Nancy, domestic scholar)

Several witnesses [during judicial hearings] were teachers who taught in IS-Schools. They said the discriminative facilities and treatments were true. Many IS-Schools had very decent facilities. All students used laptops, complete set of textbooks, in air-conditioned classrooms. They had foreign native teachers from Australia, England, and some Indonesians, too. (Charles, domestic scholar)

Argument: High costs led to socioeconomic divisiveness among students.

With a relatively higher cost of schooling and English language demand, IS-Schools seemed to only be accessible for students with academic and socioeconomic sufficiency. Hence, IS-Schools contributed to sorting out student applicants based on their financial capabilities as one of the admission factors. This also applied to many IS-Schools that had international classes and regular classes:

It created a new exclusivism in our national education system. Those enrolled in IS-Schools were smart students who could pay extra fees. ... The demand of EMI policy was that students needed to be fluent in English. Many students took English courses outside schools to improve their English competence. These were those whose families had extra money to pay for the English course. How about those who were low income? They didn't have money to keep up with courses outside schools, so they did not apply or enroll in IS-Schools. This was a social cost resulted from IS-School and EMI practices. … It created a disparity between the affluent and the poor. … In other word, IS-Schools created a new

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social formation based on financial capital in our education system. (Daniel, domestic scholar)

Counter-arguments: Inequality issues were intentionally framed to annihilate the policy.

Government officers argued that issues of inequality, differentiated treatments, discrimination, or caste-grouping were framed by those who were not satisfied with the policies. Subsidies were parts of the policy instrument and should not be seen as ways to discriminate or to deepen inequality, since the government would not do such things:

> Actually, there's no such things. There were groups of people who were dissatisfied with the policy. They framed it as caste-grouping, school categorization based on income, schools for the haves, and everything. It was not like that at all. The IS-School would have a trickledown effect to help other schools in the district, to improve their qualities, to eliminate the quality gaps. (Patrick, government)

There might be a handful of cases of discriminatory treatments that had to be investigated or resolved. However, a few cases should not characterize the whole policies:

> Again, I must restate that the school samples were selected in such a way that led to such conclusions, discrimination and everything. … Whatever the conditions, they would look for something bad about the project, it could be a very long debate because they were not objective. (James, government)

Apart from inequality frames, Indonesia schools have been ranked and categorized based on academic performance and quality standards. There were autonomous schools, national-standard schools, and national plus schools. While the rank could indicate achievement gaps among schools, such performance-based categories were meant for evaluation purposes.

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7.5.3.5 Neoliberal practice of education (against)

Several scholars framed IS-Schools as a representation of neoliberal education. This representation was based on some characteristics linked to or found in IS-Schools, such as merit-based competition, English commodification, and OECD references. All government officers did not mind IS-Schools being associated with economic competition and neoliberalism. They believed that education cannot be purely for the sake of learning, but it must be related to evolving economic trends.

Argument: IS-Schools resembled neoliberal education (against).

Several scholars disapproved of the IS-School project since some of its practices resembled characteristics of neoliberal education, such as commercialization, competition, and corporate pedagogy. All of these were thought to contradict Indonesia's educational values.

They found the high-priced EMI policy a form of commercialization or commodification of language. The economic considerations of choosing English as medium of instruction was also linked to language knowledge capitalism, where linguistic competence became a salable commodity. When learning experiences had a comparative price tag, then the IS-Schools turned education into a private good—a characteristic of neoliberal education.

> SBI and RSBI are the forms of education liberalization. The soul and spirit of SBI and RSBI are commercialization of education by bringing the parties implementing education as the market actors. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 174)

> Furthermore, according to the neo-liberalism ideology, education is commodity traded in the market for the sake of financial profits or status of an individual. Skills obtained from education reflect the substance of the market. Knowledge is considered only as a form of

capital or human capital. Education accentuates the knowledge as capital. Therefore, the knowledge capitalism emerges. Thus, the latent danger of the neo-liberalism ideology is reducing the state, human, culture, education, and knowledge to the free market interests. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 25)

But the consequence was that there would be a reduction to the education process itself. The function of schooling became like a workshop to prepare workers to work at different designated institutions. Meanwhile, the schools should not be for such purpose only. Schools must humanize the human resource… and does not constantly refer to what the markets need. (Daniel, domestic scholar)

Several scholars argued that the "global competitiveness" goal of IS-Schools referred to competition for survival, which linked to social Darwinism in education. Young generations were oriented to compete with their peers, among others, in order to survive in academic and job markets. Those who succeeded would be the winners and the privileged, which would create new social stratification:

IS-Schools were not aligned with the 1945 Constitution, as the Constitution does not subscribe to liberalism. IS-Schools were sort of euphoria from the political reform. They emphasized on social Darwinism, where the strongest would continue to survive, and weakest would be sacrificed. (Theodore, domestic scholar)

According to the neo-liberalism ideology, a human is an individual having the longing for and the needs dominated by self-interests, and motivated to be competitive. This ideology requires the state to create individuals having the spirit of entrepreneurship and free competition in the global market. Therefore, only strong individuals having adequate knowledge will win and enjoy luxurious facilities. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, pp. 24-25)

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With OECD being mentioned for curriculum benchmarks, many considered such references to reflect a corporate pedagogy as educational orientation. Considering the OECD's economic platform, and the industrious nature of OECD key members, a benchmark to their education systems was thought to indicate the presence of corporate pedagogy. This generally refers to educational orientation that attempts to fulfil the needs of corporate and industry markets as end users—an element of neoliberal education. Graduates would likely be trained primarily to fulfill job markets and treated as global commodities:

> Whereas in neo-liberalism, … education is managed in accordance with the corporate spirit and managed by foreign providers in a global free market. Education corporatization based on neo-liberalism causes education to change from being a social institution into an industrial institution (education industrialization); from the approach of humanization of humans fully into the approach of treating humans as a global commodity (human capital) based on the neo-liberal market and new managerial mechanism. (Constitutional-Court, 2012, p. 25)

Counter-arguments: Education cannot be for the sake of learning; it must be connected to economic trends.

All government officers did not exactly deny those elements of economic, market-oriented, neoliberalism framing. They believed that education plans cannot be only for the sake of learning. Educational curricula, courses and activities should keep up with trends in economic sectors, without abandoning other purposes of education:

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Just watch, which direction our economy is going. This was the country's decision, and educational policies were a part of the decision. … The reality is that the economy is moving toward neoliberalism, capitalism, and that's how it is. (James, government)

… look at what economic trend will rise. Language policy is likely to be oriented to economic trends. (George, government)

7.5.4 Recap: Who says what

Those who support EMI policy were mostly the government and teachers. They believe in the instrumental and symbolic value of English, as well as the long-term goals of the policies (i.e. global competitiveness and school's quality improvement). Meanwhile, most scholars had oppositional arguments against EMI and IS-Schools. They did not support the policy by emphasizing its technical shortage and logistic insufficiency, exclusivism, and violation of language law. They agreed with the direct and indirect benefits of mastering English but would not risk national identity and local language maintenance over the EMI experiment. Some of them framed IS-School establishments as neoliberal, high-cost education entities that could perpetrate existing inequalities among schools and students.

Table 13, Table 14, and Table 15 in Appendix L sum up the findings based on who or which stakeholders agreed or disagreed with the identified frames. I present their agreements or disagreements based on either their explicit or implicit statements or opinions on the framed themes. Explicit statements could be their immediate responses when I asked about particular issues, such as nationalism or global competitiveness. Implicit opinions could be derived from additional lines, comments, or statements that might not directly addressed the interview questions but were relevant to the research inquiries and contexts.

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7.6 Analysis and discussions

I found that the Indonesia EMI policy debates were too complicated to look at from one perspective. In this section, I discuss my findings by looking at the differing world views underlying some major arguments. The asserted world views were to identify the identified framings and arguments, and not necessarily the individual constituent.

7.6.1 Instrumentalist and globalist views: Structural functional, cumulative changes, and conflict-avoidance attitude

Policy is a learning process, but sadly, when things went south, they abolished the policy right away. Then we swung back to zero. To achieve an equilibrium state, indeed, we have to go through all the hassles in the first place. But they were not patient enough. We had new innovations, went through all the learning hassles, but then were crashed and went back to the start again. This again and again. This won't end. It was unreasonable if every educational policy was like this. Implementing a policy requires a lengthy, incremental learning process. The outcomes could even be long-term. But then we were confronted with those who were impatient. This won't help any fundamental innovations to succeed. (Thomas, government)

Stakeholders who support EMI policy tended to focus the arguments on intended sociopolitical and economic goals of the policies, as well as the instrumental, symbolic values of English language. Their arguments represented an instrumentalist view, which sees utilitarian merits of a language as primary considerations in policy planning (Wright, 2003). Supporters of EMI also saw this policy as a "meaningful education" (C. B. Paulston, 1978, 1992) to achieve

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global competitiveness and connection, as well as to facilitate one's mobility at international level. Meaningful education in this case was similar to special educational intervention through language practice. Their beliefs resembled a globalist way of thinking, where a language policy is planned out in relation to events and developments throughout the world (Wright, 2003). Such instrumentalist and globalist views exemplified at least three characteristics of an equilibrium paradigm.

First, their rationale on EMI intervention mirrored a structural-functional theory of social change, which is one of the sub-theories under the equilibrium paradigm (R.G. Paulston, 1976). The structural-functional theory in language education suggests the provision of particular language, merit, and IQ, when combined, will lead to scholastic skills, gained in a "meaningful education" to social and economic success. Such "meaningful education" was thought of as a balancing mechanism to enhance social equilibrium.

Second, most government officers argued that the intended goals of the policy would be achieved through incremental adjustment and cumulative changes. Their arguments assumed that educational policy goals could be achieved through an equilibrium state, or through steady and stable changes, by maintaining harmonious relationship among the policy stakeholders. They believed that stakeholders, including school and society members, are essentially a functional self-regulating apparatus capable of maintaining stability and harmony, which eventually would help in realizing the policy goals.

Third, the policy proponents showed tendencies to avoid conflicts in order to balance and create harmony. Such conflict-avoidance attitudes were shown by the Olympus School members. The school leaders appropriated the language policy so flexibly that it did not burden teachers, and, in turn, the teachers agreed to employ English in their teaching in ways that met their language

capacities. On a macro national level, government or MONE did not punish or sanction IS-Schools whose school-wide practices were thought of as discriminatory or exclusive, as some scholars observed and warned. Such problems or conflicts were deemed as an "internal systemic breakdown" (R.G. Paulston, 1976) which, after some adaptive adjustments, would and could be fixed eventually.

7.6.2 Culturalist and nationalist views: Value conflicts, inequalities and social reproduction

> To me, fairness must come first. I don't agree the policy was applied in public schools…. because I believe in the fair and just principles in education. I don't see any positive values of the policy, since it violated the most important value, that was equality in education. There was no equality and equity in there…. We still dealt with differences in teachers' quality. We still dealt with unstandardized learning infrastructures across Indonesia. We even still debated on which curriculum to be applied, the old 2006 or the new 2013 curriculum. So, we still have so many basic things to deal with. (Imelda, domestic scholar)

Critiques from policy opponents were quite strong, politically and normatively. Those oppositional views were raised by domestic and international scholars. Most of them examined EMI policy from its poor preparation and unintended consequences. They framed the policies from the perspectives of politics, culture, and national identity. Their arguments represented culturalist and nationalist ways of thinking, which emphasize significance of cultural heritage and national identities in determining and evaluating language behavior, use and directions in which society functions (Wright, 2003). These culturalist and nationalist views tended to subscribe to characteristics of conflict theory, as I briefly describe below.

First, critiques of EMI policy emphasized conflicts over political and cultural values, resources, and power that surrounded EMI policy, along with IS-School establishment. Arguments from scholars tended to highlight issues of ideological values (e.g. nationalism, neoliberalism), socio-economic disparities (e.g. expensive fees), and cultural struggles (e.g. local language loss, linguistic exclusivism). They also emphasized conflicts arising from unfair governance (e.g. subsidies for IS-Schools), repressive institutions (e.g. international vs. regular classes), and imperfect human capital, skills or knowledge (e.g. teachers' lacking English).

Second, most scholars were concerned with sociopolitical inequality aspects of EMI policy. Such emphasis has several implications on how they examined issues surrounding EMI policy. For advocates of conflict theory, a relative success of a policy is when the practices do not disrupt social and political factors that affect success or failure of one's education, such as identity and learning access. Meanwhile, the actual EMI policy was a failed project to them, because its practices created power disparities and social division between students who had economic capacity to enroll in international classes or schools, versus those who did not. Also, the subsidy incentives for IS-Schools indicated that the government gave the highest priority and the most support to the best schools, while the poorest schools were given the least attention. From these "conflict" perspectives, EMI and IS-School policies tended to maintain and advance the status quo and interests of the socio-politically-dominant groups, instead of those of less-privileged ones.

Third, some scholars argue that IS-Schools were linked to social reproduction. Differences in students' language interventions and schools' capacity gaps were thought to lead to differentiated socialization and politically hierarchical societies. Students of IS-Schools were mostly high achievers and economically well off. They received value-added education, i.e. EMI experience, that potentially can widen academic and economic opportunities, presumably at global

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levels. As such, EMI policy was thought to one-sidedly benefit the dominant groups, hence maintaining their sociopolitical and economic hegemony. In other words, IS-Schools and their language policies were considered to contribute to perpetuating sociopolitical inequalities.

7.7 Closing

My main goal in this study was to identify various frames surrounding EMI policy debates and reinterpret those differing, contested views underlying their disagreements. I hope that the findings of this essay can speak to various EMI policy stakeholders whose views were different or in conflict.

I present this study as a contribution to the literatures of social and educational changes in education, with specific regards to language policy.

1. Those who were in support of the EMI policy framed their arguments and thoughts within the equilibrium paradigm, by emphasizing instrumental and capital-symbolic values of English language and its roles in global development sectors. Their intentions and attitudes toward English were a pragmatic choice, which aimed at political relations and economic growth, considering the economic utility of English today.

2. Those who were against or disapproved of EMI policy framed their arguments and thoughts within the conflict paradigm, by pointing out the policy's logistic insufficiency and some unintended consequences of EMI practices against the national culture and identity. Issues of value-conflicts, nationalism, and inequality, among others, were raised to confront the instrumental, global-driven EMI policy.

Contributing to the discourse of language policy in Indonesia, I found that the normative aspects of EMI language policy—ideologies, values, belief—won the debate against technical-globalist views on linguistic instrumentalism. Each view of proponents and opponents of the policy might not always be in conflict. However, their priorities and strategies on the function of schooling or education might not always be aligned.

My study demonstrated the presence of multiple contesting variables playing out in the language policy and practice in Indonesia. These variables may affect any language policy in the future. Hence, findings in this essay arguably serve as a preliminary background to any instructional language policy in Indonesia's schools in the future.

8.0 Summary, conclusions and recommendations

8.1 Summary of all three essays

Following global trends of school internationalization, the EMI policy goals represented language planning for socioeconomic mobility and political affiliations. The policy rationales were tied to the perceived and imagined roles of English in academic, economic, and sociopolitical domains. It exemplified a structural functional approach in educational development, wherein policy makers considered the EMI policy a special language intervention to lead to students' socioeconomic success. From this globalist-instrumentalist views, the EMI policy resembled a linguistic instrumentalism for economic global competitiveness and sociopolitical networks.

A similar instrumentalist thinking was embraced by almost all teachers at Olympus High School. Most teachers believed in the values and merits of the EMI policy and of being an international school. Teachers, who were also the affected stakeholders of the policy, did not show significant resistance, despite challenges on language demands. This was partly because, at the school level, the EMI policy was translated into a series of technical strategies, arrangements, and capacity building, in such a way that accommodated teachers' capacities. The EMI policy appropriation at Olympus High School demonstrated a relatively smooth policy change, whereas the policy technicalities were accompanied by normative and political compromises.

Meanwhile, at the national level, the normative and political aspects of English language use were framed by nationalist and culturalist advocates to confront the EMI policy. These advocates were mostly education activists who worked closely with local school teachers and conducted research in the field. The nationalist thinking tended to see language as a symbolic tool

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for nation and identity building. The choice of English in IS-Schools was seen as detrimental to youth's nationalism and was a threat to the national language. Because language and identity are inextricably linked, culturalist advocates were concerned with linguistic exclusivism and social division that EMI policy had allegedly and hypothetically caused. They acknowledged the utility of English but were troubled with the policy's logistics and its unintended consequences. Issues of value-conflicts, nationalism, and inequality, among others, were continuously raised in their critiques, leading to EMI policy termination.

For instrumentalist advocates like government or policy makers, choices and decisions on educational language policy often had nothing to do with ideologies of nationalism and ethnicity. The choice of language is purely instrumental, by looking at how certain language(s) could serve as effective and convenient tools of communication. Meanwhile, culturalists tended to consider and examine language policy from sociopolitical aspects. From the culturalist thinking perspective, language choice directly speaks to individuals' core identity, as well as to their social, educational, and economic opportunities.

In the end, the globalist-instrumentalists did not win the day. The Constitution Court ruled against EMI (and IS-School projects) on the basis of schools' socialization functions. The Court decision essentially ruled that EMI policy practices could potentially trigger unfavorable consequences, such as access discrimination and diminishing national identity. While the intended EMI policy goals of global participation and competitiveness are necessary for the nation's growth, it was considered insensitive and ill-timed, considering the existing sociopolitical and economic gaps among individual students and school networks.

8.2 Concluding remarks on findings across three essays

Education is inseparable from economy, it cannot be *an sich*, for the sake of learning only, it must be related to economy. (George, government)

On my resistance against IS-Schools, I think we have to stick with [language education for] developing nationalism spirit as a means to strengthen the nation's characters.... We did not reject internationalization or globalization, but we need to strengthen our identity as a nation with economic and cultural wealth. That's what we primarily bring to the world. (Theodore, domestic scholar)

Concluding this research, I found that the dynamics of Indonesia's EMI policy revealed three differing views of the socialization functions of language in/for education. They are *social efficiency, social mobility* and *democratic functions.* I adopted these terms from Labaree's piece (1997) on socialization functions of schooling.

Language for social efficiency function was reflected in the way policy makers and supporters justified EMI policy goals and rationales. Social efficiency function focuses on education for preparing competent workforce to run the country's economy (Labaree, 1997). This socialization function of language was reflected in the frames and arguments by MONE officers, representing national policy makers. Most policy documents, as well as stakeholders who supported the policy, highlighted correlations between English competence, job market access, and human capital. They believed that the language policy in IS-Schools could instill the nation's economic competitiveness through linguistically-skilled human resources. They framed EMI policy as a resource for improving working performance, and thus socioeconomic growth of the country.

Language for social mobility function aims to prepare individuals to compete for social positions and economic wealth (Labaree, 1997). The choice of English as a medium of instruction had much to do with the appeal and power of English in academic and economic sectors. Mastering English was believed to facilitate one's academic credential, economic productivity, and, hence, social status attainment. Enrollment in IS-Schools, along with the EMI policy, was thought to have a social mobility advantage for moving up one's socioeconomic ladder. The government, teachers and school leaders maintained the policy continuance over the years, regardless the challenges, by sticking up to this intended outcome of social mobility function of language education.

Stakeholders who disapproved of EMI policy showed more concern for democratic purposes of language in/for education, i.e. to prepare patriotic citizens (Labaree, 1997). They were alarmed if favoring English (over Indonesian) could be detrimental for national heritage and identity, hence, moving away from the democratic equality function of language education. They raised some facts and hypothetical assumptions on the impact of the policy and the English language spread in eroding students' nationalism, as well as local language preservation efforts. Issues of power inequality were also part of the democratic elements that were thought to be disregarded in IS-School project.

With the multilingual nature and seemingly unequal economic growth distribution of this populated country, practices of English as medium of instruction were seen in different, even conflicting, ways by influential multi-sectoral stakeholders. The perspectives and values of language in/for education above were not necessarily against or in conflict with each other. Rather, each perspective shows a different primary emphasis regarding the socialization function of language use and language learning in schools.

8.3 Recommendations

I group the recommendations into three domains, i.e. policy-making, learning and research.

8.1.1. Policy-making domain

- Expand policy instruments to address normative and political issues in educational language policy.

  The Indonesia's EMI case demonstrated the lack of policy instruments to address normative and political issues—such as widened gap among public school networks during EMI implementation years, exclusive image of IS-Schools, and globalist versus nationalist goals of schooling. The policy instruments might include incentives, capacity building training and legislation that could eliminate or tone down the debates on values, norms and power relation surrounding EMI policies. For example, the national and local government could have provided grants or facilitated subsidized projects on the English language enrichments for students in regular or non-IS Schools. This could moderate tensions or issues on linguistic exclusivism. Another example is providing professional development programs on social justice and inequality issues in education for local governments, school leaders and teachers. It is critical for them to be able to identify and design strategies for responding such critical issues.

- Promote teachers as policy strategists.

  It is high time to promote and acknowledge teachers as policy strategists. In the EMI policy case, many studies had evaluated and criticized teachers for being unqualified, too-compliant, or voiceless, among others. Meanwhile, in my interviews with the Olympus School teachers,

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I could recognize their composure in coping with EMI-related challenges, as well as their subtle expertise in strategizing their teachings to comply with the policies without losing their grip. They possessed local knowledge and normative wisdom that could facilitate smooth, less-conflicting changes in educational practices. Their roles as strategic policy implementors can be promoted through many channels. This could be done by studying teachers' roles in strategizing their tasks, hiring teachers as policy consultants, collaborating with teachers on policy evaluation research, and providing teachers with training on educational policy-planning, among others. This also means giving teachers more agency, instead of as an object or beneficiary of a policy.

8.1.2. Learning domain

- Offer courses in language policy and planning.

Programs in language teaching, language teacher education or linguistics in colleges or universities should offer courses on language policy and planning as a part of their curriculum. This is vital considering the growing complexity of language roles in education and development sectors. So far, discussions on language policy in societal contexts may often be integrated within a sociolinguistic course, but they are often incomprehensive. Curriculums on programmatic knowledge (e.g. what to teach and how to teach) are important, but they are not sufficient to explain events and discourses in language policy. Meanwhile, activities in language teaching and learning are inseparable from language policy events and trends beyond classrooms. Hence, offering courses in language policy would provide language teachers/activists/ researchers with knowledge and skills to identify and examine a multidimensional phenomenon of language use, managements and values.

8.1.3. Research domain

Analyzing tensions and competing priorities in language policy goals, I came to ponder. These reflections led me to two research topics below.

- Family language policy

  Who gets to decide what languages children or youth should learn, acquire and/or use? Who gets to bear the cost of youth's language learning and acquisition? Most of the time, the answers would be parents. Parents (and students) are one stakeholder group that I missed in this research. I very much promote studies on family language policies in order to reveal and understand parents' ideologies, values and intentions underlying their language-related decisions and practices. Having parents' perspectives on their children language choice, learning and use would partly explain demands for policies like EMI. Parental perspectives on transgenerational heritage would partly explain values that favor local and national identities. Language policy at this micro, family level might be invisible. Yet, their covert practices could be the most powerful variable that shape a nation's multilingual nature.

- Linguistic landscape and soundscape

  The terms above generally mean researching languages that are exposed, displayed, voiced out in public and private spaces. While family or parents could decide and reinforce rules of language use, linguistic environments also play a significant contribution in shaping youth's language choice and characteristics. Investigating linguistic landscape and soundscape will also help explain the dynamic nature of language use and practice in selected settings within certain time frame.

8.4 Closing thoughts

Initially, for this dissertation, I planned to research the implementation of EMI policy in IS-Schools. While I was doing my preliminary research in 2013, the policy was terminated through the Constitutional Court's ruling. The policy termination, however, revealed the normative and political layers of educational language policy in today's Indonesia.

This study made me realize that, in a policy debate or conflict, the most important findings were not about "empirical facts", but mostly were about "values." Various conflicting frames and arguments were essentially about different interpretations and basic value clashes in seeing a single phenomenon.

Much like other public policies, educational language policy discourse represents discursive enactments of rules, norms or values and power relations. It is an interaction that either could promote a smooth, accumulated change toward intended EMI policy goals, or generated tensions across individuals and institutional contexts. The EMI policy lurch reflected at least one key problem governments and educational institutions faced in their efforts to address language-for-development situations, i.e. the lack of integration of normative, political and technical foundation in policy formulation and implementation. Future language management and planning initiatives must employ an equity-minded principle of acknowledging and strategizing technical, normative and political elements of the policy. Otherwise, any massive investment on any foreign language acquisition would hurt the country's educational language plans and budget.

Interviews were less structured. Below are the pointer questions to help stay focus on the inquires.

All participants

- What do you know of the already-ended EMI policy in IS-Schools? The goals? Implementation as you witnessed or heard of it?
- What do you think of the policy in general? What is your stance on the policy? Why?
- Why do you think it was terminated? Help me understand what happened.
- Anything else you'd like to add or comment?

Teachers

- What were the school policies on EMI? How was it socialized and managed?
- How did you prepare your classes? Textbooks? Other materials? Exams? Homework? What about the national exit exam?
- What were the challenges? Examples? Any issues on English language use? Examples?
- What about teacher trainings? Incentives? Teacher forums?
- How did the students deal with it? How did they take it? Why do you think so?
- What about other teachers who were not teaching in EMI mode? How did they take it? Why so?
- What about non IS-Schools and their teachers? How did they see EMI policy in your school? Why so?
- What about students' parents? How did they respond to the policy? Why do you think so?

Government Officers

- What were your involvements in the EMI policy making/developing process? Specific tasks? Examples?

- Can you elaborate more on the policy goals, motives, intentions? Who were the targeted beneficiaries of this policy? What were the intended outcomes? Were they achieved back then? Why or why not?
- What efforts/programs to facilitate the goals? Did the program work or not? Why?
- Who and which organizations/offices in the Ministry worked with on this policy? National and international agencies? In what programs, in what way? What was the benefit, if any, for each agency? What did they say or believe about EMI policy?
- What do you think of those who were *not* in support of the policy? What do you know of them? Of their arguments? How much do you agree/disagree with their views? Why so?
- Supposed that the policy was still on right now, what could be improved? What would it take to achieve its intended goals? To minimize any conflicts?

Scholars

- What were your involvements in the EMI policy process? Specific tasks? Examples?
- Can you elaborate more about your take/stance on this policy? Why do you believe so? Examples? Who else was with you? What groups? Examples?
- What do you think of those who were in support of the policy? What do you know of them? Of their arguments? How much do you agree/disagree with their views? Why so?
- Supposed that the policy was still on right now: what could be improved? What would it take to achieve its intended goals? To minimize any conflicts?

Appendix B Pseudonym list of interview participants

Government officials

National government 1 : Thomas

National government 2 : Patrick

National government 3 : George

Provincial government 4 : James

The Olympus School teachers

EMI teacher 1 : Anthony

EMI teacher 2 : Deborah

EMI teacher 3 : Evelyn

EMI teacher 4 : Stanford

EMI teacher 5 : Wilma

EMI teacher 6 : Paul

Non-English Language teacher 7 : Hannah

Non-English Language teacher 8 : Agnes

Non-English Language teacher 9 : Olivia

Language in/and education scholars

Domestic scholar 1 : Charles

Domestic scholar 2 : Daniel

Domestic scholar 3 : Imelda

Domestic scholar 4 : Nancy

Domestic scholar 5 : Theodore

International scholar 6 : Bruce

International scholar 7 : Harrison

International scholar 8 : Maxwell

Appendix C Example of participant profile

Pseudonym: Anthony, EMI teacher
Involvements: Teaching English, IS-School coordinator, heavily involved, in charge of resources, school benchmarking, and international activities
Perspectives and Positionality   - Agree, but realizing the elephant in the room, i.e. human resources.   - Believing there must be some benefits amidst the policy changes; at least teachers were more exposed to various well-developed teaching materials from foreign publications   - Believing that English competence is necessary for global participation in academic and jobs   - Parent concerns related to how much materials could be understood if English became medium of instruction. While in fact, in practice, teachers would emphasize first on the comprehension, instead of English use. Teachers did not force themselves to use English, if they thought their competence was minimal.   - ISS and EMI policy didn't continue, but it was not a failed program. It's a long term project.   - Framing failure came from certain groups with certain agendas and from inadequate studies on school practices. Those studies only sampled teachers who might be "staged" to teach in English, regardless of their competence, to save the school's face and image (for trying to implement).   - Nationalism does not mean no English. There was no causal correlation. English has been taught for decades at schools. Other foreign languages, such as Arabic, were also taught in many other schools and nobody complained about nationalism.

Appendix D Research information and invitation form

Research Information

Dear Participants,

The purpose of this research is to provide an historical account of the dynamics of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) policy in Indonesia's International-Standard (IS) Schools (or usually called rSBI schools). There are three specific aims of the research. Firstly, it is to assess the EMI in-IS-Schools policy background by looking at the macro policy determination stage (goals, intentions) in relation to global English trends in formal schooling. Secondly, it is to describe the school-based policy implementation process by identifying its multiple dimensions of change—technicality, norms and politics. Thirdly, it is to examine different ways of framing the EMI policy goals and practices as believed by various stakeholders. This research is a part of my dissertation project, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in School of Education.

For the above reasons, I will be interviewing teachers from IS-Schools, government officers at the Ministry of Education, and scholars involved in the policy making and development process. The interview will ask participants regarding their experiences, opinions, values and beliefs on policies and practices related to EMI in IS-School.

There will be two steps. **Firstly**, participants will be asked to complete a pre-interview questionnaire, asking background information (e.g. name, age, formal education trainings, occupation, professional affiliations), general opinion on EMI policy, and schedules for subsequent interviews. The questionnaires are confidential, and results will be kept under lock and key. I will be the only person who have access to your background information. The **second** phase is the interview, which will be audio recorded. Participants will be labeled with a code number (such as Teacher 1, Government 2, Scholar 3, etc.). Their personal identities will not be revealed and will be kept confidential. I am the only one who has access to the interview data and the code numbers. For the analysis, responses will be identified based on academic and/or professional affiliations to indicate stakeholder groups each participant belongs to.

There will be no direct benefit to participants and they will not receive any payment for compensation. Participation is voluntary, and participants may withdraw from this research at any time. This research is being conducted by Anis Sundusiyah, who can be reached at +1 412 478 9189 and ans161@pitt.edu, if you have any questions.

Should you be willing to participate, please fill out the following questionnaire (see the link). Thank you so much.

Appendix E Pre-Interview survey

Demography

Demography

Full name	
Gender	
Date of birth	
City of current residence	

Academic backgrounds

Latest Degree / Major

(e.g. Master / Educational Management)

Academic expertise or specializations, in addition to the above.

(e.g. information and technology, public speaking, research methodology, language policy, sociology of education, etc.)

Affiliations

Current occupation / Institution

(e.g. Lecturer / University of Pittsburgh)

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Past and present affiliations (academic, professional, social), in addition to the above.

(e.g. Secretary of International Education Office at University of Pittsburgh, Active member of Comparative Language Policy Association)

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General opinions

What do you think of the **goals** of English bilingual education in rSBI?

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What do you think of the **practices or implementations** of English bilingual education in rSBI?

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Appendix F List of documents

Table 11. List of documents

No	Document descriptions	Types	Year	Relevance
	Legislation statutes			
1	Act of Republic of Indonesia No. 20 Year 2003 on National Education System.	Legislation	2003	Essay 1, 3
2	Decree of Ministry of National Education No. 78 Year 2009 on Management of International-Standard School.	Legislation	2009	Essay 1, 3
3	Constitutional Court of Republic of Indonesia's Decision Number 5/PUU-X/2012	Legislation	2013	Essay 3
	Publications by National Ministries			
4	Pedoman Penjaminan Mutu SBI Quality Assurance Handbook for International Standard Schools/Madrasahs at Primary and Secondary Level (MONE, 2007)	Handbook		Essay 1
5	2007_Diknas_Pedoman Penjaminan Mutu SMBI	Handbook		Essay 1
6	Guidelines of the Implementations of IS-Schools at Primary Level (MONE, 2007a).	Handbook		Essay 1
7	2009-2010_Piloting Senior High School of International Standard	Report		Essay 1
8	2011_Diknas_Panduan dana bantuan rsbi	Handbook		Essay 1
9	Guidelines of Supervising the IS-Schools at Junior Secondary Level (MONE, 2011b).	Handbook		Essay 1
	Schools' Archives			
10	Policy-specific documents	Archive		Essay 2, 3
11	Textbooks collection	Teaching materials		Essay 2
12	School's web-based information	Website		Essay 2
13	Photos of students activities	Archive		Essay 2, 3

14	Pictures of policy-relevant school sites			Essay 2
	Teacher Archives			
15	Lesson Plans	Teaching materials		Essay 2
16	Syllabus	Teaching materials		
17	Evaluation sheets	Teaching materials		Essay 2

Appendix G List of Initial predetermined codes

Table 12. List of initial predetermined codes

Research questions	Prompt questions for coding and synthesizing	Pre-determined Codes and Sub-codes
RQ #1: Discursive contexts of EMI policy goals and rationale	Who did what, to whom, for what purpose, with what rationales, through what channel or instruments, with what intended consequences? What messages were implied from the goals? the actors? the instruments? the intended outcomes?	Policy goals - Educational quality - Academic mobility - Job opportunities Rationales - Human capital - Politics of identity - Political clout Policy background - Decentralization - School-based management - Internationalization Policy-making actors - Ministry of education - Who else? Policy instruments - Mandates - Trainings - Grants Intended outcomes - Linguistic instrumentalism - Social efficiency - Social mobility Language ideology - Economy - Politics - Sociocultural integration - Democratic choice
RQ #2: EMI policy appropriation	What and how were the EMI arrangement and strategies in the class? In teaching delivery? Textbooks? In evaluation? Actual languages used? Teachers' appointment? Teachers training?	Technical dimension - Teachers' language competence - Teaching materials - Additional sources - Classroom delivery - Evaluation (homeworks)

	Hiring? Challenges? Available resources? Students' attitudes? Achievements? What did teachers say and believe about internationalization? About EMI as language policy? About the policy changes? About critics in the media? About those who support and against? What and how were the relationship nature and shifts (if any) among teachers? Schools? Parents? Other organizations? Who else was involved? In what way? Who benefitted? Who was excluded? What did they say?	- Teachers training - Other capacity building programs Normative dimension - International schools - English as global language - Various policy namings - Prestige - Expensive - Other languages Political dimension - Among teachers - With other non IS-Schools - Parents - Other organizations
RQ #3: EMI debates	Who, said what, with what arguments, with what examples/evidence, under what rationales? Who said what *in response to* which arguments, with what examples/evidence, under what rationales? What messages were implied in each of those arguments? Core values?	In support - Internationalization of education - Economic value of English - Globalization - Market failure anticipation - School quality improvement Not in support - Insufficient logistic - Teachers shortage - Learning disruption - Cultural reproduction - Threat to national language - National identity - Local language loss - Commercialization - Widening gap among school networks In between Unclear

Appendix H Linguistic landscape at the Olympus High School

Figure 10. Teacher Research and Resource Center (TRRC)

One of the corner textbook collections at the Teacher Research and Resource Center (TRRC).
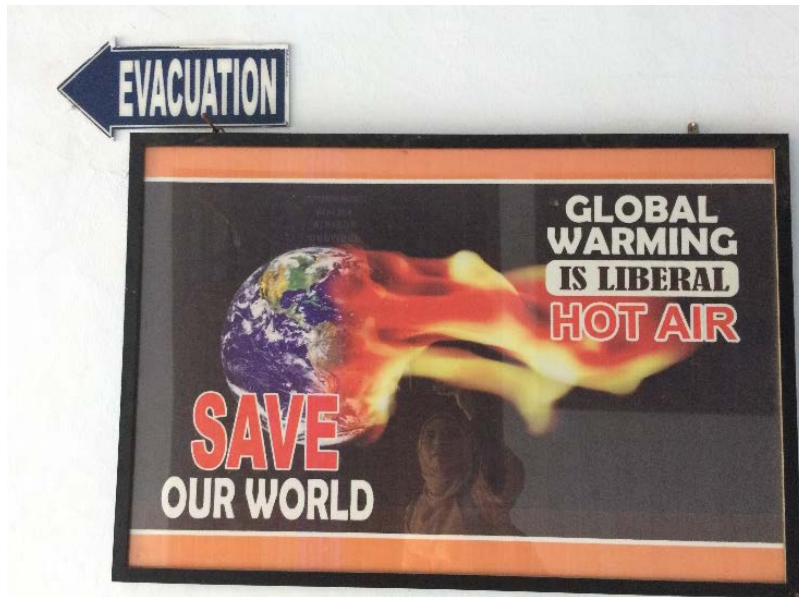
Figure 11. Wall sign on a hall corridor

Figure 12. Wall sign outside a classroom

Figure 13. Entrance sign

Figure 14. Door sign at restroom

Figure 15. Name sign

Figure 16. Signs at one of the stairs

Appendix I EMI textbooks
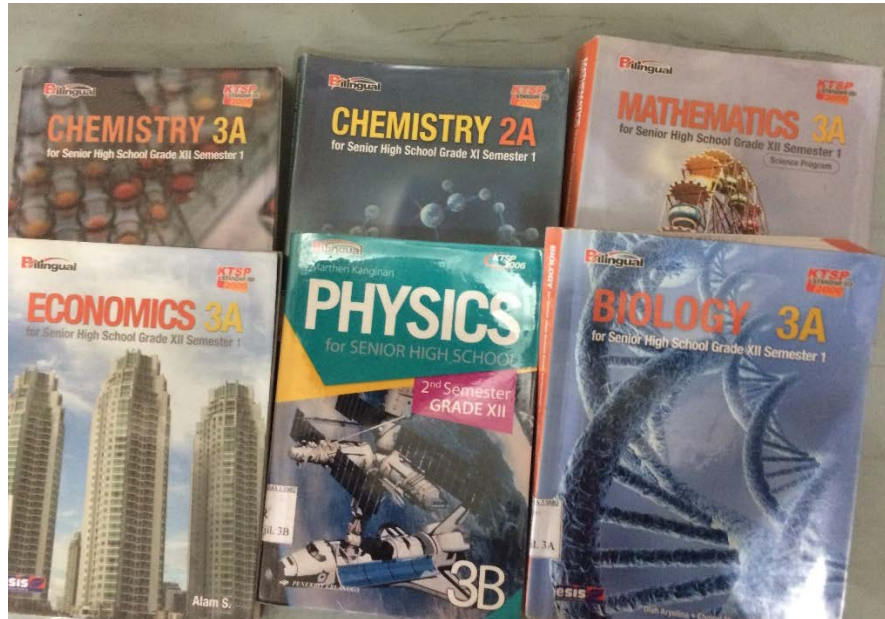
Figure 17. Examples of textbooks
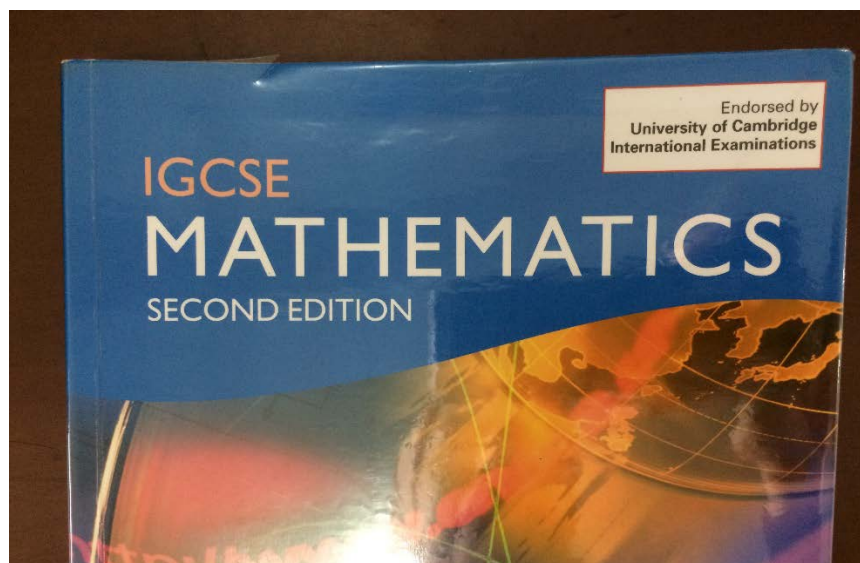
Figure 18. Textbook with Cambridge endorsement

Math textbook cover with the so-called endorsement label from Cambridge International Examination

Figure 19. Bilingual Biology textbook

This was an example of the so-called bilingual textbook for Biology course. The left side is written in English, and the right side is in Indonesian.
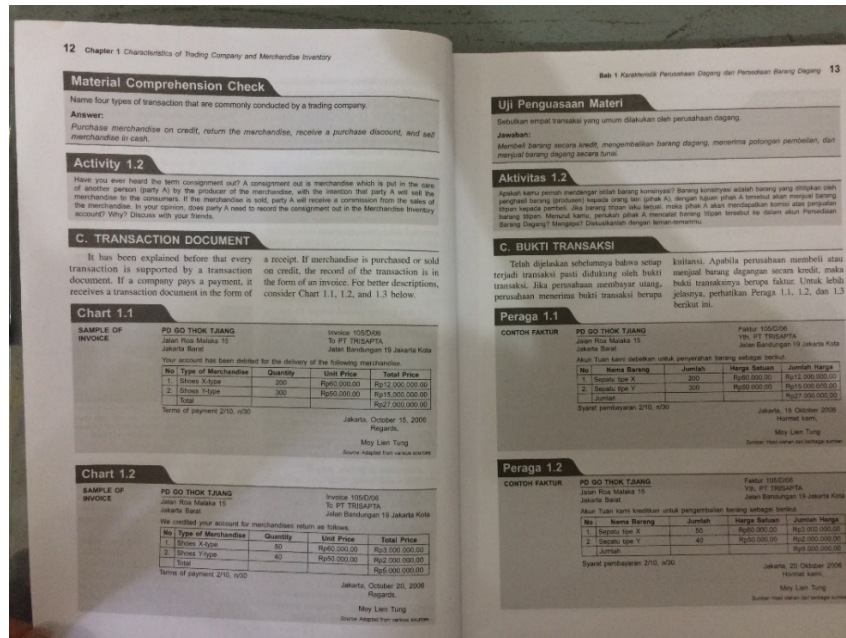
Figure 20. Bilingual Economy textbook

This was an example of the so-called bilingual textbook for Economy course. The left side is written in English, and the right side is in Indonesian.
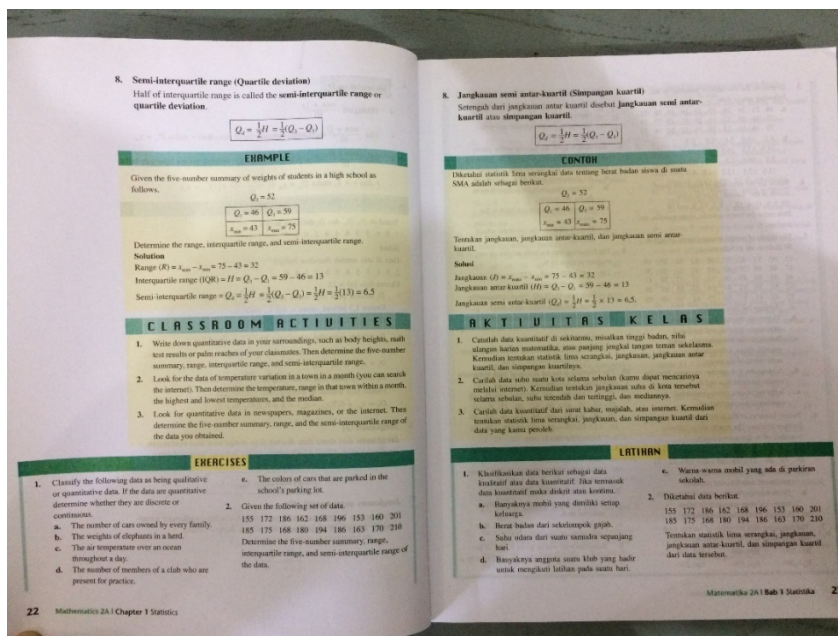
Figure 21. Bilingual Physic textbook

This was an example of the so-called bilingual textbook for a Physics course. The left side is written in English, and the right side is in Indonesian.
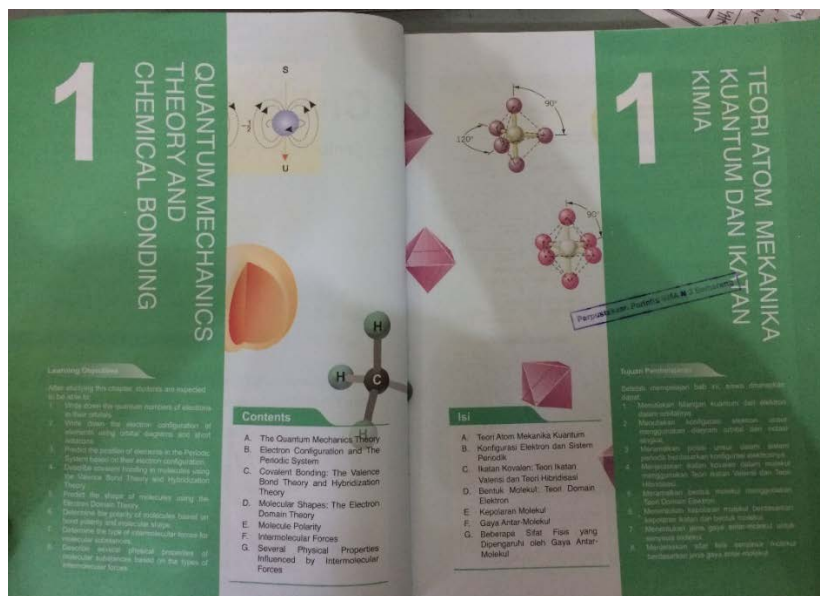
Figure 22. Bilingual Chemistry textbook

This was an example of the so-called bilingual textbook for Chemistry course. The left side is written in English, and the right side is in Indonesian.

Appendix J Selected teachers' files

Appendix J.1 Example of evaluation instrument

This was how schools employed both English and Indonesian language in a test. The sample was the first page and the last page of a mid-term Chemistry. Consisting of 40 multiple choice items and five close-ended questions, the test was written in English (roughly 60 percent of the items) and in Indonesian languages.

MID SEMESTER TEST ███████████
ACADEMIC YEAR 2008 / 2009

Subject   : Chemistry
Grade   : X
Time Alocation : 07.30 – 09.30
Date   : Friday, March ^{27} 2009

I.   CHOOSE THE CORRECT ANSWER BY CROSSING A, B, C, D, or E !

1.   The data of an experiment is as follow:

Solution	Lamp	Observation at electrode
1	The lamp shines brightly.	There are gas bubbles
2	The lamp does not shine.	There are gas bubbles
3	The lamp does not shine.	There are no gas bubbles
4	The lamp shines gloomy.	There are gas bubbles

Which solutions can be classified as weak electrolyte and strong electrolyte?
A. 1 and 3   D. 2 and 4
B. 3 and 4   E. 3 and 2
C. 2 and 1

2.   Which pair of electrolytes is an ionic compound ?
A. NaCl and H_2SO_4 D. $Ba(OH)_2$ and K_2SO_4
B. KF and C_2H_5OH E. HCl and H_2SO_4
C. HBr and CH_3COOH

3.   Which of the following solutions cannot transmit the electric current?
A. Salt solution
B. High acid solution
C. High base solution
D. Solution of non polar covalent compound
E. Solution of polar covalent compound

4.   The electrolyte solution can transmit the electric current because the solution
       has....
A. kation   D. solvent
B. anion   E. molecule
C. kation and anion

5.   The correct statement for the characteristic of electrolyte solution is …
A. the ionized salt becomes kation and anion
B. the solution can redden the litmus
C. the solution can change the red litmus into blue ones.
D. the matter which can be ionized in water and becomes kation and anion
E. the matter which is dissolved in water and becomes molecules

6.   Which of the following systems cannot transmit the electric current ?
A. NaCl(l)   D. NH_4OH(aq)
B. KBr(aq)   E. $CuSO_4$(aq)
C. $C_{12}H_{22}O_{11}$(aq)

7.   The following are solution systems:
1. NaOH
2. $CO(NH_2)_2$
3. CH_3COOH
4. $C_6H_{12}O_6$
5. H_2SO_4
Which one of the solution systems is a pair of strong electrolyte solution ?
A. 1 and 5   D. 5 and 3
B. 1 and 4   E. 2 and 3
C. 2 and 4

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38. The strucrure formula of 4-ethyl-2,4-dimethyl hexane is...

A. $CH_3 - \underset{\underset{C_2H_5}{|}}{\overset{\overset{CH_3}{|}}{C}} - CH2 - \underset{\underset{CH_3}{|}}{CH} - CH_3$

D. $CH_3 - \underset{\underset{C_2H_5}{|}}{\overset{\overset{CH_3}{|}}{C}} - CH_2 - \underset{\underset{CH_3}{|}}{CH} - CH_3$

B. $CH_3 - \underset{\underset{C_2H_5}{|}}{\overset{\overset{CH_3}{|}}{C}} - CH_2 - \underset{\underset{CH_3}{|}}{CH} - CH_2 - CH_3$

E. $CH_3 - \underset{\underset{C_2H_5}{|}}{CH} - CH_2 - \underset{\underset{CH_3}{|}}{CH} - CH_3$

C. $CH_3 - \underset{\underset{C_2H_5}{|}}{C} - \overset{\overset{CH_3}{|}}{CH_2} - CH_2 - \underset{\underset{CH_3}{|}}{CH} - CH_3$
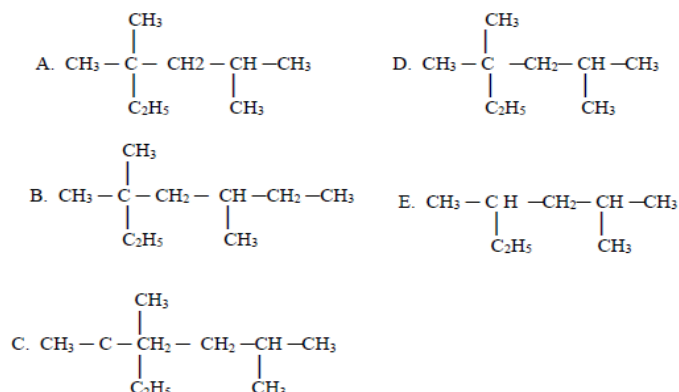
39. Senyawa berikut yang mempunyai rumus molekul sama dengan senyawa 3-etil-2,3-dimetil pentana adalah ....
   A. 3,3-dietl-2-metil pentana   D. 3,3-dimethyl pentane
   B. 3,3-dietl-2-metil pentana   E. 4-methyl hexane
   C. 2,2-dimetyl propane

40. Atom karbon mempunyai ciri khas sebagai berikut, kecuali ...
   A. dengan atom lain dapat berikatan kovalen sebanyak empat.
   B. Dapat membentuk ikatan kovalen dengan atom lain sebanyak empat
   C. Dapat berikatan dengan atom karbon lain hingga membentuk rantai karbon.
   D. Dapat membentuk rantai karbon terbuka maupun melingkar.
   E. Atom karbon hanya dapat membentuk ikatan kovalen dengan atom hidrogen saja

II. **ESSAY !**
   1. Tentukan bilangan oksidasi unsu-unsur yang dicetak miring /tebal:
      a. $K_2\underline{Cr}_2O_7$ d. $\underline{N}_2H_4$
      b. $\underline{P}O_4^{3-}$ e. $\underline{Fe}S$
      c. $Cu\underline{S}O_4$

   2. Diketahui reaksi redoks:
      $MnO_2 + 4HCl \rightarrow MnCl_2 + 2H_2O + Cl_2$
      Tentukan:
      a. Tentukan unsur yang mengalami reaksi oksidasi serta reduksi
      b. zat reduktor dan zat oksidator
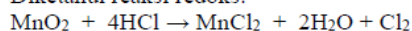
   3. Write the structure formula of isomers of pentane (C_5H_{12}) and given name each isomer.

   4. Write the ionization reaction of follow electrolyte solutions
      a. NaOH(aq)
      b. H_2SO_4(aq)
      c. $CaCl_2$(aq)
      d. $Ba(NO_3)_2$

   5. Write the IUPAC name and molecule formula of compound following:

   a. $CH_3 - \underset{\underset{C_2H_5}{|}}{CH} - \overset{\overset{CH_3}{|}}{CH} - \underset{\underset{CH_3}{|}}{CH} - CH_3$

   b. $\underset{\underset{CH_3}{|}}{\overset{\overset{CH_3}{|}}{CH}} - CH_2 - \underset{\underset{\underset{CH_3}{|}}{CH_2}}{CH} - CH_3$

   c. $CH_3 - \overset{\overset{CH_3}{|}}{\underset{\underset{CH_3 - CH - CH_3}{|}}{C}} - CH_2 - CH_3$

350
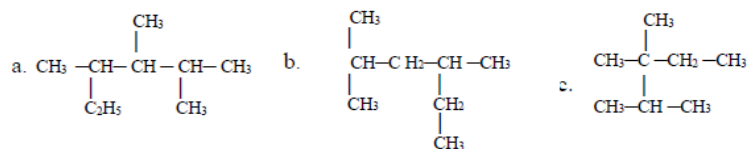
Appendix J.2 Example of lesson plan

This was an example of an English-written lesson plan from a Physics course during the EMI implementation phase. Each teacher might compose and format the syllabus differently, but the content was written in English.

G/WKAKA-FIS /QSR/002-00/08

LESSON PLAN

Subject	: Physics
Topic	: Quantities, Units, and Measurement
Sub Topic	: Basic Quantities, Derived Quantities, Dimensions
Class/Semester	: X / I
Method	: Discussion Information
Approach	: Process Skill
Time	: 2 x 45 minute

Standard Competence :
1. Apply the concepts of physics quantities and their measurement

Based Competence :
1.1 Measure the physical quantities (mass, length, and time)

Indicators :
- Mention of seven basic quantities and their units
- Write dimensions of the physical quantities

1. **Goal of learning :**
   - Students are able to mention of seven basic quantities and their units
   - Students are able to write dimensions of the physical quantities

2. **Learning materials :**
   - Basic Quantities Units

Physical Quantities	International System of Units		
	Units	Symbol	Dimensions
1. Length	meter	m	[L]
2. Massa	kilogram	kg	[M]
3. Time	second	s	[T]
4. Electric current	ampere	A	[I]
5. Temperature	kelvin	K	[θ]
6. Amount of substance	mole	mol	[N]
7. Luminous intensity	candela	c_d	[J]

   - Derived Quantities Units

   The derived quantities are the physical quantities which the units of which are derived from basic quantity units. Examples of derived quantities and their units :

Physical Quantities	International System of Units		
	Symbols	Units	Dimensions
1. Area	A	m^2	$[L]^2$
2. Velocity ($v = s/t$)	v	m/s	$[L] [T]^{-1}$
3. Force ($F = m.a$)	F	$kg\ m/s^2 = N$	$[M] [L] [T]^{-2}$

3. Learning Scenario

No	Activity	Time	Method	Resource	Assessment
1.	Opening a. Motivation : Ask the student about their opinion like about color, beauty, and bad include of quantity. Why?	10'	Interview	-	Process, 90 % of student correct answer
	b. Re-condition : Thus, what is definition of the quantity?	5'	Interview	-	90 % of student can define the meaning of quantity
2.	Main Activity a. Teacher conduct the students to define the basic quantities and derived quantities units	15'	Sociable Discussion	Literature	Observation, 90 % student active in discuss
	b. Teacher conduct the students to mention of the seven basic quantities with their units and dimensions	15'	Interview Discussion	Literature	Observation, 90 % student active in discuss
	c. Teacher give an examples of derived quantities units	15'	Interview Discussion	Literature	
	d. Teacher conduct the students to mention other of the derived quantities with their units and dimensions	15'	Exercise Quiz	Worksheet	80 % student can solve the problems correctly
3.	Closing a. Teacher conduct the students to conclude the materials that have learned	10'	Discussion	Inscription, Physics books	90 % of student can resume the discussion result and solve the problems in LKS or physics books.
	b. Teacher order the students to solve problems about basic quantities, derived quantities, and dimensions in LKS or book (bilingual) page...until...	5'	Assignment	LKS, Physics books	

4. Learning Media
- White board
- Work sheets
- Physics books
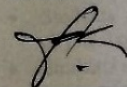
5. Evaluation
a.   Kind of evaluation:
- ✓ Cognitive evaluation (oral / short answer)
- ✓ Exercise (attachment)

b.   Follow up
- ✓ Student is said success, if the achievement of it is 75 % or more.
- ✓ Giving remedial programme for student that the achievement < 75 %.
- ✓ Giving enrichment programme for student that the achievement > 75 %.

6. References
Sunardi, dkk. 2008. *Fisika Bilingual Untuk SMA/MA Kelas X*. Bandung : CV. Yrama Widya.

Sopingi. 2008. Kresna *Fisika Kelas X*. Klaten : Sinar Mandiri.

Taranggono, dkk. 2003. *Sains Fisika SMU Kelas 1*. Jakarta : Bumi Aksara.

Semarang, July....2009

Headmaster

Physics Teacher

This was an example of an English-written syllabus from a Chemistry course during the EMI implementation phase. Each teacher might compose and format the syllabus differently, but the whole content was written in English.

WKAK-KIM /QSR/001-00/08

SYLLABUS

School's name   :
Subject   : Chemistry
Class / semester   : XII/I
Competence Standard : 1. Explain the colligative properties of electrolyte and non-electrolyte solution
Time Allocation   : 16 hours of lesson (2 hours for daily test)

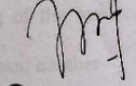| Basic Competence	Learning Material	Learning Activities	Indicators	Assessment	Time Allocation	Source / Kit
1.1. Explain that vapour pressure decrease, boiling point increase, freezing point decrease, and osmotic pressure are colligative properties of the solution. (C3)	▪ Concentration of solution ▪ Definition of colligative property of electrolyte and non-electrolyte solution (Roulth's Law) ▪ Saturated vapour pressure of solution	▪ Calculate the concentration of solution (molality, molarity , mole fraction) and connect it to the colligative property through class discussion. ▪ Explain the influence of solute which is difficult evaporates to vapour pressure of solvent and	▪ Calculate the concentration of solution (molality, molarity , and mole fraction) (C2) ▪ Explain the definition of colligative property of electrolyte and non-electrolyte solution (Roulth's Law) (C1) ▪ Explain the influence of solute which is difficult evaporates to vapour pressure of solvent (C1) ▪ Calculate vapour pressure of solution based on	▪ <u>Kinds of assessment</u> -Individual assignment -quiz -test ▪ <u>Forms of instrument</u> -Written test	4 hours	<u>Source</u> -Chemistry handbook <u>Media</u> -Students' worksheet -LCD -Computer

Appendix K Students' social activities

Figure 23. The "Live in" program: Shadowing a farmer family

Figure 24. The "Live in" program: Shadowing a lady making crackers

Appendix L Summary of "who says what" in the EMI policy debate

Table 13. Framings Focus on EMI practices

Notes: Several coloums were left unchecked, because it was not addressed clearly or not asked during the interviews.

	Stakeholders			Framings Focus on EMI practices			
No	Pseudo-nyms	Roles	Backgrounds and involvements related to EMI practices	EMI-teacher shortage	Insufficient logistics	Linguistic exclusivism	Law violation
				1	2	3	4
1	Thomas	Govt 1	MONE official, involved in developing and supervising IS-School provisions, working closely with local governments/offices	Agree, but long-term improvement was possible	Agree, but it got better over the years	Disagree	Disagree
2	Patrick	Govt 2	MONE official, involved in developing and supervising IS-School provisions	Agree, but long-term improvement was possible	Agree, but it got better over the years	Disagree	Disagree
3	George	Govt 3	MONE official; representing MONE for ASEAN Education office, closely working with government officers of education from ASEAN countries	–	–	Disagree	Disagree
4	James	Govt 4	Local government official, experienced in educational and development policies at local level, closely working with local school leaders	Agree, but long-term improvement was possible	Agree, but it got better over the years	Disagree	Disagree

5	Anthony	Teacher 1	Olympus school teacher, taught English language, EMI coordinator, heavily involved in school-wide EMI policy decisions and appropriations	Agree, but long-term improvement was possible	Agree, but it got better over the years	Disagree	–
6	Deborah	Teacher 2	Olympus school teacher, taught Biology course; employed English in her classes, involved in school-wide EMI policy developments	Agree, same as above	Agree, same as above	Disagree	–
7	Evelyn	Teacher 3	Olympus school teacher, taught Chemistry course, employed English in her classes, not involved in school-wide EMI policy developments	Agree, same as above	Agree, same as above	Disagree	–
8	Stanford	Teacher 4	Olympus school teacher, taught Physics course, employed English in his classes, not involved in school-wide EMI policy developments	Agree, same as above	Agree, same as above	Disagree	–
9	Wilma	Teacher 5	Olympus school teacher, taught Economy course, employed English in her classes, involved in school-wide EMI policy decision and appropriations	Agree, same as above	Agree, same as above	Disagree	–
10	Paul	Teacher 6	Olympus school teacher, taught Geography course, employed English in his classes, not involved in school-wide EMI policy developments	Agree, same as above	Agree, same as above	–	–
11	Hannah	Teacher 7	Olympus school teacher,; taught Indonesian language; was not affected by EMI policies	Agree, same as above	Agree, same as above	Disagree	Disagree
12	Agnes	Teacher 8	Olympus school teacher, taught Javanese language, was not affected by EMI policies	Agree, same as above	Agree, same as above	Disagree	Disagree
13	Olivia	Teacher 9	Olympus school teacher, taught Japanese language, was not affected by EMI policies	Agree, same as above	Agree, same as above	Disagree	Disagree

14	Charles	Scholar 1	Linguist, professor of Indonesian language (retired but still teaching)	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree
15	Daniel	Scholar 2	Educational activist, founder of NGO on education and social justice, working closely with local schools and teachers on various educational trainings and issues	Agree	Agree	Agree	
16	Imelda	Scholar 3	Professor of EFL, educational researcher and advocate, trainers on education and language topics, working closely with schools and teachers on English language trainings	Agree	Agree	-	
17	Nancy	Scholar 4	Professor of EFL, educational researcher and advocate, trainers on education and language topics, working closely with schools and teachers on English language trainings	Agree	Agree	-	
18	Theodore	Scholar 5	Professor of education and culture (retired, but still working), educational researcher and advocate, trainers on education and cultures topics	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree
19	Bruce	Scholar 6	US-based language policy researcher and advocate, director of NGO on language policy	-	-	-	-
20	Harrison	Scholar 7	British researcher and advocate of English language and sociology of language, taught English language in various countries, provided language-related trainings and consulting work	Agree	Agree	-	-
21	Maxwell	Scholar 8	OECD researcher working on global competence test	-	-	-	-

Table 14. Framings Focus on English language

No	Pseudo-nyms	Roles	Backgrounds related to English language	Utility values of English	Symbolic values of English	Detrimen-tal for national identity	Speeding up local language loss
				5	6	7	8
1	Thomas	Govt 1	Very fluent in English, U.S. university graduate	Agree	Agree	Disagree	-
2	Patrick	Govt 2	Very fluent in English	Agree	Agree	Disagree	-
3	George	Govt 3	Very fluent in English, use English a lot for work	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree
4	James	Govt 4	Fairly fluent in English	Agree	Agree	Disagree	-
5	Anthony	Teacher 1	Very fluent in English, use English to interact with school partners abroad	Agree	Agree	Disagree	-
6	Deborah	Teacher 2	Fairly fluent in English, use English to interact with school partners abroad	Agree	Agree	Disagree	-
7	Evelyn	Teacher 3	Fairly fluent in English	Agree	Agree	Disagree	-
8	Stanford	Teacher 4	Fairly fluent in English, use English to interact with school partners abroad	Agree	Agree	Disagree	-
9	Wilma	Teacher 5	Fairly fluent in English, use English to interact with school partners abroad	Agree	Agree	Disagree	-
10	Paul	Teacher 6	Fairly fluent in English	Agree	Agree	Disagree	-
11	Hannah	Teacher 7	Familiar with English	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree
12	Agnes	Teacher 8	Familiar with English	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree
13	Olivia	Teacher 9	Familiar with English, fluent in Japanese	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree
14	Charles	Scholar 1	Fairly fluent in English	Agree	Agree	Agree	-
15	Daniel	Scholar 2	Fairly fluent in English	Agree	Agree	Agree	-

16	Imelda	Scholar 3	Very fluent in English, EFL professor; graduated from U.S. university	Agree	Agree	Disagree	-
17	Nancy	Scholar 4	Very fluent in English, EFL professor, graduated from U.S. university	Agree	Agree	Agree	-
18	Theodore	Scholar 5	Very fluent in English, graduated from U.S. university	Agree with caution	Agree with caution	Agree	-
19	Bruce	Scholar 6	English native speaker, conducted studies on English language values in non-English speaking countries	Agree	Agree	-	-
20	Harrison	Scholar 7	English native speaker, conducted many studies on English language values in non-English speaking countries	Agree with caution	Agree with caution	-	-
21	Maxwell	Scholar 8	Very fluent in English, promoting values of international language(s) for global competence skills	Agree	Agree	-	-

Table 15. Framing Focus on IS-School establishment

No	Pseudo-nyms	Roles	Backgrounds and involvements related to EMI practices	Global Competi-tiveness	Trickle down quality improve-ment	Expen-sive	Penetra-ting inequa-lity	Neo-liberal educa-tion
			Stakeholders			Framing Focus on IS-School establishment		
				9	10	11	12	13
1	Thomas	Govt 1	Involved in developing and supervising IS-School provisions, working closely with local governments/ offices	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree
2	Patrick	Govt 2	Involved in developing and supervising IS-School provisions, working closely with local governments/offices	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree
3	George	Govt 3	Involved in developing international education for vocational schools, closely working with school teachers and delegations for ASEAN education networks and projects	Agree	Agree	-	-	Disagree
4	James	Govt 4	Used to be a school principal of an IS-School, which was one of the early batches	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree
5	Anthony	Teacher 1	Heavily involved in IS-School internal and external activities	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree
6	Deborah	Teacher 2	Heavily involved in IS-School internal and external activities	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree
7	Evelyn	Teacher 3	Involved in some IS-School internal and external activities	Agree	Agree	Disagree	-	-

8	Stanford	Teacher 4	Involved in some IS-School internal and external activities, especially science competitions	Agree	Agree	Disagree	-	-
9	Wilma	Teacher 5	Heavily involved in IS-School internal and external activities	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree
10	Paul	Teacher 6	Involved in some IS-School internal and external activities	Agree	-	-	-	-
11	Hannah	Teacher 7	Was not involved and was not affected by IS-School related activities	Agree	-	-	-	-
12	Agnes	Teacher 8	Was not involved and was not affected by IS-School related activities	Agree	-	-	-	-
13	Olivia	Teacher 9	Was not involved and was not affected by IS-School related activities	Agree	-	-	-	-
14	Charles	Scholar 1	Researcher on linguistics and Indonesian language discourse in Indonesia	Disagree	-	Agree	-	Agree
15	Daniel	Scholar 2	Closely working with local school leaders and teachers; researcher and writer on social (in)justice in education	Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Agree
16	Imelda	Scholar 3	Providing trainings for IS-School leaders and teachers; researching IS-Schools	Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Agree
17	Nancy	Scholar 4	Providing training for English language teachers; researching IS-Schools.	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Agree	-
18	Theodore	Scholar 5	Closely working with academicians; researcher and writer of publications on education and/as cultural studies.	Disagree	-	Agree	Agree	Agree
19	Bruce	Scholar 6	Familiar with growing trends of international schools and international languages all over the world	Agree	-	-	-	-
20	Harrison	Scholar 7	Researcher and writer of publications on growing trends of international schools and international language(s) in many parts of the world, closely working with	Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Agree

			several Indonesian researchers on IS-School practices					
21	Maxwell	Scholar 8	Familiar with growing trends of international schools and international languages all over the world.	Agree	-	-	-	-

Appendix M IRB research clearance

PI Notification: IRB determination

IRB

Wed 3/29/2017 9:53 AM

To: Sundusiyah, Anis <ans161@pitt.edu>;

The IRB is requesting your assistance in helping us improve our service to the research community. Please take a few minutes and complete the Satisfaction Survey by clicking here.
Note: You can download a version of the approval letter without the survey link from the approved study workspace

University of Pittsburgh
Institutional Review Board

3500 Fifth Avenue
Pittsburgh, PA 15213
(412) 383-1480
(412) 383-1508 (fax)
http://www.irb.pitt.edu

Memorandum

To:	Anis Sundusiyah
From:	IRB Office
Date:	3/29/2017
IRB#:	PRO17020416
Subject:	Language policy determination, implementation and debates: The dynamics of English as medium of instruction in Indonesia's internationalized public schools.

The above-referenced project has been reviewed by the Institutional Review Board. Based on the information provided, this project meets all the necessary criteria for an exemption, and is hereby designated as "exempt" under section

45 CFR 46.101(b)(2)

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