TEACHING ENGLISH IN AN "ACQUISITION-POOR ENVIRONMENT": AN ETHNOGRAPHIC EXAMPLE OF A REMOTE INDONESIAN EFL CLASSROOM

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A Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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March 2003

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**Teaching English in an "acquisition-poor environment":
an ethnographic example of a Remote Indonesian EFL classroom**

English as a foreign language (EFL) is a compulsory subject in Indonesian secondary schools. Its outcome – graduates' proficiency in English – is widely considered as unsatisfactory despite a number of quality improvement reforms that have been carried out over the past decades. These projects, which were funded by international bodies (e.g., the World Bank) and planned and implemented under the auspices of the British Council, focused exclusively on curriculum and methodological change. In particular, the communicative approach was touted as a panacea for all the woes of EFL teaching and learning in Indonesia. These changes in curriculum and methodology were implemented without any attention to the local – cultural, social and economic, and linguistic – context in which EFL is taught and learned in Indonesian secondary schools.

This study aims to fill this lacuna. It aims at identifying possible factors that impact on the lack of EFL teaching and learning success at junior high school level (SLTP) and, based on the findings, suggesting a course of action for the improvement of classroom experience for both EFL teachers and students. It is based on a 10-month ethnographic study of the classroom culture and its wider context in a remote village in rural Sulawesi..

The findings of this study suggest that the failure of EFL teaching and learning in rural Indonesia is due to the complex interplay of a number of issues, including the following:

1. cultural values, i.e. the value of harmonious relationships in a feudal community,
2. sociolinguistic situation, i.e. the status and function of English,
3. material conditions, and
4. methodology, i.e. teachers' teaching practices.

Consequently, reforms that merely target curricula and teaching methodologies are bound to remain unsuccessful.

The results of this study are expected to contribute to the improvement of the TEFL quality in Southeast Sulawesi Province, in particular, and to the whole country in general. Findings of this study are expected to be used by the Indonesian government in its TEFL policy making.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all the people who have helped me in one way or another during the course of my study in the Department of Linguistics of the University of Sydney, especially during the research and the writing of this thesis. Since it is not possible to mention all names, I would like to mention the following people in particular for their invaluable contribution to this thesis.

My first and special thanks go to Dr. Ingrid Piller, my supervisor, and Prof. Richard B. Baldauf Jr., my associate supervisor, who have guided me in various ways. Their contribution to the writing of this thesis is invaluable. Their ideas, comments, criticism, and encouragement have enriched not only the content of this thesis but also my academic, professional, and personal life. Without them, I believe I would never finish this thesis. They are both my model supervisors. They always had time to correct my English and to comment on my writing style.

Dr. Barbara Mullock and Ass/Prof. Barbara Horvath who supervised me during the first year of my study also deserve my special thanks. Only through their guidance could I prepare my fieldwork. The idea of carrying out this study first emerged when I took Ass/Prof. Barbara Horvath's course on 'Educational Linguistics'. Based on a small paper I presented as one of the requirements for the course, she encouraged and recommended me to further study the topic of this thesis.

My gratitude also goes to AusAID that supported me financially throughout my course of study. I realise that it would be impossible for me to pursue my study to this level without its support.

I am also grateful to all the staff members of the Linguistics Department of the University of Sydney, especially Dr. Tony Borowsky and Prof. William Foley, Jane Simpson, Virginia, and others. Dr. Borowsky and Prof. Foley made it possible for me to be a tutor in "Language in Society" for undergraduate students, a position that enriched my academic and professional experience. Virginia always provided kind help whenever I needed her.

I also wish to thank Fahiem Maula, his wife Sri Ayu Miranda, and their children, Lia and Nadia Maula. Their companionship during my staying in Sydney, especially during difficult times, made my family always feel at home.

I am so grateful to my beloved father, Simon Sinong, and mother, Seravin Sero, my brothers and sisters, my parents-in-law, Mateus S. Raya and Yustina B. Tandisau', and my brother and sisters in-law. Their prayers and spiritual support strengthened me during my difficult times.

Last but not least, My very special thanks goes to my wife, Cornelia Raya (Nelly) and my three daughters, Stephanie Gita, Feliciana Ria, and Angelin Rimba Pasassung. Our togetherness enabled me to pass my hardest time during the course of my study in this foreign country. Nelly not only helped by running our household but also worked to support me financially. My daughters' patience and understanding were so important during my difficult time. Their love and companionship filled this long, hard period of my study with joy and made it an unforgettable experience.

Sydney, March 2003
Nikolaus Pasassung

I dedicate this thesis the most loved ones:

My father, Simon Sinong and mother, Seravin Sero and to my wife Nelly, and daughters, Gita,
Feli, and Angel.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale

Issues related to the failure of English language teaching (ELT hereafter) in a non-English speaking country, especially in a diverse country like Indonesia, involve a complex set of problems, and hence, cannot be related simply to a single cause like language teaching methodology. Therefore, prior to an attempt to improve the quality of ELT in such conditions, there is a need to understand comprehensively the issues through a thorough examination of the possible aspects involved, especially the local – cultural, social, economic, linguistic, and ELT historical – condition which also impinges upon the way teachers and students behave in the classroom.

ELT in Indonesia has long been a part of Indonesian education. It was first introduced into formal education by the Dutch during their occupation, which lasted almost 3.5 centuries (1600 – 1942). In this long history, four methods are commonly claimed to have been introduced to Indonesian ELT: the Traditional/Grammar-Translation Method, The Direct Method, The Audiolingual Method, and Communicative Language Teaching (CLT hereafter). From my own experience as an English learner, I can say that during my language learning experience in the Indonesian formal education system, teachers only used the Traditional Method. I never experienced my Indonesian English teachers using the Direct Method because they barely spoke English. Likewise, they were hardly able to implement the Audiolingual Method due to the unavailability of audio-players, let alone language laboratories. This supports Samsuri's contention that "the Traditional Method used to be the only method of language teaching in Indonesia" (Samsuri, 1983: 41). As someone being involved in the field, I believe that the Traditional Method is still the dominant ELT method in most Indonesian EFL classrooms, especially in the formal education sector. This implies that in informal settings, the teaching and learning of non-native languages might use several different methods. Presumably, before the establishment of formal schools, a Chinese scholar from China and the Muslim traders from the Middle East would learn *Bahasa Melayu* by using it with Malay people. Similarly, Javanese would learn Bahasa Melayu as the *lingua franca* throughout the archipelago by using it in real communications with the speakers of the language (Kaplan and Baldauf, 2002). In other words, these people would learn it by using rather than studying it.

Despite the long history of ELT in Indonesia, it is still commonly believed that Indonesian formal education has had little success in helping learners master English. Sadtono (1997a: 14) describes it as "flogging the dead horse due to insurmountable constraints ... many of which are beyond the teacher's capability to surmount, such as limited number of hours, class size ... and the social situation". He further contends that good reading and speaking ability of the very small number of Indonesians is "the result ... of their own relentless efforts ... by attending private courses and self-study".

ELT does not happen in a social vacuum. Consequently, in the process of the remaking and promoting of a discourse system that fosters true learning, it is important to take into consideration local conditions. It is particularly crucial to take into account local conditions, because in Indonesia for

example, traditional methods have long been implemented and have rigidly shaped a particular concept about the teaching and learning of English. If CLT is to be appropriate to the Indonesian context, in the sense that it can improve the learning experiences of Indonesian EFL learners, it needs to be culturally sensitive to the Indonesian context (Holliday, 1994a) or "… culturally attuned and culturally accepted" (Ellis, 1996:213) by Indonesian people. As Holliday (1994a: 164) argues, a methodology can be appropriate to any context as long as it is "cultural-sensitive". His findings from his study of six classrooms in India and China convince him that CLT can work in a traditional classroom so long as there is a "cultural continuity between more traditional and innovating scenarios" in the classroom (Holliday, 1997a:212).

Realising that the quality of ELT in the country is not satisfactory, the government of Indonesia has introduced ELT quality improvement programs in formal education in the past few decades. *PKG* Project (***Pemantapan Kerja Guru***, 'the strengthening of teachers' work) was the last biggest project that was planned and implemented under the auspices of the British Council and focused exclusively on changes to curriculum and methodology. It introduced, in particular, the Communicative Approach which was touted as a panacea for all the woes of EFL teaching and learning in Indonesia (see Sections 4.5.1 and 4.5.2). The launch, in 1985, of the 1984 English Curriculum which was claimed to be designed in reference to the Communicative Approach marked the introduction of CLT into Indonesian ELT.

That CLT would be able to bring significant improvement to the quality of ELT in non-English speaking countries remains only a hope. The main reason, as argued by Tickoo (1995), is that CLT does not take into account local contexts. Ouoyang (2000) argues that the problem lies in the different ideologies underlying the previous methods that have long been part of the ELT tradition. As Scollon and Scollon (2001: 215) point out, "communicative language teaching tends to emphasise one-to-one or small group interactions in which individuals express their own original thinking". By contrast, traditional teaching methods do not encourage individuals to express openly their own opinions. Therefore, according to Ouoyang (2000: 398), "CLT is not only about a teaching method but, more significantly, a remaking of [the] social system".

In the process of the substitution of structure-based methods with a new method such as CLT, it is crucial that teachers understand the underlying principles of the new method. The main principles that distinguish CLT from the structure-based methods are the cultural concepts about and norms underlying teachers' teaching behaviours and students' learning behaviours. These concepts and norms determine patterns of communication between students and teachers and among students in the classroom, the roles of teachers and students, and the teaching focus. Only with a good understanding of these underlying principles can teachers be helped to remake gradually their classroom discourse system that is a prerequisite to quality classroom practices. The understanding of the new method and remaking of classroom discourse needs to be built through continuous involvement of teachers in the process of the socialisation and adjustment of it to the local context.

One of the important aspects of the local context is the local community's concept of teaching and learning. Therefore, in the process of the substitution of structural-based methods with CLT, it is important to take into account the local community's concept of teaching and learning because teaching methods are very likely to be influenced by this concept. For example, in a traditional society, teachers may be considered to be those who provide knowledge to students – they are the major source of knowledge. Furthermore, students may be considered to be knowledge receivers and therefore need to listen attentively to their teachers. These perceptions can influence both students' and teachers' images of how a teacher and a student should behave in the classroom. For example, in an English classroom context, teachers may feel more responsible for explaining grammatical aspects of English, so that students become passive participants. Furthermore, since the explanation of grammatical rules requires them to be in front of the classroom, teachers tend to associate the front of the classroom as the only teachers' zone and therefore spend most of the teaching time there, even when they are monitoring students doing an exercise. These can also be influential in the construction of their images of the power and social relationships between teachers and students. Since teachers are the ones who possess the knowledge, they may feel and be considered more powerful than students. This differential power can affect the classroom interactions between teachers and students.

CLT, on the other hand, requires students to be active and involved in communication, in group- and pair-work, while teachers are required to move around the classroom to monitor and facilitate learning. It also allows students to make noise when having a discussion, to ask questions and to express personal opinions. This varies from a traditional perspective, where the teacher's best position to supervise the whole class is in front of the class and students are not allowed to make noise in classrooms. Hence, teachers do not consider walking around and making noise in the classroom as appropriate behaviours. This suggests that if teachers and students do not change their views about the classroom and learning situations, the implementation of CLT in a traditional society may be problematic.

It is important to note that traditional language teaching methods emphasise the mastery of linguistic knowledge. This implies that teachers are not required to speak the target language. All they need is a good grammatical knowledge of the language. Their primary role when using the structure-oriented teaching method is to teach the target language's linguistic rules. Hence, classroom activities are marked by the teacher's explanation of grammatical rules and linguistic analysis practice. In other words, in an EFL learning situation, students are only taught grammatical knowledge of English, and are not expected to be involved in the real use of the language. By comparison, CLT not only requires teachers to possess a good knowledge of the target language but also, and more importantly, the ability to speak the language. A teacher's speaking ability is crucial because only with it can s/he become a students' speaker model and facilitate the learning of communicative skills. In other words, CLT proposes that the teaching of language should include not only the teaching of language "usage" but also, and more importantly, the language "use" (Widdowson 1978). In the case of EFL, this adoption or transfer of CLT not only insists on fluent English speaking teachers and sufficient teaching-learning resources, but also on the reformulation of local concepts of teaching and learning. This is to say that,

CLT can only be applied effectively by teachers who are able to speak the target language, who are ready to go around the classroom, and who tolerate classroom noises.

The ability to speak a target language necessitates a good understanding of its sociolinguistic and pragmatic rules since speakers of different languages are very likely to develop different sociolinguistic and pragmatic rules. In other words, English native speakers have English-specific sociolinguistic and pragmatic norms which are not familiar to Indonesian native speakers. Thus, it is very likely that the sociolinguistic and pragmatic rules developed by Indonesian EFL teachers and learners are different from these rules used in English first language situations. Therefore, Indonesian EFL teachers are likely to have problems in becoming fluent English speakers, especially because they barely use it with native speakers in their real lives. Even though most Indonesian EFL teachers are not fluent in English, the Indonesian government has adopted CLT, due to its popularity in the western world as the most effective second language teaching methodology and the increase of the need to use English in international affairs.

The need for English in Indonesia continues to increase in line with the development of international communication networks. In this globalisation era, in which communication with foreign countries is a necessity, it will be very difficult to ignore the language. For Indonesia, the importance of mastering it is critical if it wants to get access to international communication and development. As a consequence, English as the most widely used international language, has become the most popular foreign language in the country. As a consequence, many Indonesians attend private English courses offered by both government and private institutions. In the 1980s and early 1990s, it was not only taught in formal and non-formal education sectors under the Ministry of Education but also under non-educational ministries (Sadtono, 1997a) such as the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Forestry, and the Ministry of Research and Technology under the management of LAN (*Lembaga Administrasi Negara*), 'National Agency for State Administration' and OTO-Bappenas (Overseas Training Organisation-*Badan Perancang Pembangunan Nasional*, 'National Planning Board').

Even though the need for English has increased over time, the urgency of the need may differ between different areas. In remote, rural areas, the need for English is less immediate and less apparent, since no one is using the language for communication. Furthermore, despite being a compulsory school subject, English is not an essential gate-keeper in the field of education. On the other hand, in certain urban areas, especially in big cities, the actual need for English may be more immediate and apparent, since some white collar jobs in big private companies may require English as a prerequisite – hence they include an English language test in their employee recruitment. The need for English is likely to be more apparent in the capital city, Jakarta, or in Denpasar, and several other provincial capitals where international networks are required and direct contacts with expatriates increase either as the result of tourism or through the employment of English-speaking expatriates. However, in many positions, particularly in the government offices, English ability is not a prerequisite, despite the fact that English is tested, because other factors such as family and other types of relationships, including the expectation of payment for an entry position, may play more important roles.

University students, to some degree, may also need English to be able to read some of the English references. However, given the fact that they can find references written in Indonesian, and

take the English references to translators, they probably think that mastering English is unimportant. It is also very likely that different universities require different levels of English ability, and hence give different amounts of attention to it. In addition, even though English language is one of the subjects tested in university entrance tests, how much English test results affect an applicants' admission remains unknown (there has not been any survey to summarise how English scores affect applicants' admission).

In many non-English speaking communities, the ability to speak English is also a means to prove and to increase one's social status. In most cases, those who are able to speak English are those who have enough money to pay for private English courses – one is hardly ever able to speak English by only attending formal schooling English lessons. These days, a lot of government officials attend English courses because English proficiency is increasingly used as one of the requirements for certain positions, thereby the English language has become a measure of social prestige at workplaces.

All these factors suggest that, to some extent, the mastery of the English language can be considered as linguistic capital which can be very helpful in gaining "symbolic capital" (Bourdieu, 1977: 171) which can lead to the improvement of one's economic and social status. In addition, due to the fact that English speaking ability carries social prestige, a number of people, who have gained symbolic capital and economic capital, decide to attend English courses only because they consider English to have social prestige.

In spite of the introduction of the Communicative Approach, the quality of ELT in Indonesia is still far from satisfactory. This is probably due to the complexity of the issues involved. It is probable that the change of curriculum and the introduction of the methodology were not preceded by careful analysis of the factors involved. The most probable reasons for the ineffectiveness of the approach adopted may be (1) the inability and lack of readiness of the teacher to implement it, (2) the unreadiness of the student to engage in more interactive activities due to sociocultural factors, and (3) the unavailability of sufficient facilities due to economic factors. This suggests that problems underlying the unsuccessful nature of TEFL in Indonesia – despite these curriculum changes – are complex, and are very unlikely to be solved by only changing the method and curriculum, without any attention being paid to the local – cultural, social, and economic – context in which EFL is taught and learned. This supports Harrison's (1996: 299) argument that "putting a new curriculum in place does not necessarily mean that a change in classroom behaviours will occur".

To sum up, it would be very naive to expect improvement in the quality of learning simply by adopting, without adapting, a particular method of teaching, and without a comprehensive understanding of the local context including the understanding of the given role and function of the English language, the teacher, the student, the physical condition of the classroom, curriculum/syllabus and teaching methodology, and the context outside the classroom. So far, methodological and

curricular changes in Indonesian ELT have not brought a satisfactory result. Similarly, improvement of teachers' pedagogical and academic abilities through formal education and in-service training, which seems to have been the main focus of the Indonesian government's attention in the last two decades, has not improved the quality of EFL teaching and learning in the country. For the objectives of curricular and methodological changes to be attained, local contexts of teaching and learning need to be taken into consideration. Awareness of local sociocultural aspects can be very helpful in the process of acceptance of a new teaching method. By contrast, ignorance of local conditions may result in what Holliday (1994a: 134 and 1992) calls "tissue rejection".

It is very likely that previous improvement programs in Indonesian ELT were not based on a careful analysis of all the factors involved, including the local conditions. To fill this lacuna, this study aims to scrutinise as comprehensively as possible factors that are specific to the local context, using an intensive case study set in Southeast Sulawesi that examines classroom phenomena and analyses factors that impact on the teaching and learning of EFL, especially in a "poor-acquisition environment" (Tickoo, 1990) . The public *SLTP* in this study typifies schools in a poor-acquisition environment, where, for instance, English is not used outside the classroom nor as a communicative means in English classrooms, where the need for English is not apparent to students, where EFL teachers lack both English proficiency and teaching skills, and where there is a lack of learning facilities. The results of this study are expected to contribute to the improvement of the quality of EFL in the school and other schools of similar condition throughout the country. In summary, the purpose of this study is to look beyond methodology and teacher training to identify factors that affect the learning of EFL in Indonesia.

1.2. Background

Indonesia is a large country that is made up of more than 16,000 islands, which, in 1999, were populated by 206,51700,000 people (Biro Pusat Statistik, 1999) who, according to Alisyahbana (1990) speak about 500 different languages. The people inhabiting this vast region are generally grouped as Indonesian. Anthropologically speaking, they are made up of many different ethnic groups, each having its own culture and speak a distinct language as its mother tongue. In spite of differences in cultures and native languages, there still exists some common aspects of their cultures, and so one can talk about "Indonesian Culture" (Alisyahbana, 1961: 9-10). However, due to the diversity of cultures, it is often difficult to pinpoint the distinctive or identifying features of Indonesian culture.

Historically, both *Sriwidjaja (*in South Sumatra*)* and *Madjapahit* (in Central Java) the former two greatest kingdoms in the region used to control the archipelago including the Malay Peninsula. As the centres of the kingdoms, it is very likely that Java and Sumatra were better developed. Therefore, it can be assumed that the social status and economic condition of the people in both islands have long been better when compared to those in other parts of Indonesia. The gap in the economy and education between Western Indonesia (Java, Madura, Sumatra, and more recently Bali) and Eastern Indonesia (Borneo, Sulawesi, West Papua, Nusatenggara and Moluccas Islands) that makes up more than ¾ of the country increased since independence in 1945 due to the centralised system of management in modern Indonesia. There is a common view among Indonesians that the central government which is based in

Jakarta (West Java) has used Eastern Indonesia's resources to develop Jakarta with only small returns to the local people. This has caused Eastern Indonesia to be left in poverty. In addition to this, there has also been a great difference in the level of prosperity between urban and rural areas throughout Indonesia. Despite the big gap between western and eastern, urban and rural areas, due to the country's overall positive economic development during the 1980s, it was able to increase its economic status – from a poor country to a developing country.

The fall of the Suharto regime in 1998 was followed by the demand for local autonomy and even serious threats of secession from several provinces. Since then, the issue of local autonomy has started to receive serious attention from the central government that issued 'Autonomy Constitution' in 1999. Through local autonomy, every local government is expected to be able to manage local resources for the benefit of the local people. However, due to the corrupt system which was cleverly developed by the Suharto regime and has been thoroughly inculcated throughout the whole system it is very likely that the economic condition of the country will not improve significantly in the near future.

Indeed, it was the reformation movement that was pioneered by university students who were supported by the majority of Indonesians that was able to remove Suharto from power. However, since the fall of the Suharto regime, the internal politics and economy have destabilised. This is due not only to the fact that a lot of people who were closely tied with the corrupt regime are still in power but also to the increasing number of fundamentalists and opportunists. These are the groups suspected to have used ethnic and religious issues to escalate sociopolitical destabilisation. These, together with globalisation, have crippled the country which has become one of the biggest international debtors; in 2001, its debt was about 140 billion US dollars. As a consequence, Hamzah Haz, the Vice President to Megawati Sukarnoputri, has stated that the country is no longer a developing, but a poor country again. These difficult political and economic situations also have a significant impact on education in general and in EFL education in particular. In such a situation, the government is very likely to allocate just a small amount of funds to education, and consequently, teacher's incentives will remain insufficient and schools will not be able to afford teaching and learning resources and parents will not be able to buy, for example, required school textbooks. These contribute significantly to the quality of EFL education.

The power of the central governments of Sriwidjaja, Madjapahit, and the current Republic of Indonesia was not the only effective means used to control such a vast multicultural and multilingual region. In order to develop efficient communication among different ethnic groups, a *lingua franca* was used – i.e. *Bahasa Melayu* was adopted to fulfil this function. The feeling of being a nation increased with the adoption of the term *Indonesia* – hence, *Bahasa Melayu* was replaced with *Bahasa Indonesia*, 'Indonesian language' which was then adopted as the National and State language (Abas, 1987; Alisyahbana, 1961 and 1976; Kaplan and Baldauf, 2002; Dardjowidjojo, 1996; Moeliono, 1986). Thus, the adoption of *Bahasa Indonesia* as the national language of the Republic of Indonesia was a political decision and was not just due to sociolinguistic reasons. Through the National Language Policy, this

language has become the most important medium of communication in the country and has gained a strong social, political, and economic position (see Section 4.2).

Since 1950, when the newly formed government was first able to administer an educational system for the whole nation, centralisation has characterised the Indonesian education system (Soedijarto, 1979). Right up until the present, this centralised system is particularly in evidence in the case of primary and secondary education levels. Teaching and learning at these levels throughout the nation is based on a standardised national curriculum which includes the syllabus to be used, the subjects to be taught, and even the core textbooks for compulsory subjects.

In line with the implementation of local autonomy, issues on the need to improve the quality of education in all provinces emerge. Many consider that autonomy in education should also be in place. To respond to the criticism on national education, in 2002 the government introduced a new curriculum that is called *Kurikulum Berbasis Kompetensi*, 'Competence-based Curriculum', which is being trialed in a number of schools. Indra Djati Sidi, the General Director of Primary and Secondary Education from the Department of National Education, asserts that the new curriculum is expected to enable students to be competent in a subject without forcing them to master all the subjects and that English lessons will no longer focus on the teaching of grammatical rules, but on enabling them to write and to speak (*Kompas*, April 24, 2002).

According to the government's educational policy, the English language is one of the compulsory subjects – it is a compulsory subject that first begins to be taught in the first year of junior high school (year 7); hence, it is the first foreign language learned by Indonesian students at schools. Since the 1980s, some elementary schools in provincial capital cities have started to introduce English to their students. English has also become the most popular foreign language in Indonesia partly due to the centralised education system. It is the central government that has chosen it as the only foreign language to be taught as a compulsory subject in Indonesian formal education. This can be seen initially as a political decision. First, it was adopted to replace the Dutch language, which was not only the language of the coloniser but also internationally a "small" language. Second, English has become the most important language in the world – it is the most common means of communication in international meetings. As a consequence, if Indonesia wants to get access to and participate in the international arena, it needs the English language. Thus, the government's choice of English as the most prominent foreign language in the country (see Section 4.5.1) is considered an important political decision. In addition, because of the centralised education system, the English teaching-learning process must be based on the 1994 English syllabus (see Section 4.5.4), the latest standardised national syllabus produced by the Centre for Curriculum Development. This is accompanied by English textbooks claimed to be based on the communicative method (see Section 4.5.6).

In spite of several improvement programs, the quality of Indonesian ELT is not yet satisfactory. This suggests that a comprehensive study that can provide the government with important information for the improvement of the quality of ELT in formal education is a necessity.

1.3 Research Questions

This research focuses on the EFL classroom culture, with reference to current teaching and learning practices of *Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama,* 'junior high school' (hereafter, *SLTP*), in the province of Southeast Sulawesi in relation to the context outside the classroom, i.e. sociocultural factors. The decision to examine classroom culture in connection with the wider context outside the classroom is based on the assumption that as part of the wider world, the classroom is influenced by what happens outside the classroom (Holliday, 1994a: 11). It follows then that findings are expected to shed light on how EFL classroom practices – teachers' teaching practices, and students' learning practices – are influenced by local and national culture.

The two major research questions are "What factors impact on the way EFL is taught in Southeast Sulawesi?" and, in light of these factors, "How could the EFL classroom experience be improved for both teachers and students?" The data needed to answer these questions, will be collected from:

1. the wider society
2. the school society
3. the classroom society, and
4. written documents.

On one hand, these areas are expected to have a major impact on the way EFL is taught and learned in the classroom, and on the other, they may be sources of significant input for the improvement of the learning experience of students as well as the teaching practices of teachers.

To answer the two major research questions, this study needs to focus on a number of aspects of the culture of a classroom in a school society, of a village society, and on EFL in the national context. These aspects are:

1. interactions between teachers and students in the classroom domain;
2. Teacher's fulfilment of their classroom roles;
3. Student's beliefs and their classroom behaviours;
4. The physical setting of the classroom including patterns of seating arrangement;
5. Teachers' and students' lives outside the classroom domain;

6. Teacher's beliefs and teaching practices – whether or not they teach according to the methodology prescribed by the curriculum;

7. The characteristics of a good teacher in this society;

8. The characteristics of a good student in this society;

9. Sociocultural norms;

10. The sociolinguistic situation, i.e. the status and functions of English language and Indonesian language in Indonesia, in general, and in the segment society covered by this study, in particular;

11. Reasons for the students in this study learning English and their English language learning motivation;

12. ELT objectives in Indonesia's *SLTP*s;

13. Available ELT resources;

14. Students' access to EFL learning resources;

15. The present in-service and professional development for teachers; and

16. The National English Syllabus currently used at the *SLTP* level.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The Indonesian government's centralised educational policy in the past was very likely to only benefit urban schools because very often need analyses and program evaluations which were carried out to introduce program improvement were only based on information about what happened in urban schools. In other words, what has actually happened in rural schools has escaped program planners' attention. This is the primary reason for carrying out an ethnographic study of a remote *SLTP*.

Even though the present study focuses its description and analysis of a public *SLTP* in a rural area of Southeast Sulawesi Province, the results are expected to contribute to the improvement of the TEFL quality not only in the province but also in the whole country. It is particularly expected that its findings can contribute to the improvement of the quality of EFL in this school and other schools of similar condition throughout the country.

Since the results of this study are based on the local – cultural and social – context, and more importantly on the factual lives of the informants inside and outside the classroom, they are significant in several ways. First of all, as indicated previously, findings of this study are expected to be used by the Indonesian government in the making of its future TEFL policy. They can be used by the government as references in designing more local-sensitive curricula/syllabi and textbooks and in planning more relevant in-service and pre-service teacher training programs. Secondly, they can also be considered by teacher training institutions in developing programs, which are more relevant to teachers' actual needs – both theoretical and practical needs. Thirdly, they can be used by schools as references in monitoring teachers' performances and in the preparation of program planning which is necessary for the improvement of teachers' professional abilities. Fourthly, these can also be used by teachers as references in their efforts to self-improve their professionalism. Some findings by teachers can be used to initiate self-reflection on their current classroom practices, such as their monitoring techniques, error correction techniques, answer elicitation techniques, and opportunity distribution

techniques. Others can be used to self-reflect on their practices outside the classroom, such as the preparation of their lessons. Finally, the number of ethnographic studies exploring classroom culture, particularly EFL classroom culture, in relation to the wider community's culture in Indonesia is still small (see Section 2.9). Therefore, this study will also be a significant source of information for future research, not only in the field of ELT but also in other fields of teaching.

The results are expected to make particularly significant contributions to the improvement of the quality of TEFL at the level of *SLTP* since there have not been any similar studies which comprehensively scrutinise the field at this level. More particularly, findings of this study are significant to the improvement of ELT in Southeast Sulawesi which is rarely taken as a source of information by the central government when conducting surveys on Indonesian ELT.

As a study in the field of Applied Linguistics/TESOL, this study is also expected to contribute to the field, not only in a theoretical sense but also in a practical sense. Findings of this study are expected to contribute to the effort to reformulate the existing EFL teaching and learning social theories. They are also expected to contribute to the effort to bring some changes into classroom experiences of both EFL teachers and learners. In addition, they are expected to be references for syllabus and material designers, so that they can produce more context-sensible syllabus and materials.

1.5 Outline of the Thesis

As a preliminary introduction to the structure and content of this thesis, the following is an outline of the thesis.

Chapter Two, presents the theoretical framework of this study and reviews the related literature. It also addresses the specific questions that this study is going to answer.

Chapter Three presents the methodology used in the research. It briefly discusses the relevance of an ethnographic approach for this study. It also provides information about the crucial role of an ethnographer in an ethnographic study. It also outlines the research procedures and research method which includes sources of data, techniques of data collection and methods of data analysis.

Chapter Four presents an orientation to TEFL in the context of Indonesia. It provides a brief account of the language background and the function of the English language in the country. It is also concerned with ELT in Indonesian education – its historical and methodological context, the curriculum, the syllabus, and the nature of the textbook.

Chapter Five is specifically concerned with the wider community culture and presents a particular case study of the culture of the rural community in which the fieldwork was done. It provides a description of the community's culture as it pertains to educational practices.

Chapter Six is about school culture, looking in particular at the culture of a village Public *SLTP*. It provides a general description of the school – facilities, staffing, students, and their common practices, which are concerned with the rituals and routines and the sociolinguistic behaviours of the school community.

Chapter Seven presents the EFL classroom culture of a second year class of the school being studied. The chapter provides a general description of the physical condition of the classroom and its community's lives – teacher's teaching practices, students' learning practices, and their interactions.

With regard to the students, this chapter provides a specific description of their general behaviour in the classroom, their participation in English lessons, their attitudes toward English lessons, and their English ability. With regard to the teachers, there is a specific discussion of their material status, training background, teaching experiences, English proficiency, and teaching practices that include language use, lesson preparation, teaching focus, teaching mission, the use of the classroom space, and the use of the textbook.

The thesis concludes with Chapter Eight which presents the implications of the research and specific recommendations for the future improvement of the teaching and learning of EFL in Indonesia in general and in remote areas in particular.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the theoretical framework for the study which is based on research in cultural anthropology, sociolinguistics, and education – educational sociology and psychology – particularly English as a Foreign Language (EFL) education. The main area of contribution of each of these disciplines is as follows: cultural anthropology for its ethnographic approach to a specific culture; sociolinguistics for its examination of the relationship between language and society especially language use in context; educational sociology, for its description of the relationship between the community and education as well as the policy of education; and educational psychology, as it also attempts to scrutinise beliefs and principles underlying particular teaching and learning practices; and EFL education because it focuses on the EFL classroom.

Section 2.2 deals with the classroom as a microcosm in a macrocosm. It discusses the sociocultural context of the classroom and the classroom as a social discourse. Section 2.3 briefly discusses the widespread use of the English language in the world. Section 2.4 briefly discusses the function of English in Indonesia, while section 2.5 discusses the difference between ESL and EFL. Section 2.6 discusses the relationship between the teacher's beliefs and classroom practices, the teacher's roles and the characteristics of a good teacher. Section 2.7 discusses students' beliefs about classroom learning, learning practices and learning styles, the characteristics of a good student, and student's motivation. Section 2.8 discusses the need for context-sensitive ELT methods. Section 2.9 reviews previous studies of Indonesian ELT, and section 2.10 summarises the content of this chapter.

2.2 Classroom: a Microcosm within a Macrocosm

A classroom can be considered as a microcosm that is a part of a macrocosm. It is not a world existing in isolation. It is a small world whose community members are also members of a wider community outside the classroom. Since they are simultaneously members of a classroom community and a wider community, it is likely that their classroom behaviours be affected by the wider community's culture. In other words, students, and also teachers, may transfer some of their experiences from the wider, outside school context into the new context, i.e., the classroom (DeCorte, 1999). Therefore, it is of importance that a thorough analysis of a classroom culture be conducted in its wider cultural context.

This section is divided into two subsections. The first subsection is concerned with an account of the classroom as a part of the wider world and the second one is concerned with the classroom as a world of its own.

2.2.1 The Cultural Context of Classroom

Classroom-based research, especially in the field of English education, has been an area of interest for a number of researchers since the mid 1980s. For example, Canagarajah (2001) studied a Sri Lankan university class, Chick (2001) studied a South African middle school, Coleman (1987) studied one of the Indonesian universities, Cortazzi and Jin (1996a, 1996b, 1996c) studied Chinese Classrooms, Katz (1996) studied United States universities, Nunan (1996) studied Australian schools,

and Shamim (1996) studied secondary schools of Pakistan. These studies, which are all ethnographic in nature, suggest that, to some extent, aspects of the macro-culture of a society impinge upon classroom cultures.

Despite the increasing number of classroom ethnographic studies, Holliday (1994a: 11) claims that "not only do we have insufficient data about what happens between people in the classroom, but we lack this data for the wide range of social settings in which English language education is carried out around the world." In other words, there is still a need to explain what happens between people in English classrooms in different social settings. The studies previously mentioned, although being conducted in either ESL or EFL classrooms, tend to focus on the general classroom culture, rather than on the culture specific to EFL classrooms. Less attention is given, for instance, to aspects such as the ways in which classroom communities use English textbooks and language(s), and the reasons for using certain textbooks, and language(s). In addition, since these studies were mostly classroom-based, the data seem to be unbalanced: i.e., classroom data were not supported by sufficient data from the wider community. Hence, it seems that their strong arguments on the role of the wider community culture in classroom interactions were not adequately substantiated.

What happens in the classroom is very much a reflection of the concept of education a particular society holds. For example, the way a teacher teaches, as well as a student learns, is influenced by a conventional agreement between students and teachers and their beliefs which derive from the wider society's concept about teaching and learning interactions. Different societies may hold different views about what students and teachers are expected to do in a lesson. Coleman (1996a: 74) for example, describes an English lesson as a ritual in the sense that,

English lectures were repeated performances of one basic ritual in which the fact that the various participants had come together was of much greater importance than actual content. This ritual could take place so long as one priest-teacher was present as sole performer and so long as any number of acolyte-student were present as partially attentive witnesses. Occasionally, the witnesses were invited to provide responses to an utterance from the performer, but this was not obligatory for every participant.

In other words, a classroom in this university is an arena of "teaching spectacle" (Coleman 1996a: 59), an arena for a teaching show where students' participation is not important. If, in an English lesson, the teacher is a sole performer, while students are only witnesses of the performance, the occurrence of effective learning is doubted because students' participation becomes less important. Since Coleman (1996a: 74) argues that "similar phenomena … can be discovered in other aspects of Indonesian culture", he extended his analysis to two cultural events commonly taking place in Indonesian society. Coleman (1996a: 74-76) uses the Javanese *wayang kulit*, shadow puppet, performance and the *sambutan*, public address, to support his argumentation. He concludes that English lessons, *wayang kulit* performance, and *sambutan* share some features such as, the dominant performance of a highly respected individual – the performer, the presence of the audience who may be or may not be attentive, and

the fact that the performer is not worried by the audience's inattentiveness (Coleman, 1996a: 76).

In order for the learning to take place in such conditions Coleman (1996a: 80) suggests "to take a revolutionary step of abandoning the English teaching ritual". His experiment in 1987 shows that this revolutionary step can change the scene in the classroom, where students become active participants while teachers only take consultative and managerial roles (see Section 2.9).

How long it might take to replace the former concept of 'teaching spectacle' with one of 'learning festival', which places greater emphasis on the learners' participation, is hard to say due to the complexity of issues involved. It involves teachers' and students' concepts about the classroom teaching and learning culture that they inherit from the wider community. As a teacher involved in Coleman's experiment, I still remember some of my friends and my students making a similar comment, i.e. that anyone could teach provided that they were only performing what English teachers in this experiment performed – having a clearly-structured textbook in hand with students doing their own learning. This suggests that there is a common view in this society that the one who teaches, rather than the one who learns, is the one who is the main character or the one who does the most in the classroom.

The comment was made in 1984 and one can expect that changes have happened after almost two decades; hence one can argue that the comment might not be a relevant explanation for cultural views about current classroom lessons. However, as someone having been involved in formal education for long, I can say that there is still a common view in this society that knowledge is an object which is possessed by teachers. On one hand, based on this society's view, a teacher is someone who transfers knowledge to students. Therefore, teachers are expected to know everything and to have the most reliable sources of information about the subject matter of their teaching that they have learned from their previous studies. On the other hand, students are viewed as knowledge receivers. They learn what teachers teach in the classroom. Thus, students are not only highly dependent upon teachers but also, as argued by Wachidah (2001), are not supposed to question them nor can they challenge their ideas. This indicates that Indonesian students are generally brought up in a community that perceives learning as listening to teachers and copying what they and the textbooks say. These cultural views affect teachers' and students' classroom behaviours. Therefore, Coleman (1996a) suggests that Indonesian classroom culture is not likely to change unless the wider community's concept of the lesson changes.

Social discourse rules of a traditional classroom are mainly based on these perceptions. Teachers are respected because they are the possessors of the knowledge. They are not subject to challenge because they are knowledge possessors. On the other hand, students are still required to show respect to their teachers even though they probably do not fulfil the requirement above. Only by maintaining this social rule, can harmonious relationships between teachers and students be achieved. Local teachers internalise this system of social rules through their educational and cultural experiences as students, teachers and as members of a community because of their socialisation into them since their own childhood. Holliday (1996a) explains that in his study of Egyptian undergraduate English classrooms, he found that local teachers were successful in teaching small classes but failed to manage

big classes. His observations indicate that their success was due to the implementation of tradition-rooted methodology (Holliday, 1996: 90); whereas their failure was due to the lack of skills in managing big classes. Their lack of such skills is attributed to the "professional-academic cultures" which do not prepare them to anticipate the "changing classroom situation brought about by increasing class sizes…" (Holliday, 1994a:39).

In the classroom context, there are four aspects, in addition to the physical condition of the classroom, that contribute to the formation of classroom culture: learners/students, teachers, subject matter and methodology. The first two come into classrooms with certain, attached social identities – the teacher and the student/learner. In order to indicate the way that the relationship between the classroom and its wider context is bound up, let us consider the following figure that summarises the theoretical framework of the present study.
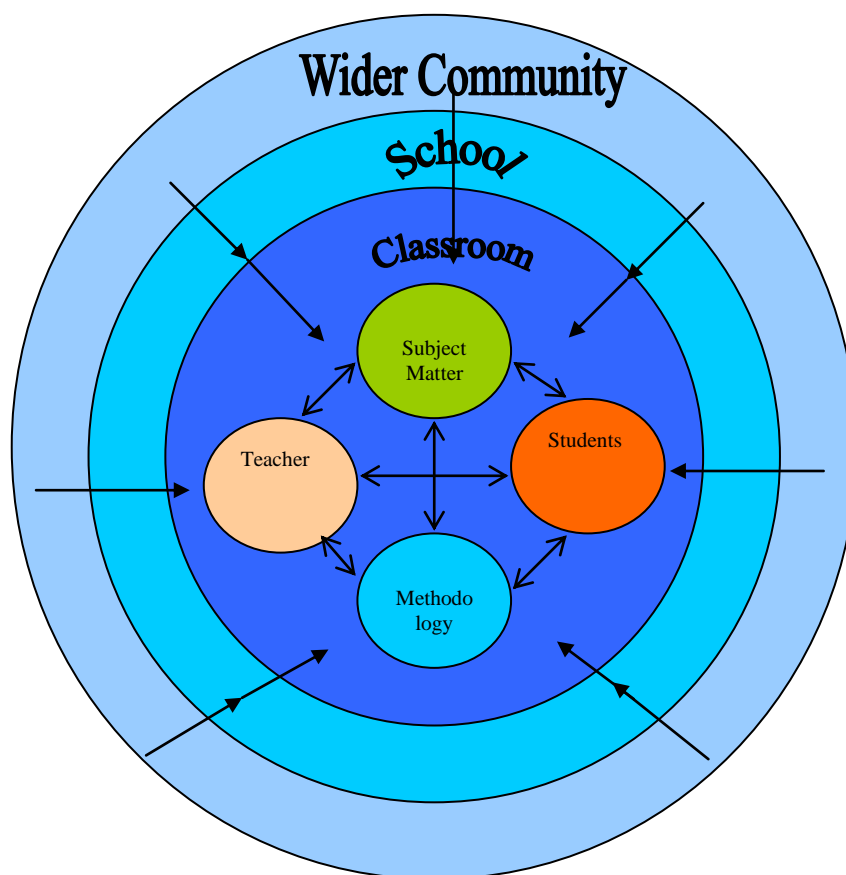
Figure 1: The Sociocultural Context of the Classroom

Figure 1 illustrates the complex sociocultural context of the classroom. It indicates that the classroom is not only a social context in its own right where students interact in certain ways with their peers, their teachers, the subject matter, and methodology, but is simultaneously part of the wider social contexts – the school and the community contexts. Consequently, communication patterns, power relationships, and teaching-learning practices are also based on or influenced by the wider society's cultural concepts.

It is important to indicate that if we wanted to expand the diagram in this figure, we could add two additional layers, the national and international, representing national and international communities which contribute certain aspects to the formation of classroom culture (Holliday, 1994a:15-18). These two layers are not represented in this figure, the assumption being that national and international influences are introduced, to some extent, through schooling, the curriculum, and methodology. The assumption is made on the basis that policy making on schooling system, curriculum design and methodology of teaching are still the concern of the government. This policy making is based on the international trends in educational and methodological research.

The connected-arrows indicate that certain aspects of wider community cultures might be formally or informally institutionalised through school before reaching the classroom such as greeting expressions, and honorific systems. Single arrows which are drawn from the wider community layer into the classroom layer designate direct influences of macro culture into the microculture of the classroom. These influences are brought into the classroom domain by both the student and the teacher as members of the wider community. Therefore, they both understand which behaviours are appropriate and acceptable and which are not.

Since the focus of this study is on the impact of the wider culture, i.e., the cultures of the wider community and school, on the classroom culture, discussion of the interaction between them will not be accounted for. This relationship is described using mono-directional arrows which indicate that the classroom is a recipient of, rather than a contributor to, the macroculture. This is not to mean that the classroom does not contribute to the dynamics of the community culture at all, because what happens in the classroom may also affect the wider society outside the classroom.

On the other hand, bi-directional arrows are used to explain the interrelationships among different elements in the microculture of the classroom. Those classroom elements interact one another to produce the classroom culture. This is to say that there would not be a classroom culture without the presence of the teacher and the students who interact in certain types of activities. It is the teacher who teaches or helps the student to study the subject matter using certain textbooks. The teacher teaches using various techniques or methods which suit the subject matter and the student. In addition, the teacher, the student and the method are all influenced by the physical condition of the classroom.

As indicated by the figure, the culture of the wider society is influential in classroom interactions because participants – students and teachers – are simultaneously members of a classroom society and a wider society. Patterns of their social relationships, types of roles and functions, and their status and power which influence their teaching and learning behaviours are based on the wider society's conventional value system. In a traditional (i.e., rural) society, teachers may be considered as having a wide range of knowledge and skills while also enjoying a better life than the rest of the society members, and thus receive high status in the society. They may also have the status of the parent of students at schools, and thus teacher-student power relationships may reflect parent-child power

relationships in the wider community. In urban areas, teachers may not enjoy as high social status as teachers in rural areas because of different value systems. For instance, in urban areas there is a wider range of professions, of which some are considered socially higher than the teaching profession. In addition, since social status in urban societies is more likely to be based on material conditions, teachers – who are not paid well – may not have high social status in urban society. These influences may be transfered to the classroom culture simultaneously by individual members and through formal institutionalisation. That is, students and teachers bring to the classroom values which they have learned or are learning in their homes and in the wider community.

To sum up, this model of relationships indicates that there are aspects of the wider community's culture that influence the classroom culture. In the following section, one important aspect, social discourse, is examined.

2.2.2 Classroom as a Social Discourse

The classroom is also a world or a cultural context in its own right where certain rules for behaviour and valuing people occur (McKay, 1992: 47-48). It is a social discourse in the sense that interactions among participants always take place on the basis of certain, agreed discourse rules. These rules determine the patterns of interactions among the participants in a classroom interaction, *viz.*, how, when and, what to say, according to their social roles, status, and power. Therefore, one of the ways to understand a classroom culture, is to look at the classroom as a social discourse.

Using social identity theory, Norton (1995, 1997, and 2000) argues that social identities of learners are subject to change, and, since power is attached to social identities, power relationships between teachers and students are also subject to change in accordance with a currently taken social identity of a learner. For instance, students may not want to ask questions because of the unequal power relationship between the teacher and the students. Her arguments were based on a study of immigrant English learners, in Canada. In terms of social identity, the learners were adults and coming from different social and cultural backgrounds, and thus potentially brought into their learning environment various identities such as ESL learners, immigrants, caregivers, and the like. These multifarious identities and their learning settings make it possible for their identities to change over time. She further argues that, as a consequence of being in a community of multifarious identities, socially, culturally, as well as personally speaking, learners may become more aware of their social, cultural, and personal traits.

Norton's theory can be applied in the analysis of classroom behaviours of adult learners coming from various social backgrounds, or in a more modern, democratic society where individual's right to express opinions and ask questions are more tolerated. When applied in a more conservative, traditional classroom setting, her claim that learners' identities change over time, is open to debate. Firstly, as is the case in the present study, where students and teachers come from almost similar backgrounds, linguistically, socially and culturally speaking, students' social identities do not seem to change much, if at all, over time, and thus, teacher-student power relationships in the classroom setting are relatively fixed, that is, teachers, who are always adults and more knowledgable, are always more powerful than students. Secondly, the way someone reacts to unfavourable situations, e.g., teacher's

manipulation of status and power, may differ from culture to culture. Wachidah (2001) explains this very well by taking, as an example, her own society. According to her, in Javanese society, due to the high cultural values of *rukun,* social harmony, and *urmat or hormat,* respectful and obedient, expressions of opinions, let alone criticisms, are not culturally encouraged, particularly in social events involving the elders, parents, and teachers as the main speakers (Wachidah, 2001: 18). As a non-Javanese Indonesian, I can say that *rukun* and *hormat* values are generally shared among Indonesians of various ethnic backgrounds and that these values underlie their behaviours and are still preserved well, particularly in traditional societies, not only in informal teaching, but also in formal teaching situations.

Even though the learning setting of Norton's subjects is different from the social classroom context in the present study, social identity theory is helpful in examining teachers' and students' behaviours in the classroom. Classroom identities – student and teacher – shape the pattern of their interactions. Teachers, in many Indonesian traditional communities, are considered by the society members as having higher social status, as indicated by terms used to address them such as *Tuan Guru* for male teachers and *Nona Guru* for female ones (literally means 'lord/sir/mr teacher' and 'madam/ms teacher' respectively) which are not exclusively used in school setting. In addition, in these communities, teachers tend to come from middle and upper classes, and generally have better lives and better knowledge than the common people; hence, they are respected by the rest of the community members. This high social status is also applied to the school setting not only because they are *de facto* teachers but also because they have already been given high status by the wider community. Therefore, students are required to respect them regardless of the fact that they might not be able to fulfil their expected classroom roles. However, this does not mean that violations of conventional classroom rules do not occur in a traditional classroom. They may occur in a form that may not be easily noticed by teachers who do not supervise by moving around the classroom. For example, some students may refuse to learn or to complete an exercise, and quietly do something else instead, because teachers do not provide clear instructions or explanations.

Classroom rule adherence or violation may also be caused by other factors which can not be directly observable in the classroom domain. This is due to the fact that the classroom is also a part of the wider culture, and as part of a wider social structure, a classroom culture, particularly the culture of learning, is influenced by the wider culture (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996c; Holliday, 1994a: 28-30). Teachers and students may have social relationships outside the classroom which are likely to influence, and be influenced by, their classroom relationships. For example, teachers' appreciation of students' respect, help, and presentation of presents might be realised in the form of special treatment in the classroom, or vice versa, students' disrespect and refusal to help a teacher after school hours might lead to a disharmonious relationship between them which then affects their classroom interactions. On the other hand, because of their beliefs and the expectation that respect, help and even the presentation of presents can affect teachers' attitudes towards and treatment of them, students will usually be willing to do these things. This is particularly common in a traditional society where a feudal relationship pattern is also adopted in the classroom.

As stated previously, a teacher is viewed as a knowledge owner and giver; whereas students/learners are knowledge receivers. This view assigns different identities to teachers and students. These different social identities assume different degrees of power and social status– the teacher is more powerful than the student/learner – which, in turn, affect social and psychological distances between teachers and students. For the transfer of knowledge to take place, students need to build and maintain harmonious relationships by behaving respectfully. Wachidah (2001: 18) assumes that these values "significantly influence the particular pattern of their behaviour in teacher-led classroom activities". If a student is reluctant to ask questions or express ideas, this may be due to her/his unwillingness to be considered openly critical or testing the teacher's ability, which contradicts the value of *rukun* and *hormat*. These are hidden social rules or "informal orders" (Holliday, 1992) that potentially affect teachers and students interactions in the classroom.

In short, in more traditional societies, there seems to be a tendency for the social identity of the members of a classroom society to be fixed and rigid. That is, teacher-student social relationships are determined by their identities as student and teacher that are carried along not only in the classroom domain but also in the community domain. This fixed social relationship is less likely to change over time and across domains. To some extent, a university graduate or a successful bureaucrat is still very likely to consider and treat her/his former elementary school teacher as her/his teacher. This suggests that the teacher will be still respected as someone possessing and transferring knowledge to the university graduate and the bureaucrat. The concept about teacher/teaching, student/learning and the social relationship between them is difficult to change, unless a significant change takes place in the wider culture (Coleman, 1996a; Orton, 1990; Ouyang, 2000). However, this does not necessarily mean that the social and psychological distances between the teacher and the student cannot be reduced. Certain dimensions of interactions can psychologically remove or narrow the social barrier between the two. The narrowing of the distances can be initiated by both parties, but it is likely to happen more quickly if the initiative comes from the more powerful party.

Although it is a common view that more powerful parties take more control of the flow of a discourse, while less powerful participants just follow, Norton (1995, 1997, 2000) contends that unfortunate incidents may also hinder social communications because less powerful participants are able to stop or refuse to prolong a conversation. This suggests that, in the classroom context, a student might not seriously attend to a given task or even refuse to answer questions and to express opinions because of negative incidents, such as unfair reward or punishment from the teacher. In a modern society, teachers may come from economically a lower class, or due to the wider access to information students know some information that their teachers do not. In the case of English, a student may attend a good English private course which exposes him/her to better English. This can affect students' classroom behaviours and attitudes towards a teacher, which can lead to the contest of power in the classroom. In such a situation, both teachers and students need to maintain harmonious relationships to avoid communication break-down. In relation to this, a question to be examined in this study is, how is a harmonious relationship between the teacher and the student maintained in the classroom domain?

Classroom interactions are also defined by individual classroom physical conditions such as size, seating arrangements, number of students, and available facilities. For instance, the teacher-fronted

arrangement may suggest that there are two distinct zones in the classroom: there are teacher versus student zones, front and back of the classroom. As Shamim (1996) found, in a teacher-fronted classroom, students sitting in front of the class are said to be under teacher surveillance – hence receive more attention from the teacher – and those sitting in the back of the classroom are not under teacher surveillance – hence receive less attention from the teacher. She argues that one of the reasons the students in the back of the classroom violate classroom rules is because they feel they are being discriminated against by their teachers. Another possible reason is teacher's monitoring techniques. If a teacher does not go around the classroom, he may not be able to monitor the activities of the students in the back of the classroom. This study also aims to find out whether teacher-frontedness affects teachers' and students' classroom behaviours.

Since this study is about the EFL classroom, there is a need to discuss the status and function of English with an assumption that these aspects may also be potential contributors to the EFL classroom culture. The following three sections are devoted to discussion of these topics.

2.3 The Widespread Use of the English Language

English has become the most popular second language around the world – being increasingly used as the most common language for wider communication (LWC) among people of different origins and linguistic backgrounds. The spread of the language around the world has made it a "global language" (Crystal, 1997; Kaplan, 2001), an additional status given to a language because it increasingly "develops a special role that is recognised in every country" – be it a mother tongue of the majority of the population, an official language or second language in a country, or even as the first foreign language to be taught in formal education (Crystal, 1997: 2-3).

English is not only popular as a LWC, but also as a language of science (Crystal, 1997; Kaplan, 2001; Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997). Ammon (2001: 344, citing Tsunoda 1983) notes that the use of English as the world's language of science has increased significantly compared to other popular scientific languages such as French and German whose popularity has decreased drastically. It is probably the latter function that leads many governments to choose English as the first foreign language to be taught in formal education. This is at least true for Indonesia, where the primary goal for EFL learning, as the 1994 English Syllabus implies, is to enable the student to read English texts so that they can increase their knowledge in science, technology, and arts (see Section 4.5.4).

Although Kaplan (2001: 17) asserts that the English language has become a dominant language in the world accidentally – "it is unlikely that there is some grand conspiracy among English-speakers to disseminate English world-wide" – Crystal (1997: 5-8) and (Yano, 2001) argues that it is the power – culturally, politically, and economically speaking – of the speakers of it that makes it such an important language on earth. Being the most important language in the world leads to the increase in popularity of English among people in different countries, which is a potential contributor to the increase of the number of its speakers and learners. In other words, the increasing number of the world's population speaking English either as a mother tongue, a second language or as a foreign language is both a cause for and a result of the popularity of the language around the world. Crystal (1997:60-61) records as many as 337,407,300 people speaking English as a first language and 235,351,300 people speaking it as a second language and estimates 100 million to 1 billion speaking or

learning it as a foreign language. The wide spread of English since World War II as the language of science, technology and finance has increased the number of the world's population learning it. According to Crystal (1997) and Kaplan (2001), the English language has begun to be popular as a language of science and technology since 1800, when the Industrial Revolution took place in Britain. These days, it might be difficult to find a country where English is not learned as a major foreign language. In many countries, "it has [even] become the language of power and prestige, thus acting as a crucial gatekeeper to social and economic progress" (Pennycook, 1994:13).

In former British-colonised countries such as India, Singapore, Malaysia, Nigeria, and Hong Kong, English has been successfully maintained as the second language. In Australia, the United States, Canada and, New Zealand, where substantial numbers of English speakers from the present British Isles migrated over the past centuries (Kachru and Nelson, 1996), it is the *de facto* national language, and the first language of the majority of the population. In these countries, the status and function of English is clear. On the other hand, in other countries, which were neither colonised by nor the target of migration from English speaking countries, the status and function of English are likely to be less apparent making it to be a less powerful language in their communities. Even though people, or at least governments, in these countries may believe that speaking English is important for international communication, to become "members of the 'world community', ... 'the world nations'" (Kachru and Nelson, 1996: 88) the most likely status they give to the language is the first foreign language learned at schools. Meanwhile, its sociolinguistic function is not recognised in those countries. For instance, it is not a *lingua franca* of the speakers of different vernaculars of the language for classroom instructions.

The important role of English as the language of science and technology, as previously mentioned, does not increase the status and function of the language in Indonesia. On the basis of the classification made by Kachru (1985) who describes the status of English using "three concentric circles" (Yano, 2001:121), Indonesia is grouped in the "expanding circle" where English is given status as an EFL, the topic to be discussed briefly in the following section.

2.4 EFL in Indonesia

It is a commonly held view that language planning and policy play an important role in determining the status and function of a language. This particularly applies to status planning which is concerned with "language selection and language implementation" (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 30). As described in chapter 4 (see Section 4.3), English is only a foreign language in Indonesia, whereas the Indonesian language is the national, official language of Indonesia and, at the same time, the *lingua franca* among speakers of different mother tongues.

As the first foreign language in Indonesia, English has been made a compulsory subject from *SLTP* up to university level in the country, and has even been extended during the last few years to a number of primary schools in capital cities. However, this requirement for study alone does not seem to strongly motivate Indonesian students to learn it. As Kartasasmita (1997) claims, we cannot expect Indonesian students in general to be motivated to study English simply because it is mandatory. He argues that this is particularly the case because "despite the fact that English has such an important role in society, we can observe that, for high school graduates to enter higher education in Indonesia, their

English competence is not a determining factor" (Kartasasmita, 1997: 19-20). If English is unlikely to be used in real communication by Indonesian students nor is it a gatekeeper for Indonesian higher education, it is very likely that they will not make significant efforts to learn it. As Cohen (1987:43) points out,

> ... for a school pupil to invest the considerable effort of trying to master an acceptable level of communicative ability in any of the small range of languages available at any given school may be seen as a wasted effort, since it cannot be predicted whether the pupil will ever have any need for the chosen language.

This is particularly the case in remote *SLTP*s where English is never used in classroom communication nor in the wider community, and where many students may think that they may not continue their study to university level, nor will they be in a situation where they have to use English for communication.

If English does not have specific functional roles – as a means for communication and as a gatekeeper in education – in the community in this study, students are not likely to make reasonable efforts in their learning to obtain good English language skills. Thus, the most likely reason for students in this study to be learning English is that it is a compulsory school subject. In other words, EFL, rather than ESL, is the status given to English in Indonesia. Having this status in mind, it is important to discuss the differences between EFL and ESL, which is the focus of the next section.

2.5. ESL vs EFL

Although the terms 'foreign' and 'second' languages are often used synonymously, they are conceptually distinct (Stern, 1983; Tickoo, 1995). Foreign language is used to refer to the use of a language in a country where there is little or no community use (i.e., Taiwan, Japan, and Indonesia); whereas second language is used in reference to a linguistic environment where a language used or learned by non-native speakers is recognised as a formal/official language or as the first language of the majority of the population (Stern, 1983: 15-17), or in a country where a language is widely spoken in the community (e.g., English in Malaysia). This indicates that the two terminologies designate very different linguistic environments. Tickoo (1995: 261) notes six indicators differentiating Asian TEFL from TESL and argues that EFL-ESL differentness needs to be accepted before seeking for an alternative solution for Asian TEFL problems. The six indicators are:

a) EFL is learnt in the classroom where the main source of the language is a prescribed textbook taught by a teacher. In most such cases the language has no existence outside the classroom; it often ceases to exist as soon as the textbook is closed.
b) The teacher of English is a native speaker of one or two other languages which she shares with her pupils.
c) The primary goal of learning the language is to gain access to … scientific knowledge; it is primarily needed as the most important "library language".
d) The English language is taught/learnt in an institutional context which has to remain responsive to established beliefs, expectations and attitudes on good teaching, valued knowledge and preferred forms of classroom interactions. ….
e) Most Asian societies are heirs to rich and established cultures and traditions. These and the major languages associated with them … determine the preferred modes of acquisition … .
f) Finally, the English language exists as part of a multilingual mix in which it shares communicative roles and responsibilities with other national/regional literate languages in what could become a climate of interanimating interdependence.

(Tickoo, 1995: 261)

Despite the fact that EFL and ESL contexts are different, textbooks on ELT methodology usually use ESL to cover both ESL and EFL. For example, "Foreign and Second Language Learning", a book written by Littlewood (1984), only mentions EFL a few times – on pages 2 and 54. Although Littlewood basically acknowledges the usefulness of the distinction, he emphasises that he "has not needed to maintain it during most of the discussion in this book, and has therefore used the term second language as a cover term for both 'foreign' and 'second' language". Because the book is about the learning of both, having not made a clear distinction between the two potentially misleads the reader. Parker (1998), in his Introduction to *Carleton Papers in Applied Language Studies*, even concludes that there is no longer a need to separate ESL and English as a Foreign Language teaching and learning.

In one of the few textbooks on foreign language learning that discuss both foreign learning and second language acquisition, VanPatten and Lee (1990) put an emphasis on foreign language learning, rather than foreign language teaching. In one chapter of this book, VanPatten (1990) argues that current theories and hypotheses in foreign language (FL) teaching are based on the ones developed by SLA specialists due to the lack of research in FL learning. In other words, he suggests that there is a need to increase research in the field of FL learning to contribute theories to FL teaching which remains the "consumer" (VanPatten, 1990: 18) rather than a contributor to SLA theory enrichment. This implies that, on one hand, there is a relationship between SL and FL learning and teaching, but on the other, they describe two different phenomena, and therefore cannot be used interchangeably. Gass (1990) points out that as far as research findings are concerned, there has not been a clear separation between the contexts of FL and SL. She believes that the differences made between them are mainly caused by different programs and teacher training, rather than the obvious difference between the contexts of the two.

As the use of English has increased internationally and a greater emphasis has been put on oral communication as a result of the global use of information technology such as television, radio, and the internet, as well as an increasing number of direct contacts among people of different linguistic backgrounds, language needs in non-English speaking countries (FL) are increasingly emphasising the importance of the communicative aspects of the English language in their education. Therefore, a further distinction among different EFL contexts needs to be made. For example, the sociolinguistic profile of EFL in Japan is specific to Japan: EFL instruction starts in junior schools as a compulsory subject, English is tested – this is mainly translation and not oral (Kaplan and Baldauf, 2002) – in the college entrance test which is highly competitive, English classes are popular free-time activities, and the demand for English communicative ability is higher among business persons, as well as job seekers (Helgesen, 1987 cited in Berns, 1990), even though communicative work is not emphasised in Japan (Kaplan and Baldauf, 2002). The sociolinguistic situation of (West) German EFL is, again, different from that of Japan. In Germany, not only is English a subject in formal education, as in Japan, but it is also used more often in communication due to a higher degree of contact between Germans and English speaking people and the use of it in German media, such as TV and radio (Berns, 1990). English is even used for products and services advertisements in Germany (Piller, 2001). Ammon (2001: 349) contends that "German is now probably used less than English within the German speaking countries, for international communication; from some international conferences and journals of the

natural sciences it has even come to be totally excluded". By way of contrast, in a country like Indonesia, especially in its remote areas, contact with English speaking people is rare. Foreigners working in Indonesia mostly live in big cities in Java, but are rarely found in other areas. In addition, these foreigners might have learned the Indonesian language before or after arriving in Indonesia and stop using English in conversations with Indonesians once they are able to speak Indonesian. Only in tourist destinations is English used more frequently. The use of Indonesian in international conferences may be increasing, but the use of Indonesian is not yet banned from international conferences taking place in Indonesia. Scientific journals within the country still use Indonesian as the primary language. This sociolinguistic profile of Indonesia means that English is less widely used and less in demand in Indonesia in comparison to Japan and Germany.

In relation to ELT, it is naive to accept that what is applicable in the ESL context is also applicable in the EFL one. In an EFL classroom, students and the teacher are likely to come from similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Tickoo, 1995); the case of Japan is special, because a number of English native speaking teachers are hired by its government in its effort to enhance communicative skills (Johnson, 1995: 53-54 citing Koiko). Therefore, both EFL students and teachers have similar expectations and perceptions, for instance, of the way to behave and participate appropriately in the classroom. Having a similar linguistic background, students usually communicate using a language other than English (Tickoo, 1995). This certainly reduces their opportunity to use the language for real communication. In addition, EFL students may never encounter actual English use outside the classroom. Consequently, they may not see the direct relevance of learning English to their needs. In contrast to this, in ESL classrooms in English speaking countries – in the UK, USA, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand – linguistic backgrounds are very likely to differ not only between students and teachers but also among students themselves. As a consequence, communication in those ESL classrooms is more likely to involve the real use of English. This means, the function of English in ESL classrooms is twofold: (1) it is the language of classroom instruction and discussions among students and (2) it is the language of socialisation among the classroom community's members. Furthermore, to be able to integrate with the new community, ESL learners urgently need English. In other words, the integrative motivation, which is generally believed to be a significant contributor to successful second language learning, is more likely to exist in the ESL environment due to the learner's need for using English. In that situation TESL programs are "designed to help individuals function in the community" (Ellis 1996:215). By definition, ESL learners have a more supportive linguistic environment both inside and outside the classroom. With this distinction in mind, Nunan's (1991: 39) belief that "to most people, mastering the art of speaking is the single most important aspect of learning a second or foreign language" needs to be re-evaluated since, in terms of objectives, EFL learners are very likely to have different orientations. For instance, in an EFL environment, learners probably learn English simply because it is a compulsory school subject or because they need it for reading. There might be EFL learners who really want to speak English for certain purposes – e.g., they want to go overseas – but the number is likely to be very small. In an ESL environment, students' need to be able to communicate is more urgent and is an important factor (Ellis, 1996). This suggests that, for

pedagogical and methodological purposes, a clear distinction must be made between the teaching and learning of EFL and ESL.

In relation to this, the present study is interested in examining whether the fact that English is only a foreign language that is taught as a compulsory subject at school, but is not used as a gate-keeper in education, is one of the possible reasons that students in this study have limited motivation to learn the language.

Discussions of the success or failure of TEFL programs, and the source of students' motivation require a good understanding of the roles of teachers and students who are the main participants in the programs. The following two sections (2.6 and 2.7) are concerned with the teacher and student. Section 2.6 is concerned with the teacher – beliefs and practices, roles, and characteristics of a good teacher, whereas section 2.7 is concerned with the student – beliefs about learning, learning practices and styles, characteristics of a good learner, and motivation. Although the present study focuses on EFL teaching and learning, discussions about these participants is not limited to EFL teachers and learners.

2.6 The Teacher

An elucidation of classroom culture is not comprehensive unless it also accounts for the teacher who plays an important role in the scaffolding of classroom discourses. Most aspects of classroom learning involve the teacher. It is a commonly held view that the success of teaching depends primarily, although not entirely, upon the teacher. Therefore, Savignon (1991 cited in Holliday, 1994b: 8) reminds us that a purely learner-centred approach needs to be implemented with caution, because "teachers too are very important participants in the classroom". In other words, the teacher's classroom practices are an essential part of the classroom culture. These practices help us understand not only how teachers fulfil their teaching roles, but also why they do not fulfil certain roles.

A brief discussion of the criteria of a good teacher is necessary too, because it can provide useful information about what characteristics a good teacher is expected to have. These criteria can further be used as a helpful tool in the measurement of the teacher's ability to fulfil their expected role. The following subsection is concerned with the teacher's beliefs and practices which is followed by the teacher's roles and then characteristics of good teachers.

2.6.1 Teacher Beliefs and Practices

Researchers have only realised the significant contribution that teachers' beliefs make to their classroom actions since 1980s (e.g., Brosseau, *et al*., 1988; Burns, 1992; Nespor, 1987; Richards *et al.*, 1992; Saleh, 1994) and since then, interest has not been placed only upon 'what happens' in the classroom but also upon 'why it happens'. Findings from these studies indicate that teachers' teaching practices are influenced by their beliefs. Therefore, it is important to discuss the way beliefs influence teachers' classroom practices.

As far as belief is concerned, it is "a mental state which has as its content a proposition that is accepted as true by the individual holding it, although the individual may recognise that alternative beliefs may be held by others" (Borg, 2001: 186). It is belief which guides one's thought and behaviour. Teachers' beliefs are "personalised theories" or "the kinds of practical knowledge" underpinning their practices (Burns, 1992: 57 citing Cumming 1989). Therefore, they can only be uncovered through systematic analysis of their classroom behaviour. For instance, teachers' beliefs about students' learning capacity and readiness, and the use of materials and resources can inform their actual teaching practices. This information can be obtained only through direct observations of their classroom teaching practices, discussions with them of their work, and follow-up stimulated recall interviews (Burns, 1992). These all are effective means for scrutinising the contribution of their beliefs to their classroom practices. This is supported by an ethnographic study, involving nine lecturers at an Indonesian university, by Saleh (1994) who concluded that teachers' selection of methods was underpinned by their beliefs about course materials and students' learning styles (for further information about this study, see Section 2.9).

Beliefs differ among individual teachers since, as personalised theories, they are jointly formed by "unique experiences, individual conceptions, and their interactions with local contexts" (Cumming, 1989 cited in Burns, 1992: 58). Therefore, findings from studies like Saleh's (1994), for instance, might be relevant only to (English) teachers at Indonesian universities, or more particularly, to those from the university he studied, and are less likely to apply to Indonesian teachers at lower levels of eduction. Compared to elementary and secondary school teachers, university teachers are more independent and have more freedom to select their teaching materials. In addition, the beliefs of Saleh's subjects might have also been influenced by western culture, both through their formal education, and through their reading of methodology textbooks written in English.

The interaction between teachers' beliefs and classroom practices is mediated by another process, that is, the decision making process (Burns, 1992). Freeman (1989) even describes teaching as a dynamic decision making process, while Leichardt and Greeno (1986:75) describe teaching as "a complex cognitive skill" which "requires the construction of plans and the making of rapid on-line decisions". For example, if teachers believe that expression of ideas is part of the learning process, it is very likely that they promote open discussion in their classroom activities. If they believe that learners differ in their learning styles and strategies, they may vary their teaching methods. If they believe that expressing opinions is a good technique to encourage students to participate actively in the classroom, but they also know that openly expressing opinion is culturally unacceptable, they may ask students to express their opinions through writing. If they believe small-group work is more efficient than class work, they may decide to use group work more often than class-work.

With regard to teachers' beliefs about teaching and learning, this study is interested in examining what beliefs the teacher holds about teaching and learning – what is meant by 'to teach' and 'to learn'.

2.6.2 Teacher's Roles

Being asked to complete the sentence "Teaching is …", Lorna Parker, a school principal lists more than thirty areas which a teacher needs to attend to in the actualisation of his/her teaching profession (Groundwater-Smith *et al.*, 1998: 5), i.e. a teacher is expected to perform certain duties in order to fulfil his/her roles. However, in the popular perception, there is a tendency to narrowly interpret teachers' work as limited to the classroom domain. This is possibly the result of an educational tradition that prototypically perceives a teacher as someone who teaches, i.e. conducts a lesson or presents teaching materials in the classroom and that notion has been passed down to us through teacher education programs. In reference to the popular perception, Turney *et al.* (1986:1) claim that "teacher education programs largely focus on the teacher's roles in the classroom, especially in terms of full-class teaching, neglecting the important roles and responsibilities teachers' perform outside the classroom in the school and its community." This claim was made more than one and a half decades ago, but it may still well apply to the situation in many teacher education programs in Indonesia. This implies that no longer should we perceive teachers' work as only dealing with students in the classroom, but also with other co-curricular activities that take place outside the classroom. In other words, there are three domains of teacher's work: the classroom, the school, and the community domains. The idea of teachers' roles proposed by Turney *et al.*(1986), and Lorna Parker from a practical perspective, are utopian or idealistic since teachers may only be able to fulfil certain duties from the ideal list due to personal, professional, institutional, and/or sociocultural reasons. For instance, if teachers commonly hold a view that the improvement of the quality of formal education is fully the responsibility of the government, they will probably take less initiative to work beyond the school and classroom. This is not to say that teachers' work is restricted to classroom and school domains. Indeed, teachers also have social roles and responsibilities as well. There are some instances when they need to collaborate with some members of the wider community. Therefore, without undermining the importance of teachers' roles in the other two domains, the following discussion is limited to the role of teachers in the classroom domain.

What teachers do in the classroom is the manifestation of a number of roles and responsibilities attributed to them: to plan, to initiate, and to guide learning and to facilitate, to monitor, and to evaluate learning performance (Turney *et al.*, 1986: 16). This list contains almost all the necessary classroom roles of a teacher from planning, and implementation, to evaluation stages. The roles attributed to teachers assume that they, in line with their classroom responsibilities, simultaneously play several different roles: a planner, guide, facilitator, manager, and an evaluator. Nunan (1989: 20) summarises the six roles teachers fulfil into three actions: "to plan, to implement, and to reflect on their programs".

- In the planning stage, as a planner, a teacher plans what activities s/he will assign for both her/himself and the class to perform, the general and specific objectives of a particular activity will be, and how activities will be carried out in order to achieve targeted objectives.
- In the implementation stage, as a guide, a teacher should be aware of his/her responsibility to provide students with guidance whenever necessary. As a facilitator, a teacher performs the role of being in the classroom to make the process of learning easier for students – when they need help,

s/he is there to help. In other words, s/he is there not only to give instructions to the students to perform a particular task, to supervise them during task completion, and to organise which task should come first and which one should come next, but also to offer and provide them with necessary assistance. As a manager, her/his role is to keep the class working according to planned programs.

- Finally, in the evaluation stage, a teacher as an evaluator, has to check how much her/his students have achieved, and how successful a program is.

Bailey and Nunan (1996: 11) summarise teachers' duties by pointing out that teaching is not simply a "doing", rather, it includes "doing, thinking, and interpreting". This implies that teaching is a dynamic process which requires teachers to carefully analyse and interpret materials, situations, and student conditions, so they then can act accordingly. This further suggests that the main duty of a teacher is to be able to assist students to learn and benefit from his/her teaching.

These views take into account important aspects of teachers' classroom roles. However, they only list the roles universal to all teachers in any classroom, and fail to take into account language-classroom-specific aspects, which defines roles that are specific and important to a language teacher. Therefore, it is worth mentioning the work of Littlewood (1981: 19) who strongly believes that in the context of the language classroom, language teachers take on roles of "managers, advisers, language suppliers, and co-communicators". He argues that language teachers have specific roles distinguishing them from teachers of other subjects – they are not only managers and advisers, but also the language suppliers and are involved in real communication with their students. In many foreign language classrooms, language teachers may even function as the only model speakers available for their students. In EFL classrooms, the list of teacher's roles expands because in many places, English teachers might be the only model available for their students and the classroom is the only setting where they learn English (Tickoo, 1995). Consequently, it is crucial that they possess proper linguistic skills and knowledge of the language. They are required to be able to use it in real communicative intercourses, and at the same time are able to answer form-related questions from the students.

Since EFL teachers play very important roles in the classroom, the degree of success of the learning depends very much on the success of the teachers in exercising these different roles. For example, if, psychologically and materially speaking, they make it easy for students to learn, good learning experiences will be possible, or vice versa.

With regard to the fulfilment of the teacher's roles, two questions are addressed by the present study:

(1) Which of the expected roles from the literature do the English teachers in this study fulfil?

(2) Why do they only fulfil those roles and not others?

2.6.3 Characteristics of a Good Teacher

What are the characteristics of a good teacher? A simple answer to this question is that a good teacher is the one who successfully plays his/her various roles such as a program planner, a classroom manager, a learning facilitator, an evaluator, and, in the foreign language classroom, a target language speaker (see Section 2.6.2). A good teacher understands her/his learners' "strategies, … thoughts and feelings, … success as well as their difficulties and failures" (Stern, 1980: 68). A good teacher is the one who is able to look "at what is going on inside the good language learners" and "to train others to use the successful strategies to acquire a second language" (Rubin, 1975: 49). These, however, are too general as they only provide a single description, which is not adequate to describe a good teacher. To broaden our view about the characteristics of a good teacher, let us take Robinett's (1977) and Ur's (1998) views which cover both personal qualities and professional competence.

Robinett (1977: 43) discusses the characteristics of a good teacher or an effective teacher and concludes that,

> … effective teachers are those who remember that the student is the most important part of the teaching-learning process. The success of second language teachers is ultimately measured by how well students have learned to communicate in the second language. I believe that success can best be attained by teachers who possess a sound knowledge of their subject and express warmth, sensitivity, and tolerance in imparting this knowledge.

Robinett emphasises that student ability to learn the target language is the end goal of the teaching-learning process and that teachers need to create an environment which is conducive for the learner to learn, i.e., a learning situation which is not stressful. According to her, the teacher's personality plays an important role in creating such an environment.

Ur (1998: 7) argues that, even though literature discusses only three factors which have been commonly attributed to "good teaching: methodology, training, and experience", there is another factor which seems to escape researchers' attention, that is "born teacherness" or "the 't' factor" which she defines as "a kind of multiple intelligence, composed of a number of distinguishable, though sometimes overlapping, qualities" (Ur, 1998: 9). She further argues that of the three factors that are widely discussed in literature, experience (and reflection) is the most important single factor, followed by training, while methodology contributes the least.

To support her argument that born teacherness exists and characterises good teachers, Ur (1998) studied 25 novices and 20 experienced and competent professionals. The results indicate that both groups believed that such a thing exists and it also contributes to good teaching. According to her, some of these qualities are more general and others are more specific to the teaching profession. The more general components, among others, are,

> … intelligence – the ability to think rationally and creatively; … organisation – the ability to organise items in real time and space; responsibility – the ability and willingness to take on responsibility for people and process"; confidence – a good self-image and belief in one's own worth and abilities; motivation – the drive to succeed, to do your job well ….
>
> (Ur, 1998: 9-10)

Ur (1998: 10) encapsulates components that are more specific to teacher-personality-characteristics using the following teachers' statements,

> I 'sense' where the learner is at, what their problem is; I 'feel' what they know and don't know.
> I know how to transform what *I* know about the language into a form that is accessible to *my learners*.
> I know how to design and administer activities and exercises that will foster learning.
> I know when learning is and is not happening by the way the learners behave, I don't need tests.
> I get my 'buzz' from when the students succeed, learn, progress.

Even though there is no formal, standard measurement of teacher-personality-characteristics – both for the more general and the more specific ones – these qualities are crucial in the fulfilment of teachers' roles. Ur emphasises that teachers reflect on their classroom practice only if they are highly motivated, strongly desire to learn and consider their teaching roles as crucial to the learning success of their students.

In summary, Ur (1998: 9) argues that good teaching depends not only upon methodology, training, and experience but also upon "personality characteristics resulting from a combination of innate and environmental influences, that teachers bring to their professional practice and that produce something that looks like a natural bent for their teaching". This suggests that good teachers can create a learner-friendly atmosphere using both pedagogical and personal approaches. They know whether their students learn or not from their teaching. They know whether their teaching methods work – assist students to learn – or not. In other words, good teaching can increase learners' motivation, and hence their participation in classroom activities. This also suggests that a good knowledge of linguistics is not the only important aspect that language teachers are expected to possess to be able to fulfil their roles as language teachers.

Research has indicated that some aspects of the characteristics of a good teacher may be universal and others are possibly cultural specific (e.g., Cortazzi and Jin, 1996c; Ellis, 1994; Hird, 1995; Holliday, 1997a; Tickoo, 1995). For example, the overwhelming majority of Chinese students expect that a good teacher has a "deep knowledge of his or her subject ... and 'should be able to answer all questions'" and only a small percentage of them think that a good teacher needs to have "pedagogic skills of arousing interest, using effective methods or explaining clearly" (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996c:187).

In relation to the characteristics of good teacher, this study addresses two questions:

1) Do the teachers in the present study comply with the characteristics discussed by Ur?
2) Are there any other factors that make a good teacher in this society?

2.7 The Student

Galloway and Labarca (1990: 112) contend that in the field of education in general and in language learning education in particular, attention has shifted from teaching to learning.

> The hint of change is reflected in our professional talk – in the words we use and in the meanings we assign them. Words such as 'strategy and style used in the past to

describe teachers and teaching acts, now refer more frequently to learners and learning; individualisation refers more often now to the how and why of learning, than to the what and when of teaching. The term accountability used most often in the past to refer to teachers rather than students, now assumes more powerful and interesting connotations when applied equally to both.

This indicates that there has been a growing awareness that the primary goal of teaching is to enable learning to take place; teaching is not an end in itself, rather it is a mediating activity, and thus it should be subordinate to learning (Orton, 1990: 1, citing Gattegno, 1963). Teachers prepare their lessons and attempt to make their classroom activities interesting, using a variety of techniques, to create the environment for learning to take place. In other words, the primary purpose of teaching is to help learners learn.

In the teaching-learning process, it is the student – the learning performer, the agent of the learning activity – who primarily determines whether learning happens, whereas the teacher only facilitates the process. It follows from this that no matter how good the teaching is, learning will not take place if learners do not want to participate in the process. From the point of view of experiential learning, learning is defined as "the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience" (Kolb, 1984: 38). This means that students need to process their experiences so that these become some sort of knowledge. This also suggests that learning involve physical – the five senses – and psychological aspects, as well as social behaviours of human beings. It involves both cognitive and affective aspects of human behaviour.

Typically, the initial stage of learning takes place in the form of observation and imitation. We observe and then imitate what adults around us do. In the next stage, we do not just observe and imitate, but also start to participate in certain events. During our observation and participation we develop our cognitive ability to transform our experiences into knowledge. This means that the formation of knowledge, especially that which comes from our experiences, needs us to participate in the actual interaction.

In the classroom setting, the way the learner participates is shaped by their cultural beliefs about learning, which is the topic of discussion in the next section, whereas the level of the participation is determined by learning motivation.

2.7.1 Students' Beliefs about classroom Learning

Most professional talk about and research on learning focus on learning styles and learning strategies but very little has been said about students' beliefs about learning which is one of the major aspects influencing their learning styles and strategies. These styles and strategies in turn are subject to

change according to the expectation of the teacher, the nature of the task in hand, and the students' learning experiences. This implies that beliefs are products of interwoven resources derived from an individual's traits and cultural inheritance. This also implies that beliefs have the potential to vary not only across but also within cultures, and consequently it is idiosyncratic of us to simply assume that there is a certain homogeneity of students' beliefs, styles, and strategies of learning, according to country of origin and cultural background. Students of similar cultural and national backgrounds may approach their learning differently (see e.g., Lewis 1996; Littlewood, 2000). However, it is also simplistic to deny the role of the wider culture in framing students' learning belief system which is then manifested in their learning behaviours. Research suggests that certain learning styles might be attributed to Indonesian students (e.g., Caiger *et al* 1996; Reid 1987; Webster 1988) and to Chinese students (Jin and Cortazzi 1998) or even more broadly to Asian students. That is, students of a particular cultural background may experience certain ways of learning, through their experiences in certain learning contexts, and on the basis of this experience they believe that learning is a process of, e.g., understanding, memorising, copying what teachers teach and whatever a culture interprets learning needs to be.

The Indonesian word equivalent to English's "to learn" is *belajar*. In the Indonesian language, *belajar* is closely associated with *menghapal*, 'memorising' or rote learning, which is the most likely way that Indonesian students learn (Siegel, 1986). According to this researcher, this is attributed to the way teachers approach their teaching practices and more particularly the way teachers evaluate students' achievement in the *ulangan*, 'exam' (literally 'repetition'); it is teachers' expectation that their students will be able to memorise what has been taught in the classroom. This expectation has its source in the wider cultural context. In Indonesia, education is widely seen as "knowledge acquisition rather than either development of the whole person, or teaching and learning for intended and pre-specified learning outcomes" (Iskandar 1998: 3). In the process of knowledge acquisition, the students' position is no more than that of a knowledge receiver; hence, they are more likely to be listeners. Such a process may lead students to believe that they need to be quiet and listen attentively to their teachers. Because teachers are knowledgable persons, students may believe that they cannot ask argumentative questions to or challenge their teachers. This may also lead students to believing that being dependent upon their teachers is a normal thing. The question this raises, which is explored in the following section is, how do these beliefs influence students' classroom learning practices?

2.7.2 Learning Practices and Learning Styles

The fact that human beings are grouped on the basis of their general or common characteristics related to culture, ethnicity, language, society, or other more delicate social and cultural background variables has led to the attribution of different learning styles to different groups of students. Inspired by this, researchers have carried out studies to find the commonalities in specific groups' learning behaviour. Studies have found that there are a number of differences between such groups. For instance, Liu (1998), a Chinese scholar, claims that Asians in general, and Chinese in

particular are authority-obedient especially in front of the teacher because they believe that s/he is the one who possesses and delivers knowledge. According to Jin and Cortazzi (1998: 101-102) "Chinese learners ... share a long-standing cultural perceptions of what it means to be Chinese and of how to learn". Webster (1988), who studied Hong Kong Chinese, Indonesian, Korean, and Taiwanese secondary school students attending a High School Preparation Program, reported that these four ethnically different groups had common learning experiences in their secondary education, among which were memorising notes and expecting class time to be teacher-dominant, leading her to deem them as authority-oriented learners.

These views tend to look at particular learning practices as being related to particular groups, that certain learning styles are related to continental, regional, or national entities. On the contrary, Littlewood (2000), who conducted a comparative study of European and Asian university students to examine some common preconceptions about Asian students and their learning attitudes, argues that Asian students cannot simply be categorised as 'obedient listeners' and that most of them do not see teachers as authority figures who deserve not to be questioned. His findings provide a contra-argument to the common culturally-based preconception that categorises Asian students as passive learners in comparison to their European peers. He concludes that Asian and European students are not different in their learning attitudes and preferences, and emphasises that differences are greater among individuals within and between countries than between the two continents.

First of all, it is essentialist to view a group of students, with their learning practices, as having common traits since, as social practices, learning practices are complex social practices. These complexities result from both sociocultural and personal factors. As a social practice, learning evolves under a cultural inheritance and traditions, but at the same time develops according to the development of the educational field. Due to, scientific and technological development and cultural contact, changes in teaching and learning practices take place more readily in urban areas. Moreover, every individual has her/his own personal traits which differentiate her/him from others. There are students who prefer to learn in groups or individually. There are students who are highly motivated and eager to take risks. There are also others who are shy and lacking in self-confidence. Although the sociocultural context has significant bearing on one's personality, there are certain characteristics which make him/her a unique person. In short, "...there – in essentialist sense - is no such thing as one nation identity" because "different identities are discursively constructed according to audience, setting, topic, and substantive content" (Wodak *et al*., 1999: 4).

Secondly, to categorise a group as "Asian" naturalises the category because in fact, we are dealing with people from many different national and cultural backgrounds, and more importantly, obscures internal differential positioning with regard to class, gender, race, sexuality, professional status, caste, (dis)ability, and so on. In other words, a class may consist of students of similar cultural and national background, but at the same time it also consists of different identities which have been, or are being, framed by different life, including learning experiences. As Wodak *et al*. (1999: 11) contend,

"... such an absolute sameness criterion is highly questionable when referring to members of a group. ... Individual people change constantly in the course of their lives, be it physically, psychologically, or socially."

The stereotype, which is also widely held by Indonesian teachers and students, that Indonesian learners are passive and non-voluntary, teacher-dependent, and unlikely to criticise or take risks, seems only to be an accurate generalisation of Indonesian students who have not been exposed to a range of teaching and learning situations. Once they are exposed to a different learning environment, they are likely to change their learning practices. Reid's (1987) findings suggest that Indonesian non-native speakers of English' learning styles closely approximated those of native speakers of English who are rather self-dependent. Indonesian students were reported to prefer individual learning rather than group learning. Some researchers have studied learning styles across cultures and nations and assigned common learning behaviours to several groups. For example, Webster's (1988), study of four language groups of Taiwanese, Korean, Indonesian, and Hong Kong Chinese, concluded that there was significant common behaviour among them, that is, that they were all 'authority-oriented'. On the contrary, Lewis (1996: 28) argues that assuming "a certain homogeneity [of learning styles] across national groupings" is simplistic. He bases his argument on his findings from his study of 320 Indonesian students who came from urban and rural Java as well as remote West Timor and were studying English at a tertiary institution or a private English course – ITB-BSBP (university) and TRIAD (private school) in Bandung, IALF and TBI (Private schools) in Jakarta, WUSC-CIPP (university) and ELTI (private school in Yogyakarta, and UNDANA and UNIKA (univeristies) in Kupang. His study revealed that the subjects generally reported having similar English learning experiences at secondary school: they learned English in more traditional ways, in authority-oriented modes of teaching and learning, during their secondary education, but also indicated that they did not favour those ways, but rather preferred concrete learning, and less authority- oriented and more communicative modes of teaching and learning. It is important to note that his subjects were adult learners who learned English through a wider range of teaching approaches, in well-equipped learning environments and possibly with clear objectives; hence with higher or stronger motivation. His findings suggest that learning styles, preferences, and attitudes are contingent upon the real learning context or, as Littlewood (2000: 32) puts it, upon "some forms of reality".

The importance of understanding students' learning styles has been increasingly realised in the last two decades or so particularly in language education (e.g., Abraham and Vann, 1987; Bialystock, 1981; Chamot and Kupper, 1989; and Wenden and Rubin, 1987). Peacock (2001) argues that teachers not only need to understand their students' learning styles but also to match their teaching styles with their students learning preferences. Yet, "we know less about the ways learners approach their individual acts of learning than we do about how we, as teachers, would like them to approach learning" (Galloway and Labarca, 1990:127).

Research has indicated that even in the same group of students exist many different learning styles (Galloway and Labarca, 1990). Therefore, teachers need to balance their teaching styles to

accommodate all learning styles (e.g., Reid, 1987; Melton, 1990; Oxford *et al.*, 1992). Failure to accommodate learners' learning styles can result, as hypothesised by Reid (1987), in learning failure, frustration, and demotivation.

In relation to learning practice and learning styles, the question I would like to address is 'do the teachers in this study try to understand their students' learning styles or not?'

2.7.3 Characteristics of a Good Student

At the Second Regional TEFLIN (Teaching English as a Foreign Language in Indonesia) Conference which was held in Universitas Negeri Sebelas Maret, Surakarta in 1995, Sadtono, one of the leading figures in English Teaching in Indonesia, presented a paper entitled "Wanted: Good Language Learners". In this paper, he argues that good language learners are highly motivated to learn the language (1995b). However, Rubin (1975: 42) argues that there are at least three factors that influence good language learning: "aptitude, motivation, and opportunity" and that these three factors impinge upon one another. Although aptitude is generally believed as a very important variable in language learning, this study does not examine the aptitude of the learners. With the fact that they are all successful in learning Bahasa Indonesia basically through formal instruction, after mastering their mother tongue – the Tolaki language – it is assumed that language aptitude is not a problem. Therefore, the focus is on motivation and opportunity.

Motivation is an abstract variable, and thus can only be inferred from learning behaviour. According to Sadtono (1997b), highly motivated learners use whatever means available to them, use the language whenever, and wherever they have opportunities without fear of making mistakes. In other words, good language learners will use effective strategies to be able to achieve a great deal from their learning efforts.

Rubin (1975: 45-47), based on her own observations of herself, of students in classrooms in California and Hawaii, and by talking to good language learners, lists the following characteristics that she identifies as the strategies used by a good or successful language learner.

1. The good language learner is a willing and good and accurate guesser. ….
2. The good language learner has a strong drive to communicate, or to learn from communication. ….
3. The good language learner is often not inhibited. ….
4. In addition to focusing on communication, the good language learner is prepared to attend to form. ….
5. The good language learner practices. ….
6. The good language learner monitors his own and the speech of others. ….
7. The good language learner attends to meaning. ….

Rubin (1975: 48-49) further explains that learners' strategies vary according to the types of tasks, learning stages, the age of the learner, the context, individual styles and cultural differences in cognitive learning styles. This suggests that the learning strategies of students of *SLTP*s in Indonesia's remote areas may differ from the strategies of those who learn English at *SLTP*s in Indonesia's urban areas, especially, from the strategies of those learning English as a second language in English speaking countries.

Another study that is worth mentioning is Nunan's (1991). This researcher studied EFL teachers, coming from Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, and the Philippines, whom he considered good informants because they had all attained bilingual competence in the language. From this study, Nunan concluded that good EFL learners are those who use various learning approaches and do not merely rely on classroom instruction, but actively find ways to improve their English by using various means. He found that his good language learners enjoy reading newspapers, watching TV, learning by doing, talking to friends, practising out of class, talking to L1 speakers, going on excursions, small group work, in-class conversation, pictures, films, video.

Unfortunately, Nunan's study did not make any cross-country comparisons to see whether or not there were significant differences among these learners, especially between the Indonesia-Thailand EFL group, that probably had fewer resources, and the Hong Kong-Malaysia-Singapore-Philippines group that probably had more resources, and who came from countries where English is a second language. It must also be asked how typical were these students of those teaching in their own countries? Learning experiences, especially outside the classroom, of the subjects coming from the first group of countries might be different from those of the second. In addition, since the subjects of this study had sufficient access to various resources, it can be expected that learning preferences and practices correlate with available resources. What happens if foreign language learners only have very limited access to such resources and have no experience talking to L1 speakers nor reading English newspapers, rarely sees films and videos, and rarely practice English outside the classroom? Will they still be considered good language learners? Emphasising the use of resources available outside the classroom in a context where the use of the language in such situations is very rare may be misleading.

The fact that they were English teachers should have also affected the learning attitudes and behaviours of Nunan's subjects. There were not only their own learning needs, but also the needs they had as English teachers – hence, they would be expected to be better English speakers than non-EFL teachers by other members of their communities.

The criteria of good language students are related to students' desire and ability (Galloway and Labarca, 1990) to learn the language. However, the desire to learn a target language also depends on motivational factors (see e.g., McGoarty,

1996; Sadtono, 1997b; 1995b) and opportunities. A highly motivated student may have the desire to learn and willingness to perform without fear of making errors. However, the willingness to perform or to practice without fear of making errors also depends very much on available opportunities and culture. In other words, motivation, which will be the next topic of discussion, impinges upon opportunities and the learning culture of a particular society. Having this in mind, the following question is considered relevant to be examined in this study: What criteria are used to characterise good students in this community?

2.7.4 English Learning Motivation

In the field of applied linguistics, understanding the role of motivation in second/foreign language learning is very crucial. As claimed by Spolsky (1989:160), "the importance of the reason to the learner for learning a language will determine what degree of effort he or she will make, what cost he or she will pay for the learning". Sadtono (1997b, 1995b) even emphasises that motivation is a dominant factor, in addition to IQ, in successful English language learning. He seems to believe that with strong motivation one can learn a foreign language successfully; hence, motivation is a cause for, rather than a result of, learning. Motivation, however, as shown by a study by Burstal (1975 in Skehan, 1989: 48), can also result from good learning experience. This type of motivation is called "resultative motivation", motivation that learners develop as a result of their success in learning a second language (Ellis, 1997: 143).

Studies have suggested that both integrative motivation – the kind of motivation resulting from the willingness to become a member of the community speaking the target language (e.g., Gardner and Lambert, 1972) – and instrumental motivation – the kind of motivation resulting from the desire to learn a target language for practical objectives such as for education, for career improvement, and so on (e.g., Gardner and MacIntyre, 1990) – contribute positively to the learning of a second or foreign language. Ellis (1985; 1997) emphasises that in many second language and all foreign language learning situations, instrumental motivation is more relevant and 1997 because in those situations English is not required for integrative purposes. While instrumental and integrative motivation are the cause of the effort in learning a target language, resultative motivation and intrinsic motivation result from good second/foreign language learning experiences – hence, are the result rather than the cause. Ellis (1997: 74) argues that in the case of foreign language contexts many learners probably feel that the learning tasks given to them are interesting and enjoyable so that they may find themselves "personally involved in the learning activities." This means that if a learner experiences success in his foreign language learning s/he is likely to make more efforts in the learning of the language. On the other hand, if a learner feels unsuccessful, s/he may become less motivated, and therefore makes little or no effort to learn the language. This suggests that classroom learning experiences also contribute to students' learning motivation. This also suggests that teachers, through their learning practices, can create a classroom environment which can increase students' learning motivation.

In relation to learning motivation, this study addresses three questions.

1. What are the reasons that students in the present study learn English?
2. Do these reasons motivate them to perform well in learning the language or not?
3. If not, why not?

2.7.5 Motivation as Investment

In order to expand our understanding of the role of motivation in foreign language learning, let us consider the social dimension of motivational factors proposed by Norton (1995, 2000). Norton, based on her 12-month study – by way of interview, diary, journal and questionnaires – of five adult immigrant women who learned English as a second language in Canada, argues that SLA theorists have not been successful in explaining the relationship between the language learner and the social context (of language), mainly because they fail to develop "a comprehensive theory of social identity which integrates the language learner and the language learning context" (Norton, 1995: 9). Using social identity theory, she argues that in the field of second language learning both the learner and the social world or learning context, where exercise of differential power takes place, should be taken into account, and therefore reconceptualises motivation as "investment".

Norton (1995, 2000) uses Bourdieu's (1977) "cultural capital" metaphor to develop her argumentation. Instead of using the concept of the individual, which is commonly used by second language acquisition (SLA) theorists, she conceptualises, on the basis of poststructuralist theory (Weedon, 1987), social identity as "multiple, a site of struggle, and subject to change". Norton (1995:17) believes that,

> if learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital. Learners will expect or hope to have a good return on that investment – a return that will give them access to hitherto unattainable resources. ... this return on investment must be seen as commensurate with the effort expended on learning the second language.

This means that people will put in an equal amount of effort to the expected returns. Norton also believes that second language learners will make significant efforts in their learning because through the learning of the second language they have already begun to enjoy some benefits in the form of accessibility to symbolic resources, which includes "the language, education, and friendship". At the same time will have foreseen that it will be beneficial, in one way or another, in getting access to material resources, that consist of "capital goods, real estate, and money" (Norton, 1995: 17). This strongly suggests that the learning effort made by an EFL learner in her/his learning depends on the value of English s/he is investing in. This also suggests that different groups may invest different amounts of effort because different contexts or environments may provide different types and amount of returns.

Norton (1995, 1997, 2000) also argues that the relevance of methods and the social identity of second language learners are important in understanding their willingness (and refusal) to learn. She believes that a learner may refuse to learn if the teacher's methods are not compatible with his/her social identity.

In spite of Norton's failure to use a social identity framework in developing her arguments on the importance of power and social structures in the learning of a second language (McNamara, 1997; Price, 1996). Price (1996: 331) acknowledges that Norton's points have contributed significantly to "our understanding of the way in which power relations have a direct effect on language use and learning". Price (1996) is critical of Norton's arguments as she has failed to use social identity theory to integrate the language learning context and language learner. Price (1996: 332-333) argues that it is the individual who decides to take up one of his/her multiple identities according to his/her own pre-given interests, whereas "discourse and power [only] facilitates or impedes the taking up of different identities/positions but does not seem to be involved in the construction of them". McNamara (1997) is also critical of the absence of a clear conceptual framework for social identity in Norton's work. Despite these criticisms, as discussed in section 2.2.2, her concept of power is helpful in analysing learners' classroom behaviours, and her redefinition of motivation as investment in language learning (Norton, 1995) is helpful in increasing our awareness of the importance of social context in elaborating the learning process, i.e., understanding the reasons learners do or do not make sufficient effort in their learning.

Spolsky (1989: 160), who uses motivation instead of investment, contends that motivation is not only personal-based but also social-based. He emphasises the role of context as the source of motivation and claims that the importance of a particular type of motivation is contingent upon the context. Brown (1981) asserts that the learning situation influences the type of motivation and believes that motivation in a naturalistic learning situation is different from the one in a classroom learning situation. This suggests that social contexts of the learning can influence learners' desire and efforts to learn a second/foreign language. In the classroom context, it might be the nature of the teaching method applied by the teacher and the types of interactions which influence the learners' motivation. In a natural context, it may be the experience of the learners with the people and the culture of the target language that influence their learning. In other words, their real world experience in naturalistic contexts – living with the native speakers – can be the source of their strong motivation to improve their learning of the target language.

In an attempt to scrutinise the motivation of students in learning English as a foreign language, this study addresses the following questions:

1. Do the students already enjoy some benefits in the form of accessibility to symbolic resources, which includes the language, education, and friendship?
2. Have they foreseen that English will be beneficial, in one way or another, in getting access to material resources, that consist of capital goods, real estate, and money?

2.8 A Need for Context-Sensitive ELT Methods

Even though Ur (1998) argues that teaching methodology contributes only very little to good teaching, and Sadtono (1997b) believes that the teaching method is not the real problem, even though it plays an important role in the successfulness of learning (Doughty, 1990; Ellis, 1997). As elaborated in Section 2.7.4, good teaching methods can create a good learning atmosphere which leads to strong motivation in learning EFL/ESL. This implies that teachers' ways of teaching and the types of tasks done in the classroom influence students' reactions in the form of learning enjoyment.

EFL/ESL teaching methodology has been increasingly discussed in the last few decades since the emergence of CLT in 1970s. Discussions of the approach have increased since its introduction to the teaching of English in non-English speaking countries. The debate centres around the sociocultural inappropriateness and incompatibility of the Western-based CLT to the rest of world (e.g., Barkhuizen, 1998; Ellis, 1996; Hird, 1995; Holliday, 1992, 1994a, 1994b; Li, 1998; Orton, 1990; Ouyang, 2000; Swan, 1985a and 1985b, Tickoo, 1995).

For example, Barkhuizen's (1998: 95) findings, from his study of learners' perceptions of ESL classroom teaching in a South African context, suggest that some students may resist participating "in communicative-type activities" and prefer "more 'traditional' classroom work". They feel more like learning English if teachers correct their mistakes, if they spell correctly in the composition, but are less likely to participate in oral activities. However, according to this researcher, these perceptions can be the result of the nature of the tasks, the level of English of the students, and the fact that CLT is not yet a common method used in ESL classrooms in the country.

Ellis (1996) challenges the common view among CLT proponents who believe that the approach is relevant to the teaching of ESL/EFL. He claims that they seem to be unaware of the fact that it is a predominantly western language teaching approach – hence carries a western-specific value system including the concept of teaching and learning. He argues that cultural conflicts potentially emerge from the introduction of the approach to Asian classrooms if it is not adapted to its culture.

Orton's (1990) study of three Chinese English teachers at university level also concluded that the implementation of western-based CLT in China is difficult due to sociocultural factors. This conclusion was made after a longitudinal case study using three Chinese English teachers as informants. Her ethnographic approach to the study – living in the community, observing informants' teaching practices, interviewing informants about their reflections on their practices – enabled her to analyse the sociocultural impact on her informants' teaching practices. This study led her to believe that if Chinese English teachers want to implement CLT, they would need "to make radical changes to some of their basic beliefs, values and consequent ways of acting" (1990: 2). However, Ouyang (2000) argues that radical changes on the part of teachers are not sufficient. Her study of an English teacher in inland China concluded that although the teacher had radically changed her basic belief and acted according to the principles of CLT, she failed to make CLT work in her classrooms due to unfavourable reactions from her students who still preferred traditional teaching methods. Therefore, Ouyang argues that CLT cannot be successful unless changes also take place in the wider society. Similarly, Li (1998) argues that it is difficult to implement the approach in South Korea because of the difference in underlying theories between South Korea and western countries. Li's argument is based on his study of eighteen South Korean English teachers attending a one-month program at a Canadian university. It is important to mention at least three sources of difficulty related to CLT implementation. The first one is related to the teacher factor, i.e., the "teacher's deficiency in spoken English" (Li, 1998: 686). The second one is related to the student factor, i.e., "resistance to class participation" (Li 1998: 691). The third is related to CLT itself. Li (1998: 694) mentions that "CLT's inadequate account of EFL teaching" and "lack of effective and efficient assessment instruments". All these researchers

support the claim made by Coleman (1987, 1996a) that classroom culture can change only if the wider community's concept about classroom learning also changes.

These studies suggest that adjustment of this approach to the local condition is highly desirable if it is to be implemented in countries like these because changing beliefs and values implies changing an essential part of culture. Therefore, it is worth considering this recommendation for the Chinese context:

> traditional approaches, including grammar-translation and audio-lingual methods and the Intensive Reading Course, which have produced successful English language learners and users ...be used as the base and the current Western approaches are used to complement the shortcomings of the base.
>
> (Cortazzin and Jin (1996c: 74).

The arguments presented in these studies about sociocultural incompatibility and the inappropriateness of CLT need to be re-examined because the central problem may be in the transfer of technology which includes "methodologies, techniques, and procedures which make up classroom practices" (Holliday, 1994b: 3), rather than in the western and non-western dichotomy. In his elucidation of contextually sensible methodologies, Holliday (e.g.,1998, 1997b, 1996, 1994a, 1994b) avoids using a western and non-western dichotomy and proposes that in ELT, BANA (British, Australasia, North America) and TESEP (Tertiary, Secondary, and Primary) distinction be used. In the field of methodology, Holliday (1994a, 1994b) acknowledges that the transfer of technology from a socioculturally different context to another context is problematic due to different attitudes to education and the lack of resources. However, he argues that the Communicative Approach has the potential to bridge the two worlds "provided that it pays heed to the differing social contexts that are involved" (Holliday, 1994a: 13), and warns that in BANA contexts, language institutes have clearly defined "instrumental objectives" and are commercial oriented, whereas the TESEP context is under the influence of government policy – it does not have clear objectives nor sufficient resources (Holliday, 1994a: 11-13). These studies suggest that there is still a need to scrutinise the source of so-called sociocultural inappropriateness and incompatibility which the previously mentioned scholars seem to believe is the real problem of the approach. In relation to the CLT approach, this study is aimed at scrutinising:

1. Whether the teachers in this study implement CLT or not.
2. The reason for implementing or for not implementing CLT.
3. Whether ELT objectives in Indonesia's *SLTP*-s are clear, reasonable, and clearly understood by the teacher.
4. Whether sufficient resources are available to implement CLT.

2.9 Previous Studies of Indonesian ELT

There have been a number of studies carried out into ELT in Indonesia. However, in terms of the problems being examined, this section only mentions five studies of which two are ethnographic studies of university ELT, and three are studies of secondary education ELT, of which two focus on junior high school ELT, and one focuses on senior high school ELT.

In 1987, Coleman carried out an ethnographic study at *Universitas Hasanuddin* in Makassar, South Sulawesi (Coleman 1987, 1996a). In a three-year longitudinal study, Coleman observed various

English classes consisting of 20 to 110 students, and came to the conclusion that in English classes students did not, and were not expected to fully participate in the classroom activity. This conclusion was based on the findings that a lot of students did not engage in what was taught, that a lot of students were going in and out of the classroom or talking about other things in the classroom during the lesson. These activities gave him the impression that in this university, a lesson was a kind of ritualistic event that stemmed from the culture outside the classroom. In an attempt to improve the participation of the students in the classroom, an experiment was conducted at the same university, and "attempted ... to put all the participants – lecturers and students – into a type of event which could no longer be perceived as a 'lesson'" (Coleman, 1996a: 80-81). In this pilot project, classes were divided into smaller groups (of about 40 students) and every teacher was allocated a student's textbook and a teacher's textbook, while every student was asked to use the student's textbook, called "Risking Fun". The teachers, some of whom were recruited from final year English students at the university, were prepared in a short training course to familiarise them with the system. They were then assigned a class to teach using the "Risking Fun" which had clear instructions and procedural guidelines for every single activity. This experiment was successful in enhancing students' participation in the classroom learning because "lecturers became highly interactive in task-based events during which students exchanged, manipulated and interpreted large quantities of English language data while teachers took on consultative and inconspicuously managerial roles" (Coleman, 1996a: 81). As one of the teachers involved in the pilot project, I found that at the beginning it took some effort to change the classroom environment because many students found it strange to move around the class to ask for information and work in groups, which caused some noise and disorder. In addition, the success of the experiment may also result from the fact that both teachers and students had the required textbooks and more importantly that the books contained clear instructions and procedural guidance.

Another ethnographic study was carried out by Saleh (1994) in *IKIP* (Institute of Teacher Training) Semarang, Central Java. He observed classes for a semester and interviewed thirteen teachers at the English language Department to study their content selection and use of methods. His study focused on the investigation of the teachers' methods of instruction, the content of materials chosen, and their pedagogical justification for each selection. Using classroom observation, interview, and stimulated recall discussion, he found that the teachers' selection of methodology was based on course materials and students' learning styles. With regard to material selection, he found that teachers selected their course materials in accordance with the curriculum, and with some consideration of the students' readiness for learning. He concluded that this selection process was generally guided by the teachers' beliefs: beliefs about the structure and the function of the curriculum, about the students' needs and capacity, their beliefs about teaching and learning theories, their beliefs about the classroom as well as the social context of the students' learning, and their beliefs about teachers' roles.

In a survey on the communicative competence of *SLTP* English teachers in Southeast Sulawesi, Pasassung *et al.* (1995) found that teachers who were observed considered their teaching method as CLT-based, although observation indicated that they did not fully implement CLT. In their classroom teaching, teachers did a lot of translation of the materials, explained grammatical rules mostly in awkward English, and continued to dominate classroom activities. Their understanding of

CLT was that they needed to use English as much as possible in their teaching, and to ask students to complete exercises in pairs and small groups. Since data were collected from a one-off observation and a short interview with every teacher – there were only 8 teacher informants – this study could not conclude whether the teachers consistently taught this way or not. Teacher use of English in giving instructions and explaining themes and grammatical aspects, as observed in this study, might not be a common practice as indicated by frequent hesitation and long pauses between utterances.

In 1996, a team led by Sadtono (Sadtono *et al*., 1997) conducted a diagnostic survey on the *SLTP* ELT in Indonesia. The survey aimed at providing input for the improvement of existing in-service *PKG* programs for secondary school English teachers. The survey was conducted during August and September 1996, in four provinces: Central Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, East Java, and South Sumatra. To represent the whole range of schools, sixteen *SLTP*s were taken as samples: a well-resourced, high-achieving state school in the four provincial capital cities, a state school in a capital of a regency, a state school in an isolated rural area, and a private school in a provincial capital. Each province received a one week visit. The data ranged from the students' English proficiency collected through open-ended format tests of each of the four skills (Sadtono *et al*., 1997: 6) and information about the teaching and learning process was gathered from a one-off observation. Teachers' and students' views and concerns of the teaching/learning process, were revealed in semi-structured, small-group interviews. Classroom observations suggested that there was a lot of teaching but little learning, and that interactions between teachers and students were described as "one-way traffic" (Sadtono *et al*., 1997: 12). Although classroom observations revealed that students worked in pairs and small groups, the team was sceptical about how frequently students were assigned pair and small group work. and "whether or not teachers were really convinced of the value of this kind of interaction" (Sadtono *et al.*, 1997: 13). The survey concluded that the students' language proficiency was very low. Testing the four areas of language skills, they found that 60% of the subjects scored below average and only about 15% obtained good scores. They also found that the students' productive skills were weaker than their receptive skills. From interviews with the teachers the team concluded that in general teachers thought that time allocation, class size, and curriculum were not a problem, but they were worried about the EBTANAS (National Final Examination) because "their own, and school reputation, is at stake if many of their students do not achieve good scores" (Sadtono *et al*., 1997: 30). The survey also found that the teachers complained about students' low motivation.

A study of Javanese *SMU* (Senior High School) learning styles, and autonomous learning, was conducted by Whachida (2001). This researcher claims that she used an ethnographic approach rather than an experimental design. She studied one hundred and twenty-six subjects, all were Javanese, for three months to explore the level of their readiness to learn autonomously in the classroom and outside the classroom. Her study concluded that Javanese students were quite capable of taking responsibility for their own EFL learning and that students had positive attitudes towards autonomous learning. This readiness to conduct autonomous learning, as suggested by the study, is contingent upon the fulfilment of certain conditions. The problem is, can conditions like planning one's own learning programs and choosing materials be fulfilled considering that the syllabi and textbooks, for instance, are dictated by the government and teachers and students still view teachers as the one who has the authority to make

decisions at the action level? As Wachidah (2001: 297) points out, "*SMU* learners generally have ... little experience in conducting learning autonomy, and I believe that they do not yet have the capacity to make autonomous decisions at the action level (i.e., to determine the steps or procedures to accomplish a task)." This suggests that autonomous learning, which requires students to take more responsibility for their learning, is something uncommon in Java and throughout Indonesian *SMU*s.

These studies' findings suggest that the improvement of the quality of teaching does not necessarily result in the improvement of EFL learning. The pilot project conducted by Coleman and the experiment by Wachidah also suggest that something can be done to improve the quality of learning, not only in terms of teaching methodology but also in terms of students' readiness to take more responsibility for their own learning programs under the teachers' guidance. Whether the classroom experience of teachers and students at *SLTP* level can be improved using the models applied in Coleman's and Wachidah's experiments, needs further investigation.

2.10 Summary

This chapter provides the theoretical framework for the present study. It starts with the fundamental concept of the classroom as a part of a macrocosm and argues that classroom culture is under constant influence from the wider culture. It emphasises that a classroom is simultaneously a world in its own, where certain rules and regulations apply, and part of a bigger world; hence those rules and regulations conform to the common sociocultural rules of the wider society.

This chapter also discusses the status of English as a global language, as a foreign language, and as a second language and argues that EFL and ESL need to be clearly distinguished in the field of language teaching and learning methodology, because they designate different linguistic environments – where English roles, functions, and status are different – which can bring about the need for different language policies and planning.

Theories of teacher beliefs and role fulfilment are also briefly discussed in this chapter to provide a theoretical basis for the discussion of teachers' classroom practices. This is to say that teachers play an important role in the scaffolding of the classroom discourse. Following then is a discussion of the characteristics of a good teacher, which provides a brief orientation of what makes a good teacher.

Since methodology is an important part of teaching and learning interactions, this chapter also provides an orientation to ELT methodology and raises the issue of the need for ELT methods that are socioculturally sensitive to ensure optimal English language learning in non-native speaking countries to take place. Special reference is made to different teaching and learning orientations of BANA and TESEP contexts to indicate that there is always a need to tailor methods to given contexts.

It is then argued that teaching should be subordinate to learning to the extent that teaching is carried out in the classroom for the purpose of providing a situation where learning takes place. Therefore, teaching should be adjusted to fit learners' requirements. In relation to this, the chapter highlights the importance of students' beliefs about learning – which are framed by existing beliefs of the wider society and their real experiences both as members of the wider society and as members of

the classroom society. These beliefs determine their learning styles and preferences. Before discussing the importance of learning motivation, a brief orientation to the characteristics of a good language learner is presented to indicate that there is a close relationship between motivated and good language learners. This section also discusses motivation from the point of view of social theory, which redefines motivation as "investment" to include both social and psychological aspects.

Findings of previous studies on Indonesian ELT are also briefly presented in this chapter to provide a brief account of what has been done in the field at different levels. Although these studies indicate that there is a need to improve the quality of learning, they fail to indicate the complexity of the factors involved.

In sum, this chapter not only shows the complexity of factors involved in the formation of classroom culture, particularly EFL classroom culture, but also provides a theoretical orientation that will be used as the major guide in the design of the research methodology that will be elaborated in the following chapter. In addition, eighteen questions are developed for examination as part of this study.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY
3.1 Introduction

In order to answer the questions set out in the literature review of this study, an ethnographic study was carried out in a province in Indonesia. In doing so, this study examined the classroom interactions taking place during English lessons in an SLTP and then analysed the data in reference to the broader sociocultural context of Southeast Sulawesi. This implies that the researcher not only observed classroom activities but also other types of social interaction and behaviour of the informants outside the classroom – both in the school environment and in the neighbourhood.

Two reasons underpin the use of an ethnographic approach in this research. First, research findings have indicated that an ethnographic approach to language education provides a rich source of information. Holliday (1996) cites nineteen classroom-based studies which he classifies as ethnographic studies in English language education. Despite their claims that classroom culture is under the influence of the culture outside the classroom, most of these studies fail to provide sufficient information about what happens in the wider community and sometimes only assume that there are aspects of the wider culture, such as beliefs and tradition, that affect classroom interactions; hence they failed to look at data related to the actual complexity of the problem in a given context.

The second reason, which is practical, is because there have not been any such studies on EFL at this level of education. The need for studying EFL at this level of education is considered very important since the beginning of TEFL, at least for the time being, takes place formally at this level. It is at this level where most Indonesian students have their first experience of learning the language. As the introductory stage, this first experience is very crucial to the future EFL learning of the students. A good experience will encourage them and vice versa.

Before explaining the research procedure in this study (3.4), research method (3.5) and method of data analysis (3.6), it is important to discuss some principles that make an ethnographic approach a significant contributor to the study of cultural and social phenomena, including the ones in the classroom. In so doing, the following two sections will be devoted to ethnography and the ethnographer consecutively.

3.2 Ethnography

As an approach, ethnography was originally used by cultural anthropologists to study a group of people and their culture. Hymes (1980: 89; 1996a: 4) asserts that ethnography is about the study of someone else, not ourselves; it is not experimental, and involves participant-observation. In other words, the data is gathered in natural settings. However, this does not mean that the ethnographic approach could not be used to study one's own culture (Saville-Troike, 1989:4). What is crucial is that ethnographic principles and characteristics are maintained throughout the entire research progression – its

procedures and instruments for data collection and analysis. This section summarises the relevant ethnographic principles used in this study in reference to the length of time required, the method of data collection and data analysis, the instrument used, and the nature of the setting where data is collected.

An ethnographic study necessitates the ethnographer doing fieldwork for which s/he spends extensive, rather than intensive, time living within the community under study. Hence, it is always a longitudinal study, the length of which may vary depending upon the complexity of the problem and time availability, but generally it lasts between six months and several years. During the fieldwork, repeated observations, which will eventually provide reliable information, are important. In the case of ethnography, a perfect stranger requires longer time in a given community to learn the language.

As far as ethnography is concerned, it allows the researcher not only to take a look at the culture under investigation but also to experience it directly by living together with the informants. It allows the researcher to gather first-hand data and analyse it from the point of view of the owners of the data – the informants. In this sense, the important point which is salient and unique in ethnographic research is the use of the informants' points of view in the interpretation of their behaviour. In other words, the ethnographer considers the owner of the behaviour as the one who understands the behaviour best. The presence of the researcher is important since in most cases, the informants, like other members of the group, take everything about their behaviour for granted. It is the job of the researcher to make these behaviours meaningful through his analysis.

Another advantage of the ethnographic approach is its openness. In its attempt to reveal the 'mystery' of a society's way of life it makes use of any available, relevant information no matter where or how this information has been found. It is very helpful for the people who want to utilise all available possibilities in their attempt to understand the society. As Hymes (1996a:xii) points out,

> Ethnographic inquiry is likely to show people doing the best they can with what they have to work with given what is possible and reasonable for them to believe to do. ... . If one truly wants to know about a culture, a society, a way of life, one uses all there is to use. One does not refuse to know something because it is known in a certain way. Just so with schools and the educational configurations of neighbourhoods and communities. If we truly want to know them, we will welcome and use every approach that can contribute.

An ethnographic approach is also advantageous in the sense that it does not involve manipulation of settings. It takes them in the most natural condition and this allows access to natural data. It involves "naturalistic inquiry ... a research paradigm in which naturally occurring events are studied" (Bailey and Nunan, 1996: 1). It is not

only interesting, but also challenging, to use this approach as it involves a range of more natural, complex – hence holistic – issues.

In these natural settings, an ethnographer is able to get access to the real information he or she is looking for. By living within the society where the informants live, a researcher has more opportunities to learn from and be taught by the local person and even go beyond what s/he can observe to study the meaning of it (Agar, 1980). In other words, as Watson-Gegeo (1988: 579) puts it, the ethnographic approach involves "etic-emic principles of analysis", that is the interpretation of cultural meanings by an outsider using the viewpoints of the participants of a particular event.

While this approach enables ethnographers to gather first-hand data through participant observation and interviews, it is also important for them to always bear in mind that every study involving observation is subject to what Labov (1972: 209) calls the "observer's paradox". That is, it is impossible to observe what people do when they are not observed – therefore paradox – while the presence of an observer has the potential to interrupt the natural behaviour of those being observed. Keeping this paradox in mind, an ethnographer should make every effort to minimise the influence of his presence on the behaviour of his/her informants. In this study, this paradoxical problem was reduced by becoming a member of the informants' community; thereby the researcher was not viewed by the informants as an observer, and was able to do repeated observations. In addition, by reducing the formality of the interviews, the researcher reduced the tension the informants felt in formal interviews. The informality of the interview also helped avoid 'interviewer-interviewee' relationships. This implies that a good ethnographer is the key instrument in obtaining first-hand, genuine data from natural settings. Hence, the success of an ethnographic study depends on the quality of the ethnographer, the topic to be discussed in the next section.

3.3 The Ethnographer

The principal research instrument in an ethnographic study is the ethnographer (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982: 27: Hornberger, 1988:4) who collects information through fieldwork both as a full participant and by direct observation. In order to be able to live within the community, an understanding of the language(s) is crucial. This is also pertinent in the process of cultural interpretation and description. Therefore, an ethnographer who is external to the language community needs to spend sufficient time learning the local language before being able to fully participate in social events. Despite this requirement, Hymes (1980, 1996a) claims that ethnography is about the study of

someone else, not ourselves, that good ethnographers are those who are 'outsiders' to the people and culture they are going to study. This claim is probably based on the tradition of the outstanding practitioners of ethnography, such as Geertz, Hymes, Malinowski, Saville-Troike, and Siegel who were originally outsiders in the communities they studied.

In the case of this study, while I do not belong to the community nor to the specific culture of the group under investigation, neither am I a total stranger. In political terms we are Indonesian and we speak Indonesian, one of the languages widely used in the area under study. I also understand Tolaki, the local language, and can speak it although only at a survival level. In physical terms, I am similar to the local people in skin colour, body posture, and hair colour. We partially share a common value system and probably hold a similar worldview. While these commonalities denote a lack of 'distance' from the cultural practices being observed, this knowledge would not undermine my standing as a good ethnographer so long as I was able to carefully implement ethnographic principles. On the contrary, it may be argued that factors such as these can contribute significantly to building good rapport with the community members in general, and with my informants in particular. Furthermore, to more fully participate in the community and its practices, I had to adopt the customs of the teacher I stayed with and those of the whole community, thereby valuing and respecting the local community and its culture. The three main guidelines: "a) living as simply and similarly to teachers and community members as possible, b) respecting their norms, identities, and privacies… and c) reciprocating whenever possible with something of value to them" (Hornberger, 1988: 4), have played an important role in establishing good rapport with the informants and the community members under study. Such rapport should increase the quality of the information obtained.

Distance in this instance is maintained in several ways. Anthropologically speaking, I belong to an ethnic group called *Torajan*, one of the ethnic groups inhabiting the northern part of South Sulawesi Province, which has its own unique culture. I speak the Torajan language as my first language. The society to be studied is called *Tolaki* whose mother tongue is the Tolaki language (see Section 5.7.1). I was brought up in a Christian family and community, whereas the community members in question are all Muslims. In addition, I had spent 3 years – between 1991 and 1993 and in 1999 – in Australia. These experiences helped prepare me for my role as an ethnographer and helped me develop the 'distance' necessary to do the fieldwork.

3.4 Research Procedure

In terms of research procedures, there were two main steps followed in the fieldwork. The first step is related to bureaucratic procedures. Prior to my visit to and observation at the schools in question, I had to obtain an official document to show to the principals of the schools I was going to observe and to the heads of the District and Sub-district Office of the Department of National Education. I particularly needed the document because, firstly and foremost, I personally was not acquainted with the principals and the people I was going to use as my informants. Secondly, obtaining such a document was a normal and official procedure used to be able to get access to the subjects of the research. A school principal would not allow a researcher, unless s/he personally knew her/him very well, to carry out research at his school without such official documents in the form of letters or a decree issued by *Kanwil Diknas* (acronyms of *Kantor Wilayah*, Regional/Provincial Office, and

Pendidikan Nasional, Ministry for National Education). Therefore, on my arrival in Kendari, the provincial capital of Southeast Sulawesi, the first thing I did was go to the Kanwil Depdiknas on Monday, 2 August, 1999.

When I met with the head of the research division of *Kanwil Diknas*, I showed him a letter from The University of Sydney and a letter from the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia of Sydney, which I obtained before leaving Sydney, stating that I was a research student intending to conduct research in the province. Knowing that I am an international student, he told me that I needed a letter from *Sospol* (the acronym of *Sosial dan Politik,* Social and Political) Division of Provincial government and a letter from LIPI (the acronym for the *Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia*, Science Agency of Indonesia) in Jakarta. This process would have been long and involved several stages. An alternative to going to the governor's office and to LIPI in Jakarta, was to go to the local university to arrange a letter saying that I was a teacher at the university and wanted to do research at *SLTPN* 1 Oleo, and two of nine *SLTPN*s in Kendari – *SLTP* Songgi and *SLTP* Kaluku (for the purpose of confidentiality, all names of people, schools, and places in this thesis are fictitious). As a teaching staff member of the university, it did not take me long to get a letter which I then took to the *Kanwil Diknas* office. I eventually obtained the required document, which stated that the school principals of the schools mentioned should allow me to conduct research at their schools under the conditions that I should not interfere with school activities, and that I would engage in continuous consultation with the principals. This process took me almost a month – from 2 to 30 August 1999. Obtaining authorisation is an essential part of fieldwork.

The second step began when I started my observation at the school and in the village between 6 September 1999 and 20 May 2000. My entire fieldwork period was spent in the village, although I went to Kendari every weekend, except if there was a particular sociocultural event going on in the village. I left the village on Saturday afternoons, and usually came back on Mondays – several times I came back on Sunday afternoons. I spent time at the school for two or three days of almost every week.

When I was not at school in the morning, I would normally visit a *kampong*, village. Visits to kampongs were made at different times, early or late in the morning, in the afternoon, and in the evening, to be able to capture a wide variety of events. However, for methodological purposes, I made a number of visits to four different families and often spent a night at their home, in order to obtain extensive information about their lives.

On Tuesday, 8 June 2000, I left Kendari and came back to Sydney and started to analyse the data I gathered during my fieldwork. I made another visit, from the end of February to the beginning of March 2001, to check if any changes had happened at the school under study.

3.5 Research Method

3.5.1 Source of Data

There were two major sites for data collection for this study. The first site was outside the classroom and the second one was inside the classroom. The data from the outside classroom context were gathered from observable social interactions among the members of the community as well as the student and teacher activities around school. The data from the classroom were gathered from student-teacher interactions during classroom meetings. The classroom data were mainly collected from a remote village school.

To be able to obtain more specific data, about the life of English language teachers and students both around the school and outside the school, two English language teachers - both were male, *Pak Hamzah* and *Pak Sul*, and eight students – four girls: *Isa, Sara, Tina and Wati*, and 4 boys: *Andy, Koko, Tono and Yansen* - were used as primary informants. I could only live with one of the teachers in the village because the other one lived in another village about forty kilometres away – during the fieldwork, I only visited him four times (for more information about the teachers, see Section 7.5.1). There was one main class, class 2B, under regular observation and the eight student informants came from this group. For the purpose of comparison, some data were also collected from two urban schools. This urban area is relatively small and with a population of only 177,664 (BPS, 1999), and it has poor infrastructure and public facilities. However, it is the capital of the province, and therefore, for the purpose of this discussion, relatively speaking it is much more urban.

Two female English language teachers, Ibu Ani and Ibu Ifah, who taught in the two urban schools, were also used as informants. Some comparative data were also gathered from their classroom teaching. The choice of female teachers was not only because the two teachers in the village school were both male, but also because six of the eight English language teachers at the two urban schools were female. It is important to mention that in many cases information came also from villagers, other teachers, or students who it was not possible to identify. This was particularly the case when making observations of particular cultural events, or in informal interviews.

3.5.2 Techniques of Data Collection

Since this is an ethnographic study, it incorporated several data collection techniques including "observation, asking questions, participation in group activities, and testing one's perceptions against the intuitions of natives" (Saville-Troike, 1989: 4). The importance of triangulation of different data collection techniques has been emphasised by Cicourel (1964).

When I was about to leave Sydney for the site, I felt optimistic about being able to obtain the necessary information for the study. I got a feeling of satisfaction from the insights which the principles of ethnographic studies provided, from the instruments I was going to use to gather the information, from the lists of items to be covered in structured interviews, from the questionnaires, and from the somewhat modern equipment: a note-book computer, a handy-cam, a photo camera, and a tape-recorder. This preparation, however, did not mean that I was confident about everything that I would need to do as part of the fieldwork. At one point, I knew that I needed to prepare myself for having a lot of difficulties during my 'learning' from the informants. I still remembered from my first and second reconnaissance (see Section 5.2.1 and Section 5.2.2) how isolated the village was, and how hard the life was there.

3.5.2.1 Observation

Outside-evaluation is an important part of program quality enhancement. In the field of teaching, outside-evaluation is important as a source of feedback and comments on one's teaching practice. The most important part of outside-evaluation is getting to know the real classroom teaching practices of teachers being evaluated, which is best done through direct observation; hence, it necessitates the presence of observers in one's classroom.

Observation has been widely accepted by social scientists, especially of the field of anthropology, as a good technique for data collection. Observation is particularly relevant if a thick description of a 'culture' is to be attempted. Through observation, both participant and non-participant, one can look at a culture more closely. Indeed, observation is an outstanding instrument in a social science, as it enables the researcher to gather first-hand data. As Duranti (1997: 89 citing Malinowsky 1935, vol.2: 3-4) points out,

> the *observation* of a particular community is not attained from a distant and safe point but by being in the middle of things, that is, by *participating* in as many social events as possible. It is this often difficult but necessary combination of modalities of being with others and observing them that is referred to as *participant-observation,* a building stone of anthropology's contribution to our understanding of human cultures.

However, to be reliable, the use of the observation techniques necessitate the observer doing long-term, repeated observations. In a study of human behaviour, one observation is not enough since subjects often change or modify behaviour as a result of their being conscious of being observed. It is only through long-term, repeated observations that significant data can be obtained as subjects return to behaving naturally.

To be able to experience life as it is in the culture, I spent ten months living in the society. I was very fortunate to be able to stay with an English teacher and even on occasions with several villagers' families. Hence, direct, participant observations were possible.

In classroom research, the presence of an observer in the classroom is important. However, many teachers, both young and experienced ones feel uneasy, stressed, and often annoyed by it. This is due not only to their feeling of being supervised and potentially criticised but also to the effect that an outsider's presence has on the students' behaviour. Indeed, many regard their classrooms as a "private domain" and "what goes on when they close the classroom door is their responsibility and hence their preserve" (Bowen and Marks, 1994: 30). Therefore, some teachers may be reluctant or object to being observed while teaching.

Since being observed during a lesson was something very uncommon for both the teacher and the students in the present study, there was a need to spend a couple of months in the community before really being able to get into the classroom. On the one hand, I needed to be accepted as a member of the community so that I could get access to the classroom life of its members. This required me to find various ways to get as close as possible to them. On the other hand, I needed to maintain my position as an outsider, a total stranger, who had no direct influence on or interference in their classroom culture, especially in the analysis of teaching and learning practices.

For the basis of classroom culture elucidation, fifty-eight observations were made: fifty-two observations were made in English language lessons, three were in Indonesian language lessons, two were in mathematics lessons, and one in a biology lesson. Although the main class taken as the main source of information was class 2B of *SLTP*N 1 Oleo, for the purpose of comparison, six observations were also made in two parallel classes of the two urban schools (three observations at each class). In addition, five observations involved class 3B due to the rearrangement of English teachers after the arrival of two contract-based English teachers who effectively commenced work at the end of September 1999.

3.5.2.2 Interviews

Asking questions, otherwise known as an interview, is one of the common ways of obtaining information for an ethnographic study (Saville-Troike, 1989: 4). An interview is a communicative event in its own right. It has certain characteristics that differentiate it from other types of communicative events such as a conversation, interrogation, and the like. Briggs (1986:2-3) argues that only with significant understanding of "metacommunication" and "the communicative norms" can a productive and efficient interview be conducted. He emphasises that "social roles assumed by interviewer and respondent(s) prove to be of special importance to the success of the interview" (Briggs 1986: 41).

With regard to the situation and the flow of the interview, two types of interview were used in this study, namely structured and unstructured interviews. However, I used unstructured, informal interviews more than structured ones, because I soon realised that a lot of information from structured

and formal interviews was somewhat unreliable, not only due to the presence of the recording apparatus but also due to the setting. Formal, structured interviews, with formal roles of interviewees and interviewer, created a kind of psychological barrier. In such situations, when the topic was related to someone powerful and respected, or to the interviewees, they tended to hide the full truth to avoid releasing negative information, for example, about a teacher. This might be culturally bound – direct criticisms of someone respected, e.g. parents, teachers, the elders, etc. especially in their presence or in formal situations is impolite.

In order to get accurate data, interviews were conducted in various ways. Sometimes subjects were interviewed individually and sometimes in groups. There were interviews which were taped, but there are also some which were not – notes were taken during and after both types of interview. Both formal, taped interviews and informal, unstructured, repeated, and group interviews were considered valuable sources of data in this study. However, it is worth mentioning that informal, unstructured, group interviews were exceptionally successful in minimising both cultural and psychological effects occurring in more formal, structured ones. Thus, the information elicited from these ways of interviewing was more reliable.

3.5.2.3 Questionnaires

Questionnaires consisting of 30 questions (see Appendix C) were distributed to one hundred and thirty respondents, fifty-two (twenty-one boys, thirty-one girls) from *SLTP*N Songgi (urban), forty (twenty-two boys, eighteen girls) from *SLTP*N Kaluku (semi-urban), and thirty-eight (seventeen boys, twenty-one girls) from *SLTP*N 1 Oleo (rural).

Prior to the distribution of the questionnaires, which were written in Indonesian, to the respondents, they were pilot tested at a different SLTP. The pilot test suggested two major issues: the first one was technical, related to the instructions of how the respondents should answer certain questions, where the questions required a respondent to write numbers or give a tick, etc. The pilot test indicated that there was a tendency for the respondents not to read the instructions. The second issue was related to the question wording, i.e. the use of certain terminology such as in question 2: *tatabahasa/struktur,* grammar/structure, or question 19: *penutur asli*, native speaker. In

addition to these issues, participants tended to consider the questionnaire like doing a test and consequently seemed to be under pressure, and often copied answers from their friends. The pilot study suggested that respondents who were to complete the actual questionnaire needed to be guided.

In the first two schools, the questionnaires were answered by respondents in the presence of their English teachers and myself. Despite the pilot testing of the questionnaire and my guidance in its use, a similar pattern of behaviour to the pilot test re-occurred. Most of the respondents did not appear to read the instructions, but rather asked how they should answer the questions. Copying answers from a classmate was still a common practice. They behaved as if they were doing a test, although prior to the distribution of questionnaires, they were informed that they would not be graded for their answers, and so they should answer the questions by themselves. Thus guided support for answering the questionnaire was unsuccessful, and another technique needed to be found.

Since I spent a long time in the rural school, I had the opportunity to guide two or three respondents at a time to fill in the questionnaire. I thought that it would be much better if I guided the respondents to answer questions one at a time. I could also eliminate, or at least reduce, the formality of the setting and the pressure by giving the questionnaire outside the classroom, after school hours, in a more relaxed environment. For these administrations of the questionnaire I read all instructions and questions out-loud as the students also read them. I also let students ask for clarification of anything that was unclear. When we came to a question containing less common terminology such as (non-)native speakers, grammar, etc., and to some technical problems such as whether they needed to answer or skip a question, I gave them a longer time to answer and explained the relevant terminology. In these small group and informal settings, they were not under pressure, and they easily accepted that they did not have to give the same answer to the questions as their classmates.

However, it is important to mention that some of the questions in the questionnaire were related to observable data, in which case the questionnaire was used for data validation. Where there were contradictory findings between the questionnaire and the other instruments, this study relied more upon the data gathered from observation and informal interview techniques. I will point out those contradictions in the results but I will give preference to the more natural data in my analysis. In addition to this specific situation, this study generally relied for its information upon the more informal, yet reliable sources – classroom observations and informal interviews. The data from the questionnaires were less reliable since, as mentioned previously, the respondents had misconceptions

about questionnaires: they tended to consider them as a test instrument; hence the 'best' – most socially acceptable – answers were chosen.

3.5.2.4 Audio and Video Recordings

Several classroom activities were audio- and video recorded, but for the purpose of analysis, only two video-taped lessons, and two audio-taped lessons, all taken in *SLTPN* 1 Oleo, were selected. The main reason for choosing these taped-lessons was they contained items which were complementary to one another in terms of the teaching focus. One of the video-taped lessons focused on speaking and the other one focused on grammar. One of the audio-taped lessons focused on listening and the other one focused on reading. The first video recording was taken on 16 November 1999, and the second was on 12 February 2000. The first audio recording was taped on 5 October 1999, and the second was on Saturday 1 April 2000. These taped activities were used to analyse classroom culture such as teachers' teaching practices and students' learning styles. Being recorded, especially being videoed, was very unusual, not only for remote villagers but even for a lot of people in big cities. A video camera was inevitably a very rare object in this area and the students as well as the teachers were all fascinated by the one I carried around. I had to spend some time answering questions related to the video recorder from the teachers.

In order to obtain the natural behaviours of the subjects I tried to reduce their attention and awareness of the presence of the recording media. I either put a small audio recorder on the teacher's table in front of the class, on the table of a student, or on the table I was sitting at. I started doing this from my first classroom observation, on Tuesday, 14 September 1999. The Audio recorder was less of a distraction, in comparison with the video recorder, after the first few minutes – probably because it was a small recorder (Sony TCM359V) and thus less noticeable. Of course, it took longer for those closer to it to become accustomed to it. Although it was small, it worked well and it could record voices at a normal level in the classroom situation, despite some degree of background noise made by students as well as noise coming from outside. It could record the teacher's voice as well a student's voice asking or answering a question up to eight meters away.

Although I had taken my handy-cam with me to the school and had taken several shots of students activities in the school areas since the beginning of my field work, I did not start to use it in the classroom until the first week of November which was the beginning of the second term of that academic year. I had to wait until then, as there was a one-week school break at the end of October.

Prior to the placement of the video recorder in the classroom, I contacted teachers to discuss the possibility of being in their lesson to just pretend recording student's activities. Because they were not entirely happy with the proposal, I had to convince them that I was not going to actually make any recording, and that I was not going to observe their teaching practices. I understood that they might have felt uneasy at being in such an unusual situation – having someone and something strange in their classroom. Therefore, I explained and showed them how the camera worked and when it was on or off. I had to take a few short shots and play them back to the teachers. I showed them that when the red light under the lens was on, it was recording, if it was off, it was not recording. I used this to convince them that they could therefore see whether I was recording or not. This seemed to work very effectively because none of them refused permission to 'film' their classes, although some of their facial expressions indicated some doubt about my explanation.

The first time I acted like a cameraman in the classroom was on Tuesday, 2 October 1999, but I only pretended to be recording the lesson. I carried the handy-cam around the classroom or just placed it, mounted on a tripod about 9 feet high, in the front or in the back of the class. I did exactly the same thing on 6 different occasions on three different days during the week – in two English language lessons, in two Indonesian language lessons, in a mathematics lesson, and in a Biology lesson.

Because of the uncommon nature of being video-recorded, it took quite a while, definitely longer than the time needed for the audio recording, to eliminate the video camera's distracting effects. However, it was noticeable after several exposures to those unusual settings that the unnaturalness of the students' and teachers' behaviour decreased significantly and eventually they behaved almost naturally.

Of the three true classroom video recordings, two were made in November 1999, on the 13th and 16th, and the other one was made on 12th February 2000. As the span between the first two and the second two recordings was long, I repeated familiarisation of the subjects with the video recording setting in a similar manner to the one done previously. In the actual recording, the camera, mounted on the tripod of about 9 feet high, could cover roughly seventy-five per cent of the class and through a variety of zoom techniques, I could shoot from the back of the class almost all of the classroom, including individual students and groups.

The video recorder was only used to record classroom activities and several outside classroom events; whereas the audio recorder was used to record several interviews as well as classroom lessons.

3.5.2.5 Fieldnotes

Fieldnotes were crucial in this study since every technique of data collection was always complemented with fieldnotes to account for relevant features including people, things, setting, events, and activities which could not be captured by other media. These notes were either written during or after an observation (the latter was chosen only in the case where it was impossible to do the former, and the writing of the notes took place after less than four hours). Brief notes were taken during both untaped and taped interviews. Detailed notes of untaped interviews were made right after an interview. Included in the interview and observation notes were not only accounts of participants, activities, events, and settings, but also my comments about

them and other related things. These comments have played an important part in the data collection, since they also contain some ideas about an observation or interview which might suggest a follow-up interview or observation.

This means that the fieldnotes' function was twofold. As they contained information about observed events as well as interviews, they functioned as a data collection instrument. As they also contained comments, in the form of interpretations of an event by the researcher, they also functioned as a data analysis instrument. To avoid conflating data and interpretation subsequently, in the writing of the fieldnotes the comments were marked OC (for observer's comments).

3.6 Method of Data Analysis

3.6.1 On-going Analysis

In this study, content analysis of the data collected did not require the application of sophisticated instruments. As an ethnographic inquiry into EFL teaching, gathered data were analysed qualitatively, involving interpretation of meanings of observed events and obtained answers in interviews, in order to produce what Gilbert Ryle (in Geertz, 1973: 6) refers to as a "thick description".

A thick description can only be made after living with and, more importantly, living the life of a society. Living life similar to the life of the society under study is very important to ensure appropriate participant observation. Living with the subjects enables an ethnographer to closely observe their way of life. Thus, an ethnographer has the opportunity to experience the actual life of the subject that will, in turn, enable him or her to learn the culture from them. Consequently, a thick description can only be made as part of a longitudinal study.

It should be emphasised here that, in accordance with the process of thick description, the technique of data analysis in this study also includes the procedure of on-going analysis, in the sense that whenever possible information is interpreted, reinterpreted, checked and rechecked in order to understand the meaning revealed by observed and experienced events. This procedure has enabled me to validate my interpretation of the information obtained from informants. This is done not only by way of confirmation from other members of the community, but also by actually acting it out to see whether the owner of the culture perceived or accepted it differently from when it was being done or acted out by another member of the community. This procedure enabled me to come up with specific conclusions about several related ideas underlying particular events.

3.6.2 Pencil and Scissors Technique

Another analysis instrument applied in this study, particularly for interviews and observations, is the "pencil and scissors" technique (Agar, 1980:103).

As fieldnotes were all hand-written using a mixture of the Indonesian and English languages, the first step was to rewrite them in English using a word-processor and saving them on diskettes. The next step was to read the notes a few times and to highlight anything requiring follow-up inquiries: interviews or observations. This was done whenever I went to Kendari. The next step of the analysis was done in Sydney. The complete set of typed notes were read over and classified according to the type of information contained in the notes. The classification started with four general classifications:

informal interviews, formal interviews, school classroom observations, and outside school observations. This was followed by further categorisations, again, on the basis of the types of information such as villagers and their culture, school events, teachers' lives, students' lives, etc. This procedure was followed until a piece of information fitted into a certain category such as the roles of the teacher, teacher beliefs and practices, the role of students, student's beliefs about learning, and so on. In this process, instead of using scissors, the cutting and the pulling of the pieces of information under a category was done using the cut-and-paste technique provided by the word-processor.

For audio-taped interviews, the first step started with the transcription which was done directly using a word-processor. They were played using a tape recorder with counter to allow the identification of utterances in reference to the tape counter. The transcription was followed by a translation. Despite meaning-based orientation, the translation has been kept as close as possible to the original word structure of the source language for the purpose of maintaining sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of an utterance.

Audio- and video-taped classroom lessons were also transcribed. For analysis purposes, both audio- and video-taped lessons were translated into English. The second steps were very similar to the ones in the analysis of the fieldnotes. Transcriptions were read over a few times while certain parts were being marked according to what was said, by whom, to whom, etc. Using cut and paste, notes accompanying the recording of the lessons were pulled from the fieldnotes.

In the analysis of the video recordings of individual lessons, tapes were played several times to grasp both verbal and non-verbal behaviours of the teacher and the class. This was done not only because there were only brief notes accompanying the recordings, but also, and most importantly, because video recordings could capture almost everything happening in those lessons. During the playing of a video-tape, the transcription made previously was also available, so that the necessary markings and notes could be made.

3.6.3 Quantitative Procedures

Since the study also used questionnaires that were used to elicit information from the respondents, the analysis in this study also involved quantitative procedures, i.e., by means of percentage, in order to reflect the English learning experiences of the subjects. This quantitative analysis was not difficult because the answers were graded based on a Likert-scale. The questionnaire was analysed on an item by item basis for all of the respondents answering and percentages were calculated using a simple formula.

3.7 Summary

This chapter begins with an introduction that focuses on the relevance of an ethnographic approach to the present study. It indicates the primary reasons for using an ethnographic approach in this study.

This chapter also provides a brief orientation to ethnography as an approach to the study of human culture. The chapter shows that an ethnographic approach is a prominent approach to the study of a particular community's culture due to its emphasis on the naturalness of setting, first-hand data, and openness.

It also elucidates the important role of the ethnographer as the main data collection instrument. It argues that the ethnographer in this study is in an ideal position, as both a data collection and analysis instrument since, he is neither a total stranger, nor is he a member of the community being studied.

It further presents the research procedure that explains different stages required to get access to the community in this study.

It also elucidates the research methods recommended in an ethnographic study. This part includes the description of the sources of data and techniques of data collection.

This chapter concludes with the presentation of the method of data analysis commonly applied in an ethnographic study.

In sum, this chapter presents the methodology of this study that is based on the theoretical orientation presented in Chapter 2, and at the same time becomes a methodological base for the description and discussion of findings presented in the next three chapters.

CHAPTER 4
THE CONTEXT OF TEFL IN INDONESIA
4.1 Introduction

Due to the increasing popularity of English throughout the world, "The English Language Teaching (ELT) business has become one of the major growth industries around the world in the past thirty years" (Crystal, 1997: 103). This is caused by the fact that the users of the language have been successful in positioning it as the most powerful language in the world, not only as a primary means of communication among people with different linguistic backgrounds, but also as the most popular language of science (see e.g., Ammon, 2001; Kaplan, 2001).

English does not have a special function within Indonesia. It is not a language used by Indonesian people when they communicate among themselves. It is not the national or state language of the country. Although it does not have a special function, English has been chosen as the first foreign language to be learnt as a compulsory subject at Indonesian schools. In an effort to describe the current situation of EFL teaching and learning in Indonesia, this chapter contains major points which are related to linguistic, sociolinguistic, and educational contexts. These points are important in supporting the arguments developed by this thesis. The next section (4.2) examines the language background of Indonesia. Section 4.3 deals with the function of English in Indonesia. Section 4.4 provides general information about education in Indonesia. Section 4.5 specifically deals with English language teaching in Indonesia including a brief history of ELT in the country, teaching methodology, the English Curriculum and textbooks, and the English examination system. Section 4.6 deals with the improvement of the quality of Indonesian ELT, while section 4.7 summarises the whole chapter.

4.2 Language Background in Indonesia

As stated previously, English is not commonly spoken in Indonesia. Daily communication among people of the same ethnic and linguistic background is conducted in their mother tongue. The language of wider communication (LWC) between people of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds is Indonesian, which most Indonesian people have mastered before being exposed to the English language. Therefore, "Indonesian English speakers do not develop norms of their own, but rather are dependent on the existing norms, be they British or American," (Dardjowidjojo, 1996) and this is closely related to the status and function of the language in the country. In Indonesia, as in Japan, English is a foreign language, not a second language as in India, Singapore, or Malaysia.

English will remain a foreign language in Indonesia because it does not have a native English speaking population and because historically, Indonesian has been the *lingua franca* throughout the country for people of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds since the heyday of the Sriwidjaya Kingdom in the 7th century (Alisyahbana, 1976: 32-36). With its selection as the national language in 1928 and with its formal adoption in the founding of the Republic in 1945 – Article 36 of the *UUD 1945* (the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia) says that Indonesian, which was coined in 1928 (Alisyahbana 1976: 32; Dardjowidjojo, 1998; Kaplan and Baldauf, 2002), is the language of the state – it gained a politically powerful position as a unifying force for the multicultural and multilingual people of the nation (Abas, 1987: 23-24; Dardjowidjojo, 1998). The selection of Indonesian as the national language was aimed at uniting different parts of Indonesia which might otherwise have attempted secession from the central government in Jakarta. To implement this policy, in 1948, the Indonesian government established a *Lembaga Bahasa Nasional,* Institute of National Language – its

name was then changed into Centre for Language Development in 1972 – whose primary function is to preserve and develop the Indonesian language as well as the vernaculars (Abas, 1987: 31).

Bahasa Indonesia is not only the national language but also the only language to be used as the means of instruction in education. It is also the language spoken in formal contexts and is the means of communication when dealing with official institutions. Textbooks and written communication use Indonesian. Thus, politically, Indonesia has developed a powerful language: *Bahasa Indonesia* or the Indonesian language. Although the government campaigns for the maintenance of local languages, the National Constitution clearly states that Indonesian is the only official and national language in Indonesia. However, the Indonesian language has not yet totally replaced the regional and cultural functions of local languages.

Since the fall of *Orde Baru*, the New Order regime under Suharto in May 1998, there has been a tendency for the Indonesian language to lose some of its centralising authority. For example, East-Timor, despite speaking Indonesian as LWC finally decided to separate from the Republic of Indonesia and has decided to adopt Portuguese and Tetun as its national languages. The independence movements in Aceh in the northern part of Sumatra, and in West Papua have been increasing in strength. Nevertheless, sociolinguistically speaking, Indonesian has become, and is still, the most powerful language throughout the country. West Papuan tribes, for example, who speak a number of vernaculars, use it as LWC. Similarly, different ethnic groups on Sulawesi, Borneo, and Sumatra use it in inter-ethnic communication.

The emergence of the Indonesian language as the most powerful language across the country cannot be separated from good language planning and policy organised systematically by governmental agencies who carefully monitor the implementation of the plan (Dardjowidjojo, 1998; Tollefson, 1991). Language planning in Indonesia might originally have functioned as a "problem-solving" activity (Rubin, 1983: 4) whose general objectives were "linguistic, semi-linguistic, and extra-linguistic goals (Rubin, 1983: 8), but the result indicates that this agency has been successful in developing the old Malay language to meet modern conditions under a different name: *Bahasa Indonesia.* Due to successful language planning, the Indonesian language has been positioned as the most powerful language in the country.

4.3 Function of English in Indonesia

The English language is considered by many Indonesians as a prestigious language: it is only used on special, mostly important occasions, it is the language of important people, such as business executives, academics, and politicians. It is a language often closely related to important jobs or positions, especially in the private sector. In other words, it is not a language of the common people. As a consequence, if someone is able to communicate in English, s/he is considered a successful person or someone coming from a distinguished family – it is very likely that a person can speak English if s/he has enough money to pay for good English courses because English instruction at schools does not normally enable students to communicate in the language.

> On the other hand, in many parts of Indonesia, English is not used in any form of communication – therefore, mastering it is not necessary to be able to participate in social intercourse. In the field of education, English might be important to some extent, but it is not a gatekeeper in that field. Neither is it a primary requirement to

obtain most (government-related) jobs. It is only a language studied in formal education, and possibly used on very few occasions involving non-Indonesian speaking people. In their real lives, many Indonesian students might think that there is not much need for it either for their education or for their future careers. Despite being a compulsory subject in Indonesian formal education – English is a compulsory subject from junior high school to university levels - this does not seem to strongly motivate students to learn it (Kartasasmita, 1997). In addition, student's motivation to learn English is low because of widespread practice of changing grades, including those for the English subject, to meet the administrative requirements (Alisyahbana, 1990). In these circumstances, as Alisyahbana (1990) further argues, it is not surprising that high school, and even university, graduates' English is very poor.

The need for English may also be affected by the strong position of the Indonesian language which dominates communication in formal settings, even in the presence of non-Indonesian-speaking people. The Indonesian language is the national and state language. It is also the language for instruction in education. It is also the language that is used in the work place.

In short, despite being a prestigious language, English does not yet have the status of a gatekeeper in education and job markets, nor in career promotions because other factors such as ethnic and familial relationships and bribery still play more important roles. Considering this situation, investment by students in English, and more particularly of the ones in the present study, is likely to be very limited, despite the fact that English is a compulsory subject in Indonesian education.

This lack of substantive function for English, which is a language to use when the addressee only speaks English, in addition to the strong position of *Bahasa Indonesia*, contributes to the complexity of the social dimension of motivation in the context of EFL in Indonesia, in general, and in Southeast Sulawesi in particular.

Since the present study focuses on the description and analysis of EFL teaching and learning in Indonesia, it is important to describe the Indonesian education system and its impact on EFL teaching. This is examined in the next section.

4.4 Education in Indonesia

Education is, on the one hand, an agent of change, and, on the other, an agent of control. It is generally believed that education plays an important role in the process of modernisation. Through it, science and technology are evaluated, developed, and passed on to the next generation. Socioculturally, it can also affect internal social status in a lot of communities (Saville-Troike, 1989: 87, Stern, 1983: 424-25). People may be respected due to their high level of education. Good jobs and positions also correlate positively with one's level of education. This indicates how education creates an opportunity for members of a community to improve, not only knowledge, but, as is the case in many societies, their social and economic status. In other words, education is a means to bring about change in a society. It is through education that the government disseminates political and ideological views. On the other hand, education can also be used to resist change. Indonesian authorities, for example, use education as one of the effective means to resist the western concept of democracy and maintain a rather different concept, "*Pancasila democracy*", that is, democracy based solely on the nation's own philosophical and political foundation, the *Pancasila* (etymologically originates from Sanskrit: *panca*, 'five', and *sila*, 'foundation'). A direct way to resist communism in Indonesia has been by including the *Pancasila*, as well as religion, as compulsory subjects in the school curriculum, from elementary to university levels. In the same way, the Indonesian government has successfully spread the Indonesian

language, which is considered to have played an important role in building nationalism and national integrity. This process of language spread has been successful not only due to the fact that the Indonesian language is the only national and official language, but also to its function as the only official medium of instruction and because it is one of the compulsory subjects at all levels of education.

Through education, both positive and negative values can be passed on to younger generations. Children are taught to behave well at school, not to cheat, to respect others, and to be disciplined. At the same time, they may witness negative practices such as corruption, collusion, and unfairness performed by teachers as individuals or by schools as formal institutions. The school environment might also be a place where students develop cheating, collusion or negative forms of cooperation. In exams, for example, cheating working with others is not allowed, but if the supervision system is not effective, e.g., supervisors do not do their jobs well, a cheating culture might develop.

In order to describe what happens in EFL classrooms at junior secondary level, it is crucial to examine the educational context of EFL in Indonesia. Since there are three types of education in Indonesia: informal, formal, and non-formal education , the following three subsections provide an orientation to each of these types of education.

4.4.1 Informal Education

Family and wider society are potential settings where informal education takes place. Traditional communities, like the one under study, pass on a lot of skills through informal education. Female children are able to perform domestic tasks because they learn them at home. There is no formal instruction as such from the adults. The actual learning goes on through direct and participant observation, imitation, and habitualisation. Male children also learn the same way. Farmers and fishermen all learn their skills informally through this method. Skilled labourers such as carpenters, brick-layers, etc. do not attend special training programs. They learn their skills through informal apprenticeships.

Tarimana (1993: 111-113) points out that the main purpose of education in Tolaki families is to cultivate and preserve values that enable children to live and to participate in their society. Education in a family prepares children with skills that they will need as mature persons to look after themselves and the members of their extended families. Education in a family also includes the teaching of certain sociocultural values to the members of the family that enable them to live harmoniously in the family and with other members of the community. In other words, family education encompasses the cultivation and preservation of both material and ethical norms which will enable an individual to survive as a living creature as well as a social being (Wachida, 2001: 105-116).

Another informal source of education in this community is the one relating to religion, i.e., the learning, or more precisely the reading of the Koran which normally takes place in a mosque or in someone's house. Learners learn how to read and recite the Koran under the guidance of an informal teacher who is called a *guru mengaji* (Koran reading teacher). Learning normally occurs in small groups and the setting is informal although learners sit with legs crossed before the teacher. Geertz (1976 cited in Coleman, 1996a) points out that the main method of learning is by rote and the main

objective of the learning is to be able to read and recite the Koran and that the learners are not expected to understand the meaning of what they read, because it is often the case that their teachers are not able to translate the Koran. This was observed in his study of a traditional religious school in Java in late 1950s. Although Geertz' study was conducted almost five decades ago, it is still relevant to today's Koranic learning practices – as explained by Pak Hamzah, who used to be a *guru mengaji* (see Section 5.6.1).

Informal education does not provide all skills and cannot fulfil educational needs important for a child to develop as a human being. Literacy and numeracy, for instance, are generally learned in formal education, the next topic to be discussed.

4.4.2 Formal Education

Indonesia has three levels of formal education: primary or elementary, secondary and tertiary. The primary level requiring six years, takes place at *Sekolah Dasar* (*SD*), 'Primary/Elementary School'. The secondary education also requires six years. This level is further divided into two sub-levels: junior and senior sub-levels. The former sub-level requires three years and is conducted at *Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama* (*SLTP*). Senior secondary education is conducted at *Sekolah Menengah Umum* (*SMU*) and *Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan* (*SMK*). An *SMK* is a vocational school which offers courses in special skill areas. However, it also teaches general courses taught at *SMU*.

Tertiary level of education is commonly known as higher education. Universities, colleges, and other institutes are all higher learning institutions where higher education takes place. Since there are so many higher learning institutions in the country, the majority of the graduates of *SMU*, after completing the lower education level, are able to continue their education at a higher level. Although it is very competitive to get into state universities, there are a lot of private institutions that accept almost any senior high school graduate provided that they are able to pay the tuition fee.

In addition, formal education is not only conducted under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Education, but also under the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The types of schools under the administration of Religious Affairs are *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* (*MI*) that is equal to *SD*, *Madrasah Tsanawiah* (*MTs*) that is equal to *SLTP*, and *Madrasah Aliyah* (*MA*) that is equal to *SMU*s, and *Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Negri* (*STAIN*) – Higher Schools of Islamic Religion – and *Institut Agama Islam Negri* (*IAIN*) – State Institutes for Islamic Religion. As the names imply, these schools are only for Muslim students.

Since this study focuses on *SLTP* students, it is important to understand the massive size of school system. The number of students at this level in Indonesia is given in the following table.

No	Age Groups	Population
1	All ages	210,439,000
2	7-12 (Primary School age)	25,419,000
3	13-15 (Junior High School age)	12,972,000

Table 1: Predicted numbers of Indonesians: population, primary school age, and secondary school age in year 2000 (Boediono and Dhanani, 1998: 70)

Of the total number of junior school age, it is predicted that only about 82% or 10,637,040 will enrol at junior secondary education, i.e., *SLTP*s and *MTs*es – approximately 8,937,708 and 1,699,332 consecutively – in 2000/2001 academic year (Boediono and Dhanani, 1998:70). This suggests that not all children aged 13-15 attend formal education. The rest may, for various reasons, drop out from school but would probably be involved in non-formal education.

4.4.3 Non-formal Education

The first type of non-formal education is called *Kejar (**Kelompok Belajar**,* 'Study Group') *Paket A* (Package A*)*. It was started at the national level in 1984, following the government announcement of its universal primary education policy. *Kejar Paket A*, which sets standards equivalent to elementary school, was a program intended to enable Indonesian people to read and write, a goal which was virtually achieved by the early 1990s (Achmady 1997: 1). I still remember helping old villagers learn to read and write in 1984 when I went to a village for a community service program which was a compulsory program for undergraduate students of most Indonesian universities.

Following the success of Kejar Paket A, the government started another program, in 1994, which was called *Kejar Paket B* (Package B), which is equivalent to standards set for junior high school, and is still going on in many villages. It caters for those unable to attend formal junior high schools. The teaching and learning processes take place at different venues in the afternoon. There are groups that learn under a tutor's guidance in village halls, *SD* classrooms, or in villagers' houses. The learning covers, among other topics, the Indonesian language, English language, and basic mathematics.

The second type of non-formal education is called *SLTP Terbuka* (Open Junior High School). The education system of *SLTP Terbuka* is actually semi-formal. It is non-formal because it is conducted in settings that are different to those for formal education. Although there are meetings with teachers or tutors, interactions are not as formal as in a formal classroom. For instance, neither teachers nor students wear uniforms and communication between teachers and students is less formal. In addition, face-to-face meetings in an *SLTP* Terbuka do not take place as regularly as the ones in a regular *SLTP*. The program also does not have its own building, so meeting places are residentially-based. However, *SLTP* Terbuka students learn all compulsory subjects for the secondary level of education.

The last two programs have been established in line with the government's policy of nine years compulsory basic education.

4.5 English Language Teaching in Indonesia

The need for English increases in line with the development of international communication networks. In this era of globalisation, in which communication with foreign countries is a necessity, it will be very difficult to ignore the language. The necessity to understand it is inevitable if Indonesia is to get access to international communication and development. Consequently, English, as the most widely used international language, has become the most popular foreign language in the country. It is not only taught in formal and non-formal education sectors under the Ministry of Education but also under non-educational ministries (Sadtono, 1997a).

> At both *SLTP* and SMU, English is taught twice a week for one and a half hours each time for a total of three hours a week. At vocational schools and at higher learning institutions, it is given even less time. The vocational school curriculum allocates only one and a half hours a week to it. Similarly, most higher learning institutions allocate about one and a half hours a week for only one or two semesters. Since the issuance of a Presidential Decree No. 28, 1990, English has been allowed to be taught in the primary school. It says that English language can be taught as an optional subject starting from year four of the primary school. This indicates that, in terms of the number of years, the time allocation for English in Indonesia is relatively high. However, in terms of curriculum allocation at each level, it is not sufficient. In other words, the status of English as the major foreign language has multi-directional implications in the sense that " ... although the first foreign language status does make English mandatory for all types of secondary education, it places this language on a lower level of priority" (Dardjowidjojo, 1996: 7).

For the purpose of examining the current EFL teaching and learning situation in Indonesia, it is important to understand the historical background of ELT in the country.

4.5.1 A Brief Historical Account

> English is the most popular foreign language in Indonesia. It is the first and the only obligatory foreign language learned by Indonesian students at schools. It is not only a compulsory course in formal education – at secondary and tertiary levels – but also the most popular foreign language offered by thousands of private language foundations throughout the country. It has been a compulsory subject since the Dutch colonisation of the archipelago started in the late 16th century – only during the occupation by the Japanese during the second world war was English banned (Sadtono, 1997a).

The choice of English as the first foreign language to be taught at schools might be, in the first instance, a consequence of political decision making. For political reasons, at the time Indonesia was fighting the Dutch for its independence, the Indonesian government, in its effort to build strong nationalism and national identity, tried to eliminate Dutch from Indonesian education. However, the more recent growth of English is more likely to be due to the fact that it is the most popular language throughout the world – it is used in most international encounters as the LWC among people of different origins, nationalities, and linguistic backgrounds. Since the early days of independence, the Indonesian government has realised that learning English is beneficial because it enables Indonesia to be involved in international affairs. Therefore, it has received a reasonable amount of attention in Indonesian education since 1945, when it replaced Dutch upon the country's declaration of independence (Alisyahbana, 1976: 33; Alisyahbana 1990; Dardjowidjoyo, 1998).

After Indonesian independence, the Indonesian government's attention to English teaching increased. Textbooks and a syllabus were designed in the 1950s and more English teachers were trained in B1 and B2 programs – special English programs for preparing English teachers. These programs were abolished in 1954 after the establishment of the Higher Institute for Teacher Education (PTPG) in Malang and the Standard Training Course (STC) in Jogyakarta and Bukit Tinggi. In 1958, a project named the 'English Language Development Project' was established with the main responsibility of producing new materials to be used for English instruction at junior and senior high schools. This project was, in 1962, split into three divisions, one coordinating material production, one dealing with testing, and the other dealing with a pilot project. Since 1968, a number of English language-related projects have been instituted which sometimes have created conflicts of interest because two different projects under different directors might deal with very similar issues that result in overlapping activities (Sadtono, 1997a). One of these projects was an English Language Project set up in 1968 by the Ministry of Education with the purpose of addressing the problems of English instruction in schools. The project was concerned with both teacher upgrading and materials development programs (Djojosoekarto, 1973: 17-27 cited in Sadtono, 1997a).

Another national-scheme English language project was started in 1985 a year after the launch of the 1984 Curriculum, which replaced the 1975 Curriculum. It was called *PKG* (*Pemantapan Kerja Guru,* strengthening of the work of teachers). This project was funded by the World Bank and United Nation Development Project (UNDP). In the early stages of the project, it targeted the teachers of senior high schools while the teachers of junior high school began to be involved in late 1980s. Basically, it favoured using the CLT model with an emphasis on the communicative functions of English. According to Tomlinson (1990), who was the consultant for the project, it combines TPR (Total Physical Response) and Krashen's Monitoring techniques. In general, Tomlinson argues that the project had been successful in developing English language teaching and learning quality in Indonesian secondary schools. However, he emphasises that,

> ...the most important factors are the attitudes and personality of the teacher. The teacher most likely to succeed in helping the students to develop communicative competence is the one who is very enthusiastic about teaching English, who believes in whatever method he or she is using, who gains the trust and respect of the students, whose lessons are interesting, and who creates a positive, creative rapport with the students.
>
> Tomlinson (1990: 36)

It can be inferred from this statement that Tomlison believes that the main language learning problem is not related to the methodology being used but to problems of the teacher's personality and professionalism.

4.5.2 ELT Methodology

ELT in Indonesia is believed to have been influenced by at least four major language teaching methodologies (Dardjowidjojo, 1996; Sadtono, 1997a). It is believed to have started with the Traditional or Grammar-Translation Method which was introduced to Indonesian ELT by the Dutch. Later, the Direct Method was used. This was followed by the Audiolingual Method, which was

introduced to Indonesia in the late 1960s. These methods are all based on a structural approach in the sense that language forms are the main focus of learning.

In 1985, the Communicative Approach was introduced to Indonesian ELT by the British Council through the English *PKG* project (Tomlinson, 1990) – hence the name '*PKG*' Approach is popular among Indonesian English language teachers (Pasassung, 1995). This communicative-based approach was then renamed as *Pendekatan Kebermaknaan* (Meaningfulness Approach), together with the launch of the current 1994 English Curriculum. The coinage of the new name for the approach was mainly caused by misinterpretation of the Communicative approach during the *PKG* project as an approach emphasising oral skills (Huda, 1999: 142). This supports the finding of the study by Pasassung *et al.* (1995) which concluded that a lot of teachers thought they were teaching English communicatively, even though they were not.

Mahady *et al.* (1998) reported that the *PKG* project has been developed around several different models. The first one is called *PKG murni* (original *PKG*), which is said to be based on the model originally developed at an early stage of the project. It was run by well-trained instructors who conducted in-service instruction at the training centre, in the capital of the province, and did on-service training in the participants' schools. For the in-service training, the focus was subject content. Participants received instruction from tutors, who were trained in a short course either in Singapore, Australia, or the United Kingdom, on topics and concepts which caused particular difficulties. Under the guidance of these tutors, they analysed curriculum content and, based on this analysis, produced lesson material analysis. Participants also produced lesson plan, and did peer-teaching. After the one-month in-service training, participants were sent back to their school and on-service training began. In this training, each teacher received approximately three visits during the semester from a tutor who observed at least one lesson, provided some feedback, and made a verbal report to the head teacher.

After several cycles, *guru inti* (key teachers) were recruited. They were participants considered to be performing well in the program. They were given further in-service training to produce or revise material analysis and lesson plan under tutors' instructions. This model came to an end after several years – in Southeast Sulawesi it ended in 1993.

The original *PKG* model was followed by S*PKG (Sanggar **PKG**, '*PKG* Workshop')* model which was centred in the District capitals. A group of teachers in a district met to discuss the subject content and lesson plan under the lead of a key teacher. Training models were adopted from the original *PKG* but were less intensive and more informal. Teachers from the same district were expected to have weekly meetings. *KPM (Kursus Pendalaman Materi*, 'subject content courses') was another program commencing in 1990, aimed at improving the quality of *SPKG* through the improvement of instructors' and key teachers' subject content knowledge. The two-week courses for English instructors and key teachers were run by *IKIP* Malang in East Java.

Since the instalment of *PKG* projects, efforts to improve the quality of ELT have been made continuously. In 1993 another program was introduced to replace the *SPKG* model that was considered to have failed to reach teachers in the more isolated schools. It was called *MGMP (**M**usyawarah **G**uru **M**ata **P**elajaran*, 'Subject Teachers' Group Meeting') and was also run by key teachers for teachers in urban schools. In 1994, a special program for teachers in isolated areas was introduced. The program,

which was run by instructors, was called *PKG* model C. Activities in these latter models continued to be similar to the former ones, but the programs were less intensive (Mahady *et al.*, 1998: 2-5, 35-36).

4.5.3 English Curriculum

Generally, it is believed that the curriculum is a critical element in education for it states the aims, the content and the methodology of teaching and learning. As Lawton (1981: 27) points out, "the control of the curriculum is a key feature of any educational system". As a consequence, theoretically, one can expect that what goes on in the classroom reflects the curriculum. However, it is simplistic to assume that what is planned in the curriculum is what the teacher teaches, and is what the learner learns (Nunan, 1991: 7).

In the history of Indonesian education, the curriculum has undergone changes a number of times – in 1950, 1962, 1964, 1969, 1974, 1984, 1994, and 2002. The latest curriculum, which is called "Competence-based Curriculum" will not be the concerned of this thesis due to the fact that the fieldwork was done before the launch of the curriculum which will be implemented in 2004). While the first four changes took place mainly for political reasons and were simply done in a conference in which the Director General of Basic and Secondary Education gave a speech on the basic pattern and organisation of the curriculum to school inspectors, school principals and key personnel in the central office of education (Soedijarto, 1979), the last four curricula were prepared and designed by the Centre for Curriculum Development which was established in 1972.

A new curriculum was launched in 1995 which was revised in 2000. Revised version of the curriculum did not bring about change, since teachers mainly based their teaching on 'package book'. This was evident from classroom activities observed when the researcher revisited of the school in this study at the end of February and beginning of March, 2001. The major difference between this curriculum and the former one lies in the content. In this curriculum, there are subjects which are obligatory for the whole nation and there are subjects which are province or locale specific – the former is called national content and the latter local content. The curriculum allows twenty per cent of the total curriculum time to be devoted to local content. At *SLTP* level, thirteen subjects constitute national content and at least two subjects, of which one is the vernacular of the local community, constitute the local content. Iskandar (1998) also argues that progress made in areas like curriculum development and implementation, the quality of textbooks and teachers' guides, the examination system, the effectiveness of in-service teacher training, and a conducive school and classroom environment has been slow to date. He further argues that the content of the curriculum is heavy and difficult and the emphasis is on the acquisition of knowledge rather than on the development of skills. According to Iskandar (1998: 2-3),

> the content of the current curriculum is heavier than that delivered to children of a comparable age in other countries, either those much admired in the ASEAN region or advanced countries, as revealed by primary evaluation work done by the Curriculum Development Centre in 1997.

In the field of ELT, curriculum revision has also taken place. This is marked by the launch of 1994 Curriculum replacing the 1984 Curriculum. Again, similar to former curricula, it is a centralised one. The new curriculum maintains the primary aim of ELT outlined in the previous one, that is, to

improve students' communicative ability. Substantially, there is no difference between the 1984 and 1994 English Curricula. Both state that English teaching should be directed to the improvement of language skills of the students rather than their linguistic knowledge, and that teaching should be based on the CLT principles with emphasis on reading skills.

Huda (1999: 119, 140) argues that the new curriculum was designed on the basis of careful analysis of students' needs in general, and in particular its relevance and appropriateness to the Indonesian context. On the other hand, Iskandar (1998: 3) argues that the curriculum was designed using 'top-down' rather than 'bottom-up' principles, and thus is "based on perceived requirements for future academic study at the next level" rather than on "existing knowledge and skills, ... children's interests and needs – especially the need to make sense of their surroundings – and ... on the developmental level of the learners." This supports Djiwandono's (1999: 21) assertion that there has been a common impression in the community that "curriculum was something that was typically handed down from above" and that at the implementation level the people implementing it could not say or do anything about it – they just take what they are given and do what they are told. As the new curriculum was claimed to be designed in reference to the newly coined approach: *Pendekatan Kebermaknaan,* 'Meaningfulness Approach', (Huda, 1999), which basically reflected the Communicative Approach (Dardjowidjojo, 1996; Sadtono *et al.* 1997) it is supposed to give more opportunities to teachers to make their own decisions in classroom implementation.

As an element of the National Curriculum, the English curriculum is also designed to meet a political policy goal. This can be inferred from the function of the subject English, as stated in the 1994 English Syllabus for *SLTP* (see Section 4.5.4).

In spite of the claim that the 1994 English Curriculum is communicative and as a result of limited assistance to teachers in understanding the general aims and concepts of CLT, the teachers tend to "remain on safe ground and continue with the traditional and known teaching style with which they are familiar, that is, lecturing", causing worries about teachers' understanding of the curriculum and syllabus (Iskandar, 1997: 3). In other words, it is very likely that teachers are not provided with sufficient, or do not have enough access to, information about the curriculum and syllabus.

4.5.4 The 1994 *SLTP* (Junior High School) English Syllabus

The 1994 *SLTP* English syllabus is a guide for the implementation of the 1994 English Curriculum. It contains detailed information about linguistic concepts, the function and status of English lessons in the National Curriculum, the objectives of English instruction, teaching-learning scope, and general guidelines on the teaching approach. It details the teaching-learning programs of every level and term, theme, language use, language focus, vocabulary lists and skills to be covered. It also provides general instructional objectives for every theme and sub-theme. For instance, the syllabus points out the role of English language subject,

> *as a compulsory subject at SLTP level, English lessons function as a means of individual development in science, technology, and arts. Thus, they can grow up and become intelligent, skilled citizens who maintain Indonesian personality and readily participate in national development programs.*
>
> (Anonym, 1994 Syllabus: 1)

According to the syllabus, *SLTP* graduates are expected to improve their reading, listening, speaking, and writing skills (the order is based on priority) in English in accordance with themes selected based on students' interests. They are also expected to master more or less one thousand English words after three years of learning English at *SLTP*. This suggests that it is designed around the model of a Functional-Notional Syllabus, which was originally developed in English speaking countries. Hence, it brings along with it new, western-oriented values which are not necessarily relevant to a country like Indonesia that is multicultural where, for instance, self-introduction – saying names when shaking hands at the first meeting – and outdoor recreation – e.g., going to the beach – are not common, except for people from metropolitan areas who have access to global communication practices. The inclusion of such themes in the syllabus may confound both Indonesian English teachers and students. Since such phenomena are common in EFL contexts, Whitting (1983) argues that the Functional-Notional approach is imposed on non-western societies, and that this can be interpreted as linguistic/cultural imperialism (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992).

The syllabus also emphasises that, despite the four areas of skills – listening, speaking, reading, and writing – the main focus is the reading ability. In terms of methodology, the syllabus clearly points out that the subject English should be taught communicatively with an emphasis on reading skills, while the teaching of the other three skill areas and language form is directed to the improvement of reading ability. Therefore, in relation to time for learning, from the earliest stages of English learning in Indonesia's formal education, the stress is placed on reading. This is intended to prepare secondary school students to continue their education – to be able to read textbooks and references written in English (Huda 1999: 156).

A very important question is, "how many Indonesian students are there who really need to read English references?" The most likely students who will need English for reading purposes are university students. How many of *SLTP* students will actually reach university level? Even if the majority of secondary education graduates were to continue to university, this does not mean that the majority of them would need English to get into and to graduate from university. Indeed, while English is included in the university entrance tests, there has been no research on how important English is to get into or graduate from this level.

In their survey study of seventy-five students from semester 5 and 6 at the Faculty of Economics, Universitas Brawidjaya in Java, Setijono and Tabiati (1996) found that the majority of the respondents read 3-5 English textbooks each semester and half of the respondents thought that they could graduate from the faculty without learning English. However, these findings may only apply to several big universities in big cities, especially in Java, where students can get access to references written in English, and where teachers may ask students to read English textbooks. The findings of this study may not apply to many universities in Indonesia where English texts and required reading are less common.

As previously stated, the primary focus of ELT in Indonesia is on the development of reading skills to facilitate the transfer of knowledge of science and technology. Other skills, including speaking skills tend to be given less priority, probably as Huda (1999: 103) suspects, because of the previous government's worry that active use of English could endanger the national identity. In other words, the previous government might have considered the wide use of English among Indonesians a potential cause for the decrease in their appreciation of the Indonesian language and culture.

On the other hand, research has shown that teachers, parents, and students have different opinions about the focus of attention in ELT. Using questionnaires, Ahmad and Adlam (1995), surveyed eight universities in Sumatra with a total of 4372 respondents, 356 were university management, 669 were non-English lecturers, 129 were ELT teachers and 3,218 were non-English major students. They found that eighty-seven per cent of the management were in favour of the focus on reading – this reflects the government's policy – while sixty per cent of lecturers opted for reading only, and sixty-nine per cent of ELT teachers were in favour of reading only, and forty-nine per cent of students indicated that they wanted ELT to focus only on reading skills. The rest of the respondents indicated reading skills were important but ELT should not be only aimed at developing reading skills. This suggests that a large proportion of the student respondents wanted the ELT program to include other aspects, in addition to reading skills. This survey found that students' most preferred type of ELT activity is speaking followed by integrated skills, as indicated by thirty per cent and twenty-four per cent of student respondents respectively. Only about thirteen per cent of the student respondents preferred ELT to be a limited reading activity.

Huda's survey in 1990 (cited in Huda, 1999) involved 6056 respondents, who filled out questionnaires, from eight provinces: West Java, Central Java, Yokyakarta, Lampung, South Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, Bali, and West Nusatenggara. In addition, he also interviewed parents, students, and teachers. His study concluded that the majority of students expected to acquire knowledge of grammar and to develop their speaking skills. The teachers, however, as reported by the students, emphasised reading and speaking skills. The parents' expectation was that all language skills – listening, speaking, reading, and writing – would receive equal attention.

The results of these studies suggest that students, teachers, and parents want a change in the objectives of English instruction. "The objective should include both reading and speaking skills" (Huda, 1999; 105) which differs from the government's policy: the emphasis is on reading skills, as stated in the curriculum.

4.5.5 The Examination System

Examinations are commonly used in the educational world to measure students' achievement after a given period of instruction and learning. The English word 'examination' is equivalent to the Indonesian words *ulangan* and *ujian* that basically have similar meaning. However, *ulangan* is only used in primary and secondary education, whereas *ujian* is used in the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of education. However, at the primary and secondary levels of education, the *ujian,* now is rarely used. The invention of *EBTA* (*Evaluasi Belajar Tahap Akhir*, 'Final Examination'), and *EBTANAS* (*Evaluasi Belajar Tahap Akhir National,* 'National Final Learning Evaluation' or 'National Final Exam'), which refer to final examinations administered at the end of these levels of education are the primary evaluation criteria. At the university level, *ujian* is used to refer to both mid-term exams and final exams. It is important to understand that the literal meaning of the terms *ulangan* and *ujian* are 'repetition' and 'test' consecutively. These meanings help explain how Indonesian teachers interpret examinations; how they construct questions and what content is included in the examinations. In other words, an examination functions as a measurement of students' ability to memorise teaching materials

or the testing of what students can remember from what they are taught in the classroom. These understandings of *ujian* or *ulangan* may imply that for Indonesians, 'to learn' means to memorise or *menghapal* (see Section 2.7.1). This is also evident from what teachers included in their quizzes and tests. For example, it was observed that they copied texts and question items from the textbook they used in teaching.

At the primary and secondary levels of education, *ulangan* is used to refer to both formative and summative tests. In addition to formative and summative tests, a teacher is also required to administer several *ulangan harian* which are equivalent to small quizzes. The questions for these three types of tests are designed by individual teachers. Since the introduction of multiple-choice type tests into the Indonesian examination system in the late 1970s, teachers have been encouraged to design their formative and summative tests according to this format, in spite of continuous disputes about its use/appropriateness. Indeed, for a large country like Indonesia, the multiple-choice format has several advantages such as ease, speed, and objectivity of marking. However, recent research indicates that these tests only test and value recognition skills, and students are not able to write a short, simple, and coherent passage. With this mind, many of the students could not be classified as literate after four years of primary schooling (Iskandar, 1998: 11-12).

In 1985, *EBTANAS* was introduced into the examination system, following the implementation of 1984 Curriculum. Since then, the teacher-based *ujian* has been rarely used because it has been replaced by *EBTANAS* and *EBTA*. Since Indonesia's lower education has the system of 6-3-3, i.e., 6 years of primary school, three years of junior high school, and 3 years of senior high school, *EBTANAS* and *EBTA* are both administered at the end of those periods. At junior and senior high schools, *EBTANAS* includes only Basic Science Units, English, Indonesian, *Pancasila and Civics*, and Social sciences. Other subjects are classified as *EBTA* subjects.

As the name implies, examination questions for *EBTANAS* are developed for the whole country. In the process of the examination preparation, selected teachers are invited to provide questions which are then collected, analysed and compiled. There are common complaints among teachers and students, especially from remote areas, that *EBTANAS* items are very difficult. In 1994, when the supervision of *EBTA/EBTANAS* was very strict in the Province of Southeast Sulawesi, a number of remote schools gained a bad reputation because only a few of their students achieved good scores. A lot of the school communities' members criticised the supervision system and this led to the replacement of the Head of the Regional Office of the Department of Education and Culture who was held to be responsible for the implementation of the strict supervision. This strongly suggests that an effort to increase the quality of education through the assurance of effective examination supervision may not necessarily be appreciated, as it may be seen as an effort to fail students.

EBTANAS result – known nationally as *NEM* (*Nilai Ebtanas Murni*, 'Original *Ebtanas* Scores') – are used on the one hand, as a determining factor in the decision of the success or the failure of the test taker and on the other, as the standard instrument for the measurement of national education success. As a consequence, teachers have been very worried about the *EBTANAS*. In the last few years, disputes have increased about the implementation of a nation-wide exam at the end of the primary and secondary levels of education. Prudentia, in *Kompas*, 5 June 2000, one of the leading daily newspapers

in Indonesia, argues that *EBTANAS* is no longer necessary. According to her, apart from the problem of administration, its substantial function is questionable because it is not used as a measurement for admission to further education. According to her, as long as every school conducts its teaching and learning on the basis of the national curriculum, *EBTANAS* is not necessary. In addition, there is no guarantee that the scores of students are actually 'original', despite *NEM* implying 'original', because the answers are checked manually and the scores can be modified. Moreover, the effectiveness of exam supervision is also questionable. Nasution, once the rector of the Institut Pertanian Bogor, one of the four leading higher education institutions in Indonesia, raised his concerns in *Gatra*, 30 June 2001 – an executive tabloid that contains topics about politics, economics, education, and culture – about ineffectiveness of *EBTANAS* as a means of learning achievement evaluation. He argues that it does not measure students' learning improvement which they achieve as part of their learning process. Although he believes that *EBTANAS* must be eliminated from the Indonesian education system, he suggests it is necessary to wait until teachers are capable of performing their duties properly, including being able to design tests which can discriminate between students' levels of achievement. "At the moment, teachers are taken in by the idea that everything from the centre (read: Jakarta) is the best" (Nasution, 2001: 86). Since 2001, *EBTANAS* has been abolished from the primary education level, but is still implemented at the secondary level of education. Favourite public senior high school still base their admission system on *EBTANAS* grades.

Exam questions for *EBTA,*'Final Exam'*,* are made by individual teachers and are used only at individual schools. The form of the test questions of *EBTA* subjects is similar to that of *EBTANAS*, that is, mainly multiple choice. However, when Habibie became the President of Indonesia in 1998, replacing Soeharto who finally resigned, he strongly suggested that examination tests should also include essay questions. Since then, *EBTANAS* and *EBTA* have contained several essay questions.

The assessment system which has focused primarily on multiple-choice testing has also forced teachers to focus on the teaching of content rather than on the development of skills (Iskandar, 1998: 5; Sadtono, 1997a). In addition, this content-focus is partly the result of the government's prescription of the English textbook, which will be examined in the next sub-section.

4.5.6 Year 2 *SLTP'S* English Textbook

The importance of textbooks for the success of school subject instruction has long been realised, but extensive investigations of textbooks are still rare. In the field of ELT, in 1929 Baker studied the development of an "elementary English language textbook" in the USA and in 1969 Glinz studied sentence elements in Germany (cited in Johnsen, 1993). In more recent studies, a number of analyses have been made to evaluate the quality of English textbooks (e.g., Cunningsworth, 1995; Skierso, 1991).

Different approaches such as checklists, questionnaires, and guidelines are used to assess textbook quality. Breen and Candlin (1987) propose thirty-five questions for the teacher to use as guidelines to evaluate textbooks – related to the aim of their materials, their appropriateness, and their utility. Littlejohn and Windeatt (1989) emphasise that textbook evaluation takes into account general or subject knowledge of the material, views on the nature of knowledge acquisition, views on the nature

of language learning, role relations implicit in the materials, opportunities for the development of cognitive ability, the values and attitudes inherent in the materials.

The literature on textbook analyses suggests that an assessment should be made of both the external and internal parts of a textbook in order to analyse whether a textbook is relevant for one's teaching situation. The external parts include, for instance, general information about the book such as the date of publication and publisher, the introduction, table of contents and the number of pages, as well as the cover. Evaluation of the internal parts include, for example, topics, exercises or tasks, visual materials, types of texts (authenticity) and cultural aspects.

Unfortunately, a lot of teachers of foreign languages do not have either the time nor the capability, or even the authority to go beyond the evaluation of content of the textbooks they use. In many EFL contexts, not only are teachers unable to evaluate the textbooks they use, but also there are not enough textbooks to choose from. If there are possible alternatives, they may not have the authority to make their own choices due to national language and education policies. This is particularly the case in the Indonesian EFL context where the scarcity of textbooks is still a major problem and the use of textbooks is under government supervision.

Before examining the English textbook currently used at *SLTP* in Indonesia, it is important to point out that in this thesis, the notion of textbook refers specifically *to Buku Paket*, 'Package textbooks', provided by the government for use as the main instrument in the teaching-learning of school subjects.

The government of Indonesia has taken into account the importance of textbook provision for education quality enhancement since 1968 (Kartono, 1978; Iskandar, 1998: 7). Since then, an increasing number of books have been printed to fill the national need for primary and secondary school textbooks. Despite the establishment of special projects in textbook production in 1973, 1988, and 1995 involving the World Bank (Iskandar, 1998: 6-7), the number of textbooks and the distribution of them have never met national demand. The scarcity of textbooks is still a major problem in Indonesia (Iskandar, 1998: 7; Sadtono *et al.*, 1997).

More recently, another project on textbooks commenced in 1996/1997, and was expected to be completed in the 1999/2000 fiscal year. The Indonesian government, through *Proyek Pengembangan Buku dan Minat Baca*, 'Improvement of Book and Reading Interest Project', provides free textbooks for certain subjects including English for all schools in the country. It was expected that with the completion of the project every school would have received sufficient textbooks for the number of students taught. But, after the project, teachers still complained about the lack of textbooks. Meanwhile, teachers were not allowed to use textbooks other than the ones produced by the government. The English textbook currently in use is theme-based and was written based on the new English Syllabus by a team of seven and published in 1996. Unfortunately, none of the teachers taking part in the study owned teachers' books; hence they had to rely for their teaching on students' books.

Iskandar (1998: 6-9) is critical of the fact that the contribution of textbooks to the quality improvement of education at primary and secondary education is still inadequate due not only to the low quality and insufficient quantity of the textbooks but also to difficulties in production and distribution. This condition, he argues, is even worse due to the absence of teachers' books which have

a crucial role in classroom implementation since teachers' books are supposed to incorporate guide lines for the completion of relevant activities in the students' books. This is true, especially if teachers – like the ones in this study – do not have sufficient time for lesson preparation and have inadequate English proficiency. Consequently, without teacher's books as a guide, teachers may not be able to present their teaching materials as effectively as expected and students, in turn, can not improve their learning as much as expected. Furthermore, the sole use of prescribed texts means that both teachers and students are not given other choices of resources. Even if the text was not imposed, in many parts of the country, access to alternative resources would still be a serious problem due to the scarcity of alternative textbooks (they are hard to obtain) as well as to economic problems (they are too costly to buy).

The imposition of the textbook – to be used as the primary source of instruction – is indicated in the foreword of the current *SLTP* textbook which is officially signed by the General Director for Elementary and Secondary Education,

> *The [text]book must be used at school as the primary teaching book in the teaching learning process, for student assignments, and for examination. Any schools/teachers are not allowed under any circumstances to use any other [text]books as the primary source books, other than the one provided by the government. ... The use of the [text]book will be always monitored and evaluated.*
> (Pudyatmoko *et al*., 1996: iii)

This directive could be one of the main reasons that textbooks are used excessively and every single item in the text is followed exactly in the same order as it is presented in the book. This is contrary to the principle underlying the current English curriculum which gives more opportunities to the teacher to make their own decisions in classroom implementation. The prescription of the textbook limits teachers' freedom and independence, especially because of the statement in the foreword. It suggests that teachers or schools that disobey can be penalised severely; hence their teaching proceeds exactly according to its contents. An alternative explanation for requiring strict textbook use might be that the government is not confident of teachers' English and teaching skills, and therefore has put a very directive program in place. Indeed, for several years now teachers can use, as supplementary books, books produced by private publishers, but these books should follow the national curriculum and obtain license from the Department of Education. In reality, remote schools use the "package textbooks" because they are more easily to be found in the market and are often cheaper than books produced by private publishers.

There is no general consensus on evaluation criteria for textbooks and teaching media. One possible way is to analyse textbooks with regard to "ideology in the textbooks, the use of the textbooks, and the development of the textbooks" (Johnsen, 1993: 28). Ideology is concerned with the philosophical concepts underlying the selection of the content or information, use is concerned with textbook function as the main teaching-learning instrument, and development is concerned with the process of textbook writing, production, and dissemination processes. Another criterion that is used to analyse an English language course book is the authenticity of its texts.

The following account of the textbook is not intended as an analysis, rather it provides a brief description of it. A more critical analysis of the textbook would require a more serious and systematic

study. Thus, the three underlying principles just listed are not dealt with individually nor in detail. Rather, the present description only accounts for paper quality, the physical appearance, the presentation, and the general content of the textbook.

4.5.6.1 Physical quality and Availability

The quality of binding and paper of a textbook is very important especially when it is used over and over by a number of different students. The current textbooks use low-quality paper – porous, recycled paper – and are produced as a paperback. It is not uncommon to find textbooks in very bad condition, without covers and with some pages missing. They are actually worn out but are still used as there are no other alternatives. The physical quality of the textbooks is thus very poor. Poor binding and paper quality cause the books to be damaged easily as they are used over and over by different students.

In addition to the physical quality, the physical appearance of the textbook needs to be described because it an important aspect of the general quality of textbooks. Only the front cover of the current English textbook is in colour. The rest is in black and white. It contains a number of black and white, hand drawn pictures. Not only are the pictures in black and white, but most are small in size (see Appendix H). The physical appearance is even worse due to poor printing quality because of the porous paper used. In brief, the textbooks are best described as being in black and white with the simplest layout.

As stated previously, the number of textbooks available is far less than the number of students. In schools visited, the number of English textbooks was equal to about half of the class, and the same books were used by other classes at the same level. Thus, a book moves from one student to another two or three times in a single day. Despite government efforts and commitment to increase the quality of education through free textbook provision, the lack of funds and the vast number of students are two interrelated phenomena that cause the vast shortage of texts. This is supported by the study conducted by Sadtono *et al.* (1997), who reported that one of the teachers' major complaints was textbook insufficiency. If in year 2000 the number of *SLTP* students was 8,937,708 (Boediono and Dhanani, 1998: 70) and the cost of producing an English textbook was Rp.10 thousand or about A$1.80, per copy, the government would need to expend almost 90 billion rupiahs or more than A$1,6 millions. Even given the fact that all the books do not have to be replaced in one year, the government of Indonesia, especially in the current economic crisis, is not likely to be able to provide such a large sum of money for one text.

4.5.6.2 Activities and Tasks

Activities are related to the four major skills – reading, listening, speaking, and writing – and structure. The reading texts in almost all subunits, have a picture drawn after the text title. Several tasks related to listening, writing and vocabulary also include pictures. The purpose for including pictures at the beginning of a reading section seems to be to provide some general information about a given topic. In listening, writing, and vocabulary exercises, pictures are used to enable students to relate meaning to reality instead of having to rely on translation. In the classroom context, as observed in this study (see Section 7.6.3.2), teachers did not use the pictures as prompts as much as they should have, whereas those pictures were included as an integral part of the activity. This was particularly true for the teaching of reading and listening skills because sometimes

they skipped the listening parts. Consequently, an observer might think that pictures are included only for entertainment purposes or for assisting students' own recognition rather than as parts of the teaching materials.

Table 2 summarises Unit 1 and provides examples of the activities and tasks covered by the textbook. This summary provides an example that illustrates the content and presentation of the textbook (the complete presentation of the first Sub-unit of Unit 1 is included as Appendix H).

Unit/ Theme	Sub-unit / sub-theme	Skill/Language focus/Activity	Task
1 Sports	Sport Equip-ment	A. Reading: To read a text entitled "Badminton" and do 3 exercises related to it	1. Answer comprehension question. 2. State true or false. 3. State what are in the pictures.
		B: Listening: To listen to the teacher	4. Listen to your teacher then choose the suitable picture based on the answer of (*sic*) the teacher's questions.
		C. Speaking: To read a dialog, answer questions related to it and compose a dialogue	5. Answer the question based on the dialogue. 6. Work in groups of four to make a dialogue based on the table below.
		D. Writing: To write a two-sentence dialogue	7. Write a two-sentence dialogue; questions are from A-J and the answer from 1-10.
		E. Language focus (Future Tense) To study the patterns (+), (-), and (?) sentences in the future tense	8. Put the verbs in brackets in the right forms (based on the example).
	Kinds of Sports	A: Reading: To read a text entitled "Sports" and do two tasks related to it	1. Answer comprehension question. 2. Insert missing words into the text
		B: Listening: To listen to the teacher	3. Listen to your teacher, then answer the questions by giving a tick on the right columns.
		C: Speaking: To read a dialogue, answer questions related to it and complete question-answer dialogues	4. Answer the question based on the dialogue. 5. Complete the questions-answers below with your own words.
		D: Writing: To write a composition	6. Write a short composition. The following questions may help you. Do this with your partner. 7. Write the suitable words under the pictures given.
		E. Language focus (Degree of comparison): To study sentences expressing degrees of comparison	8. Make three sentences of each number below using degrees of comparison.
	Athletes	A. Reading: To read a dialogue text, and do 4 tasks related to it	1. Answer the questions 2. State true or false 3. Match the words in column A with the right ones in B 4. Complete the words in the boxes with the suitable letters according to the statements given
		B. Listening: To listen to the teacher	5. Listen to your teacher, then complete the paragraph based on your teacher's text
		C. Speaking: To read a dialogue, answer questions related to it, and complete a dialogue	6. Answer the questions based on the dialogue 7. Work in pairs to complete the dialogue with your own words
		D. Writing: To identify and label pictures, and write questions and answers using provided words	8. Fill in the blanks under the pictures with suitable words in the box 9. Make questions and answers using the words given

Table 2: Summary of Unit 1 of the "English textbook" for the Second year of S*LTP*.

In the textbook, fifteen reading materials are presented in the form of plain or narrative texts, and fifteen are in conversational or dialogue texts. Both types are usually followed by similar types of exercises. The presentation of reading skill areas and grammatical aspects of every sub-unit follows almost similar steps. Reading materials are presented less variably: Read the text or study the dialogue carefully, the title, a black-and-white, hand-drawn picture, and the text. These are followed by two or three tasks mostly concerned with general comprehension by the reader and vocabulary exercises. This is indicated by such instructions as 'Answer the questions based on the text above', 'State true or false', and 'Find the meaning of these words', 'Write the suitable numbers beside the words based on the pictures', or 'Insert missing words'.

Listening tasks are presented more variably: choosing a picture, filling in tables, and filling in missing words. The inclusion of listening exercises is aimed at improving students' listening comprehension by listening to spoken language. Unfortunately, because of the inavailability of teacher's books, the teachers' lack of preparation, as well as the teachers' poor English proficiency, the text materials are inadequate by themselves for achieving this purpose.

The speaking sections of the sub-units are also similar. They normally start with a conversational text which requires students to read it and then answer the questions following it. The purpose of the first exercise of this section is similar to that of the reading sections, that is, to test students' comprehension of the text. This suggests that there is a tendency to place more emphasis on the comprehension of the dialogue than on the improvement of students' ability to engage in real spoken communication, which is the main purpose of teaching speaking. Although the speaking sections also require students either to complete a dialogue based on expressions provided or to arrange random expressions into a dialogue, no speaking tasks related to small-group presentations of students' real experiences are suggested or given.

Writing sections are presented more variably. Some writing tasks require students to match pictures and sentences, to fill in tables, or to write a guided composition. These all are intended to improve students' ability to write simple compositions. However, there are no suggestions that in a particular exercise students are expected to write a description, process, or an exposition. In addition, there are several writing exercises which are better classified as vocabulary exercises and several others are more appropriately classified as recognising language forms. There is no writing task which is related to free composition, nor are there ones related to students factual experience.

The last section of a unit serves a similar function throughout the book. It starts with the presentation of sentences containing a particular language focus that is followed by the formula of the sentence patterns, and an exercise or two on that pattern. This is reminiscent of the audio-lingual method. The purpose of presenting sentences containing a particular pattern before the completion of exercises is intended to enable students to discover the sentence pattern for themselves rather than being told by the teacher. Students are required to study and observe the sentences, but the self-discovery technique that this procedure intends to promote can only be successful if students are given opportunities to work out the pattern of the sentences provided by the formula for themselves through discussions or brainstorming. However, because there is the simultaneous presentation of the sentences and the formula and the absence of instructions related to brainstorming and discussion, the purpose of

promoting the self-inventory method is not likely to be achieved. The tasks following the formula are aimed at providing opportunities for students to implement and, at the same time, to test their understanding of the pattern.

4.5.6.3 Content

In terms of the material presented, the English textbook currently used presents teaching materials thematically. Every unit comprises three sub-topics. Since there are nine units, three units are expected to be covered in a caturwulan, 'a four-month term'. After every three units, there is a unifying unit for the topic functioning as a review or summary of the preceding three units. The first summary consists of three exercises, all on reading comprehension. The second one also consists of three exercises: a reading, a speaking, and a writing exercise. The third review unit consists of five exercises: three reading comprehension exercises, a vocabulary exercise, and a speaking exercise.

A unit is further divided into either two or three sub-units and a sub-unit is divided into five sections – only two units, seven and nine, have two sub-units. Section A always focuses on reading, B on listening, C on speaking, D on writing, and E has a language focus. In total, there are twenty-five sub-units or one hundred and twenty-five sections. Each sub-unit covers between five to nine tasks – the majority of them cover eight tasks. The nine units can be summarised as follows:

Unit	Sub-unit	Focus and No. of Task				
		Reading	Listening	Speaking	Writing	Language form
1 Sports	1. Sports Equipment	3	1	2	1	1
	2. Kinds of Sports	3	1	2	2	1
	3. Athletes	2	1	3	2	-
2 Health	1. Our Body	3	1	2	1	1
	2. Medicine and Diseases	3	1	2	1	1
	3. In the Hospital	3	1	2	2	1
3 Clothes	1. Kinds of Clothes	3	1	2	1	-
	2. Making Clothes	2	1	2	1	-
	3. Fabrics	2	1	2	-	-
Review		3	-	-	-	-
4 Recreat-ion	1. At the Beach	3	1	2	2	-
	2. At the Zoo	2	1	2	1	1
	3. At the Mountain	3	1	2	1	1
5 City and Village Life	1. Living	2	1	2	1	1
	2. Transportation	1	1	2	1	1
	3. Society	3	1	2	1	-
6 Public Service	1. Hotel	3	1	2	1	1
	2. Post Office	3	1	2	1	1
	3. Bank	1	1	2	1	1
Review		1	-	1	1	
7 Animals	1. Pets and Cattle	2	1	1	2	1
	2. Protected Animals	3	1	2	2	-
8 Entertain-ment	1. Dances	2	1	2	2	1
	2. Films and Plays	3	1	1	1	1
	3. Music	2	1	2	1	2
9 Geography of Indonesia	1. Geographical Features	2	1	2	1	1
	2. Natural Resources	4	1	2	1	-
R e v i e w		3		1	1	-
T o t a l		63 (34.5%)	25 (13.5%)	48 (25.5%)	34 (18.38%)	15 (8.12%)

Table 3: Summary of the Content and Distribution of Tasks in the English Textbook for Year 2 of *SLTP*.

Table 3 shows that reading tasks are given the most emphasis, and this is due to the curricular objectives that emphasise the improvement of reading ability. It also shows that the number of speaking tasks is much greater than that of listening which are supposed to be of higher priority.

Furthermore, if we look at the reading tasks, there seems to be a tendency that they are directed to the general comprehension of a text, rather than equipping students with the skills that they need to develop in order to be efficient readers. For example, there are no exercises that specifically train students to predict, to guess, or to skim and scan a text. All the exercises seem to focus on a range of different types of skills which students need to understand the information in a text, i.e. a content vs. skills orientation.

The book does not specifically have a section about vocabulary although there are several tasks which are concerned with vocabulary. For example, in Unit 1, Task 3 of Sub-unit 1 in the reading section, Task 7 of Sub-unit 2 in the writing section, and Task 8 of Sub-unit 3 in the writing section, are all vocabulary exercises. However, words intended to be taught as part of vocabulary do not re-occur and are not sufficiently followed up by teachers in subsequent lessons. In the last three pages of the textbook there is a list of English words with their Indonesian equivalents. The list of vocabulary contains the words that a student is expected to master on completing the book.

The reading texts are presented in the form of dialogues and passages, but only one is authentic material. As a consequence, the language employed often sounds unnatural and strange, especially because it is written by non-native speakers. For example, this sentence was part of a reading text: *She gave "jamu" to her son, then her son became well, Mrs. Wijaya knew "jamu" from her mother.* In a task on speaking, a doctor opened a conversation with a patient with *"What's your trouble?"* (Would be felt more natural if the sentence writes, *She gave her son some "jamu" which made him recovered*; *What's your problem*? (A doctor is unlikely to open a conversation with a patient with this utterance). In addition, the passages also contain words which are rarely used in students' daily life.

Most of the topics included are too general, and do not directly relate to students' everyday life. Unit 1, for example, is about sports. It starts with a reading passage on badminton, which is an expensive sport, and thus only certain people play it. Although it is a popular sport in Indonesia, it is not because many people play it, rather because Indonesia has famous badminton players. As a very expensive sport for most Indonesian people, only a small number of students may play badminton, let alone tennis, and golf. Most students and teachers in the village probably have never touched, and probably will never touch a racket, nor a shuttlecock.

Unit 4 is about 'Recreation', something that village students, as well as urban ones, are not familiar with, especially recreation on the beach. It would be better to talk about scout camping than recreation, or for village students to talk about the life of a farmer's or a fisherman's family which can present real events that village students experience.

In unit 6, about 'Public Service', a reading text is about 'In the Hotel', which also includes some city entertainment and eating-out. For most Indonesian students, this topic is unfamiliar. Village students would hardly know what a hotel and a dancing centre are like. Even most teachers probably do not know much about hotel activities. As observed in the teaching of this unit, the teacher could not answer a student's question about what one of the people in the picture preceding the text was doing because the teacher did not know that the man was cleaning using a vacuum cleaner, something that is very rarely found in Indonesian families. The teacher himself had never seen such a thing in his life, so he appealed to me to help him explain it. This is not to say that students should not be exposed to more general topics. The point is that the topic presentation needs to start with events which students are familiar with or commonly experience. This can then be followed by more general topics which they may need for their future life. Topics also need more detailed explanation (in teachers' manual) so teachers can use the text to its fullest.

These are only examples of topics which can cause students to become bored and which can unnecessarily lead to an increased level of content difficulty. Such materials distract from teaching English as the teacher has to spend time explaining and translating them into Indonesian. In addition, the books can become boring because the presentation of activities and materials in every unit always follows a similar order without any attempt to provide variation, for instance, introducing activities involving songs and games.

Furthermore, looking at the tasks presented in the textbook, the writers seem to pay very little attention to 'language as a process'. This is clearly indicated by the nature of the tasks. For instance, as previously mentioned, reading and speaking tasks mostly ask students to answer content-based questions, and never include activities which require students to predict or to rewrite a reading passage in their own words. There are no activities requiring students to discuss or express opinions in small groups, neither are there any tasks requiring students to tell or to write a passage about their own experiences or factual life. This means that familiarity is not the only criterion a good textbook needs to fulfil, but also the process because language learning is not only about 'content' but also about 'process'.

Government textbooks need a thorough revision of both content and the activities, to ensure their maximal contribution to the improvement of the teaching-learning process. In addition to these two aspects, another important aspect to be born in mind by textbook writers, is "vertical and horizontal integration" in the sense that the content of a textbook should reinforce and apply similar content of textbooks of other subjects in the same level (Iskandar, 1998: 5). This suggests that English textbook writers should consult other subject textbook writers to get relevant input for their material design.

4.6 Quality Improvement

As Indicated throughout Section 4.5, efforts have been made to improve the quality of ELT in Indonesia in various ways. Another effort worth mentioning is a Teacher Quality Improvement Project that commenced in 1997. The Project included the recruitment of contract-based teachers and the provision of scholarships for *SLTP* teachers, who have not got a *S-1 (Sarjana*, 'bachelor') degree, to attend undergraduate education at assigned universities. (At the time I completed the fieldwork, there

were about thirty English language teachers who had been sponsored to continue their *S-1* education at *Universitas Haluoleo*, the only public university in Southeast Sulawesi province). A Contract-based teacher should hold a *S-1* degree or Diploma, and agree to be placed at a remote *SLTP*, which lacks English language teachers, for a year – the posting is an annual-based, renewable contract.

The overall aim of the project as outlined in the project guidelines produced by the Directorate General of Primary and Secondary Education was to improve the quality of teaching and learning processes, especially in remote areas which suffered a lack of teachers and facilities. English teaching quality improvement, together with mathematics and natural sciences, was the first priority of this project. However, at the implementation stage, several problems emerged, including the recruitment process, placement, and the payment of both contracted and sponsored teachers. How effective the program will be, especially, the improvement of permanent teachers' education through *S-1* degree, is still questionable. As one of the informants in this study, who was an output of the program, asserted, "*going back to university is good, our academic status improves, but the program seemed to give little help. It did not really address enough practical issues which we teachers encounter in our teaching*". This strongly suggests that continuous, on-going evaluation of hosting institutions' program implementation is urgently needed if the aim is to be actually achieved.

Concern about the need to improve the quality of ELT in Indonesia also came from academics. This concern was reflected in the establishment of the TEFLIN (Teaching English as a Foreign Language in Indonesia) organisation in 1976, six years after the first meeting was called, under the initiative of *IKIP* (Institute of Education and Teacher Training) Yogyakarta (Sadtono, 1997a). The purpose of the establishment of this organisation was once questioned by the government because it was accused of undermining *PGRI* (the government approved Teacher's Union). The main activities of this organisation are annual conferences and seminars. As an organisation, TEFLIN has been successful, because it can conduct two or three annual seminars in different regions and an annual conference, which is attended not only by Indonesian English teachers but also by native speaker English experts, and it publishes an annual *TEFLIN Journal*. The extent to which seminar proceedings and articles contribute to the improvement of secondary school TEFL practices in Indonesia is still questionable due to at least three factors. First, most of the topics presented are based on university cases – probably due to the lack of secondary school English teachers who participate, let alone present a paper, in TEFLIN seminars and conferences. Second, very few, if any, of the journal's contributors are English teachers from secondary schools. Third, there might be very few, if any, secondary English teachers who read TEFLIN journals. Finally, there is a matter of impact; as a non-government organisation, TEFLIN does not have the political authority to induce change.

4.7 Summary

This chapter begins with a description of the linguistic situation in Indonesia to provide a sociolinguistic context for EFL. It presents a brief orientation to language planning, language use, the strong position of *Bahasa Indonesia* and the function of English in the country.

It also describes very briefly the history of English language teaching in Indonesia. As a former Dutch colony, Dutch used to be the most pertinent foreign language in the country during Dutch occupation, but English was one of the foreign languages taught at school, as well. Since independence,

English has become the major foreign language taught at school and has been the only foreign language compulsory in the Indonesian education system.

The brief account of ELT history in Indonesia indicates that efforts to improve Indonesia's ELT quality have been made since its independence. Under the assistance of the World Bank and UNDP, training programs, textbook provision, and curriculum development were conducted. As early as 1968 a project was set up by the Ministry of Education to address the problems of English instruction at school.

EFL teaching methodology in Indonesia is said to have moved on the basis of the international movement in the field. Many believe (e.g., Dardjowidjojo, 1996; Riasa, 1992; Sadtono, 1997a; Samsuri, 1983) that it started with the so-called Traditional Method, which was introduced into Indonesian language teaching by the Dutch, followed by the Direct Method, the Audiolingual Method, and finally by CLT. However, how much of this is true in terms of classroom implementation still requires systematic research (Sadtono, 1995b). It is argued that the expected impact of methodological change has not occurred despite a lot of efforts that have been made. It seems that current methodological trends require Indonesian English teachers to be more proficient in English and continuously improve their professionalism especially in the field of teaching skills including their classroom management ability. The adoption of international trends in teaching methodology may not be helpful without the improvement of the pfofessional quality of the teachers.

This chapter also briefly describes the English Examination system, and indicates that there are several types of examination, of which one is the National Final Exam or *EBTANAS*. The latest issues on the national exam are also presented to indicate that the system is not working as well as expected, and that teaching practice is also influenced negatively by the examination system. This indicates that the examination system contributes to the persistence of former teaching practices.

Curricular reform is also described to suggest that at higher levels, changes have been initiated. It is indicated that curricular changes are imposed by the central government, and that sufficient assistance is not provided to the actual implementing agent, the teacher. The current curriculum, it is argued, puts more emphasis on content than on skill, and the content is too difficult (or too 'foreign') for many students and teachers. This suggests that curricular reform is still based on a top-down approach, even though Huda (1999: 119) claims that the current English Curriculum was designed using the principles of a bottom-up approach.

The English syllabus is also discussed briefly in terms of its function as the guideline for the teaching of EFL in Indonesia. It is emphasised that the new syllabus is in favour of the Communicative Approach and that all skills: reading, listening, speaking, and writing are covered with the main focus on reading skills. The order of presentation of skill area reflects the order priority. In other words, in the context of Indonesia, where English is only a foreign language, receptive skills are considered more important than productive skills.

Finally, a brief account of the English textbook used by students in this study is also presented. It is emphasised that the textbook is also imposed and centrally developed. It is argued that the quality of the textbook both in terms of its physical appearance and its content – types of information and types of activities – need a lot of improvement. The low quality of the textbook

suggests that more careful and thorough revision needs to be done. This requires more time to be taken in the preparation, which precedes the writing, publication and distribution of texts to schools. The writers seemed to be less than fully aware of the level of English of the target students and that this varies from place to place. They also seemed to have an insufficient understanding of the curriculum and the Communicative Approach. In addition, it was also indicated that the number of textbooks is still far from sufficient.

The imposition of only one uniform textbook for English for the whole country, which is multicultural and varies across levels of economic and educational development and of students' access to information, should be carefully reconsidered. It is generally believed that students' academic performance varies across provinces. At the school level, the imposition of the textbook may account for teachers being highly dependent on the package textbook. If the quality of the textbook is good, teachers' dependence upon it is less problematic, especially in the context of Indonesia where teachers face a lot of problems which are beyond their capability to resolve (Sadtono, 1997a), e.g., inavailability of alternative teaching resources, crowded classrooms, low income, and other sociocultural activities absorbing teachers' time and attention. However, as indicated in this chapter, the quality of the textbook is poor and they are not available in sufficient numbers. Therefore, textbook-dependency contributes to the low quality of teaching-learning processes (for further information of the actual teaching-learning process and the use of the textbook in the classroom, see Chapter 7).

In summary, the chapter provides a general description of ELT in Indonesia's formal education, as well as a brief account of ELT's sociolinguistic context at the national level. This provides the background for the next chapters of the thesis that scrutinise the EFL classroom culture in its interaction with the wider social context.

CHAPTER 5
WIDER COMMUNITY CONTEXT: A RURAL COMMUNITY CASE

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the wider community and its culture. It provides general information about the community. Some of the information may not be related to the school and classroom culture, but some is of relevance to be examined because school and classroom culture is, to some extent, is under the influence of wider culture of the community in this study. Indeed, it is not possible to describe the community and its culture at length in this chapter. However, a general description of the society in this study is contributive significantly to the overall framework of the inquiry into the school and classroom culture which is the central issue of this thesis. Such a framework is an important initial prerequisite for a fieldwork-based, ethnographic study.

This chapter starts with section 5.2 that deals with two reconnaissances which are concerned with the two initial informal contacts with the society in this study. These reconnaissances became initial steps – i.e., getting into the community – in the process of studying the community and its culture. This is followed by Section 5.3 that discusses the community and its culture. Section 5.4 briefly discusses the economic system and condition of the community. Section 5.5 discusses the religion of the community. Section 5.6 discusses educational system in the community. Section 5.7 discusses language and communication. Section 5.8 discusses social power and status, and Section 5.9 presents a summary of the points discussed in this chapter.

5.2 Getting into the Community

Before describing the community under study, I feel it important to say something about my two initial contacts with it. This, in my opinion, is important because they have contributed significantly to the study. The first contact, which I have called my first 'reconnaissance' (Orton, 1990), gave me the motivation to carry out this study, while the second one provided the preliminary step for the present ethnographic inquiry. Through these contacts I gained access to people who were very helpful in my efforts to build good rapport with the community.

5.2.1 First Reconnaissance

My first contact with the society and culture in this study occurred in 1988 when I accompanied my cousin, then a newly appointed medical doctor, to visit the capital of the *Kecamatan,* 'sub-district' *Oleo*. I still remember clearly, how tough it was to get to and stay in a remote area like *Oleo*. I had to stay in the village for a week to wait for the next available public transportation which was a small wooden ship, departing from Kendari harbour twice a week. The trip took 6 to 8 hours sailing on an often-unfriendly sea.

However, this short and difficult visit aroused my curiosity about the people, their culture, and their schooling. As someone involved in English language education in the 'third world', I was particularly interested in teaching and learning practices for English language at an *SLTP* – referred to as *SMP* for *Sekolah Menengah Pertama*, 'lower/junior secondary school', at that time. This led me to

visit the school a couple of times. I managed to talk to several teachers including the only English teacher at the school. From these short visits I started to learn how challenging it was to survive as a professional and more particularly an English teaching professional in such school and social environments. I did not attempt to seek more information about what was going on in the classroom as I thought it would interrupt or even annoy the teacher. This short visit to this remote village inspired me to pursue more in-depth study of the culture of the local community and of the local school's classroom. However, it took more than a decade before I was able to follow up on my initial interest.

5.2.2 Second Reconnaissance

It was August 31, 1999, a long time after my first visit, when I returned again to Sub-district *Oleo*. Taking with me an official document requesting permission to do a study (see Section 3.4), I left Kendari at 6:30 a.m., in the hope that I would be able to arrive in *Halu*, the capital of sub-district, before the school had finished for the day. This second reconnaissance, which provided the preliminary step for the present study, took only a day.

Before I went to visit the school principal in *Halu*, I tried to find some information about how to get there, road conditions, public transportation, and other relevant information. My expectation was that I would find that a lot of changes had taken place there since my first visit. I was more certain about some changes after finding out that I could now catch public transportation to *Halu*. "So there is now a 'road' to this place", I said to myself. A decade ago, transportation was still a big problem as it was only accessible by sea. As someone who had lived in the province for more than a decade, I knew what public transportation was like – a small van big enough only for ten passengers but filled with fourteen. Therefore, instead of taking public transportation, I borrowed a four-wheel drive, diesel van from my office. Driving a car, especially a *mobil dinas*, 'government official car', would be advantageous because I could control my speed and time and would be more comfortable compared to public transportation. More importantly, with an official car, it would be much easier to get access to local people, especially local authorities.

After driving about 20 km from the city, I turned right to the road to *Oleo*. After having gone about 3 km, I began to worry about the condition of the road. After about 7 km, the real struggle began. Since the road was still under construction, most of the time the van laboured over the rocky, pot-holed road. Some parts of the road were really bad, muddy, slippery, very stiff, while other parts were dusty. It was made even worse because there were a lot of contractor's big trucks carrying materials, especially soil, sand, and stones along the road. Moreover, the temperature reached about 32 degrees for most of the day which was very hot especially due to the high level of humidity. But at least, the place could now be reached by a car, something that was not possible 11 years ago.

It was about 11 a.m. when I saw two girls in junior high school uniforms riding a bicycle. I stopped to asked where the *SLTP*N 1 *Oleo* was. "*Sudah lewat jauhmi, Pak. Adami barangkali tujuh kilometer*", 'You've passed it (*Halu*) about 7 kilometres away', one of them answered in typical regional dialect of Indonesian. Realising that I was totally lost, I asked if they could tell me where *Halu* was. They described a bit about where it was and where I should turn. When I got to the turn to *Halu*, I asked a man to make sure that I was on the right track. How was I to know that that was the way to

Halu – there was no sign at all. Moreover, the road into that direction was much worse – my assumption had been that the capital would have had better infrastructure than the other parts of the *sub-district*. As it was the rainy season, the road was very muddy and slippery.

It took me more than 4 hours to get to *Halu*, which was only about 100 km from Kendari. "There is not much that has changed here. What has the government being doing for a decade?" I mumbled. While looking around, I was able to recall a lot of the things I saw during my first visit. The post office, the sub-district's *Puskesmas*, 'the local government clinic', local police office, senior high school, *camat*'s, 'sub-district head's', office, and also the rice fields. There were more houses around, but the basic infrastructure had not changed.

I was very lucky to meet several important people that day. The school principal, who was originally an English language teacher, was interested in the study I was about to do and agreed to help as much as he could as long as, in return, I would help teach whenever an English teacher was absent and would not mention his school's name and other individuals' proper names. At the school, there was also a "Torajan-origin teacher" who was very pleased to invite me to his house, about four km away. I did not want to refuse the invitation, firstly because I realised that it was a very good opportunity for me to get into the society. Although he is a Torajan, he was born and brought up in this society, and thus, to some extent, considered culturally a member of it. Secondly, I knew that it would be very special for him as a Torajan, who, in fact, had never been to Toraja, as well as for those in the village to be visited by someone from the same ethnic background, particularly by someone driving a government car. Socioculturally, the refusal of such an invitation could be interpreted as arrogance and self-exclusionist. I later found that my acceptance of his invitation had been of significant help in the whole process of my living in the society. Through him I was introduced to several important figures in the community, to other teachers, and to the chief of the local police who was also a Torajan. Getting to know these two people from my ethnic group contributed to my effort to build a good rapport with the community members in the following ways. Firstly, as we all had similar ethnic identity there was a feeling of shared togetherness that psychologically tied us. This kind of feeling increases in quality as we met in a place far away from our homeland. Such feelings lead to the occurrence of mutual obligation to help one another. Secondly, they seemed to be proud of me being Torajan due to the fact that I was a university teacher and, more particularly, a PhD student in Australia. Therefore, word quickly spread through them providing positive information about me, especially about my humility and lack of arrogance. Thirdly, both of them, and most of the Torajans in this sub-district were successful in building and maintaining both personal and social lives in the community. The teacher was also actively involved in the community's social and religious events, and the district police chief was open-minded; hence close to both lower and upper class members of the society. These qualities could have influenced the local people's positive judgement about Torajans, including me.

Before I left, the principal asked when I would be going back to Kendari. When I told him that I would go back at about 3 pm, he asked if I could give his treasurer a lift to Kendari. "This is certainly a good chance for me to build good rapport with them at this school", I said to myself. So, without any hesitation I answered, *"Yes, of course. There is still plenty of room".*

On our way to my Torajan friend's home, I gave a lift to the English teacher I was going to live with and took the opportunity to see his home. There were four teachers, as well as the treasurer, living in that neighbourhood, so I gave them all a lift. The treasurer told me that he would wait for me on the main road, so I would not need to pick him up at his home. I told him to wait there at about three.

When I reached the point where he was waiting, with him were two other teachers, who I had met at school but who did not tell me that they would like me to give them a lift. Only when they were about to board did they ask me whether or not there was still room for them in the car. In addition, there were two more villagers, I guessed neighbours of theirs, who wanted to have a lift. I was aware that I could not refuse to take them since I still had enough room for them. I did not want to lose this very good opportunity to start building good rapport with the community. The treasurer requested me to stop at the principal's house since he needed him to sign a few documents. The two teachers who did not get off there requested that none of us inform the principal that they were in the van because they did not want him to know they were leaving for Kendari – thereby missing a couple of school days. They remained in the van for quite a while as we were having some coffee and 'hot, fried bananas' with the principal.

The second reconnaissance, although it lasted only a day, enabled me to build good rapport with the community in general, and particularly with the school through the principal and the teachers. I successfully used the opportunity in two ways: firstly, being considered as an important person who was humble and lacked arrogance, a negative image the villagers have of a person having high social status because of a high level of education and occupation. I believed that my positive personality traits would be made known around the village not only through my two Torajan friends, but also through the other people I got in touch with during this second reconnaissance. Therefore, the trip opened up a wide range of possibilities enabling me to conduct this ethnographic study of the society.

Secondly, through this contact, I learnt a few things which were important for me to examine in the future visits. For example, there might be hidden reasons for the teachers not to ask the principal's approval to be absent from school, and for not asking me when I met with them at school if I could give them a lift to Kendari. That the two teachers left the school without the principal's approval led me to think of two possible reasons: either they were not disciplined and lacked communication with the principal, or the prior planning of an activity is not common among them. I believed that in a situation such as this – where transportation was difficult and expensive, and where this was therefore an opportunity to get free transportation to Kendari – they could have gotten the principal's permission.

In addition, I also started to learn that, like most Indonesian communities, prior appointment was probably not common in this community, and that a sudden appearance or unexpected visit was culturally accepted. In the case of the two teachers, they could have asked me before – or at some time during our prior meetings either at school or on our way to their homes – if I would have enough room for them in the van but they chose to wait until I was about to leave. (Or, they might have found out about this from others).

To sum up, the significance of this second reconnaissance is twofold. In the first place, it opened up possibilities for me to build good rapport with the community in general and with the school community in particular, the most important and preliminary aspect of an ethnographic study. Secondly, it was informative, in the sense that it taught me several things that helped me understand the local people and their culture.

5.3 Community and Culture

As an ethnographic study that is concerned with culture, both outside and inside the classroom, the wider community and its culture form one of the major aspects of this study. The second reconnaissance had enabled me to form the basis for pursuing a true ethnographic inquiry. The following sections are concerned with aspects of the community's life that help account for the local people and their culture. This description is based on the notes taken during fieldwork that took place from early September 1999 to early June 2000.

5.3.1 Governmental Administration

The community under investigation resides in a remote, rural area of *Oleo*. In terms of governmental administration, *Oleo* is a sub-district. It consists of thirty-five *desa*s and one *kelurahan* (lower administrative unit). At the level of sub-district, there is a chief government officer: a *camat,* and governmental activities take place in the capital of the sub-district. A *desa* is under the rule of a *kepala desa,* 'chief of a village', who is directly elected by villagers; whereas a *kelurahan* is under the governance of a *lurah,* who was appointed by the regent under the consultation of the local *camat.* A *desa* is further divided into two or three *kampong*s/*dusun*s – literally meaning villages – each is under the leadership of a *kepala,*' chief (of)'*, kampong/dusun,* who is normally appointed by *kepala desa* or *lurah*.

Most *desa*s are now linked by a road still undergoing construction which is to be the provincial road connecting the province with other provinces on the island.

As mentioned earlier, *Halu*, the capital of the sub-district *Oleo*, is where the offices of *camat*, the local police, army, and other governmental institutions at the same level are located. It might seem inappropriate to call it a town due to the number of its population which was 1,153 in 1999 (Anonym, 1999), to the lack of infrastructure, poor communication facilities, transportation, and the remoteness of the place.

In this study, only four *desa* and the only *kelurahan* were used as the location for data collection (for the sake of our discussion they will all be referred to as villages hereafter). Their selection was not based on particular research design principles, but they were selected simply because the majority of the students from the school, who were the subjects in this study, were from those villages. Accordingly, observations outside the classroom were mostly made in those villages.

Before presenting particular aspects of the community's culture, the following is a description of the people in terms of their ethnic background and pattern of settlement.

5.3.2 People

Anthropologically, the indigenous people inhabiting this sub-district are considered part of the Tolaki ethnic group, the biggest group inhabiting the Southeast peninsula of Sulawesi island (Tarimana, 1993: 19). In addition, there are also a small number of people of other ethnic groups such as Buginese, Munanese, Torajan, and Makasarese living there. Most of them live in this sub-district permanently, but a small percentage of them are non-permanent residents; the latter work for the government in the public sector as policemen, soldiers, teachers, and nurses. The total population of the subdistrict according to the population census in 1999 was 21,291 (BPS, 1999) of which 3,421 made up the population of the five villages under study.

The majority of the people are scattered in traditional villages which are linked by either village roads or the provincial road. They build their houses along the roads while their gardens are several kilometres behind the *kampong*s. A traditional village is normally inhabited by a group of people who have a kinship relationship – either close or distant relatives. It is necessary to mention that a traditional village and a governmental village are not the same. The former means a group of villagers' houses which does not necessarily constitute a *kampong* or *dusun* in governmental administrative terms and sometimes has an informal traditional leader who, in most cases, is also a religious leader, who plays important roles in sociocultural events. A village consists of a number of families and households.

5.3.3 Family

In a Tolaki family, every member has his/her own responsibility as indicated by the terms used for father, mother, and children. As Tarimana (1993: 116) points out, the word *ama,* 'father', in Tolaki means someone who is responsible for the fulfilment of his family's needs*, ina,* 'mother' means someone who is caring for children, and *ana,* 'child(ren)' means someone who is responsible to help their parents, especially in their old age. In other words, financially, the life of a family is in the father's hands. However, in reality every family member has his/her own responsibilities. Even children contribute to the family by helping their parents perform certain tasks, not only domestic, but also outdoor work. The type of work done by a child is based on gender, a girl does domestic work, whereas a boy does outdoor work. This suggests that the practice of cooperative work (see Section 5.3.5) starts early in the family. The next section describes the relationship between gender and status in this community.

5.3.4 Gender and Status

In a traditional society the status of men is higher and than women is different. Therefore, in many traditional societies, discrimination against women is still a major issue. If women in the United States have been actively aware of gender discrimination issues since the late 1960s (Freeman and McElhinny, 1996), Indonesia's government only started to give attention to gender inequality issues in

the mid 1980s through the setting up of the State Ministry for Women Affairs. Since then, women's status, role-related studies, and recognition of women's rights have started to be promoted.

In this community, a lot of practices indicate that men are more powerful than women. They are the ones who make important decisions about the life of their family and the community. For example, there is an unspoken view that mothers are only father's assistants. They are responsible mainly for domestic duties such as rearing children, cooking, cleaning, or collecting firewood from the nearby bush. In a family, it is the husband who makes major decisions. Similarly, in the wider community, men are the major decision makers. It is the men who are involved in formal sociocultural meetings. In a meeting for a wedding party preparation, men dominate the talk about it, while women say very little. Their major contribution to the meeting is in the provision of the meal. The inheritance system also clearly indicates that women are less important than men (Tarimana, 1993: 160-162). Daughters inherit only domestic utensils, e.g. kitchen wares and sleeping wares, whereas sons inherit land, gardens, rice fields, and cattle.

In fact, women not only do domestic work such as cooking, caring for children, collecting water and firewood, but also do income-related work. A lot of them, especially those who are married or divorced, work in the garden during the day and come home to do domestic duties. The wives of fishermen not only do domestic jobs but also sell their husbands' catch. In the market, one can see that most of the trading people, especially those selling garden products, are women. They may also work in the garden, sell fish around the village, or sell vegetables in the market, which they do to help their husbands. As one of the travelling fish merchants admitted,

> *I'm doing this because my husband's salary is not enough for us. I have to help earn some money so that we have enough for all. It's me who worries when we don't have enough money. Selling fish is advantageous because from it I can earn five thousand to ten thousand [rupiahs] every morning and I don't need to worry any more about buying fish for my family.*

This mother indicates that her husband's income is not sufficient for her family. She worries about money insufficiency because in this community, like in many other communities in Indonesia such as the Javanese (Siegel, 1986: 187), it is the woman who handles the money and manages family finance. There is a common view that the man is not capable of handling money because he tends to be extravagant. "*A husband who holds money is not a good husband because he doesn't trust his wife*", a man, who was a teacher, said. The violation of this rule can cause serious marital problems and can be the primary cause of divorce (Tarimana, 1993: 163). In other words, theoretically, women are not supposed to be responsible for providing income, but in practice, they do. This, in my opinion, places women in an even more difficult situation because their roles and responsibilities extend beyond the traditional ideal. This is not the same as being in control of their households' economy. Keeping the money and managing family finance do not necessarily imply that women control their families' economy. They do decide what types of food, clothing, kitchenware, and bedware to buy for their families but they do not decide more than that. In most cases, they have to manage the very limited amount of financial resource – their husbands' incomes – for a range of needs. Thus, they might not be able to do much to increase their families' income because of their culturally domestic status. Therefore, despite having monetary responsibilities, this has not increased

their power or status. Rather, these additional responsibilities from the new cash economy make them less advantaged because they are under greater pressure.

In neighbourhood sociocultural meetings, the father is the one who represents the family. Formal invitations for the whole family are given to the father. In social gatherings where both women and men attend, there is a separation of men and women, and men are given priority to sit in front. Similarly, when the meal is served, it is the men who are given priority – most of the time men eat first, at tables. If there is not enough food, it is the women who would receive less.

Another very important role for women in this society is rearing children. They are considered more responsible for caring for their children, especially during the early childhood period. If a small child cries for something, falls or has an accident, it is the mother that is blamed. If a child is hungry, it is the mother who should feed him/her. This function is implied in the title given to a mother, i.e. *ina* in the local language which means someone who is caring and loving (Tarimana, 1993: 116).

Girls also feel they are treated differently from boys. They claim that boys have a freer life than they do – boys are allowed to play and stay out until late evening, whereas girls have the impression that they are kept at home. Hence, as several girls said, boys are more advantaged than they are. This different way of treating boys and girls is contingent upon the community's value system with regard to gender. This community considers women biologically weaker than men. Therefore, there are certain things which are gender-specific while others are not. Certain types of jobs are not proper for women such as processing sago, processing copra, collecting rattans, or being carpenters, brick-layers or public transportation drivers. Similarly, there are also sports which are considered biologically appropriate for men only, such as soccer and *takraw* – a sport played by two teams of three using a net and a rattan ball, which is kicked over the net, on a court the same size as for badminton. Therefore, it is culturally inappropriate for a woman to play soccer or *takraw*. It is equally culturally strange if a husband does domestic work. Indeed, there is a cultural view that women are domestic, and they are not allowed to hang around like men. However, this rule is only applied to girls, and (married, single or divorced) young women.

These gender-based roles and responsibilities in the wider community are relevant to this discussion because they may be contributing factors to the learning situation in the classroom under study. However, these clear differences do not mean that cooperative work between men and women is absent in this society. On the contrary, as indicated previously, both men and women work cooperatively to fulfil their family's needs. The next section discusses the practice of *mete'alo-alo*, 'cooperative work based on solidarity', in the community in this study.

5.3.5 Mete'alo-alo, 'Cooperation Based on Solidarity'

Mete'alo-alo, in Tolaki language*,* which has the equivalent meaning of *gotong royong* in Indonesian, means cooperation and solidarity. *Mete'alo-alo* or *gotong royong*, which is more commonly used, is a term used for working together without payment; hence implies the provision of help to another member of the community on the basis of social solidarity.

In village communities, *gotong royong* practices are still common and everyone will question the absence of an individual in cooperative work. This implies that other members of the group

interpret one's frequent absence from this social activity as lack of solidarity and violation of social rules that can lead to social exclusion. The community in this study still practice *gotong royong* when, for instance, they open a new garden, build or repair a house, a mosque, a village head's office, and so forth. When a family in this community builds or repairs a house, it is only the carpenters, and brick-layers who may be paid; they are often not paid either, if they are only called to help, in which case they work only for a day or two. When they put on the roof, the villagers do it together without payment. They are only provided with cigarettes, coffee, snacks, a lunch, and sometimes a dinner. Several times I found this happened during my fieldwork. I was told that the information about the cooperative work spread around the village by word of mouth. The owner might go out and tell a few members, or often the neighbour came and asked him about it. On the designated day, a number of people, men and women taking with them their little children, came to help – while men, for example, were putting the roof, women were preparing meals, and children were playing. In communal activities everyone performs their task under the command of those socially considered more powerful because of their greater knowledge and experience due to their older age.

A pattern of cooperation among close relatives is a frequent occurrence and is not just concerned with labour, but also involves solving financial problems or even personal conflicts. On the day when Muslims celebrated *Idhul Adha* (see Section 5.5.2) in that year, a family meeting was conducted in the afternoon between brothers and sisters and one of their male cousins all of whom were married. One of them called for a meeting at their parents' place because he needed financial help. His first son wanted to be a policeman and he was taking a series of tests. He was told by a policeman, a lower ranking officer, who was 'looking after' him that he should be prepared to pay eight million rupiahs when he succeeded. The father could only afford four million and asked his brothers and sisters to provide the rest. They finally sorted out the problem and each of the brothers and sisters, and the cousin agreed to contribute certain amounts until they reached 8 million. One of them is a teacher of religion at *SLTPN* 1 *Halu*. After the meeting he told me that deep in his heart, he did not agree with the idea of paying out that amount of money because it is a kind of bribery. However, he admitted that there was nothing he could do but help his elder brother as much as he could, and hope that his nephew would be successful. When I asked him whether his brother or his nephew would pay them back he answered, "*No. This is the way we help each other. If he is successful, we all are happy.*" Active participation in cooperative work practices is one of the ways to maintain harmonious relationships among the members of this community, which is an important aspect of the collective system.

In my fieldnotes, I also recorded three occasions when a group of youngsters were arrested and detained because they were involved in petty crimes due to the personal conflict of an individual member of the group. When interrogated by the police, most of them admitted to being involved simply because they were asked to by their friends. There is likely to be mutual obligation between the members of a group to help one another to maintain their membership and solidarity. This mutual obligation is in place not only for positive things but also for negative ones and is important in the preservation of harmonious relationships among the members of a group.

The important value of cooperative work in the wider community can be very significant for the classroom community members in preserving harmonious relationships. For instance, better students may not be able to refuse to give their answers to weaker students for copying.

5.3.6 Housing

Traditionally, a house, in Tolaki communities is built on stilts, and consists of a main rectangular building, measuring four by seven meters or seven by nine meters plus an additional part attached to it later to make it more spacious. The floor and the walls are made from bamboo, and the roof is made from sago palm leaves (Tarimana, 1993: 118). In this sub-district, however, most of the houses are not on stilts, but are built on the ground. The majority are wooden houses, and a small number are brick houses, or partly-timber and partly-brick houses (three examples of houses in the village are included as Appendix F). Very rarely would one find a house on stilts, except in coastal areas.

These days, the size and shape of a house, in general, have not changed much from the traditional ones. However, in *Halu* in particular, the building materials used to construct a house vary according to the economic circumstances of the owner. There exists, though there are only a very few, big, modern houses made from bricks with corrugated iron roofs and concrete or even tile floors.

A house of a villager in this sub-district is divided into three sections: a living/sitting room, a kitchen and a bedroom. The following "narrative vignette", to use Hornberger's (1996) term, from my fieldnotes of 24 October, 1999 provides description of the interior of a common village house.

(1)   I arrive at a family. 4 p.m. I arrive at Pak Ahmad's family in *Desa Gunu*, about 4 kilometres from *Halu*. I have known Pak Ahmad quite well. He is about forty and works as a rattan collector and as a farmer - he owns a piece of land full of cacao and coconut trees. When I arrive, he is just sitting in front of his house, smoking a cigarette. He is a heavy smoker. I park my motorbike on the side of the street and walk toward Pak Ahmad who has been walking toward me when he sees me parking my bike.
        "Assalamualaikum", I greet him in Arabic. *"Walaikumsalam",* he replies. He invites me to go into the house. This is the first time I have been in his house. It is a brick house roofed with "sago palm leaves". I enter the front room of about 3 x 4 meters in size, where there is a set of old rattan furniture. Guests are commonly received in this room. As soon as we are in the house, Pak Ahmad extends his right hand toward the furniture and says, in local Indonesian dialect, *"Mariki' duduk, Pak"*, 'please take a seat, sir'. I take a seat on a chair. Before sitting, Pak Ahmad goes further into the rear room. I look around the room and see two doors of bedrooms (?). On the wall I see two Arabic scripts neatly framed like a family picture, hanging on the wall. Old curtains hang at windows and doors. A minute later, he comes back and takes a seat in front of me. About fifteen minutes later, Pak Ahmad's wife, comes to the front room with a small tray with two glasses of hot, strong coffee. I am not a coffee drinker, but I cannot refuse it. We talk about various things until Pak Ahmad excuses himself for *magrib*, 'afternoon' prayer. I think that it is time for me to go home, so before he goes to pray, I thank him and tell him that I want to go home. Instead of letting me go, he insists that I stay for a meal because his wife has been cooking for us. I cannot refuse the offer. At about 7 he leads me into the kitchen where the dining table is placed. It is clear that the kitchen room is attached to the main house building. Its floor is lower than that of the main house, it has wooden walls and a *nipa,* 'palm leaves' roof. The size of the kitchen is about 3 m x 4 m. Only Pak Ahmad and myself sit at the table. On the table I see a bowl of rice, *sinonggi*, a kind of food made of palm flour, some vegetables, fish, and chicken. I say, *"Wah, saya jadi merepotkan ini"*, "Oh dear, I [= visitor] am bothering you [host]". Ibu Ahmad answers*, "Ah, tidak apa-apa, Pak"*,

'Not at all, sir'. Pak Ahmad adds, "*Tidak ada apa-apa ini, Pak*", 'there is nothing (special)'. There is not much talk during the meal.

In addition to the description of a common village house, these notes also depict the culturally appropriate way of respecting a guest by serving him coffee and offering a special meal. It was special due to the fact that the family prepared not only rice and *sinonggi* but also chicken, fish and vegetable. For everyday meals, chicken is not normally served but it is reserved for special occasions, e.g. a party, or for special guests. These notes also depict something very similar to the observation from my second reconnaissance, i.e. often people do not make prior plans and make quick decisions about what they need to do as things happen. I did not make an appointment ahead of my visit, yet the host welcomed me very warmly and even prepared a special meal for me – they slaughtered a chicken for that special dinner. By the same token, they appreciated my visit and respected me as an important guest.

I said "You shouldn't have bothered to prepare this special meal for me" to show my sincere appreciation for the meal and also for the respect the family extended towards me. The couple's replies "not at all" and "there's nothing (special)" are also ways to express that they did not feel bothered, but were happy to do that to express their respect. In addition, "There's nothing special" can also symbolise the humility of the family. This kind of verbal interaction is very common, not only in this culture, but also in other cultures in Indonesia; hence there is a tendency that these expressions function as phatic communication preceding a meal with guests. However, I should emphasise that this verbal interaction between Pak Ahmad's family and I virtually functioned as it is – I expressed my sincere appreciation for being served a special meal, and the host respected me as a special guest and did not feel bothered by my visit. If they had felt bothered by my visit, they would not have served me a special meal because there was not any mutual obligation between us. Indeed, I had known Pak Ahmad quite well, but I did not expect that his

family would treat me so respectfully by preparing me a special meal, because preparing such a meal costs a lot. So, when I said, "You shouldn't have bothered to prepare this special meal for me", I did not mean it as just a courtesy, because I knew that his family is not rich. The only part of the speech event that might be phatic communication is "there's nothing special" because it is often said to a guest prior to a meal, regardless of the type and the amount of food served. During this meal we did not talk a lot and it ended rather quickly. My observations led me to believe that this is one of the conventional eating rules in this community. In other words, one says only important things during a meal.

5.3.7 Food and Drink

Even though rice has become very popular, *sinonggi* is still considered by most Tolaki the most popular indigenous food in their communities, especially in sub-district *Oleo*, where rice fields are very rare; hence, the community has to buy rice brought in from other parts of the province. *Sinonggi* is the name of cooked and 'ready-to-serve' food whereas the raw substance is called *tawaro,* sago starch made through the process of precipitation of the crushed stem of the sago (*metrosylon sp*) palm. *Sinonggi* is cooked by firstly mixing t*awaro* with some cold water to dissolve it in a bowl as it is stirred evenly until it becomes milky. It is then mixed with boiling water as required and again stirred evenly. Boiling water cooks it and makes it ready to serve. Using a pair of wooden chopsticks, everyone takes a roll and puts it on a plate that has been filled with some broth and eats it using one's fingers. One normally uses the right hand – culturally, the left hand is inferior so it is not polite to use it for eating, for shaking hands, nor for writing.

The quality of the food in this area is not different from food in other areas of Southeast Sulawesi. Most of the villagers only eat *sinonggi* or rice with a bit of dried fish and *santan,* 'coconut milk', often without vegetables. It seems that the villagers are not aware of the importance of vegetables as a source of nutrition. In the market, which is held only twice a week, vegetables are very scarce, so only a few people can buy them not only because they are rather expensive but also because most villagers consider vegetables as a lower priority than *sinonggi*, rice, and fish. Very rarely is a vegetable garden to be found in the village. The following narrative vignette describes an example of a dinner occasion during my ethnographic fieldwork where both rice and *sinonggi* were served.

(2)   October 3, 1999

> It is almost 4 p.m. Pak Hamzah, the English teacher I am staying with is playing volleyball with other neighbours. I am washing some rice to cook for dinner. This time, I have brought some vegetables from Kendari. I am just about to move the pot from the stove when I hear someone knocking on the door, saying "*Assalamualaikum*". "*Alaikumsalam*", I reply from the kitchen. This reply is automatically understood as invitation to enter the house. "Mina, a young woman of about twenty years old, comes directly into the kitchen. She stays next door with her sister's family. "What are you doing, Sir? Are you cooking?" "Yes", I answer. "But,

you're asked to come to our place later this evening. You don't need to cook (your dinner)", she explains. "But, I have", I answer trying to refuse the invitation. "You can have it for breakfast tomorrow", she says. "I am sent by Mrs Ali here to tell you that you don't need to cook", she seems to insist.

At about 7 p.m. she comes back again and asks Pak Hamzah and myself to go with her to her place right away. After saying "*Assalamualaikum*" we enter the house from the side door. The husband is sitting in the living room watching TV, while the wife is setting the table. When the dinner is ready, the wife invites us to go to the dining table. The meal smells delicious. On the table I see two plates of fish, boiled and barbequed fish, a bowl of cassava leaf vegetable, a bowl of rice and a bowl of *sinonggi*. "*Lai sinonggi*", 'there is *sinonggi*', I say in Tolaki. "*Ohoq, monggaperaa nggomiu sinonggi*?", 'Yes, do you eat *songgi*?' Mr Ali asks me. "*Ohoq, meambo inggiro sinonggi*", 'ye*s, sinonggi* is delicious', I answer. He invites me to take it first before he does. The way I roll it onto my plate convinces Mr Ali that I am familiar with that kind of food. "*That's our [Tolaki people] indigenous food. A lot of Tolaki people do not think of having a meal without sinonggi*", he says. Even though there is very little talk during the meal, I find there is more talk in this meal than in meals with other villagers.

Mr Ali eats *sinonggi* instead of rice. I see that he is about to finish first when he slows down and waits a bit. From my cultural knowledge I know that in many Indonesian societies, it is considered disrespectful and impolite to stop eating earlier than the guest. After the meal, we are asked to sit in the sitting room and are served coffee.

Despite the fact that *sinonggi* is the most popular food among Tolaki, rice is more highly valued. In cultural ceremonies, such as wedding parties, guests are served with rice instead of *sinonggi*. Indeed, *sinonggi* is also often provided for close relatives, but served either after the guests have left or in the kitchen area. In small, informal parties, however, *sinonggi* is usually served along with rice. I remembered being served *sinonggi* at several occasions when invited to Tolaki friends' small parties.

Narratives (1 and 2) also depict a way of respecting guests by serving them coffee. In this culture, a guest is not asked whether s/he wants hot or cold drink, coffee or tea. Coffee, although rather much more expensive than tea, is the most common drink for men in the community. It is served together with cigarettes – most men, and some women, smoke.

5.3.8 Utilisation of Spare Time

First of all, I am not really sure that spare time is the right term to refer to specific time when community members of a collective society are not doing their work because, in my opinion, for them this time is used to fulfil their social obligations. In a collective community, one hardly ever spends time by him/herself. However, in the context of this discussion, I will still use 'spare time' to refer to such activities.

Every afternoon, at about 4 pm. groups of people gather at different places to have fun through social activities. There are groups, usually males, in small numbers chatting in front of the

house, but there are also others, usually of different sexes and ages, in bigger groups playing volleyball. There are also boys who have fun by playing *takraw*. The two sports are the most popular ones among the villagers.

The main purpose of playing those sports, particularly volleyball, is to have fun. However, winning is still the target of a team, because the loser will be replaced by others who are waiting their turn to play. During the games, people tease each other, using both Indonesian, and the local language. Due to the informality of the setting, the gap between the older and the younger persons and other kinds of social distance tend to be reduced. Humour often occurs, but normally the older individuals, regardless of sex, make jokes about the younger individuals.

The game ends at about 4:40 p.m. when the *azan*, 'a call for prayers' from the mosque is heard. Everyone then goes home to prepare for *sembahyang magrib,* 'sunset prayer', which takes place about 6:44 p.m. The following narrative vignette describes an afternoon scene.

(3)   24 November

This afternoon, I go out to visit one of the families I have been close to. It is about 4 km from *Halu*. It is hot (probably 28-29 C). I ride my motorbike slowly so I can observe particular, striking things. It is about 4 p.m. I see several groups playing volleyball (male and female mixed). Younger boys and girls are just spectators. When I pass an elementary school area, I see a group of young boys, of *SLTP* age, playing *takraw*. I stop my bike to see whether I know any of the boys. One of the players smiles at me. He is one of the students of Class IIB which I observed the other day. I smile and wave my hand at him before I leave the place. I remember that he is the one whom I had a chat with in a school *warung*, 'canteen', the other day.

Volleyball and *takraw* are the only sports played by the villagers, probably because they are not expensive and involve groups people. Every afternoon when I go around the villages, I see a lot of people playing volleyball and takraw. When they play volleyball, male and female players, adults and adolescents, play mixed teams.

At 7 p.m. the village is very quiet. Most of the villagers, especially the old ones, including mid-age parents, and small children have gone to bed. Only several groups of youngsters sit on the street just having a chat or singing songs or drinking Indonesian wine, gin, or *pongasi*, a kind of home-made drink from fermented rice containing about twenty per cent or more alcohol. The groups consist of both drop-outs and students. Others may watch television or video compact disc (VCD), currently the popular high-tech entertainment equipment not only in the village but also in Kendari. Several families have VCDs. Most of them play a movie or two, including blue movies, sometimes in the presence of small children or male teenagers. Parents know well that certain movies are only for mature viewers, but they are not strict about this. Not only TVs, but also radios, are not common in this village. Of thirty-eight respondents from *SLTP*N 1 Oleo who answered the questionnaire, just over fifty per cent indicated having radios/tape players, but most of them only listen to songs, and none reported listening to English programs. Fifty-eight per cent of them reported that they did not have a television but sixty-six per cent reported watching television programs: almost sixteen per cent reported watching television approximately two to three hours a week, eighteen per cent reported approximately three to four hours a week, and thirty-two per cent reported approximately four to five hours a week. The data also show that of the sixty-six per cent respondents reporting watching television programs, fifty-five per cent (twenty-one respondents) are females. Of this fifty-five per cent, thirty-two per cent reported

watching television programs approximately four to five hours a week. This implies that girls tend to spend more time watching television programs than boys. They all reported watching soap operas and movies. Due to insufficient and less than careful assessment, a lot of such television programs are not well classified according to viewer ages. Although a lot of the programs contain scenes with violence and criminal conduct, official warnings are not available. I wonder if the community, including the government, are aware of the effects of exposing teenage viewers to such movies and soap operas. In addition, some people spend their spare time playing cards, especially dominoes.

In Pak Hamzah's house, teacher friends very often come to play dominoes and they always stop by midnight. While playing, they talk about various things – both their social and personal lives in the community as well as in school. This is the kind of setting where they sometimes talk about and make comments on the school system, management, and other school-related issues. In fact, a lot of information about teachers' beliefs and practices, knowledge about the education system, and more particularly their criticisms and their complaints about the school management system were gained from this informal setting. They talked, for instance, about their overtime teaching and other administrative duties for which they expected to be paid but were not, about the unfairness of the school management, about other teachers' absence, students' learning motivation, and about the marking system.

Due to the frequent occurrence of social activities, especially informal social gatherings, sudden visits or invitations to friends' places, I do not remember seeing Pak Hamzah ever preparing for the next day's lesson. The only occasion when he did school work at home was when he was marking students exam papers and writing students' grades in their report books. When we had a chat about lesson preparation he said he had a book full of his lesson preparation, and lesson programs. His lesson plan was exactly the same as the one I copied from the teacher of English in the urban school (an example of a lesson plan is included as Appendix B). This lesson plan book, that was produced in a 'workshop' attended by *guru inti*, 'key teachers' (almost similar with lead teachers), is widely used in this province (see 7.6.3.1). However, Pak Hamzah never read the lesson plan book; rather he kept it safely at the bottom of his pile of books. "*I do not need it any more because I have been teaching the same material for years. Nothing has changed so far since the introduction of the new curriculum, and the same textbooks are still in use.*" In spite of this claim, in several classroom observations, I noticed that he, and the other English teacher I observed, still needed a lot of preparation prior to their teaching, because I noticed that sometimes they taught incorrect language forms or did not understand the nature of a particular teaching task (see Chapter 6 for more detail).

5.4 Economy

Due to the geographical condition of the sub-district, which is mountainous, and the absence of irrigation, wet rice fields are rarely found. The only wet rice fields, which rely mainly on rain irrigation, are found in *Halu*. These fields, however, were opened and processed by non-indigenous people. Indeed, wet rice fields are rarely found in this province, and according to Tarimana (1993: 82), wet rice fields were rarely found in Kendari, especially before the arrival of immigrants from South Sulawesi, Java, and Bali, because Tolaki people are not particularly interested in working in the wet

rice fields. Since the introduction of industrial crops such as cacao, cloves and white pepper, most of the villagers have planted them. Therefore, if asked about their jobs, the majority of the local people call themselves peasants/farmers.

In coastal areas, a lot of families have inherited coconut trees from their forefathers. They process the coconuts, using traditional technology, to produce copra. These agricultural products are sold, usually at a very low price, to merchants who come to the village. Most of the villagers rely on receiving a small income from selling agricultural products.

There are also a number of people who are traditional fishermen. They spend almost the whole night at sea to catch fish. Their fishing methods are still very traditional. They use small trawling nets and traditional boats with a small machine attached to it. Others use *bagang,* 'a kind of fishing platform used to trap fish'. A lot of these are built off the coast of *Oleo*. Fish that are caught are sold to travelling merchants very early in the morning. In *Halu* alone, there are two fish ports where transactions between fishermen and travelling fish merchants take place. The following narrative vignette that I wrote one morning encapsulates a social event in a coastal market.

(4) 16 September 1999

It is very early in the morning (6:14 a.m). The temperature is about 23 degrees. I am accompanied by the English teacher I am staying with. We go to the coast to see people interacting in fish trading and to buy ourselves some fresh fish. The fishermen spend the whole night to catch fish that they sell to the travelling merchants, mostly "mothers" who put their merchandise in a *baskom,* 'plastic washbasin', and carry them on their heads. They walk around and sell the fish to other villagers. Only a few of the travelling merchants are males. These latter groups ride motorbikes, but a few ride bicycles, and sell fish in more distant villages.

Everyone needs to be quick otherwise s/he will not get the chance to buy fish from the fishermen. I see a woman, about fourty years of age, wearing poor clothing with bare feet, holding a basin in her hands running towards a small boat approaching the coast. She is trying to reach it while it is still off the coast. Consequently, she has to run into the water so she is the first to reach the boat and claim the fish in it. As soon as the boat reaches the coast, the fisherman and the woman discuss the price because she is the one who reaches the boat first. I come closer to them so that I can observe this particular social event. I notice that the others just listen while the two are involved in price negotiation. For several minutes they do not agree on a fixed price, but this does not necessarily mean that the others can interrupt to set a new price. Only after the first person has left the boat can the others set a new price negotiation. They have to make sure that the first buyer has withdrawn before they can come and propose a new price. There is no sign of queuing, so the quickest is the first.

Looking around, I can only find a few people other than the travelling fish merchants. They can be easily distinguished from fish merchants by the amount of fish they buy, and they normally do not bring a basin. These people, again mostly mothers, come to buy particular fish for their own needs.

Although only men are considered responsible for the fulfilment of family needs (see Section 5.3.4), in fact, this vignette shows that women also contribute substantially to family life. As vignette (4) of a coastal fish market illustrates, women also work as travelling fish sellers. Others pick and dry garden products such as cacao, peppers, and cloves.

In addition, there are also members of the community who have two jobs, peasants as well as either carpenters or bricklayers, but the number of them is very small. They learn to do the latter jobs

through apprenticeship. These jobs are done only occasionally. There are also a very small number of villagers, normally aged between 24 to 40 years, who, in addition to being peasants, collect rattan from surrounding forests and sell them to a local rattan buyer who will then sell them to a rattan distributor in Kendari. Last, but not least, there are also a small number of the members of the community who work as civil servants. They work as teachers of elementary, junior and senior high schools, or as administrative staff at local government offices. These civil servants also have to work as peasants to increase their families' income.

It is a common view in this community that the living standard is very low. It is not only the ordinary villagers who live in poverty but also the teachers (see Section 7.5.1.1) and other civil servants.

5.5 Religion

Since religion plays an important role in this community's social and cultural life, it is important to describe it. This, however, does not mean that this section is going to provide a detailed description of the religion of the community. Rather, it only provides a general description of the religion and presents two events – Going on a *Hajj* Pilgrimage and the Celebration of *Idhul Adha* that were observed during the fieldwork, in the hope that these two events can help illustrate the importance of religion in this society.

Almost everyone in the sub-district is Muslim. Only four families – two police officers', an army officer's, and the secretary of the *camat*'s families – and two bachelor teachers are Christians (they are all, except the secretary of *camat*, from the Torajan ethnic group, and live temporarily in this sub-district). The local people are all Muslim. Consequently, it is inevitable that most aspects of the community's life, like other Muslim-dominant communities in Indonesia, from daily life to ritual ceremonies and from personal to social lives, are influenced by the Islamic faith. The penetration of Islamic/Arabic culture into the local culture in this community is sometimes very strong and traditional practices have been discontinued or overlaid by Islamic practices. Some of the ritual ceremonies mentioned by Tarimana (1993: 235-239) are not conducted anymore by Tolaki groups residing in this *kecamatan* such as *merondu*, a rite conducted prior to the opening of a new rice field, *monahu nda'u*, a rite conducted annually for rice fields, *mombotudu,* a rite conducted at the beginning of the harvest of rice, and *mosehe*, a rite conducted for one's purification. Ritual ceremonies which are still maintained, such as *mepokui*, for one's first haircut rite*, mesuna,* circumcision*, medulu,* weddings, and *mateaha,* funerals*,* are conducted according to the requirements of the Islamic religion.

A number of expressions taken from Arabic language are considered specific to Islam, and are usually only used by Muslims – I used those expressions several times and I heard afterwards that people thought I was a Muslim and some even checked by asking me if I was Muslim. For example, instead of using the local language or Indonesian for greeting, they used Arabic-originated expressions i.e. *"Assalamualaikum – (W)ailaikumsalam*", 'Peace be with you – Peace be on you, too', when formally opening a gathering, when knocking on the door, when running into a friend, etc. The exchange of these greetings also takes place in the school environment. For example, when a teacher enters a classroom the class greets him or her with "*Assalamualaikum*" to which s/he responds, *(W)alaikumsalam";* in morning and afternoon assemblies, a teacher opens his/her briefings with *"Assalamualaikum"* and the majority of students respond *"(W)alaikumsalam".* The only classroom

meeting which is not opened using this greeting is English – "Good morning, good day, and good afternoon", are used. Some other common expressions are *astagafirullah,* 'oh my God' (for something unexpected), *Alhamdulillah,* 'Praise be to God', (for something completed well), *Bismillah,* 'in the name of God', (just before doing something, e.g., getting on a vehicle, having a meal, etc.).

Similarly, a lot of rites and ceremonies related to the life cycle of the members of the community (Tarimana, 1993: 235-241) are conducted according to the Islamic faith. In prayers, speeches, and sermons, references were made to the Koran or other Islamic teaching sources. The beginning and ending parts of a prayer always start and end in Arabic language: *Bismillahi rahmani rahim, alhamdulillahi ra'bin alamin, wassaltu wassalamu ala asrofil mursalim,* 'In the Name of God who is compassionate and merciful, Glory to the God of the Universe, Blessed are the messengers of God …' (beginning part), *Rabbana, atina, fiddunya, hassanah, wakina azbannar, wafilakhiroth hassana...,* 'Oh our Lord, grant us peace on earth as it is in heaven, and deliver us from evil...' (ending part). Despite the fact that these parts of a prayer are always recited in public prayers, some of those praying do not understand their meanings.

Very early in the morning and late in the afternoon, *azan,* 'a call' for *sembahyang subu*, and *sembahyang magrib,* 'morning prayers and afternoon prayers respectively are heard from a nearby mosque. Hearing *azan,* every one stops his/her outdoor activity and goes home to prepare for the prayer. Some people will then head to a mosque for *sholat berjamaah,* 'collective pray', while others may just pray individually at home.

The scene during the *Bulan Ramadhan*, 'fasting month', is the clearest indication of the influence of Islamic culture on the community. For them it is the best month of the year, for according to Islam, it is the sacred month, the month of forgiveness. They believe that by fasting all day throughout the month, they can be forgiven by Allah for their sins. Therefore, during this month many people go to the mosque every morning for morning prayers and afternoon for *taraweh*, 'non-obligatory evening prayers during fasting month'. During this month, the villagers come back from their gardens earlier and most of the fishermen do not go fishing. As most people do not work as hard as usual, they are less productive during this month. On the other hand, during the night families prepare various kinds of food which financially increases their expenses. The schools are also on holiday until the end of the fast which is concluded by a two-day national holiday which is called *Idhul Fitri*.

In this community, there are two ritual ceremonies which one would not find in Christian communities: *akekah,* 'the first haircut rite' and *sunatan,* 'circumcision'.. *Akekah* (Arabic) or *upacara potong rambut [pertama] (Indonesian)*, is conducted for any child usually when s/he is 7 days, 14 days, 21 days 28 days old (multiplication of 7), or at any time when the parents are able to perform the rite, which requires them to slaughter a goat (for a daughter) or two (for a son). Different Islamic factions interpret

the rite differently. The Mohammedan faction, for example, understand that *akekah* is *wajib*, 'compulsory' and that it is not the 'first-hair-cut' which is important, but the sacrifice of goat(s), while others believe that this rite is not *wajib*. S*unatan,* 'circumcision', (from Arabic's sunat + an, an Indonesian suffix) is usually conducted before adolescence. *Sunatan*, which the Muslims in the village believe to be the initiation of a child into the Islamic religion, is compulsory for every child, both male and female. A wealthy family has a big party when one of the children is circumcised.

There are five *rukun* or pillars of Islam – the profession of faith that there is no God other than Allah and the Prophet Mohamed is His messenger, praying five times a day, fasting during the fasting month, giving alms, and going on a hajj pilgrimage. Since it is not possible to introduce all aspects of Islam in this section, the following discussion is only concerned with two aspects that are observed during the fieldwork: going on a hajj pilgrimage and the celebration of *Idhul Adha*.

5.5.1 Going on a Hajj Pilgrimage

All Muslims believe that it is compulsory for a Muslim who has the opportunity and the ability to fulfil the call from Allah to go on a hajj pilgrimage. In an Islamic society, being a *haji* (male) or *hajjah* (female), a title given to someone who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, is a symbol of religious prestige as well as social prestige. In the community in this study, those pilgrims receive high social status and they are addressed "Pak Haji and Bu Haji". Although it is very expensive, a lot of the people in this village wish they could go on the pilgrimage, because it is one of the important pillars of a Muslim faith. In 1999 a Muslim planning to go on a hajj pilgrimage would need to pay seventeen million rupiah (about A\$ 3,400) to the government (this amount increased to more than twenty million in the year 2000). In addition, they would have to take along with them about half of this amount for their own spending during the pilgrimage.

Since going on pilgrimage is a very special event in the life of a Muslim, the family conducts a special party before and after the journey. They gather together in the pilgrim's house for one main intention, that is, to pray, under the guidance of an *imam*, 'priest' for the safety of the pilgrim's journey. Similarly, when the pilgrim returns from his/her journey, the family conducts a thanks-giving party. The following vignette encapsulates the departure of a pilgrim from *Halu*.

(5) 17 February 1999

It is about 7 a.m. On my way to a fish market, I am fascinated by a crowd on the street. I stop and ask one of them what's going on. I am told that "*there is someone going on pilgrimage*". I get into to the house's yard where two lines of people are

standing before each other. The lines start from the house's door to the car's door. Between the lines lays mats for the pilgrim to walk on. I take out my video recorder that I carry with me most of the time. "*Can I record this*?" I ask one of the elders who looks like a close relative of the pilgrim. "*Yes, as long as you do not say anything*". I turn my camera on. After a couple of minutes, I hear a prayer from a loud speaker in front of the house. A man, wearing a black rimless cap of black velvet appears at the door. I take his picture. I think he is the one who is going on the pilgrimage. He stands there for about a minute and says a prayer very quietly. A woman, then, in white dress and white veil comes behind him. The man, then, steps out into the yard and walks on the mats followed by the woman. When they reach the car, he opens the door and again says a prayer very quietly. After that, he gives way to the woman. Only after the woman has gotten into the car, her husband comes out of the house with the luggage.

5.5.2 The Celebration of "Idhul Adha"

As indicated previously, *Idhul Adha*, an Arabic term, is a holy day celebrated by Muslims every year on the tenth day of the twelfth Islam month. In Indonesian, it is called *Lebaran Haji* or *Hari Raya Kurban*. According to the Islamic faith, on that day, wealthy families should give alms to the poor. Before *Idhul Adha*, wealthy families collect money, rice and clothing, or possibly a cow or a goat, as their alms. Some of the money might be used to buy a cow or a goat, depending on the amount of the donation. Very early in the morning the cows are slaughtered in a field or an open area close to a mosque and distributed to the poor. Every family cooks special food such as *ketupat,* 'rice boiled in a rhombus-shaped packet of plaited young coconut leaves', *buras*, 'rice mixed with coconut cream and wrapped in banana leaves before being steamed', and makes cakes. Most families also slaughter chickens and wealthy families might also slaughter goats. The following vignette describes an *Idhul Adha* celebration in the village.

(6) Thursday, 16 March 1999

The teacher I stay with has gone to his village to celebrate *Idhul Adha* with his family. A few of my friends have invited me to stay overnight at their places for *Idhul Adha*, but I have decided to stay at Mr Sudin's. He is about sixty-four years of age and his wife is of about the same age. They have four children of whom three are married and are living on their own. We do not go to bed until late. Mrs Sudin and two of her daughters-in-laws are busy preparing food for the following day. The neighbours' children are watching TV, while helping prepare food. Mr Sudin and several male relatives, including two of his married sons are chatting in the front room.

It is still very early in the morning when Mr and Mrs Sudin wake up. They probably slept only a couple of hours, because when I went to bed last night they were still making *ketupat* and *buras*. I am still in bed when I hear Mr Sudin wake up and go to catch chickens. I wake up to help him, but he does not allow me to although I have tried to insist. Mrs Sudin wakes up her daughter in-laws to help cook the food.

At 7 a.m. everyone is ready to go to the mosque. Children leave earlier joining their friends going to the mosque. When Mr Sudin is about to leave, I notice that his wife and daughters-in-law have not put on Islamic praying clothing. When I ask why Mrs Sudin hasn't prepared to go to the mosque she says women are not obliged to go to the mosque. Since the house of Pak Sudin is close to the mosque, I can see a lot of people coming to the mosque to pray. Women are wearing white clothing called *mukena* which they only wear for praying. All men and boys wear *pici*, black velvet cap on their heads, either batik shirts or jackets and sarongs. The mosque is so crowded that a lot of the people pray outside. After the ceremony, they shake hands as a symbol of apology.

Before lunch, the married children arrived with their families. They all kneel in front of Mr and Mrs Sudin, shake hands (hands are clasped). Daughters-in-law kiss their mother- in-law's cheeks, children and grandchildren kiss their grandparents', parents', aunties', and uncles' hands. This is the day of respect and apologies.

We have lunch a bit earlier. Almost every one has lunch at the same time, but only men have theirs at the table, while women and children have theirs wherever they can find a place to sit. A lot of visitors come to Pak Sudin's place in the afternoon. Mrs Sudin and her daughters-in-law are very busy preparing coffee (for men), tea (for women) and cakes. Mr Sudin and myself serve the guests with cigarettes that I bought for him. We shake hands before they take their seats and when they are about to leave.

Vignettes 5 and 6 depict Islamic ways of life of the community in this study. It describes how the Islamic practices have become the major reference point for people's way of life. My Muslim friends also told me that a woman does not pray during her menstruation period because during that period she is not 'clean'. For Muslims, it is important to celebrate *Idhul Adha* with the family. They also believe that on *Idhul Adha*, they should give alms for the celebration of this holiday.

This section, although it only provides two religious activities, indicates that religious activities are an essential part of the life of the members of this society – hence, religion is very important. Due to the importance of religious teaching, it plays an important role in education. For instance, religious values are the major references in moral education.

5.6 Education

Education is a primary means of transferring a value system from one generation to the other, and is generally classified into three types: formal, non-formal, informal education. However, in the community under study, education is commonly related to the formal one or schooling. They do not regard the educational processes that take place in a family as education.

In the elucidation of education in the community under study, four types of education – informal, family, formal, and non-formal education – are examined. In addition, this section also examines the attitude of the community towards schooling.

5.6.1 Informal Education

One of the informal sources of education in this community is religion. This normally takes place in a mosque or in someone's house. Participants normally gather in groups and learn how to read and recite the Koran under the guidance of an informal teacher who is called a *guru mengaji,* 'Koran reciting teacher'. One of the groups I visited once consisted of only five boys aged between ten to fourteen years. They said that they met four times a week for about two hours at a time. When I took a close look at what they were reciting, I knew that they were not reciting the same part of the Koran. I could also hear the different voices of the learners at the same time, which confused me as a stranger. The teacher seemed to be familiar with this learning situation and could still hear who made a mistake and provide relevant correction. I was also told that in Koran reciting, boys and girls were separated. The main method of learning is by rote. They only learn how to read and recite the Koran without worrying about understanding the meaning. Pak Hamzah, now an English teacher, used to be a Koran reciting teacher and still recites the Koran once in a while; I found this out when, one morning, he

woke up very early and recited several verses of the Koran. He told me that when he was about ten years old, he attended an informal Koran reciting course, and used to represent his school in Koran reciting contests. From his testimony I know that one can learn to read and recite the Koran very well, yet not understand the meaning. He said that the main focus of attention in such schools is correct pronunciation and melody, especially stress, pitch and intonation. This observation agrees with those that Geertz (1973) made when he examined a traditional religious school in Java in late 1950s.

5.6.2 Family Education

As indicated previously, the family is also another setting for education. It is a place where informal education also takes place. It is the setting where children learn important skills and morality. The following is a brief elucidation of informal education in Tolaki families.

The main purpose of education in Tolaki families is to cultivate and preserve values that enable a child to live and to participate in his society. This education not only includes certain skills necessary to look after her/himself and his extended family when s/he becomes mature, but also includes sociocultural values that are necessary to enable her/him to live harmoniously with other members of the community. In other words, family education encompasses the cultivation and preservation of both material and ethical norms which will enable an individual to live as an individual, to belong to a large family, as well as to be a social being. This education takes place in the form of habit-formation, that is, through actual practices under adult supervision and command (Tarimana, 1993: 133). I observed that a child was allowed to do something without an adult's guidance only after being considered capable of doing it.

According to Tarimana (1993), the cultivation and preservation of ethical norms in a child by Tolaki families start at *komomakatiano* phase, when s/he can play outside the house without an adult supervision. From then on, a child is taught to eat, to speak and to behave according to ethically and morally accepted norms. As I observed several times, parents always reminded their children instantly to walk properly – e.g., to bend their bodies, stick out their right hands, and say *tabe* –when they are walking in front of elderly people. Tarimana (1993) points out that from an early age, children are taught to respect their parents, grandparents, and elders in general both through orders and folktales. He further asserts that through education in the family, a child is brought up to be a *mesida,* 'diligent', *mandara,* 'intelligent and adept', *kototo,* 'persevering and disciplined', *sabara,* 'patient', *pindara*, 'clever', *mota'u,* 'knowledgeable', and *pesawa,* 'morally well-behaved' person. In addition, s/he is expected to grow up as a person who *ehe medulu* (loves togetherness), *sumua'i me'anamotuo mepeohai* (cares for relatives), and *meomemeiri'ako* (loves other human beings and other beings). These are the key points for a child whose primary mission is to be a *pinokomberahi-rahi,* 'the bearer and preserver of her/his family hopes (Tarimana, 1993: 132-133).

Since the result of this education has an impact on the family as a whole, all adult members of a family, in the extended sense, are responsible for providing this. In fact, when a child misbehaves and does not say things in appropriate ways, the family can be brought into disrepute. This suggests that a child's failure to behave and say things in appropriate ways can be interpreted not just as the child's

failure, but as a family's failure. Hence, whenever a child misbehaves, people often ask 'whose child is s/he?'

On several occasions, parents were observed to tell their children directly to behave well not only in the presence of guests, but also whenever they noticed that they did not behave properly. It was also observed that the teaching of etiquette and sociocultural norms often took place during evening meals. When taught these aspects of culture, children were observed to listen with little chance to argue or to defend themselves. What was said by their parents was not open for discussion. In other words, they are expected to be submissive.

In sum, education in Tolaki families is largely a process of developing appropriate sociocultural norms of education with the emphasis on the education of children to behave and say things appropriately in social interactions in order to preserve their families' reputation, and to live in harmony with other members of the society. In addition, the process of education in the family domain requires children to be submissive.

The emphasis on submissiveness is not only observable in family education, but also in the process of teaching and learning in formal education.

5.6.3 Formal Education

The first *SD* (*Sekolah Dasar*), 'Elementary School', in this district was established in the 1960s, and this marked the beginning of formal education in this sub-district. Before the establishment of the school those who wanted to go to school had to go to the capital of the province, about one hundred kilometres away or *Wawotobi*, about forty kilometres away. The next level, *SMP (Sekolah Menengah Pertama*, junior secondary school, only started in the 1970s when an *SMPN (Sekolah Menengah Pertama Negeri)*, 'Public Junior High School', was established by the government. The first senior high school or *SMA (Senior High School)* in *Halu* is *SMAN (Sekolah Menengah Atas Negeri)*, 'Public Senior High School', *Oleo*, which was established in 1980. In 1995, the government of Indonesia changed the name of *SMP* and *SMA* into *SLTP (Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama)* and *SMU (Sekolah Menengah Umum)* respectively.

Formal education for the junior high school level is not only conducted at a regular school (an *SLTP*) but also at an *MTs (Madrasah Tsanawiah)* schools, which cater only for Muslims – the latter are under the Department of Religious Affairs; hence the curriculum is decided by this Department.

The number and types of current schools in this sub-district is presented in the following:

No.	School/Level of education	Quantity	Remarks
1	SD	32	Public
2	*SLTP*	4	Public
3	MTs	2	1 Public, 1 Private
4	SMU	2	1 Public, 1 Private

(Source: Ke*camat*an's Office of National Education, 1999)

Table 4: Number and types of schools in sub-district of Oleo

Based on the length of time schooling has been available, it can be assumed that the majority of the older generation are illiterate and only some of the middle-aged members of the community finished school at the elementary level.

5.6.4 Non-formal Education

The first type of current non-formal education is called *Kejar (**Kelompok Belajar,** 'Study Group') Paket,* 'package', *B*, following *Kejar Paket A*, which was started at the national level in 1994. The program was established in line with the government policy of nine years compulsory basic education. This program is approximately the same level as the lower secondary level of education or *SLTP*. According to the 2000 data at the Sub-distric Office of National Education, there are one hundred and sixty students in this program.

The second type of non-formal education is called *SLTP Terbuka*, 'Open Junior High School'. The number of students attending this program in 1999/2000 academic year was ninety. (See 4.4.3 for a description of these types of programs).

5.6.5 Attitudes towards Schooling

In general, the attitude of the villagers towards schooling is positive. The majority of parents send their children to school so that they are not illiterate or uneducated. Although it is difficult to conclude that a child goes to school because they really want to or just because other children do so, a lot of the students interviewed indicated that they went to school for better education and with the hope that with better education they would be able to improve the quality of their lives. However, there are also parents and children who seemed to have a negative attitude towards schooling as an educational institution.

For the villagers in this study, education is equivalent to schooling or formal education. Therefore, for most of them, going to school means going to learn how to write and to read. Although they are told that higher education is very important and that it can change their lifes, a lot of them, both parents and children, think that being able to read and write (literacy), and do basic mathematics are sufficient, because ultimately they may not be able to send their children to higher levels of education because of the financial cost. There are also others who do not want to send their children to higher education because they do not believe that it will be financially advantageous. For instance, a fifty-four year old father said in an informal interview which I conducted when he was making copra,

Why should I be bothered sending my children to university and spend a lot of money? A lot of graduates are unemployed. When someone finishes university, s/he only wants a white-collar job and would prefer being unemployed to working in a garden. I do not have anyone who can help my children find work in a government office, and I do not have enough money to bribe them.

This conversation not only tells us something about the negative attitude of the father towards education, but also about two other things. The first is that this father, as well as most of the villagers, still considers working for the government or in the formal sector is better than in the informal sector. The second is that having a good education does not necessarily guarantee that every one has the same

chance to be recruited by the government without knowing anyone who has been in the system, either through the payment of money or a blood relationship. However, this does not mean that the attitude of the villagers to schooling is totally negative. There are also parents who want to send their children to higher education but their children refuse to go. They do not want to go to a university, for example, to end up unemployed like so many graduates. As another father of about the same age of the previous father, who also earns his life by making copra, asserted, he wanted to send all his children to school and hoped that they all wanted to go to university. He said, "I don't mind working very hard to be able to support their education as long as they want to study".

A lot of young people are also reluctant to go to school, and prefer opening gardens and planting cacao or pepper, collecting sand in the river, or joining their parents working as fishermen to earn 'instant money' to buy what they want. In one of my informal interviews with a few boys collecting sand, I found that they dropped out from elementary school and decided to collect sand because by doing that, they could earn about seventy thousand rupiah (A$14.00) a week, which is quite a lot for a villager. The following statement by a teacher at the only Public Senior High School in the sub-district encapsulates such social phenomenon.

> In the village over there, there are a lot of male teenagers who have dropped out from school. Most of them did not finish primary school. They opened gardens and sell the produce. The sad thing is that when they have money, they only buy cigarettes and alcoholic drinks. They still live with their parents so they get food from their parents. Their own money is only for enjoyment.

The teacher seemed to feel sorry, but could not do anything to help the boys. He also stated that he was unable to make the villagers understand how important going to school was, because he was also well aware that there were many families whose children were educated but ended up unemployed, whereas education costs a lot to acquire.

The community members' understanding of the importance of schooling can also be reflected by the understanding and realisation of their roles in helping their children to learn what they need to know at school. Teachers often express their concern about insufficient support from students' parents for their education. In one of the informal discussions held during a lesson recess a teacher encapsulated the problem by saying,

> Children tend to go to school only for obtaining a certificate. It is even worse because their parents do not motivate them. However, if their children fail and have to repeat a class, they complain and blame the teacher. Indeed, a class repeater usually loses face in front of his friends and is looked down upon by the teacher because s/he is considered less able and lazy.

Another teacher added,

> Currently, there is a common view that the main source of the low quality of education is the teacher. The parents usually get upset and insist that their children move on to the next class. When we try to make them understand, there are only a handful who would accept this reasoning. In this sort of situation, we cannot do much, especially if it involves important members of the community.

The main problem for parents', as well as students', is a lack of understanding of what education and schooling is, which remains unresolved due to insufficient efforts to enhance communication with students' parents. Not only does the school not involve the community in school evaluation and monitoring, but also, like most other schools of the same type, it does not adequately communicate with the students' parents. Teachers said that they wrote comments in students' book reports which parents needed to collect from school at the end of the year. On this occasion, teachers hope to discuss with individual parents their children's school performance. This procedure was observed to fail due to the fact that only a small number of parents came to collect their children's book report. If the parents did not come to school, the report is just given to the student, which means parents are not likely to read the written comments either because they are illiterate or their children do not show the report to them. Unfortunately, the school did not develop other alternative ways to ensure effective communication between the school and parents.

During my ten-month fieldwork, I never saw a parent coming or being invited to the school. This suggests that school is still an isolated domain for the wider community members. This isolation is very likely to be caused by insufficient efforts by school management and teachers to open it to parents, and by the lack of awareness of parents that they are also responsible for the improvement of school quality. This does not mean that there are no communicative events involving teachers and students' parents. As members of the same community, they communicate informally with one another. However, this communication rarely relates to school or educational issues.

In addition, there is also a misunderstanding of who is responsible for education which I think stems from different or uncommunicated expectations between the role of education between the community and the school. Take for instance the case when a student misbehaves in the classroom, teachers often say, *"Whose child are you? Do your parents teach you to behave like that?"*. Similarly, when a child misbehaves in the community domain people will blame the teacher by saying, *"Who is your teacher?"*, or *"Is that what your teacher tells you to do?"*. Ideally, if such a gap exists, it is the task of the teacher to eliminate it by enhancing communication with the parents (Turney *et al.*, 1986). Therefore, the observational evidence suggests that the teachers of this school have not yet performed their responsibilities in the community domain. However, teachers are not the only ones to be blamed for the lack of communication between school and wider community because this primarily depends on the school's principal who holds the responsibility to organise meetings with student's parents. Furthermore,, parents may be reluctant to approach the principal or teachers because of their perceived higher status.

The following section discusses the language and sociolinguistic patterns of communication in the community in this study.

5.7 Language and Communication

In order to understand the basic sociolinguistic phenomena in this society, it is important to know what language(s) its members use, and to examine how they use those language(s) in their communication.

As previously mentioned, Indonesian is the LWC among Indonesians who are ethnically and linguistically diverse. It is not the first language for many Indonesian people, especially those who live in rural areas. Rather, it is the second language that is used when people of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds communicate. It is also the language that is used as the medium of instruction in the formal education sector throughout Indonesia, except in the first three levels of primary school and in English departments in higher education. It is also a major medium of communication in the school environment.

In the discussion of the language situation and communication in the village under study, it is relevant to examine the first and second languages and their use and the sociolinguistic patterns of communication in this community.

5.7.1 First and Second Languages

Even though there are several languages in this sub-district, there are only two major languages used by the members of the community: the local language – Tolaki – and the second language – Indonesian. The Tolaki language is the most common language spoken by native people. Among the minority languages are Buginese, Makasarese, Torajan and Munanese, which were brought to this sub-district some time ago after Indonesian independence by native speakers of those languages.

According to Mead (1999), Tolaki is a language of the Western Malayo-Polynesian group. He divides the language into eight regional dialects: Wiwirano, Asera, Konawe (Kendari), Mekongga (Bingkokak), Norio, Konio, Tamboki (Tambuoki), and Laiwui (Kioki). The dialects used in *Oleo* are probably Konawe and Asera because it is situated between Kendari, where the Konawe dialect is spoken, and Asera. Asera and *Oleo* used to be one sub-district, but have very recently been divided into two sub-districts.

The other most common language, and the second language used by the community, is Indonesian. It is only used in certain settings, such as public domains, and formal settings. When I lived in the society, I occasionally encountered an elderly person who only spoke the Tolaki language, and understood very little Indonesian. These people were illiterate and admitted never having been to school. They have picked up Indonesian by listening to others using it.

> The setting where Tolaki is acquired as the mother tongue of Tolaki people is not different from that of the acquisition of the mother tongue of other native tribes – it all starts from the early life of a human being in the family, in the play-ground, at the beginning of primary education, and in society. It is acquired in informal settings. Yet, sociolinguistically speaking, its acquisition may differ from community to community due to cultural influences and technological advancement. In a metropolitan society for example, ways through which acquisition of mother tongue takes place may vary in context due to the availability of various settings provided by communication media. In a remote area, the settings are less varied. Cultural ideology also dictates the way a community passes on its mother tongue to the next generation.
>
> In Tolaki, as well as in some other ethnic groups in Sulawesi, communication between an infant and adults is less verbal. The use of body language

(manual and facial signs) is more common than words, especially before an infant is able to smile. In my observation of a mother giving a bath to her four-month baby, I hardly heard her saying any words, only "*Uu...uu... morini*", 'Uu… uu …(it's) cold.' The washing only lasted a short time. After drying the baby she fed her with rice porridge. The mother sat on the floor with her legs stuck out straight in front of her where she laid her baby and forced her to eat the porridge. As she was crying, the mother shook her legs and sang, Ooo…oo…". (For more information about the pattern of communication, see Section 5.7.3).

In the last decade or so, following the government's policy on the preservation of vernaculars, the Tolaki language has been taught as a school subject in Tolaki speaking communities. According to the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, local languages have to be preserved, but can only be used as a language of instruction in the first three levels of the primary school. In my three direct observations at two primary schools in the sub-district, I found that in the classroom, about thirty per cent of a lesson used Indonesian in year one whereas about ninety per cent of a lesson in year three was in Indonesian. From year four to year six, Indonesian is the only language of instruction. Thus, a type of early transitional bilingual education is practiced.

As previously stated, Indonesian is the second language for the local people. Therefore, the acquisition of it comes after the acquisition of Tolaki. It starts as soon as one enters a primary school – there are no kindergartens of any kind in this sub-district – because even though it is not the only language of instruction in the first three levels of the primary school, it is the only written language used in textbooks, and it is the only language of instruction allowed after year four of primary school up to university level – except for those majoring in English. It is inevitable that in the early stage the learning of Indonesian takes place in more formal situations. In the later stages it may be acquired in certain domains such as the office, and where people of different ethnic groups or the more educated ones communicate using Indonesian. A brief account of the sociolinguistic situation in the community is provided in the following section.

5.7.2 Language Use

Language use in a community like the one in this study is complex and, therefore, this study is unable to examine it in detail. A specific study would be necessary to describe this sociolinguistic phenomenon. This section is aimed at providing a general description of the language varieties this community uses in their daily communication, especially the interaction between the Tolaki language and the Indonesian language.

In general, the more formal the setting, the more Indonesian is used and vice versa, the more informal a setting, the more Tolaki is used as the means of communication. What makes the sociolinguistic situation of school differ from that of wider community is the frequency of use of those languages. The frequency of Indonesian use is higher in the school setting in comparison with the use of

it in the wider community, whereas the use of Tolaki is less frequent in the school setting in comparison with its use in the wider community.

In the school setting, the two languages are used bilingually by both the staff and the students in the form of both code mixing and code switching. However, although there has not been any record on how much exactly each language is used in this school context there is a tendency for teachers to use more Indonesian than Tolaki, probably due to the fact that they have acquired different mother tongues. Only those who acquire Tolaki as their mother tongue use it in their conversations; yet they only use it in informal settings where everyone understands it. In the case of communicative events among students outside the classroom, there seems to be more Tolaki being used than Indonesian. However, the use of code mixing and code switching tends to be frequent. Again, at this stage, a precise account is not available – there would need to be a systematic study of this linguistic situation. What is definite is that through the school setting, students practice their Indonesian; hence, acquisition of Indonesian as the second language is more likely to take place in this setting than in any other setting.

As in any other region of Indonesia, the language used for educational and official purposes is Indonesian. The Indonesian variety used depends upon the setting but in most cases, the variety used here is influenced by local Tolaki at phonological and possibly at syntactic level. For example, instead of saying *[dataŋ],[Ikan], [djalan], [kolam]*, they say *[data], [Ika], [jala], [kola]* – deleting final nasals of a word, and instead of saying [senter], [motor], most Tolaki people say [sentere], [motoro] – adding final vowels. This linguistic behaviour is probably attributable to first language interference. It is a vocalic language – a language whose lexical items end with vowels. The following example indicates linguistic transfer at syntactic level:

"Mamanya, dia sakit", which is equivalent to "*Ina-no, mohaki-i*". In standard Indonesian the sentence should be "Mamanya sakit". In Tolaki language, suffix '-i' marks third person singular which means 'dia' in Indonesian.

Indonesian is the major language of communication in a speech event involving interlocutors of different ethnic backgrounds. It is also used in parallel with Tolaki in offices; yet, Tolaki is used in less formal speech events among Tolaki speakers, while Indonesian is used in formal events regardless of ethnic background. Code switching and mixing between the two languages are common linguistic phenomena in less formal settings.

Language use is the main source of information about the sociolinguistic patterns of communication, the topic to be examined in the next section.

5.7.3. Sociolinguistic Patterns of Communication

There are certain norms and rules dictating patterns of communication among members of a community that are culture-universal, but there are also norms and rules which are culture-specific. The culture-specific norms and rules cause these patterns to vary in and across communities. These patterns can only be described objectively by understanding the cultural norms and rules underlying them.

Sociolinguistics is one of the fields of study used to examine the pattern of communication between different social groups. One of its areas of interest is the study of language varieties which classify a society into different groups. Javanese, for example, recognise different varieties, such as *kromo* and *ngoko* – *kromo* is the variety used among royal families or by speakers of lower social status, like servants, when they speak to a higher class member (see Siegel, 1986: 15-35). Using linguistic analysis, sociolinguists analyse certain linguistic features to examine the way interlocutors maintain or distance their social relationships with other interlocutors.

In order to understand the sociolinguistic patterns of communication in this society, it is necessary to examine communicative events that involve interlocutors of different as well as similar social identities. However, it is not possible to describe in this chapter the very complex pattern of communication between every single social group, as the grouping system itself is very complex. Therefore, I have only tried to present those which are relevant to the concerns of the present study, the ones related to social groups of family and school. Therefore, the pattern of relationships that I think is of relevance to talk about here is the one related to parents, children, students, and teachers.

5.7.3.1 Patterns of Parent-Child Communication

One of the ethical norms is respectfulness towards elders, which is manifested both in verbal and non-verbal behaviours. A very good example of respectful behaviour is being submissive, uncritical, and non-contradictory to parents and elders. There is a common perception that questioning and arguing with parents or an elder is a sign of disrespect; hence, these behaviours are regarded as constraints on the development of harmony. This perception is also held by Javanese (Berman, 1998; Wachida, 2001). As Berman (1998: 137) observed in Javanese culture, members of the community are educated to verbally behave in such a way as to ensure "that the consequences of talk do not disrupt the harmony of the speech situation or the wider community", and that every participant in a communicative event is socially responsible to "ensure that meaning and members never offend the status quo".

As described previously, communication between parents and their small children is not very verbal. Verbal communication starts only after a child is able to speak. They can ask informative questions but only do so very rarely. It is parents and adults who speak more, while small children are expected to listen. Speaking practice for a small child occurs whenever they ask for something. This is the pattern of interaction which parents mostly encourage. Children pick up their mother tongue mostly by observing adults and their peers in the playgrounds. I use "observe" in the sense that communication between parents or adults and children is dominated by parents' or adults' talk in the forms of

imperative and informative-descriptive and the performance and the informative-affirmative (from the child's side). In speech events where adults are involved children are only allowed to listen as long as they are not disturbing the adults or making noises. In my observation notes I wrote,

(7) 24 February 1999

It is 4 p.m. Pak Djamal and I are sitting in the front room chatting. It is very hot, about 29 degrees. I am sweating a lot, especially because of the heat of the hot coffee served by Pak Djamal's wife. Pak Djamal's daughter, Ani, five years old, is looking after her younger brother of about 10 months of age. They are playing by the door. When the little boy cries, Pak Djamal tells Ani to take her brother away. He says rather unpleasantly, "Bawapi itu adekmu main-main. Jangan ganggu orang tua kalau lagi bicara", 'Take your brother somewhere to play. Do not disturb us (adults) talking'.

THERE IS A TENDENCY FOR PARENTS NOT TO SPEAK A LOT TO YOUNG CHILDREN. THERE ARE NOT MANY OCCASIONS WHERE DIRECT COMMUNICATION BETWEEN PARENTS AND CHILDREN OCCURS. AS INDICATED IN THE PREVIOUS SECTION, DURING MEALS, FOR EXAMPLE, PEOPLE DO NOT TALK A LOT AND IT ENDS RATHER QUICKLY. SOMEWHAT SIMILAR PHENOMENA OCCUR DURING WORKING OCCASIONS INVOLVING YOUNG CHILDREN AND PARENTS. HOWEVER, AS INFORMED BY SEVERAL SUBJECTS, ON THESE OCCASIONS, PARENTS, MORE OFTEN THE FATHER, GIVE THEM BRIEF ADVICE.

THIS PATTERN OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN PARENTS AND CHILDREN SUGGESTS THAT RARELY DO CHILDREN TAKE A TURN TO SPEAK IN FRONT OF THEIR PARENTS. IN OTHER WORDS, IT IS THE PARENTS WHO DOMINATE THE COMMUNICATIVE EVENT. THIS INDICATES THAT CHILDREN LEARN THEIR MOTHER TONGUE FROM ADULTS THROUGH 'PASSIVE' OBSERVATION. THIS SOCIOLINGUISTIC PHENOMENON IS IMPORTANT TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION BECAUSE IT MAY IMPACT ON CLASSROOM PRACTICES, PARTICULARLY ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CLT IN LANGUAGE CLASSROOMS, WHERE STUDENTS ARE EXPECTED TO TALK TO THEIR TEACHERS.

5.7.3.2 Patterns of Teacher-Student Communication

Communication between teachers and students outside the school environment is something very rare. After school, both teachers and students head home, or to their gardens. All the permanent teachers admitted that they had had to open gardens and plant cacao or pepper because the income from their salary was not sufficient to meet their needs. Some students also admitted that they would either go to gardens to help their parents to pick the produce or do some domestic work. Both groups have their own after-school activities that keep them from regular contact outside school time. The only

outside-school contact that may occur is when there is a scout camp or sport and art contest conducted to celebrate Indonesia's independence day. Wati, a student of Class II B indicated that she had never talked to her teacher outside the school environment. During my fieldwork, Pak Hamzah and myself had two visits from a group of students, both in the afternoon. The first one occurred on 6 October 1999, when we were visited by four female students (I found out later that they were all our neighbours). The following observation vignette encapsulates the event.

(8) 6 October 1999

It is 3:34 pm. Four students visit our place. I am cooking in the kitchen. In front of the house, Pak Hamzah is trying to collect a few pieces of timber for our bathroom. I hear them saying "Assalamualaikum" before they are invited to come into the house by Pak Hamzah. They come with a big lemon. I know that when one of them comes to the kitchen and put it on the table very quietly. "Selamat sore", 'good afternoon', I greet her. She does not answer me verbally, but she runs back quickly to the front room and bursts into laughter. I hear them all laughing. I guess she has a mixed feelings of surprise and shyness seeing me in the kitchen. I follow her to the front room and again say, "Selamat sore". This time, they all answer me "Selamat sore, Pak", without looking at me. .... I can hear them laughing clearly, but cannot hear their talking, so I cannot figure out what the purpose of the visit is.

Pak Hamzah asks them to make some tea for themselves and for the two of us, but never goes into the house to ask them the purpose of the visit. When I ask him about it he answers that he does not know, either. I make a move to ask them. The answer I get is "cuma jalan-jalan, Pak", 'just stopping by, Sir'. They sweep the floor and clean the dirty plates, and then have a chat. At about 4 pm, they all get off their seats and say "pulang dulu, Pak", '(we'd like to) go home, sir.'

This visit was particularly interesting to me since it left me puzzled, and I am only able to guess an explanation for it. The first possible explanation is that they might have had a special 'possible mission' but they did not dare to say what it was either because I was there, or because Pak Hamzah was just ignoring them. The second one, which I think was more likely, was that it was close to the time for the summative exam, so they wanted to "approach" Pak Hamzah, who was their de facto *wali kelas,* 'guardian teacher' who would play an important role in the grading process.

The second visit was made in the first week after the five-week *Ramadhan*, 'fasting', break. The visitors were neither students taught by Pak Hamzah, nor by me. They were from Class 2A. There were six of them – all were girls. When they arrived, Pak Hamzah was not at home. I will use the second visit of six students in the next section to illustrate patterns of communication among children.

5.7.3.3 Intra-Group Patterns of Communication

In this community, the pattern of grouping can be observed closely by travelling around the village in the afternoon. As I noted in my fieldnotes, I often noticed several groups of children aged between 4-6 years old playing hide and seek. It was interesting to notice that these children grouped themselves based on their ages. Bigger/older children played sports like soccer or volleyball and *takraw*, or just sat on the street or in front of a small kiosk. However, adolescent girls were rarely found gathering in groups outdoors. On the other hand, small girls usually played in their own groups and so did small boys.

The following observation vignette, taken from my fieldnotes, is concerned with the visit of students to our house, and encapsulates a pattern of communication among children in this community.

(9)   19 January 2000.
"Good afternoon, sir. Where's Pak Hamzah?". "Keluar", he is not home', I reply. ... When I asked them if I could help them, one of them answered, "Yes". They had English homework and they wanted me to help them. "Did your teacher ask you to do this in groups?" I ask. "*No, sir, but we often do homework in groups. This is our group*", one of them explains. They have just sat around the table, when another girl came in saying "Assalamualaikum". She is carrying her little brother of about 2 years old on her back. I ask them to tell me what exactly they are asked to do. The one who seems to be the informal group captain starts to explain it. The others also join in adding relevant information to add to their friends' explanation about the task. They are required to compare the characteristics of city and village people. "This is not easy", I say in my heart. I ask them to brain storm. At first two of them start to throw in ideas based on the reading from the textbook. After a short time, the discussion becomes lively. They agree or disagree, but always ask me for a confirmation. After finishing, they ask why I have never taught their class. "*I will visit your class some time, but I do not know when. Just wait*", I answer easily.
They are just about to leave when Pak Hamzah arrives back. After saying "thank you, sir" they all leave. I forgot to ask their names. Pak Hamzah told me that that group consists of the most diligent and best students in their class. I ask him what their names are, because there was no introductory session at the beginning of our meeting.

This vignette reveals more than just a visit of several girls to our house. It also indicates that students are able to work in a group, discuss a topic, challenge and agree upon others' ideas, and have overlapping utterances. These girls seemed to be tolerant of comments or the disagreement of others, and to the noise that they made. This is evident from their lively discussion, although it was in Indonesian, their second language, during their work. This session was productive and successful because: (1) they finished the homework not by just copying from the brightest member of the group but by getting involved in the discussion, and (2) so far as I could observe, they enjoyed the discussion very much. In addition, this vignette also reveals that in informal settings, girls are not necessarily shy. They greeted me in English with "good afternoon, sir", and they did not hesitate to ask for help. Why then do similar phenomena not occur in the classroom? (see Section 7.6.1.2). In my opinion, this can be attributed to the level of formality in a given setting. In informal settings, students tend to feel more relaxed and under less pressure from the teacher as well as from the time. In the classroom, they have to obey some conventional rules, i.e. "*behave yourself*" which includes, for instance, "*don't make noise, don't move around*" in front of the teacher. Another very possible factor contributive to the rigorous discussion was the homogeneity of the group by sex, academic ability, and probably age, making them good friends; this would tend to reduce psychological and social distances among them.

The psychological and social distances among homogenous interlocutors are also reduced by the use of specific terms of address, the topic to be discussed in the next section.

5.7.3.4 Terms of Address

One of the aspects that are commonly examined in a sociolinguistic description of a speech event is the terms of address used by interlocutors.

From the point of view of sociolinguistics, the Tolaki language varies in use based on certain social norms, status identities and relationships between interlocutors and settings. According to Tarimana (1993: 70) there are three varieties of Tolaki language, namely: *tulura anakia*, 'noble variety', *tulura lolo*, 'ordinary variety', and *tulura ata*, 'slave variety'. According to him, it is the ordinary variety which is commonly used and the younger generation normally speaks only that variety (my personal interview with Tarimana). One of the linguistic forms marking the social status, and politeness, of interlocutors is the marked form of the second personal pronoun "*nggomiu*", 'you '(nominative) and marked suffix "–miu", 'your, yours' (possessive) – the unmarked form is "-mu". In everyday conversation, an interlocutor with lower social status uses 'nggomiu'(second person pronoun, nominative) and '-miu' (suffix for second person, accusative) when s/he speaks to someone socially higher in status; whereas an interlocutor socially higher uses unmarked forms, prefix "u-" (prefix for second person, nominative) or suffix "-ko", (suffix for second person, accusative), and suffix: "-mu". Consider the following sentences:

(a) I keni pera laika-*miu*? vs I keni pera laika-*mu*?, 'where is your house? or where do you live?'

(b) Lako toponggaa *nggomiu*! vs *U*-lako ponggaa!, '(Let's) eat'! or please eat!'

The use of *(nggo)miu* forms is complex, as it is determined by the social status of the interlocutors, which is complex in its own right. Social status is not determined by one factor alone but by factors such as marital status, age, kinship, job, and other relevant aspects of social background. For example, an older teacher addresses the school principal *(nggo)miu*, regardless of their difference in ages, because officially the principal is his/her superordinate. The forms are also chosen when two interlocutors are respectful of each other. I heard a school principal and the head of *Kanin Diknas* (**Kan**tor **In**speksi Pendi**dik**an **Nas**ional) Kecamatan, 'Kecamatan National Education Office') address each other *(nggo)miu* when they had a chat.

'Nggomiu' as a term of address is only used when the interlocutors are using the Tolaki language. When the main language for communication is Indonesian, the most common terms of address used are *Bapak/Pak* – used to address a male interlocutor – and *Ibu/Bu* used to address a female interlocutor. These terms of address are widely used by Indonesians for the purpose of courtesy, which is based on social class differences and relationships between interlocutors.

Among different sociolinguistic means for social status and power realisation, terms of address are the most common. The terms of address used by this group are *Pak* and *(I)bu* (+name or position) for Mr and Ms, respectively with *(nggo)miu* morpheme (see Section 5.7.2). *Pak* is used in

front of positions like *camat, lurah, kepala desa, kepala dusun, kepala sekolah,* and in front of occupations like doctor and teachers; hence, *Pak Camat, Pak Lurah, Pak Desa, Pak Dokter,* and *Pak Guru.* Sometimes, a male teacher is addressed *tuangguru,* 'Mr Teacher', especially when they use the local language, whereas a female teacher is addressed *(I)bu guru,* 'Mrs Teacher' respectively. Policemen, soldiers, and other government officials are addressed *Pak* (+ name), to indicate respectfulness. *(I)bu* + position and occupation is used to address not only a female *camat, kepala desa, lurah*, and doctor, but also the wife of a *camat, a kepala desa*, a *lurah*, and a doctor. However, *(I)bu guru* is only used for female teachers. It is interesting to note that the husband of a female *camat, lurah, kepala desa*, and doctor are not addressed *Pak camat*, *Pak lurah* unless he holds or occupies a similar position. In other words, power as well as the status of a husband automatically influences the power and status of his wife(s), but the power and status of a wife is not transferred to the husband. The following vignette of a wedding party describes one of the ways different social classes are defined.

(10) 6 November 2000

7:05 pm. Pak Hamzah and I attend a wedding party. According to the invitation, the party will start at 7 pm. But when we arrive there are only a few guests who have arrived earlier. The bridal couple have been sitting on the dais. Pak Hamzah and I shake hands with gentlemen and ladies lining up face to face in front of the gate to welcome guests. Before taking seats, we shake hands with the couple and their parents standing beside them. As soon as we get off the stage, a receptionist, who has known me very well, leads us to the guest section. He takes me to the front row and offers the seat beside the district chief of the police. I try to refuse the offer, but he insists. The police chief, whom I've known well since my first arrival in this village, extends his hands inviting me to sit next to him. Later, the *camat*, the doctor, and some other important people from the area as well as from Kendari join us in sitting in the front row. Pak Hamzah does not join us, but takes a seat beside his colleagues, several rows behind us. A lot of people arrive after 7. I notice that a lot of talking is going on but I cannot hear what people are saying because of the loud music.

Only at about 8 p.m., the main session begins after the master of ceremony makes sure that no more important guests will arrive, and gets a kind of approval from the *camat*. She says "Bismilahi rahmani rahim" to signal the beginning of the formal ceremony. There are two speeches, both delivered in Indonesian, of which one is delivered by the *camat* representing the families of the new couple. During the speeches receptionists are still busy guiding guests to find seats, and women are busy preparing the meal. It seems that only a handful of people actually listen to the speeches; while the rest are talking quietly among themselves. After the speeches, comes a prayer for the meal said by an *imam*. All guests are invited to have the meal. Before the meal an *imam* prays not only for the meal but also for the bride and groom, their families, and all the people present. While the *imam* is uttering the prayer, some women are uncovering the meal on the tables very carefully but they still make noise because of the paper covers. They are all either in traditional or modern costumes. After the prayer, everyone rushes to the nearest table. No queues are formed. They all, women and men, children and adults, want to go before the others. The distinguished guests, including me, are invited to a special table. Only at this table is a young lady handing eating utensils to the guests. The meal passes very quickly and people start to rush again to the stage to shake hands with the bride and groom. Again, no queues are formed. Everyone tries to squeeze into the lines.

This vignette also depicts a way of maintaining the social status and power of the speech deliverers, that is, by using Indonesian language. Indeed, not all of the audience was fully listening to them, but the fact that the noise decreased reasonably

suggests that the audience was respectful of them. They could have used the Tolaki language in their speeches as almost all the audience understood it, but because of the formality of the event and for the speakers to be considered well educated – hence socially high ranked – they used Indonesian. This vignette also depicts that the social status of a family may also be indicated by who attends their party. The *camat* and the local police chief, for example, attended this wedding because they knew that the bride and groom come from a family of high social class. In addition, the social status of the guests is also indicated by their seating positions. Those whose social status is high are given seats in the front rows.

The use of terms of address by Indonesian communities, including the one in this study, is a complex social phenomenon that is not possible to describe here. In many communicative events, *Pak/Ibu* are used by older interlocutors to younger ones, because of the latter's power and social status and not because of considering him/her as a parent. In most cases, calling someone who is married by their name especially when s/he has a child or a permanent job, is culturally impolite. From my own experience living with people from several different societies including Balinese, Buginese, Makassarese, and Torajan, I know that terms of address in these communities are rather complex. They are contingent upon social status categories which are based on marital status, types of job, whether or not a married couple has any children, age differences among interlocutors, types of job and occupation, personal relationships among interlocutors, and speech domain. As one of the students commented, "*We address our teachers Pak or (I)bu because they are our teachers. ... We do not call them only by their names, because it is not polite.*" One can even argue that the use of these terms is no more than just a "ritual"; as a teacher once said, "*Students of these days address us Pak or Bu only to pretend that they respect us; no longer do they respect us the way we respected our teacher in the old days*". Several students, however, explained that they used these terms of address because they not only respected their teachers but also considered them as their parents. It is difficult to judge which is the truth, but at least it is clear that these terms are commonly used as the conventional terms of address. However, it is clear that the terms of address used in a speech event help explain the power and social status of the interlocutors involved, the topic to be elucidated in the next section.

5.8 Power and Status

A community is comprised of a number of different social groups which are contingent upon several variables. The grouping can be work-based, heredity-based, economy-based, or education-based. Work-based groupings, for instance, distinguish between white-collar workers and labourers; heredity-based groupings distinguish between the royal class and common people, and economy-based groupings distinguish between the haves and the have-nots. These different variables often interplay or overlap in the manifestation of power and social status of a member of a group.

Traditionally, the Tolaki people differentiate community members into three main categories: *anakia,* 'noble people', *tonomotuo,* 'common people', *o ata,* 'slaves' (Tarimana, 1993: 142). It is not that easy to trace someone's family background because the use of surnames in this community is not common. Most people have only a single name. Only certain people use surnames and it is likely that they mostly come from the higher class of the society. This seems to be one of the ways to maintain their social status in the society.

Since the independence of Indonesia, power and status of community members have undergone changes and the social classification is more complex. This is due mainly to the improvement of education and better appreciation of human rights. However, in some instances of this community's life, one's family social background becomes very important particularly for a position such as a *kepala kampung*, a *kepala desa,* a *camat*. The *camat* of *Oleo*, for example, is socially high class, not only because of his education level – he completed university – but also because he is the son of the former *camat*. His brothers, brothers in-law, and a number of his cousins have good positions in the provincial government. The *SLTPN Oleo* principal is also a second cousin of the *camat* – according to the kinship system of the community, a second cousin is still a close relative.

These days, the power and social status of Tolaki community members inhabiting this sub-district has also been influenced by types of jobs, wealth, and education. However, usually, as indicated by the previous example, the ones with good education are the ones who have better opportunities to get good jobs in the government, and these people usually come from the middle and upper classes. Therefore, a lot of local people who occupy important positions in the government as well as other private sectors are from these two classes.

Policemen, soldiers, teachers, and the like are also respected groups. Local people taking these jobs mostly come from the middle class. In this community, policemen and soldiers have higher social status; hence are more respected than teachers. Teachers are still grouped according to the level they teach. For instance, the social status of an elementary school teacher is lower than that of a *SLTP* teacher.

Power and social status in this community are also contingent upon other social groupings which are based on age and marital status. Men or women of the same age group may be socially separated just because one is married whereas the other is not. In a family, or in wider social domains, grandparents are respected: in the distribution of food and in seating arrangements, grandfathers are given priority.

In addition, the use of the Indonesian language is a primary means of power realisation and social status maintenance and enhancement in public addresses (see vignette 10 in Section 5.7.4)

5.9 Summary

Despite the need to be concise, important cultural aspects of the community have been highlighted. These aspects are all necessary to be described in the sense that they provide a general description of the context for schooling – the local society.

This overview of the social and cultural context and discussion of aspects of the wider culture contribute to the inquiry into the school and classroom cultures which will be presented subsequently in the next two chapters in the following ways. The description of the community's construct of household and family contributes to our understanding of familial solidarity, and feeling of togetherness. It, in turn, enables the examination of collectiveness and cooperation and mutual obligation among the members of the community. The sense of collectiveness or togetherness, the practice of cooperation, and the feeling of mutual obligation can affect school and classroom culture in positive and negative ways. For example, *Metealo-alo* and mutual obligations of members of the society will help in explaining patterns of cooperation among students.

The villagers' concept and ways of spending spare time will contribute to the explanation of the way students and teachers spend their spare time in the school environment – what activities they do, and what is the likely purpose of doing such activities, and why they choose to do them.

The description of the economic condition of the society helps us understand that the struggle for an adequate income will potentially affect outside classroom activities of the students and teachers, which in turn affect their teaching and learning responsibilities. For instance, do the teachers have to do other income generating work outside school or not to subsist? Similarly, do the students have to help their parents after school or not?

Findings from informal education contexts such as Koran courses can help explain the types of learning styles used by students. Findings from several sociocultural events can help explain ritual aspects of school and classroom activities, for instance, what languages are used in a public address, and how the audience reacts to a public address. This can help inform the social interpretation of the situation during a public address in the school and students' reaction to teachers' talking time in the classroom. The description of the community members' attitudes towards schooling suggests some aspects of the sense of the responsibility and involvement of both parents and children in education and students' learning attitudes and motivation. Parents' attitudes towards and expectation of schooling affect their sense of responsibility in their children's formal education.

Findings from linguistic contexts will help elucidate the linguistic contexts in school and classroom environments. The description of patterns of communication in wider social contexts will help examine patterns of communication between different groups and among members of the same groups in school and classroom domains – what aspects are similar and why. These findings can contribute not only to the analysis of students' school and classroom behaviours but also to teachers'

behaviours. For example, the proportion of students' and teachers' talking time in the classroom can be analysed by relating it to adults' talking time in a speech event. The sociolinguistic situation will help in scrutinising students' learning motivation in general, and their English learning motivation, in particular. The sociolinguistic context can also be used to examine how children will learn language in the school – the tendency for children to acquire their mother tongue through passive observation can explain students' language learning behaviour in the classroom.

Similarly, teachers may dominate talk in their lessons, while students are only listeners; this is like their experience at home with their parents. Students, probably feel uncomfortable contributing ideas in classroom discussions, since in family, or society settings, this practice is discouraged. They probably see a teacher as someone who knows what is correct; hence cannot be wrong, like a father who claims to be always right and says, "*I never teach or tell you something that is wrong*". Therefore, they may also consider a teacher as someone who is powerful; hence , in order to respect her/him, and to maintain harmonious relationships with them, they should not question or challenge his/her ideas. Thus, they tend to be very dependent on teachers.

In summary, certain social and cultural practices and their implications for the behaviour of teachers and students in the school as well as the classroom context have been highlighted. Description at this level has only been possible because of the successful rapport built since the beginning of the study – first indicated in the second reconnaissance.

CHAPTER 6
SCHOOL CULTURE: A CASE OF A VILLAGE PUBLIC SLTP
6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a general description of the school in this study, which is crucial in an attempt to scrutinise the culture of its classrooms. It is mainly concerned with the particular aspects of the school and its community's culture which are not directly related to teaching-learning or classroom culture; the latter will be dealt with in the next chapter.

This chapter begins with an elucidation of the first step taken, i.e. getting into the school and its community (6.2) which is followed by a description of the physical context of the school (6.3). The next section (6.4) describes the school community. This section is followed by a description of events and activities taking place in the school environment: ceremonies (6.5), teaching and learning practices (6.6), and examinations (6.7). Section 6.8 examines the means and patterns of communication among the members of the community. The concluding section (6.9) presents a summary of this chapter.

6.1.2 Getting into the School

Through the second reconnaissance (see Section 5.2.2), though only a day, I was able to build a good rapport with the school through the principal and the teachers. I successfully used the opportunity to get myself into the school and built a good rapport with its members by both formal and informal means. Obtaining formal documents from *Kanwil Diknas*, 'Regional/Provincial Office of the Department of National Education', and taking them to the school met the formal requirements. Several factors assisted my efforts to enter the community. The first one was being considered as an important person who was humble and lacked arrogance, the latter being a negative image that villagers have of a person who has high social status because of a high level of education and occupation. The second was approaching a Torajan teacher. As I am also a Torajan, I believed that he would help me 'get into this school and its community' – his evaluation of my positive traits could spread around the school through him. The third was my acceptance of helping English teachers teach some of their lessons. The fourth was that I would not mention any individual's real name in my thesis. Another small yet significant factor to get along with the school members was giving the school treasurer and two other teachers a lift to Kendari. This was significant because not only did it save them some money, but, more importantly, it provided real evidence that I was not arrogant, but friendly and helpful.

At the beginning it was clear that students regarded me as one of their new teachers; hence they addressed me as *Pak guru*, 'Mr Teacher', and this created some distance between us. In a similar manner, the teacher informants, who used to be my university students, still considered me more as their teacher than a researcher, despite the fact that they were no longer my students; hence they asked me for instant recipes for classroom teaching. On the other hand, these teachers also considered me as a researcher who was going to observe and to scrutinise their teaching. Therefore, I had to make some effort to reduce the socio-psychological distance between us.

The following narrative vignette encapsulates my efforts to form closer relationships with students.

(11)   7 October 1999

It is 08:50 in the morning. I approach a male student I sat next to when I did my first class observation. He is about 1.25 m tall. I greet him "*Selamat siang*, 'Good morning'. He answers "*Selamat Siang, Pak*", 'Good morning, Sir'. As I cannot recall his name, I ask, "what's your name?" in Indonesian. He answers, "Andy". He is sitting by himself doing nothing. "What are you doing?" I try to draw his attention. "Nothing", he answers briefly. "Let's go to a *warung*, 'canteen'. Smiling, he looks at me curiously. He might think I am joking. "Come on, I mean it." In his surprise he follows me to a small *warung*. I order ten *Jalangkotek*, a kind of local cake, costing only Rp.50.00 (A$0.01) each, and offer them to Andy before I take one for myself. It takes a long time for him to take one of the cakes. He is very shy.... Several other students come into the warung. They all look surprised by the fact that I am sitting in this place and sharing some cakes with Andy. I use this opportunity to reduce our social and psychological distance by being friendly to everyone. I talk to them and offer them cakes.

This informal, friendly interaction enabled me to build a good rapport not only with Andy but also with other students. They seemed to appreciate my efforts to communicate with them in a friendly, non-authoritative manner. The news about my friendly manner quickly spread among students, which I reinforced by joining them in several volleyball games. They eventually realised that I was not one of their new teachers.

In addition to developing the rapport needed to work in the community, it was important to closely examine the general school situation. The next section presents a description of the school in terms of its physical context.

6.3 Physical Context

There is a general view that a school consists of classrooms with certain facilities that students and teachers use during their teaching-learning interactions. In addition to this, in this modern era, a school may also have a library and a laboratory or a resource centre. The following subsections present a general description of the school in this study and the condition of its office and equipment, its library, and laboratory.

6.3.1 General Description

Located on an area of about 550 square metres (see Figure 2), the *SLTPN 1* Oleo is surrounded by big trees, making it rather cool during the day. Neither noise pollution nor air pollution is a problem in this area. It has a large playground. Forming a U-shape, the school faces the south, where the only Public Senior High School (*SMUN*) in this sub-district, is situated along with, a Post Office, a *Puskesmas*, 'District Clinic', and the sub-district office of the police. To the west and north there are rice fields separated only by a row of trees. There is a concrete fence along the front border with a main entrance into the school area, but there are no fences along the other boundaries of the school. As a result, students who have dropped out, senior high school students, and other uninvited visitors can easily get access to the school. On several occasions during my fieldwork, I saw students from senior high school or village youngsters who did not go to school coming to the school. On another occasion a student's angry father accompanied by several youngsters came to the school just because his son had invented a story that a mathematics teacher had slapped him on his face. Again on another occasion, a

number of senior high school students fought right beside the class I was observing, causing the teacher to stop the lesson as everyone had run to the windows to watch the fight.

The school has seven buildings: three classroom buildings, each consisting of three classrooms, and a laboratory, a library, an office building, and a damaged building left unroofed due to financial problems. All the buildings are made of brick with corrugated iron roofs. From their physical appearance, as far as I could see, five buildings are still in good condition – they were built less than ten years ago – but the other two, the office and damaged building seem very old.

Despite the good learning environment – quiet and not very hot – the quality of teaching/learning is not very high due to complex factors, of which one is the inadequate provision of supporting facilities. There is only one toilet for more than three hundred students and thirty-two staff members, far below the normal health standard – the sanitation system is inadequate, and water is still a serious problem. Sometimes a teacher will ask some of the boys to collect water to fill up the water container in the toilet. I remember having several unpleasant experiences when using the toilet. The toilet is primarily used by teachers and female students, whereas male students seem to prefer using 'nature-toilets' to using the school's unhygienic one – seeing male students running somewhere off the school grounds to find a secluded place to use as a toilet was not an unusual sight. The following is a diagram of the school.
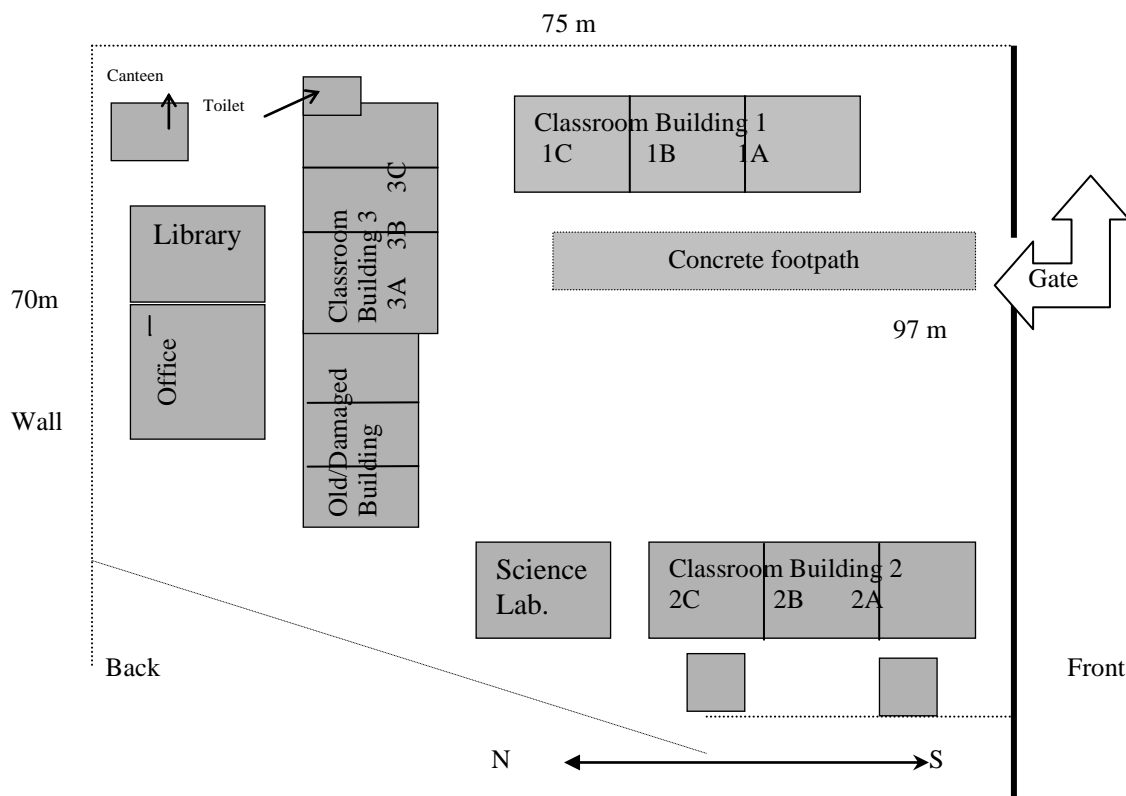
Figure 2: The Diagram of **SLTPN** *1 Oleo*

Even though electrical outlets have been installed in all rooms, one should not expect to use electrical equipment because there is no electric power at all during the day in the whole of the

kecamatan's capital area. I was once told that only the office had electricity at night, but that lights had not been turned on for years.

Behind the school, there are three small *warung*s, 'canteens', one is next to the library, and the other two are behind classroom building 2 (a picture of one of the canteens is included as Appendix E), where students can buy very cheap snacks such as *doko-doko*, 'traditional cakes made of rice flour, palm/cane sugar, a slice of banana, wrapped in banana leaf and steamed', fried bananas, local donuts, and several other types of locally/home made cakes. They were also used as places to hide when students did not want to sit in the classroom. Of the three *warung*s, only one is relatively clean and hygienic.

A description of the classrooms, which consist of nine rooms, three for each level, will be presented in the next chapter (see Section 7.3). The following is a description of the office and its equipment, the library, and the laboratory.

6.3.2 Office and Equipment

As stated previously, the school office is situated in an old building measuring about the same size as a classroom (9 by 6 metres). It is divided into two rooms. One of them, probably measuring 2.5 by 3 metres, is the principal's office. The other room is divided into four sections separated by either shelves or other partitions. One is used as a kitchen, one as a teachers' work space, one as the office for administrative assistants, and the last one as a sitting room (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Teachers' office. Teachers' work room (top) and sitting/reception room, administrative assistants' office (bottom). The two spaces are separated by a small kitchen (behind the whiteboard).

Only occasionally is the teachers' work room occupied. During recess, most of the school's teachers preferred to gather in the sitting room and have discussions on various topics, from daily life to current political issues, but rarely on matters related to school or lessons.

On the walls hang blackboards/whiteboards containing statistical information about the school's organisational structure, the students, the teachers, and the supporting staff, and the board of *OSIS* (*Organisasi Siswa Intra Sekolah*), 'Intra School Student Organisation', a kind of student council (see Section 6.4.2.). In addition, there is also a blackboard used as a notice board. There are four typewriters of which two are relatively new, there is an old stencil machine, and an OHP that remained unused since being brought to this school, until it was stolen together with a typewriter, when the office was burgled in February 2000. There is a big shelf, on which several trophies are displayed, in the principal's office. There are two other empty big shelves which function as room partitions separating the teachers' working space and the sitting room, and a small kitchen, where tea and coffee are made and served, sometimes with snacks, by a female administrative staff member.

6.3.3 Laboratory and Library

The laboratory building is located on the western side of the school, next to a classroom building. It is 7 by 10 metres, and is divided into two rooms, of which one is much smaller and is meant as an office for the teacher in charge of the laboratory.

Currently, the laboratory is used by several teachers as their working spaces. In fact, it does not have laboratory facilities, except some pictures of anatomical parts of the human body. In addition,

there are also some visual aids for physics and biology subjects, but they seem to be kept in the tightly locked shelf in the teacher's room.

Similar to the laboratory, the library building also measures 7 by 10 metres and is situated on the northern part of the school, behind classroom building 3, next to the office. In addition to the main room, there is also a small room for the teacher who is in charge of the library. As indicated by Figure 4, only a small number of books distributed by the government, a few old newspapers, and old magazines are available in the library. According to the teacher who had just recently taken responsibility for it before my arrival, teachers kept 'package' school subject textbooks on their tables in the teacher's room to make them handy for use. There was no record of the exact number of books available in the library – I'd guess there were less than a hundred textbooks available. Thus, it does not provide significant resources for staff or students and it is not surprising that it is very rarely visited by students despite there being time for library use in the schedule and a regulation that any class whose teacher is not present has to go to the library.

Figure 4: A picture of a class in the library under the supervision of a teacher. It was taken when the class was studying in the library during a "studying-in-the library" session scheduled for once a week per class. It was about 30^0C.

The following narrative vignette encapsulates the attitude of students toward the library,

(12)   2 January 2000
It is 11:00 a.m. I see the library is open so I am curious to have a closer look as it is crowded with students. I've been there a few times, but never spent much time there since, in fact nothing actually made it a library. From my first visit to this place, I was impressed that it was not proper to call this place a library. I could only see several old newspapers, a number of textbooks related to subjects taught, tables and chairs.

This time, I am particularly attracted by a crowd of students in the library. This is the first time I have seen it crowded. The students are there because they have no lesson. I go around to see what these students are reading. Of about twenty students, only five were boys. A lot of them are reading old newspapers or old tabloids. A few of them are learning Indonesian language from textbooks. Seeing a girl sitting alone with an English textbook open in front of her, I take the opportunity to ask her a few questions. She tells me that students rarely come to the library because there is nothing to read. "These books are very limited. We are bored with them", she comments. Some other girls are just talking quietly while turning the pages in their books without reading them.

The girl is quite right. There is no use going to a library if it does not have enough books or other reading materials worth reading. Moreover, it seems that students prefer playing volleyball, sitting in a *warung*, or playing outside the classroom to being in the library and are forced to be quiet while doing something boring. Such rules and regulations are not logical and easily lead to unintentional violations causing disciplinary problems which I often observed during my fieldwork.

In the library, there are tables and chairs, similar to the ones in the classroom, some shelves and a set of drawers for library catalogues. It also has a relatively new typewriter which is available for teachers' use; it is not used much by the library administrative assistant because there is not much to do; there is no book or collection circulation, because nobody borrows books from the library. Since

it is rather quiet, it is often used by teachers as a work area whenever they do not want to be interrupted.

The library and laboratory facilities, as well as the regulations for their establishment and use, can be seen as symbols of ritual and formality. It is generally believed that a library and a laboratory are important parts of a school. The library provides books that students can borrow to read for their assignments or for other purposes related to their literacy improvement. Similarly, the laboratory is expected to be a place where students can do practicum and should be appropriately equipped. However, in the case of this school, and possibly many other schools in Indonesia, the lack of provision of facilities means that the buildings called a library and a laboratory perform a symbolic role. The actual implementation of the rules and regulations is secondary to having them available and in place.

The description of the physical context indicates that the school is only able to provide very limited, basic facilities. In such an environment, it is more difficult for the school community, the next topic to be examined, to do much to improve the quality of its activities.

6.4. The School Community

Generally, a school community can be divided into three major groups: the administrative staff, the teaching staff, and the students. The chief of this community is the school principal who is responsible not only for the running of the school but also for the implementation of the government's educational policy. Every member of the school community is responsible to and respectful of him.

Staff and management are important parts of the school community and play crucial roles in the formation of school culture. Therefore, in an effort to describe the culture of the school in this study, it is important to briefly examine the staff and the management of the school with respect to their employment status, roles, training, expectations, and economic conditions.

6.4.1 Staff and Management

As in other educational institutions, *SLTP* 1 Oleo has a formal management structure under the leadership of a *Kepala Sekolah*, principal. He is the one who is responsible for the smooth running of the teaching and administration in the school and reports to the head of the *Kantor Inspeksi Pendidikan Nasional Kabupaten*, 'Department of National Education at Regency level'.

Even though the principal is the top management person in the school and is responsible for the career development of the teachers, he cannot fire them. However, since he writes a letter of reference and signs official documents for teaching and administrative staff rank promotions, he has a powerful position. No staff member can be promoted to a higher rank without his written reference.

Structurally, there is a vice-principal who takes the position of acting principal, whenever the principal is out of the school. To run daily administration of the school, the principal is assisted by a chief of administrative staff who leads three administrative assistants. There is also a vice-principal for curricular affairs whose major duty seems to be preparing lesson timetables.

In 1999, there were twenty-nine teachers and six administrative staff members (two were female) in this school. Of the twenty-nine teachers, twenty-one were permanent teachers, of whom three were females, and eight were contract-based teachers. Of the twenty-one permanent teachers,

three (all male teachers) were on study leave to complete their undergraduate (S-1) degree at Haluoleo University, the only state university in the province, in Kendari. The eight contract-based teachers – two English language teachers, two Indonesian language teachers, two biology teachers, one mathematics teacher, and one Islam religion teacher - were on annual renewable contracts and their salaries were paid by *Kanwil Depdiknas*, 'Regional/Provincial Office of the Department of National Education'). using Asian Development Bank (ADB) Loan funds. The distribution of teachers according to the subject taught can be seen in the following table:

Subject Area	Number of teachers	
	Permanent	Contract-based
(Islam) Religion	2	1
Civics/Pancasila	3 (1 on study leave)	-
Indonesian Language	3 (1 on study leave)	2
English Language	2 (1 on study leave)	2 (1 also teaches Farming skills)
Sports and Fitness	-	-
History	2	-
Geography	2 (1 also teaches Music)	-
Economics	1	-
Sociology and Anthropology	1	-
	-	-
Biology	2 (1 also teaches farming skills)	2 (1 also teaches Physics)
Physics	1	-
Mathematics	2	1
Farming Skills	-	-
Local Language (Tolaki)	-	-
Arts/Music	-	-
	-	-
Total	21	8

Table 5: Distribution of teachers according to subject areas (1999/2000)

As Table 5 indicates, there are no teachers specialising in sport, arts or the Tolaki. Therefore, in the 1999/2000 academic year, as in the previous academic years, these subjects were taught by teachers of other subjects. Arts/music, which focused merely on musical notation, was taught by one of the geography teachers. In the case of sports and fitness, it was observed that very rarely were there classroom meetings.

Most of the permanent teachers had finished a two-year non-degree program (*D-2*) and only three had finished a bachelor program. Of the three female permanent teachers, only one finished a bachelor program. All but one of the permanent teachers, a female, were aged above thirty-five years. They did not plan to continue their studies because they thought they were too old for it. Another reason for a female teacher not to pursue further education, as stated by one of them, was that they were married with children. These female teachers seemed to be satisfied by their current level of education and considered their maternal responsibilities far more important than having a higher education. Moreover, as both of them also admitted, their spouses did not want them to leave their families because this would cause a hardship for all of them: the father who would become a single parent during the study period, the mother who would leave the family and study hard like a single, young woman, and the children who would not receive their mother's care and love. This suggests that for a female teacher, leaving her family for study purposes is almost impossible.

When I revisited the school at the end of February to the beginning of March, 2001, I found out that the composition of teaching staff members had changed. Three of them, including the contract-based English teacher who used to be my main informant, had moved to other schools. According to the principal, it was hard to refuse their request to move. "*Ibu Ati had to go with her husband who had been formally reassigned to work in Kendari. ... Pak Sul complained because his salary was not sufficient, but he could not work part-time in this village for extra money. In Unaaha, [the capital of the regency], he teaches part-time at private schools.*" In Ibu Ati's case, marriage has a powerful cultural influence on the placement or re-placement of a teacher. In fact, there is a conventional agreement that a married female staff member should go with her husband, wherever he is posted, especially if the husband is also a civil servant and her duty can be taken over by someone else. In the case of Pak Sul, the principal decided to accept his proposal because there were still two more English teachers at the school, and there was another one who was on study leave and would come back to teach after finishing his study in a few months' time. Above all, "*this is about one's life. I understand that he (Pak Sul) had a serious problem. He had to fulfil his family's financial needs,*" the principal added.

In addition to the formal school management, there is also a board called *BP3* (**B**adan **P**embantu **P**enyelenggaraan **P**endidikan, 'Education Implementation Assisting Committee) which is established at every junior and senior secondary school. As the name implies, it is formed to assist the formal school management in the implementation of education at school. It was first established in 1993 as a committee, called *POMG* (*Persatuan Orangtua Murid dan Guru*, 'Students' Parents' and Teachers' Association) throughout Indonesia, under a ministerial decree. The main purpose of the establishment of the committee is to improve parents' participation in formal education, so they can also take responsibility for it – hence, it is similar to Parents and Citizen organisations in Australian schools. However, despite there being a *BP3*, parents' participation in school education is minimal. This is probably due to the fact that this system of school organisation is relatively new to them, and there is insufficient public awareness raising of the system among both school management and parents. As a parent commented, "*what we understand is that we send the kids to school to be educated (read: to be taught) by the teacher. A lot of us parents probably do not know what subjects they learn at school, all we know is that we send them there ...*" At this school, the committee meet annually to discuss the amount of *uang BP3*, 'BP3 money', a student has to pay as his/her contribution that is to be used for the improvement of education quality (Personal interview with the principal). However, the school management system did not make it clear how the money was expended. Several teachers commented that they did not know how *BP3* money was spent because there was no report about it, but nobody dared to ask the school principal for clarification.

As far as the material conditions of the teachers of the school in this study are concerned, it can be said that their the quality of life is better than that of most of the villagers. However, this does not mean that they are able to meet their basic needs. Therefore, *BP3* money could have been used as an incentive for teachers. The following narrative vignette describes the material conditions of the teachers in the village.

(13)   14 September 1999

There are eight teachers in the reception room which is also used as one of the administrative rooms. Six of the teachers were chatting and two others were typing but also involved in the concurrent discussions. ….

Pak Amin, about fifty-one years, who has known me since my first day at this school says, "*We, teachers, are not fat because we are not prosperous. The quality of teachers' life should be improved by increasing our salary. If not, of course we have to work outside school.*" Physically this teacher is rather thin. He is about 157 centimetres tall and probably weighs less than fifty kg. Another teacher adds, "*A teacher is not able to fulfil his/her basic needs. I dare say that teachers suffer from poverty. How can we teach well if our salary is not sufficient to fulfil our families' needs? We need money to buy food, to send our children to school, to buy uniforms, and so on. Where can we get the money from if our salary is very low? Moreover, our salary is often cut off by the government*" Another one answers, "*That's why I open gardens and plant cloves and cacaos.*"

This vignette is indicative of the teacher's economic problems. All the teachers present expressed their dissatisfaction with their salary. I can understand why these teachers complained about their salary and why they needed to spend a lot of time working before and after coming to school to improve the conditions of their life. I learned a lot about the life of the teacher with whom I stayed with during this fieldwork: the quality of the food he ate, the condition of the house he stayed in, and the quality of the furniture and other facilities he owned (see Section 7.5.1.1 for detail of the material conditions of the teacher).

Even though a teacher's salary is low, it is still further reduced because they are required to pay a teacher union membership fee. They have to pay this fee at the provincial, district and sub-district levels. In addition, their salary is often cut by the government for various reasons, e.g. teachers are required to donate to certain social foundations or to contribute to certain ceremonial activities which are conducted at school, in the sub-district, or in the district. Because teachers are often required to wear uniforms, their superiors at higher levels sometimes use the opportunity to sell uniforms to them. In this case, teachers' salaries are cut to pay for uniforms.

As mentioned previously, students are also important members of a school community because they are the reasons that schools exist. They also contribute significantly to the formation of the culture of the school because they are the ones who do the learning. Therefore, it is important that this study includes a section that examines the students attending the school under study in respect to their number, gender, class distribution, and school organisation.

6.4.2 Students

In 1999/2000 there were 303 students attending *SLTPN* 1 Oleo, 152 were female and 151 were male students. Each level was divided into three classes making nine classes all together. Class division was based on individual students' academic achievements. The principal stated that the class division system, which started in the 1996/1997 academic year, was in accordance with the policy of the Head of Regional Office of the Department of National Education. This rank-based division results in Class A, B, and C. The first thirty-four or so best students constitute Class A, and so on. As far as the system is concerned, a student of class B may move to class A in the following year provided that his/her rank gets better, or vice versa, if his/her rank gets lower. The size of a class varied slightly, between thirty-three to thirty-five. The distribution of the students in the 1999/2000 academic year can be seen in the following table.

Year/Class	Male	Female	Total
1 A	17	17	34
1 B	18	17	35
1 C	17	16	33
2 A	17	17	34
2B	16	18	34
2C	17	16	33
3 A	16	18	34
3 B	16	17	33
3C	17	16	33
Total 9	151	152	303

Table 6: Distribution of the students according to class division

As table 6 shows, there is a slight difference between the number of students of Year 1, Year 2, and Year 3 – the number decreases very slightly. The main reason in the past, according to the principal, was because a few students dropped out, or moved to another school. He also stated that there were barely any class repeaters (see Section 6.7.3), because the parents of those who failed to move to the next class usually moved their children to another school.

According to the teachers, girls were better than boys in the learning achievement. This was indicated by the tendency that the top ten students in most of the classes were girls. In class 2A, 2B, 3A, 3B, for example, the top 5 students were girls. "*Girls are better than boys, because they are more diligent, more persevering and more serious than boys. Unlike girls, boys have been influenced by their surroundings: drinking alcohol, smoking cigarettes, hanging around, and watching VCD-s*", Pak Eddy said. In several informal interviews teachers always mentioned that girls behaved better than boys. "*Boys tend to be noisier in comparison with girls*", Ibu Ifah, a female English teacher of an *SLTPN* in Kendari, commented. "*Boys are less attentive and less serious in learning. They often do other things, disturb one another, and are less disciplined*", said Ibu Ani, a female English teacher of another *SLTPN* in Kendari. Pak Hamzah, a male English teacher of this village *SLTPN*, also made similar statements.

The preconception that girls are better learners and boys are less disciplined is also manifested in the way that students' classroom seating is arranged. It was observed that the

seating arrangements were similar in all classrooms in the village school and in the classrooms of the two urban schools I observed: students were grouped on gender-basis and boys were placed right opposite the teacher's table. This generally suggests that most public *SLTP*s, if not all, have similar classroom layouts. (For more information about the seating arrangements of students in classrooms, see Figure 7).

As members of the school community, students are not only expected to participate in teaching and learning activities, but also to improve their organisational and management ability through co-curricular activities. One of the formal organisations that every student is a member of is *OSIS*, the abbreviation for the **O**rganisasi Siswa **I**ntra Sekolah, 'Intra-school Student Organisation', or Student Representatives. It is a formal organisation, chaired by a senior student. This organisation is similar throughout Indonesia. In general, the main purpose of the establishment of the organisation is to enable students to participate in educational policy decisions, in particular the ones related to co-curricular activities, at school level. Under the main board of the organisation there are six divisions that coordinate programs and activities: A division for Devotion to the Almighty God, a division for Nation Building, a division for Preliminary Education for National Defence, a division for Morality, a division for Political and Leadership Education, and a division for Skill and Enterpreneurship Education.

These divisions suggest that the role of the student organisation in education is significant. However, in practice, as observed at *SLTPN* 1 Oleo, it does not play significant roles in those aspects. Only two concrete activities were observed, one was the celebration of *Isra' Miraj* (see Section 6.5.2) which is related to religious matters, and a scout camping trip which is probably related to National Defence education. As the chairperson and the secretary of *OSIS* informed me, "*We only propose some activities for Sport and Arts Week....We conduct sport matches and art competitions which involve every class.*" The funds for these activities are taken from their monthly *OSIS* subscriptions of up to five hundred rupiahs or about A$0.10. When they were asked "*what other possible responsibilities they expect as their friends' representatives*" they could not explain further. This suggests that they may not fully understand, or are not made aware of, their major function as students representatives.

Students and other members of the school community are also members of the wider community. Going to school is not the only factor distinguishing them from other members of the wider society. Another differentiating factor is the way they dress or the uniforms they wear, which will be examined in the next section.

6.4.3 Dress and Uniforms

According to the principal, the wearing of uniforms started in the post-colonial period (post 1948) because there were no uniforms during both the Dutch and Japanese occupation. This suggests that the uniform has been added as a part of nation building.

Dress and uniforms are two important aspects of the school culture. The colours of uniforms for elementary and high schools are similar across the nation. An elementary school uniform consists of a dark red hat, a white shirt/blouse, a pair of dark red shorts (for boys) or a dark red skirt (for girls), and a dark red tie. A junior high school uniform consists of a dark blue hat, a white shirt/blouse, and a pair

of dark blue shorts (for boys) or a dark blue skirt (for girls), and a dark blue tie. A senior high school uniform consists of a grey hat, a white shirt/blouse, a pair of grey trousers (for boys) or a grey skirt (for girls), and a grey tie.

Since it is not compulsory for students to wear a tie, I never saw a student in the school under study wearing one. Even though a hat is an important part of the uniform, it is not uncommon for students to not wear one. The only occasions when they have to wear hats are during flag-raising ceremonies, and morning and afternoon assemblies. Wearing a hat during lessons is not compulsory, and therefore most students do not wear it then.

Wearing a uniform at school is compulsory and it seems to be more important than having a textbook. I never saw a student coming to the school in either a shirt or shorts of another colour, except during sport or physical and health development lessons. By way of comparison, I observed that only a handful of students owned textbooks. Tono stated that having a uniform is an obligation. *"I cannot come to school without wearing a uniform. Therefore my parents bought one for me",* he said. The principal commented,

> *A uniform is an essential part of the school, because that's the rule, national rule.... Everyone knows and has taken it for granted, so there is no need to insist anyone or any parents provide their children with uniforms.... [wearing] uniforms affect teaching learning process, so it is stressed that everyone wears uniforms at school.*

It is not only students who are obliged to wear uniforms. [Permanent] teachers and [administrative] staff also have to wear uniforms or *PDH* when they come to school. The uniform colour of civil servants working for the Department of National Education is grey. In addition to normal school uniforms, there are two other types of uniforms for all civil servants across the country. The first one is in green colour, almost similar to the colour of the army uniform. The shirt has an army logo on one of the sleeves, and above one of the pockets is written either *Kamra* which stands for **K**e*am*anan **Ra***kyat,* 'People's security (corps)', or *Hansip* which stands for *Pe*r*tahan*an *Sipil,* 'Civil Defence', or *Linra* which stands for *Pe*r*lin*dungan **Ra***kyat,* 'People Protection (corps)'. This can be interpreted as a part of the militarisation policy of the *Orde Baru,* 'New Era', regime. The only civil servants who do not wear these uniforms are university lecturers who do not have formal structural positions. Several years ago these uniforms were worn on Saturdays, but currently, they are worn on Monday in conjunction with the 'flag-raising ceremony' (see Section 6.5.1). It has become compulsory to wear this uniform, or at least it is understood to be by civil servants in rural areas. I remembered from my childhood that this was a special uniform for certain villagers appointed as *hansip/kamra* personnel who became a *kepala desa* security and military assistants. A joke circulates about a patient refusing to be diagnosed by a doctor in a rural community health centre – he thought that the doctor was a Civil Defence personnel – just because the doctor was wearing a *hansip* uniform. The second additional uniform is *korpri* (**K**orps **P**egawai **R**epublik **I**ndonesia, 'Corps of the Civil Servants of the Republic of Indonesia') batik which is normally worn when there is a flag-raising ceremony – although on several occasions, I found some civil servants in rural areas wore it on ordinary days – as illustrated in the following section about ceremony.

6.5 Ceremonies

During the fieldwork there were two ceremonies observed: the flag-raising ceremony and *Isra'Miraj*. The flag-raising ceremony is a kind of national ceremony that is conducted by government institutions throughout the nation, whereas *Isra'Miraj* is an Islamic religious ceremony which is conducted both by the government – except in the areas where there are not many Muslims – and Islamic organisations throughout the country. A description of these ceremonies is provided in the following two subsections.

6.5.1 Flag-Raising Ceremony

A 'flag-raising ceremony' is conducted at this school every Monday, unless it is a public holiday. It is imperative for every school member to attend this 'flag-raising' ceremony. Yet, I observed that there were always a few teachers who were not present at every ceremony. It is part of school formal and regular activities throughout Indonesia. In this ceremony, the *Pancasila* – the philosophical foundation of the nation that contains the five philosophical and ideological principle of the nation: believing in one God, civilised and just humanity, the unity of Indonesia, democracy, and social justice – and the Preamble of the State Constitution are read. The remembrance of and praying for the national heroes are also essential parts of the ceremony. The ceremony participants are required to repeat the five points of the *Pancasila* after the inspector of the ceremony, who is usually the principal. In every ceremony there is time provided for the ceremony inspector to deliver a speech. The following narrative vignette describes a flag ceremony.

(14)   4 October

> The flag-raising ceremony starts almost on time at 7:20. Almost everyone arrives on time. It resembles a military parade. All students are in their uniforms, boys are in white shirts and dark-blue shorts, whereas girls are in white blouses and dark-blue skirts. There are 12 teachers present, all are wearing either dark-blue or grey *Pakaian Dinas Harian*, 'casual suits'. Before the ceremony starts, two of the teachers are standing behind the students' parade for patrolling. There is a master of ceremony (MC) who announces the program items. The ceremony starts as the MC, a female student, pronounces the opening by saying, "*Bismillahi rahmani rahim* (Arabic), *Upacara Penaikan Bendera segera dimulai*, *Barisan disiapkan* (Indonesian)", In the name of God, the flag-raising ceremony is about to begin. Parade Commander orders the parade to stand at attention. The two teachers patrolling quickly join their colleagues who are standing on the eastern side of the school yard. The Principal as the ceremony inspector, accompanied by a student (a guard), goes onto the field. The students and the teachers salute him. The commander, a male student, reports that the parade is ready, the National Flag is raised as the National Anthem is sung by the participants. This is followed by *hening cipta,* 'being silent', when everyone observes a brief time to remember and pay tribute to the national heroes as well as pray for them. After that, the ceremony inspector reads the text of *Pancasila* item by item which is repeated by all participants. This is followed by the reading of the Preamble of the National Constitution. When the principal addresses a brief speech which is mainly concerned with discipline and advice, the students do not stand at attention, yet are expected to listen to what he says. However, I can see that, in contrast to the earlier part of the ceremony, during the delivery of the speech, the students increasingly become less attentive. From the place where I am standing together with the teachers, I notice students chat among themselves quietly. The principal seems oblivious of this and keeps delivering his speech which ends after about twenty minutes.

A flag ceremony is also conducted on the 17th of every month – or on the 18th if 17th is on a Sunday or a holiday, to commemorate the day of the independence of Indonesia which was proclaimed on 17 August 1945. The flag ceremony conducted on the 17th of the month is basically the same as the one conducted on Mondays. Since this kind of ceremony is repeated regularly almost exactly in the same way, it may become a ritualistic event and be taken for granted by both students and teachers. As a consequence, they may think that their physical appearance is of greater importance than an appreciation of what is going on – they salute the principal as the ceremony inspector rather than as the principal, they salute the flag, they say the *Pancasila*, they stand to attention, and so on. The form appears to be most important - that almost everyone engages in those activities.

The speech delivery session of the ceremony is rather different in the sense that when it is conducted the participants are not at attention, making the situation less formal. The behaviours of the participants are not uniform, nor is their attention fully, if at all, given to the speech. Although some participants are also chatting, those doing so are not admonished for it. In contrast, if any of them were noticed by teachers as not seriously participating or chatting during the formal part of the ceremony, they would have been summoned to the teacher's room and questioned about their lack of attention.

In a similar manner, at many government offices, almost every morning civil servants line in front of their offices to receive briefing from the top management, and on 17th of every month a 'flag raising ceremony' is held at government offices. On these occasions, civil servants are required to wear the civil servant union uniform *batik korpri,* or other uniforms stated by the government. On the 'flag raising ceremony' occasion, and in celebration of other national holidays, the reading of the *Pancasila* by the ceremony inspectors, which is repeated by all participants, is an essential part of the ceremony. On these occasions, the *Sapta Prasetia Korpri*, 'the (Seven) Loyalty Pledges of Civil Servants', is recited. The civil servants pledge that they believe in one God, act according to the principles of the *Pancasila* and *UUD '45*, are loyal to the government, keep national and official secrets, improve professional competence, and prioritise public interests rather than self- and group-interests. As an Indonesian civil servant who has participated in many such ceremonies, I can say that these are all examples of rituals and formality that put greater emphasis on the form than on the meaning, i.e. the improvement of nationalism, morality and work ethics which could improve service and work quality. This indicates that modern Indonesia still has an emphasis on a formal and ritualistic culture. Whether Indonesians appreciate these formal and ritualistic events or not is very hard to know. The central issue underlying the performance of these 'flag-raising ceremonies' is the building and maintenance of nationalism among Indonesian people. As Siegel (1986: 139) writes, despite "their inadequacies, there can be no doubt that schools are the places where sentiments of nationalism are centred ...".

Emphasis on ritualistic values can be observed both at national and local levels and are not just the characteristic of government agencies, but also of sociocultural agencies. Cultural and social values of religious ritual practiced by the community members are not part of this study, but there is a tendency for religious teachings to fail to act as restraint to keep Indonesians from violating human rights, from manipulating power, from corruption and collusion. In fact, in Indonesia, everyone must

belong to one of the five religions acknowledged by the constitution: Islam, embraced by approximately 90 per cent of Indonesia's population, Protestantism, Catholicism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. Mosques and churches are always crowded, and the cultivation of moral teaching is emphasised by government and social institutions, nevertheless, corrupt systems are still dominantly adopted by government officials and those who claim to be religious figures. This indicates that rituals and formality are more important than meaning.

6.5.2 Isra' Miraj

Isra' Miraj is celebrated by Muslims to commemorate Mohamed's miraculous flight from *Masdjid Al Haram,* 'Mosque Haram' in Mecca to *Masdjid al Aqsha,* 'Mosque Aqsha' in Jerusalem. According to Islamic faith, during his one-night flight, The Prophet Mohamed experienced various spiritual events including a trip to heaven. Every year, on the same date of the event, i.e. 27 *Rajab* (Islamic Calender), there is a national holiday. Governmental, as well as social and religious organisations always hold a ceremony, usually several days after the national holiday, to celebrate this holy event.

SLTPN 1 *Oleo* celebrated Isra' Miraj on 13 November 1999. All lessons were cancelled on that day. There were several distinguished guests invited to attend the celebration such as the *camat*, the district chiefs of the military and the police, the head of the district clinic, several village heads, and the principal of the *SMU*. The event was very formal. There was a master of ceremonies who announced the items. It started with a speech from the chairperson of the organising committee, a male student, who read his speech. He reported on the objectives of the celebration and thanked every one especially the teacher and the principal who provided guidance and assistance for the committee. The principal addressed his speech mainly in reference to what had been reported by the chairperson and added some information about what had happened to the Prophet Mohamed during the journey and advised the students to improve their spiritual and religious life.

The situation during the speech was similar to the situation during the delivery of other public addresses. The audience paid attention only at the beginning of the address. After a couple of minutes, people talked to their neighbours and paid less attention to what was said by the speakers. Only when the speaker closed his speech by saying "…. *Wassalamualaikum, waramatullahi wabarakatu*", 'peace be with you, and God bless you', did the audience clap their hands as a sign of respect.

After the speech, a male student recited certain verses from the Koran. This was followed by the reading of the translation by a female student. The audience was quiet during the reciting of the Koran, but the noise increased during the translation. The celebration ended with the serving of snacks: fried bananas, local donuts, and local cakes.

This event is also indicative of ritualistic values. It becomes an event which is taken to be compulsory at the school. The way it is conducted and the situation during the event suggest that the content is of lesser importance than the performance of the

celebration. Items are systematically and formally presented. Yet, whether the audience really becomes involved with them or not is questionable. Indeed, the noise decreased during the Koran reciting, but whether this was due to their appreciation of what they heard or to the nice voice of the reader is not clear. The fact is that, as admitted by some students, most of the students in the audience do not understand the meaning of the verses. It certainly can be argued that not understanding the religious language is part of the ceremonies of many religions, and that not understanding a religious recital does not make it meaningless, religiously speaking. This is to say that the meaning may be more a matter of spiritual or religious appreciation, rather than having a linguistic meaning or message.

The emphasis of formality and rituals is not only observable in ceremonies. Similar phenomena can also be observed in other events such as the morning and afternoon assemblies conducted every school day, which are examined in the next section.

6.5.3 Morning and Afternoon Assemblies

Every morning, at 7 o'clock, students assemble before a teacher on duty in the school yard prior to entering the classroom (see Figure 5). On this occasion, the principal or teacher on duty gives a short talk usually relating to advice, school activities, discipline and regulations, students' general behaviour or other general topics related to morality. Upcoming important events are also announced or highlighted in these assemblies.

Similarly, before leaving the school in the afternoon, at 1:30 p.m., students are required to assemble and listen to several announcements and, again, advice from the teacher on duty. Morning and afternoon assemblies are compulsory and are part of daily activities in this school. As the principal informed me, "*it is compulsory that all student join morning and afternoon assemblies*". This means that whenever a class has no lesson in the final session(s), students have to wait until after assembly before leaving. According to the principal, morning assemblies were compulsory and were commonly held in most schools. On the other hand, afternoon assemblies were not common but the principal decided to hold them as regular activities to prevent students from leaving school earlier than the scheduled time. Even though most students stayed until afternoon assemblies were over, I observed that due to frequent occurrences of lesson cancellation (see Section 6.6.2), a few slipped out to go home early. These students were very rarely caught because no one would report them unless a teacher saw them leaving. One morning, I heard a teacher summoning four students, two girls and two boys, for not staying for the previous day's afternoon assembly. The teacher emphasised that afternoon assemblies were compulsory and they should not have left school before the assembly concluded (see narrative vignette 23).

Figure 5: A morning assembly. Background: A classroom building (left) and the laboratory building (right)

The situation in both morning and afternoon assemblies is very similar. The following narrative vignette, though it only refers to a morning assembly, is illustrative of the situation found during morning and afternoon assemblies at the school.

(15)   4 October 1999
It is 7:15 a.m. This is the fifth time I have observed a morning assembly. Since Pak Hamzah, the English teacher I am living with, is the teacher on duty today, he leads this morning's assembly. The principal has not arrived yet, and several other teachers are still in the office waiting and chatting before they go to the classroom. Almost all students, except several groups, gather in the schoolyard. As usual, students line up in the northern part of the school yard. Although they all gather as one group, students line up with their classmates. As soon as Pak Hamzah stands in the veranda in front of the students, a senior student, a boy, comes forth, and gives order to his friends to be at attention. At the beginning and end of the assembly the situation is very similar to a military assembly. There are eighteen lines, nine lines of girls and nine of boys. The lines of girls alternate with the lines of boys. When Pak Hamzah gives a briefing for about ten minutes, mainly advice about discipline and morals, and other common issues, which are repeated by teachers in their briefings, the situation gradually becomes less controlled. Although students are not making much noise, the majority of them, particularly the boys, are obviously not paying much attention to what Pak Hamzah is saying. Only the students in the front rows remain quiet and a bit attentive to the briefing. Those more distant talk among themselves and disturb one another. Pak Hamzah seems to be oblivious of this phenomenon and does not seem to be annoyed.

The first impression of the assembly, as reflected both by linguistic and non-linguistic behaviours of the participants, is that the students and the teachers are engaging in a ritualistic activity. Similar parts of the assembly are basically repeated. Students tend to ignore what teachers say for two possible reasons. First, they may be able to predict what teachers usually say on these occasions – talk about regulations and advice to study hard. "*You have to be aware that studying is important, not only in the school environment, in the classroom, but also at home. …. You should not just play and wander around. …. Always come to school on time…. Listen to your teachers and to your parents*." If they miss anything important, they will be able to find the information out from their friends, because they normally meet and play together in their neighbourhoods. Secondly, there seems to be no serious, strict supervision of students' behaviour during the briefing. Only occasionally does the teacher remind them to listen carefully, but that is all. During the assemblies only 'the teacher on duty' is present, while the others may not have arrived yet or just stay in the office (in the morning assembly) or may have gone home (in the afternoon assembly). In addition, students may not be able to hear the teacher because s/he does not use a loudspeaker.

The emphasis on ritual and formality is not only observable in ceremonies and events which take place outside the classroom but also in the classroom (see Section 7.4) and in the organisation and administration of an examination (see Section 6.7.1) which will be examined after teaching and learning practices.

6.6 Teaching and Learning Practices

Since this chapter does not include classroom culture, this section is only concerned with teaching learning practices that occur in the school environment outside the classroom. Two matters are examined. In relation to learning practices, students' ways of learning are briefly discussed. In relation

to the teaching practices of teachers, this section is only concerned with the cancellation of lessons which is a striking phenomenon at the school under study since it occurred so frequently.

6.6.1 Learning Practices

In order to better understand the learning attitudes and styles of the participants in the present study, it is crucial to understand their actual learning practices. The following narrative vignette (16) presents a scene during an examination break in a summative examination period. It is particularly worth presenting since it also contains information about learning practices of the students in this school, which helps explain their view about learning.

(16)   7 March. 2000

It's only 11:10 in the morning. A lot of students are doing various things outside classrooms. A lot of them are just having a chat or playing. The noise of the students is overwhelming, but it does not stop a number of students studying either individually or in a group. I see most of these studying students open and close their books as they memorise the phrases they have read. I also see some students studying in groups. I approach one of the groups to be able to capture how they study in a group. They also have their books open in their hands. From the book they are reading and from what they say I know that they are studying the Indonesian language. One of them ask questions such as "*what is   prose, what is   a short story, what is a paragraph*", and so on, and the others try to answer based on what they have memorised, and if they forget something, they take a brief look at their notes. I then walk from one classroom to the another to observe what's going on in there. Somewhat similar scenes occur: students are reading and memorising certain points from their books, such as definitions of prose, a short story, and a paragraph , and names of Indonesian writers. There are also pairs of students who study by one asking questions on these topics and others answering them.

This vignette contains valuable information about 'actual' learning or studying practices exercised by the students. It is a helpful means of understanding the concept of learning or studying held by the students. This concept is manifested in the way of learning or studying, i.e. memorising or rote learning. This narrative vignette supports Webster's (1988) findings that Indonesian students learn by memorising their notes taken in the classroom.

This culture of learning or studying is a manifestation of a wider community cultural concept of learning and studying as represented by the learning of Koran (see Section 5.6.1). This way of learning is inherited form the previous generations and seems to be practiced nation-wide (Coleman 1996a). The practice of chanting and memorising sentences and paragraphs was also found by Geertz in his study, conducted in the late 1950s, of traditional teaching and learning practices at *pesantrens*, Islamic religious schools, in Java. The effect of learning practices in religious schools deserves further inquiry. Religiously speaking, there are certain, commonly and generally accepted behaviours. This is to say that the truth in a religious sense is mostly unquestionable and unchallengeable. Coleman's (1987; 1996a) findings, from his longitudinal study which examined English teaching and learning culture of Indonesian state universities, support Geertz's and Siegel's findings. A recent study (Wachida, 2001) that examined Javanese senior high school students' ways of learning reported that certain traditional teaching practices, e.g. teachers dominance and authority, still occurred in the classroom. This was despite in her own teaching experiments and interviews her subjects' tendency to accept changes in

teachers' teaching practices which could lead to different classroom learning practices, particularly to more autonomous learning,

Narrative vignette 9 (see Section 5.7.3.3) illustrates one of the learning practices of students outside the school environment. It tells a story of several students studying in a group discussing a topic, challenging or agreeing to others' ideas, and having overlapping utterances. These learning practices are indicative of types and modes of learning students can adopt when the teaching learning situation is supportive of more interactive learning.

Another source of information on students' learning preferences was a questionnaire. In the questionnaire distributed to 130 respondents (see Section 3.5.2.3), there are six items (24 to 29) related to learning preferences (see Appendix D); 5-point Likert scales – 5 (the most preferred) to 1 (the least preferred) –were used. The following table presents the students' responses to these items.

Item	Mean score
24: I like to study English by myself	3.50
25: I like to learn English by talking in pairs	4.18
26: I like to learn English in a small group	3.87
27: I like my teacher to tell me and correct all my mistakes	4.78
28: I like my teacher to explain every item	4.53
29: I like my teacher to let me find my mistakes	2.80

Table 7: Students' Learning Preferences (N=130)

The mean scores of items 24 and 26 (3.50 and 3.87 respectively) indicate that both individual and group learning are almost equally popular among the respondents. The mean score of item 25 (4.18) indicates that the respondents prefer to learn more about speaking by way of conversation with others or in pairs. As the mean scores of items 27 (4.78), and 28 (4.53) indicate, the majority of the respondents see the teacher as the primary source of knowledge. By contrast, 2.80 indicates that there is a low agreement with the statement 'I like my teacher to let me find my mistakes' (item 29) and this suggests that they are dependent upon the teacher's correction. It is important to mention that observations suggest that these students have never experienced more contemporary ways of language teaching and learning, and therefore are not familiar with a wide range of learning practices. Hence, without alternate teaching-learning models, resistance to or acceptance of other teaching and learning practices cannot accurately be assessed.

Indeed, Lewis (1996), who conducted a survey of Indonesian students' learning using questionnaires concludes that Indonesian adult English learners preferred concrete and communicative modes of learning; however, he warns that his findings are not necessarily generalisable to other groups of Indonesian students. This caution is understandable because the subjects of his study were adult English learners attending English courses at the Indonesia Australia Language Foundation (IALF), Basic Science Bridging Program in the Institut Teknologi Bandung, and several other courses from private English course providers (see Section 2.7.2) that prepared them to take an English test (either IELTS or TOEFL) before pursuing their postgraduate studies in an English speaking country. These English courses promoted concrete learning and communication, and exposed their learners to

analytical and authority-oriented modes of learning to a much lesser degree (Lewis 1996). On the other hand, he suggests that individuals' learning experiences – be it experiences in various instructional tasks, teachers teaching approaches, types of learning facilities and opportunities, modes of learning interaction – influence or can change their learning approaches and strategies.

Indonesian students tend to change their learning practices, and also other practices in wider life, according to the environment. This potential to conform to a particular learning situation can also be explained from a cultural point of view. In Indonesian, there are at least two proverbs which culturally explain how open Indonesian learners are to changing or adapting their social, including learning, behaviour: *Masuk kandang kuda meringkik, masuk kandang kambing mengembik*, which literally means 'When you are in a horse stall you should (be able to) neigh, when you are in a goat stall you should (be able to) bleat', and *Di mana tanah diinjak, di situ langit dijunjung*, which literally means 'On which soil/land you are setting your feet, there the sky is on your head. These proverbs express the necessity for people to adjust properly to and to respect the common practices of the people around them, so that they can live in harmony.

It is very likely that learning practices and preferences of the students are context-dependent. Outside the school or classroom they are willing to work in groups, and discuss with friends when the homework materials demand this mode of study, but inside the classroom, they tend to be teacher-dependent. As noted earlier, this is most likely to do with the common view that sees the teacher as an authority of knowledge. This implies that the teacher's presence affects students' learning preferences. This can be attributed to the general attitude of the students towards their English language teacher(s). Table 8 presents a summary of students' attitudes towards their English teachers (item 19 in the questionnaire). In this semantic differential like item, students were asked to indicate their attitudes by judging their teachers on ten personality characteristics (this item also uses the Likert scale categories). In order to get an overall measure of each student's attitude, the scores of ten aspects were summed to calculate the mean score. The Mean scores from 1.0 – 1.49 imply a very negative attitude, whereas the ones from 4.5 – 5.0 imply a very positive attitude. The following table displays the results which reveal convincingly that the overwhelming majority of the respondents have very positive attitudes towards their English teachers.

Student's attitude	Very negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Very positive
Mean scores	1.0 – 1.4	1.5 – 2.4	2.5 –3.4	3.5 – 4.4	4.5 – 5.0
∑ and % of respondents	0 (0%)	1 (0.76%)	2 (1.54%)	19 (14.6%)	108 (83 %)

Table 8: Students' attitudes towards their English teachers (N=130)

To find students' attitude towards teachers' ways of teaching, they were asked to evaluate the way their teacher taught. They were asked to rank from 5 (Very good) to 1 (Very bad). For the description of their attitudes towards their English language teachers' way of teaching, consider Table 9 below:

Teacher's way of teaching	Very bad	Bad	Not bad	Good	Very good
Score	1	2	3	4	5

∑ and % of respondents	2 (1.6%)	0 (0%)	7 (5.4%)	49 (37.7%)	72 (55.3 %)

Table 9: Students' attitude towards teachers' way of teaching (N=130)

As indicated by this table, respondents also indicated convincingly that the vast majority of them are in favour with their teachers' way of teaching. This is shown by the fact that ninety-three per cent of the students ranked their current teachers' ways of teaching as a 4 or 5 which means they judged their teachers' way of teaching as good (37.7%) or very good (55.3%).

The findings from questionnaires need to be interpreted with caution because of the possibility that other factors might have affected students' judgements, especially their possible preconception of questionnaire items as written exam questions which require them to give the highly positive answers (see Section 3.5.2.3).

6.6.2 Lesson Cancellations

The major reason for a lesson cancellation in this school was the absence of the teacher. I found out that lesson cancellations were common because there was no system to replace teachers who were away for a day. Even if there had been such a system, it would have been difficult to apply since teachers often disappeared without prior knowledge of the principal or other teachers.

The following narrative vignette describes an occasion when a lesson was cancelled because of a teacher's absence.

(17)   9 November 1999

I arrive at school at 8:10 p.m. when everyone should have been in the classroom learning. I notice that most of the classes are already in the classroom. However, I see two separate groups, of about 6-8 students each, gathering outside. I approach one of the groups and try to join in their conversation. They are speaking vernacular but switch to Indonesian as soon as I join them.

At the beginning, everybody goes quiet and two of them leave the group. Before I lose the chance to ask them a question I make a joke. After the joke I ask why they are not in the classroom. From their answer I know that their teacher has not come yet.

This is already week three of the second term, but lesson cancellations are still occurring.

According to the principal, students were required to spend their time in the library whenever they had no teachers and this regulation was communicated to both teachers and students. However, in practice I observed that students rarely spend their time in the library because as noted in Section 6.3, there was nothing worth reading there and the library was often closed.

It was not uncommon as well for a teacher to postpone a lesson simply to prolong a chat with other teachers, waiting for snacks, or because the teacher of the class nextdoor has not arrived. In particular, I noticed that lesson delays, regardless of the length of the delays, were also common in this school because of prolonged chats among teachers. The following vignette describes one of the lesson delays due to the lateness of the next class' teacher.

(18)   15 Feb. 2000
I arrive at school just after almost every one has entered the classroom. I see a teacher in the library. She should have been in the classroom teaching. I approach her and ask why she has not started teaching. *"I'm waiting until the next classroom has its teacher. The noise from the next classroom will annoy me, so I'd better wait until the teacher arrives....There is no use teaching when the next class is noisy,"* she replies. …. About half an hour later the teacher of the adjoining class enters his classroom, so she also rushes into hers.

Half an hour is three-quarters of a lesson hour – a lesson hour is equivalent to forty minutes. Much could have been done during this time: doing the common business such as calling the rolls and doing half, or more, of a task. In addition, frequent delays of lessons can have a negative impact on students' appreciation of punctuality. Or, the more direct negative impact is that frequent delays of lessons could decrease students' appreciation of the importance of a lesson which is the core unit of school learning.

As these vignettes indicate, the impact of lesson delays and cancellations is obvious – students end up playing and wandering around. This can impact on the length of time spent on and the quality of learning processes. This also has a significant effect on the amount of the subject material covered and targeted objectives achieved in the learning process. In the long run, the number of lesson delays and cancellations influences the attainment of the stated objectives in the curriculum.

The cancellation of lessons without students' prior knowledge is also common. I learned about this when I first arrived at this school when I was asked by Pak Sul to teach his class, because he wanted to go to Kendari for personal business. When I arrived in the classroom, I could see that the students did not expect me. So I asked if Pak Sul had told them that he would go to Kendari, and that I would substitute for him. The answer I got was *"No"*.

Lesson cancellations increase on particular occasions: the week prior to and the week after summative examinations and the week after the long holidays. During these weeks, less than half the lessons take place because of teachers' absence. During the week preceding a summative examination, lessons are cancelled since teachers are busy preparing their exam questions as well as other exam administration-related business. After long holidays, lessons are cancelled because some teachers may leave the village for different reasons but mostly for personal or familial reasons. That lesson cancellations frequently occur during these weeks has become such a common

phenomenon that is taken for granted by all teachers and students. As a teacher commented,

It (the situation) has always been so a week before summative exams because we are busy preparing our exam questions. Similarly, after a summative exam,, we are busy marking students answer papers, and then writing students report books. Marking students answer papers takes a lot of time, because there are many students. ... After a summative exam, there is always a week- school break. Some teachers go back to their home villages, or visit their relatives in a distant place, and often come back to school late. There are also teachers who say "usually school is still quiet at this time, and it comes back to normal only after the second week".

Students get a similar impression, but most of them still come to school during these periods. Isa, Koko, and Sara, three of the main informants in this study, all commented that they could not be absent from school because their (guardian) teacher checked their attendance. "*Only during the week after a long school-break, a few of our friends do not appear at school.... But we like to come back to school to meet our friends*", said Koko.

As a consequence of frequent lesson cancellations, students have a lot of free time at school. During this free time, there are not many things to do since the school lacks facilities. The small library does not have anything interesting for students to read, and the school does not provide sufficient extracurricular activities. The most likely choice students have to fill their school free time is sport.

6.7 Ulangan, 'Examinations'

Examinations are an important aspect of the culture of the school under investigation. Therefore, it is important to examine the organisation of an examination and the way teachers mark students' answers.

6.7.1 Organisation

As in other schools, there are several types of examinations (see Section 4.5.5) administered in this school. As the section indicates, *ulangan* is further divided into
ulangan harian, 'formative examination', and *ulangan cawu,* 'summative examination', or *ulangan umum* which is less commonly used since the commencement of the cawu (*catur **wu**lan*, taken from Sanskrit*)* system a few years ago– *catur*, 'four', and *wulan*, 'month'; hence a term system because an academic year is divided into three terms of four months each. In addition, there are quizzes that are also called *ulangan*; however, not every teacher administers these. Similar to quizzes, *ulangan harian,* 'formative examinations' are not formally scheduled. However, every teacher is required to administer at least two *ulangan harian* per term. The time for the administration of *ulangan harian* is scheduled by individual teachers. Figure 6 shows students during an *ulangan harian* at this school.

Figure 6: A scene in an English *'ulangan harian'*. The teacher (uncaptured) is sitting at his table.

The picture was taken after ten minutes after the commencement of an *ulangan harian*. In the fieldnotes I wrote, "I can see a lot of students communicating with one another. From their body language I can tell that they are asking others for help. The teacher's presence cannot stop the class from cheating". A Biology teacher, a newly-contracted teacher who only commenced teaching at this school in August 2000, commented, " *... the students just ignore our presence in the [examination] rooms. They seem to be very disrespectful of supervisors. If we tell them to stop working together, or to talk to one another, they will stop, but only for a while. Cheating seems to be a common practice here."*

Another fact worth mentioning in the process of *ulangan harian* administration, is the type of questions asked. Observations in two *ulangan harian*, one English and the other Biology, indicated that questions were all taken from exercise questions contained in the textbook used in ordinary lessons. The only difference, in terms of administration, of the two *ulangan harian* was that the Biology teacher removed textbooks from students and dictated the question to them. On the other hand, the English teacher distributed the textbooks and asked the students to open them on the page on which the individual exercises were written and answer designated questions for each exercise. The following narrative vignette encapsulates a formative examination administration.

(19) 15 February 2000

> Pak Sul is administering an *ulangan harian*. Last week he told me that he would give his second *ulangan harian* for this term this week. He opens the session by saying, " as I informed you last week , today, we're going to take an *ulangan harian*, didn't I? Only a few students answer, "Yes, Sir." .... He asks two students to distribute textbooks to the class. After all the books have been distributed (one textbook for two students), he asks the class to find certain exercises in the text book and answer the designated questions of every exercise: page 6 Task 8: no. 1-3, page 10 task 8: no. 1-3, page 41 task 7: no. 1-3, page 44 task 6: no. 1-3 , and page 60 task 6: all numbers.
>
> Cheating seems to be taken for granted both by students and the teacher. Students work together cooperatively to finish the test, but the teacher seems to ignore this. When I move around they look at me smiling but keep copying answers from one another. Almost all of them cheat. When the alarm clock rings – the teacher had placed a small alarm clock on his table so that the students could manage their time – the teacher tells them to stop working, but almost every one keeps on writing. Several students even move to another desk to copy answers. I see about seven students in a crowd copying answers from one of their friends.

This vignette is not only indicative of the poor quality of questions in a formative examination, but also of the poor preparation for it. The teacher should be aware, as I was, that all designated exercises had been completed, and that some of the answers to the questions had already been written by students in the textbooks. Even if he did not have time, or was too lazy to make his own questions, he could have done something similar to what the Biology teacher did. When I questioned him about the exam, the teacher simply said, "*Even if they had answered the questions when those exercises were done as classroom activities, they would still be unable to answer correctly on the exam*".

Unlike a formative examination, a summative examinations or *ulangan cawu*, is administered very officially. A special committee is formed to organise it (see narrative vignette 19). As indicated by the picture in Figure 7, the situation of the summative exam is very formal. Every student is given a test number, and classrooms are changed into examination rooms with proper seating arrangements – the

distance between examinees is set. There are only twenty or twenty-one students in a room supervised by a teacher. Most students sit at a table by themselves.

Figure 7: A scene in an *Ulangan Cawu,* 'summative examination'. The teacher is asking students to sign the attendance list.

Despite different settings, in terms of formality and informality, the behaviours of students and supervisors in a formative and summative examination are very similar. Cheating is pervasive during examinations. Even though in summative examinations students are not allowed to bring books into examination rooms, most of them have prepared notes. Even in the presence of a supervisor, they are still able to ask for and pass answers to their friends. From my observations of these examinations, teachers often were just oblivious of these phenomena. While I felt that they ought to pay attention to what was going on in the room; yet they seemed not to be strict and either ignored what was happening or did something else such as writing or marking students' exam papers. They did sometimes give oral warnings, but they were not strict. I suspect that similar phenomena commonly occur in examinations in some other areas of the province, and possibly in other parts of Indonesia in similar contexts. From my informal observations of the supervision of *UMPTN* (*Ujian Masuk Perguruan Tinggi Negri*), 'State University Entrance Test', that also involved secondary school teachers and of the supervision of university students sitting exams, I found that similar phenomena occurred.

In addition, the following narrative vignette written down during my observation of a summative examination encapsulates the typical situation found in examinations at this school.

(20) 2 March 2000

.... Every invigilator brings two big envelopes into the room. The glued envelope contains examination papers and the unglued one is full of paper on which students will write their answers. Five minutes before the examination starts, all teachers are already in the examination rooms. The of the room I am observing is a male. He puts the envelopes on the invigilator's table, and stands by the door. As I am standing outside, I can see other invigilators doing a similar thing. Everyone calls out students' examination numbers. When the teachers call out each number the owner of the number shows his/her examination card, and goes into the room. I notice that most of the time, the closest invigilator to me does not even take a look at the cards.

Every table has been given a student's exam number(s), so the owner of the number has to sit at that table. After everyone has entered the room and has sat in their assigned place, the invigilator opens the envelopes and distributes the exam papers. Students start to answer questions after the bell has rung. Just after the students have started to work, the invigilator goes around the room and has the students sign the attendance list. After finishing this, he sits back at his table in the front left corner, and keeps himself busy writing the examination report. I also notice that he marks students' papers for his own subject. It takes only several minutes before the cheating starts. Students work together cooperatively to answer questions. Students quietly but openly talk about specific questions. About twenty minutes later, I walk to the back of the room. Passing them, I see clearly some of them are copying answers from each other. Almost all of them cheat in this examination. If the noise gets louder, the invigilator just says, *"Be quiet"*. Although this does not work, he is not bothered and rarely does he raise his head to see what is going on, let alone leave his seat. The situation gets tenser as the time approaches the end of the examination. At 12:30, the bell rings to signal the end of the exam. However, it does not stop some students from

working. The invigilator asks them to stop, but almost every one keeps writing. He then counts, "one, two, three... ." Some students hand their exam papers to the invigilator, but several others moved to another desk to copy answers. I see a crowd of about seven students copying answers from one of their friends. After he gets to "ten" the invigilator collects the students' papers from his table and starts to leave the room. On his way to the door, he still receives students' exam papers.

This vignette is indicative of not only the situation of an exam *per se,* but also describes some forms of behaviour that are typical of some aspects of the school culture. It is indicative of discipline and rituals. At first glance, the exam preparation was impressive. It started with a few formal activities such as the forming of a committee, the organisation of a timetable, the preparation of rooms, the production of exam cards, and as a sign of confidentiality, the exam questions were neatly wrapped and kept by the committee. It is also interesting that, as this vignette suggests, exam invigilators arrived on time, examinees were given exam numbers and called one by one to enter the room, and they sat in their designated place at tables which were arranged to prevent cheating. In brief, the examination structure fulfilled all prerequisite requirements.

However, what happened during the examination is another matter. As someone who has been around schools for a while, I have had the feeling that ritualistic behaviour is important in these testing situations. In spite of the formality involved, I have had my doubts about the quality of examination administration. My doubts were confirmed by the situation which occurred during this exam as indicated by vignette 19. Both the invigilator and the examinees did not obey examination rules and regulations. The invigilator did not exercise his duties as required. Instead of supervising the exam, he busied himself at his table doing something different. This allowed cheating to occur in the room. Students worked together cooperatively to answer questions. At the end of the examination, the invigilator clearly witnessed some students copying answers from their classmates, but no sanctions were imposed. 'Being busy' may be used as an excuse for 'not noticing' what is happening. This in turn enables teachers and students to avoid the embarrassment and confrontation. In other words, if invigilators attempted to intervene, considerable loss of face on both sides might occur.

Experience, as evidenced from this event, strongly suggests that the administration of such examinations is only ritual. An outsider might examine these events and question the level of the teachers' understanding of examinations and the purpose of administering them. However, I strongly believe that teachers know about formative and summative exams, because they often discuss them. As a university English lecturer who used to teach this particular invigilator, I know that he has been taught specifically about the purpose of formative and summative examinations, because they are topics of discussion in 'language testing' and 'educational evaluation', two core courses the teacher studied during his university study.

It is certainly a simplistic justification to say that the low quality of examination administration is merely due to these teachers' lack of theoretical knowledge of testing and evaluation. In an informal discussion about grade assignment and examination one evening, all the teachers present agreed that examinations were administered "*to find out how much our students have learned of what we have taught them*" and hence constituted "performance-based" examinations (Valette, 1994). This strongly suggests that they know the purpose of administering an examination. However, examining why

examinations are administered at a practical level is more challenging. If teachers were consistent in their beliefs about the purpose of administering tests, as spelled out during the informal discussion, they would have done their job as exam invigilators well. Therefore, the problem is not merely related to theoretical argumentation, but rather to practical realities. There appears to be a gap between their theoretical knowledge and the sociocultural implementation expectations for testing and evaluation. In other words, these teachers accepted the ritualistic culture of school where 'performance' is of greater importance than the process and objectives leading to that of the performance (see also Coleman, 1996a).

Summative exam questions are also worth of scrutiny. However, because this would be a major digression from the main focus of this chapter, it is not possible to critically analyse them (this is another area which calls for an in-depth study to analyse the content, question forms and level of difficulty, and time allotment for exams). Another important aspect that is closely related to examination practice is how exam papers are marked by teachers, the topic that is examined in the next section.

6.7.2 Marking System

Praise and compliments are not common in this village society. They do occur but they are only given once in a while on particular occasions. A direct, sincere praise or a compliment given in the presence of older or socially higher-ranked people may be interpreted as an insult and something embarrassing. Similarly, self-praise and compliments are discouraged since they are interpreted as pride and arrogance. On the other hand, praise and compliments given in the presence of peers seem to be appreciated. Although teachers in this study agreed that praise and complements could encourage students to perform better, observations revealed that they rarely gave them in their teaching.

Since it is a way of praising students, the marking system is one of the important, yet problematic issues in school culture. Grades tend to be interpreted by students as praise-related rewards. On the other hand, a grade, traditionally, is assigned to measure the learning achievement and rank of a student with reference to their classmates (Valette, 1994). Unfortunately, a marking system does not only depend on a single factor but on various factors which, to mention a few, include the quality of the teaching and learning environment, support materials, and teaching or learning material coverage.

The most likely purpose of administering an examination is to gain basic information for grading students in terms of their achievement performance. However, due to the marking system, there is a tendency for grades and performances to not necessarily correspond with each other. In my observation notes I wrote,

(21) 9 March 2000

> "Pak Sul, an English teacher, is marking his students exam papers. There are over 90 papers to mark. From the type of questions, I do not believe that he can finish marking them in less than an hour. I am sure that he only takes a glance over the answer sheets and gives them a mark. Ibu Isa, one of the teachers, who also notices his unusual marking speed makes a comment in a form of question, *"Do you really check the answers, Pak Sul? .... How can you finish so quickly*?" Pak Sul only smiles.

This vignette is indicative of the way a teacher marks his students' exam papers. Instead of awarding grades based on the 'actual' answers given by a student, he appears to base them on his feelings and instincts.

In an informal chat with two teachers, an English teacher and a Biology teacher, they emphasised that changing marks was a common practice among teachers. "*I change grade ones to threes, and give high grades to their formative exam. If we don't change marks, a lot of the students get very low grades*" the biology teacher said. According to them, low final grades will cause some students to repeat a class. Furthermore, they both explained that if they gave a student very low marks, the principal would warn them, so in the end they would have to change his/her grades. A teacher who refused to change his/her students' very low grades was likely to fail to be promoted to a higher rank due to an unfavourable teaching evaluation from the principal (Personal interview with Ibu Fiah, an English teacher from an urban *SLTPN*).

Two previously discussed school cultural aspects – invigilator behaviour in the examination room and the level of student's learning motivation – might be attributed to this view on marking practices. A invigilator might think that there is no need to stop students cheating because s/he knows that their final grades will be modified in any case. I believe that students know that if their grades are low, their teacher will modify them so that they fulfil the minimum standard.

The final grade is not based only on the results of students' summative exam but also on the score s/he gets for formative exams and other quizzes. To determine the final grade, a teacher used a formula: $(2p + q)/3$ in which p is the mean score of formative exam grades and other quizzes and homework, whereas q is the summative exam score. This way of grading assignments takes into account only the first two of the three types of assessment, i.e. students' class participation, achievement, and proficiency (Valette, 1994). One of the possible negative impacts of the implementation of this formula, as suggested by vignette 15, is that teachers treat formative tests only as a means to assess students' achievement or performance, rather than, as Valette (1994) has recommended, as a means for evaluating their own instructional practice. In addition, since the teachers in this study did not have detailed records on students' efforts and homework, their assessments were not valid. Although some teachers expressed their disagreement with modifying students' grades in several informal discussions, they said that they could not do much about it. One of them emphasised, "*it is the modification of grades which makes the students lazy to study.*"

In summary, the practice of grade modification certainly has a negative impact on the whole culture of teaching, learning, the situation of examinations, and marking practice. Although grade modification may not be the only factor influencing students' learning attitudes and motivation, it must contribute significantly to their learning practices. In other words, it is very likely that final grades do not directly correlate with students' 'actual' achievements and performance, especially in terms of the mastery of the course content. Despite the poor marking system, it plays an important role in the evaluation of students' learning achievement which further determines whether a student should repeat a class or not.

6.7.3 Class Repetition

Because of the marking practices discussed in the previous section, very rarely does a student repeat a class, and consequently, class repetition is not a serious issue in this school. As a teacher explained "*it is only in a very particular case that a student repeats a class, for example, when s/he is absent from lessons very often, or if s/he has a serious behavioural problems*". Exam results are not the main determinant of whether or not a student repeats a class, because grades can be modified to meet the minimal, required standard. After a summative exam, in an informal discussion among four young teachers at the English teacher's home where I stayed during the fieldwork, I heard them say that they changed the grades of weak students, because if they used the actual grades, only a handful of students would move onto the next class.

The reason students of this school rarely repeated a class was, according to the principal, when a very weak student failed to move to a higher class, most parents asked the principal to write a formal letter, *surat pindah,* which explained that a student, at his/her parents' request, wanted to move to another school – the letter should bear the name of that school – for an acceptable reason, with a clear statement that s/he had been allowed to move to the next class. As a consequence, the principal had to make up a reason for the move and the grades were rewritten and adjusted so s/he could meet the required standard. In addition to the statement that the student has fulfilled the requirements to move to a higher class, the letter also states that if the other school refuses him/her, s/he cannot come back to his/her former school. It seems that this practice is commonly accepted although many realise that it undermines the whole system and value of education.

Normally, students' marks are closely related to their learning achievements or examination performance. Class repetition is closely related to these marks. In other words, students whose learning achievement is poor, will repeat a class. However, in this school, there are other factors that potentially influence students' marks, such as family relationships between students and teachers or the principal, social status of a student's parents, and the student's ability to maintain harmonious relationships with teachers. One of the common ways to maintain harmonious relationships with teachers is to follow the conventional rules or patterns of communication, the topic to be discussed in the next section.

6.8 Patterns of Communication

The sociolinguistic context of the school is very similar to that of the community in the sense that there are only two major languages used in the school; Indonesian and the Tolaki language (see Section 5.7.2).

Social relationships and patterns of communication between and among different components of the school such as management and teachers, teachers and students, as well as students among themselves are worth scrutinising due to the very important roles these social relationships and communication have in searching out, finding, and solving most of the many problems influencing teaching and learning activities. Some

patterns of communication have been mentioned indirectly elsewhere in the previous sections of this chapter. Yet, it is still important to highlight them in this section.

Since patterns of communication are contingent upon several factors such as settings and social relationships among participants, they can help explain why and when certain social relationships necessitate particular patterns of communication. Social status of interlocutors, for example, can be identified by analysing their patterns of communication. Therefore, this section is aimed at describing briefly patterns of communication between and among groups.

6.8.1 Principal-Teacher Patterns of Communication

Although there is an officially formal management structure of the school, there is an unspoken view among the teachers that school management is concentrated in the hands of the principal. This is manifested in several forms of behaviour by both teachers and the principal, and in my opinion, is the main factor underlying the interpretation of a structural relationship that in turn dictates patterns of communication between the two parties.

During my fieldwork, I sometimes saw the principal come late to or even be absent from school for either personal or official purposes – e.g., he might be attending meetings in the capital of the province. Whenever his office was locked, he might have been in *Kendari* or somewhere else. Often nobody knew exactly where he was. When he was at school, I hardly ever saw him joining informal teacher discussions as he spent most of his time in his own office. If he wanted to talk to a teacher, he invited him/her into his office. However, this also rarely happened. Yet, formal group meetings were also not common between teachers and school management. During my fieldwork, there were only two formal meetings attended by almost all teachers and administrative staff. The first one took place before the first summative exam for the 1999/2000 academic year. The following narrative vignette of that meeting illustrates the situation of the meeting.

(22)   14 February 2000
       The meeting starts at 10 a.m., thirty minutes later than scheduled. The meeting is conducted in the teachers' room. Eighteen teachers and three administrative staff members attend. The meeting is conducted to form a committee for the coming summative exam which will take place in less than two weeks' time. Teachers sit at teacher tables which are arranged in a rectangle. The principal opens the meeting by saying, "*Bismilahirahmanirahim, Assalamualaikum waramatullahi wabarakatu*", 'In the name of the Almighty God, Peace with you and God bless you', and informs the participants about the purpose of the meeting, that is, to form a committee for the summative exam. Before he allows them to elect the chairperson and other committee members, he talks a lot and proposes a senior teacher as the chairperson. In the process of the committee formation, younger teachers, on-contract teachers, speak a lot more than the permanent, senior teachers. Pak Sul and Pak Ar, who speak more than the others, are then nominated by the principal to be test construction assessors, while Pak Man was nominated to be the secretary of the committee. Some senior teachers just agree to the principal's proposals. I do not understand why they do not consider the opinion of these younger teachers who think that the senior teachers should hold the important positions, because they do not have enough experience to do the jobs. All participants seem to agree with his proposal, except the three young

teachers: Pak Ar, Pak Man, and Pak Sul. However, they cannot refuse the task because everyone insists and nobody else seems interested in the tasks.

At the end of the meeting, the principal opens the floor for the participants to raise other issues. A few teachers, again the younger ones, suggest that the committee needs to work together, that teachers need to hand in their exam questions two days prior to the summative exam, and that the quality of supervision should be improved. I am expecting that one of the teachers will raise several topics that they often raise in their informal discussions. However, none of them does. They just talk among themselves very quietly using either Indonesian or mixing Indonesian and Tolaki. The female teachers, sitting close together, barely say anything openly during the meeting.

Despite the use of code mixing in the meeting, the only language used when saying something publicly is Indonesian. The principal uses only Indonesian.

This vignette provides an indication of the power of the principal in front of the teachers.

Patterns of communication that occur in this formal setting are different from the ones in informal settings (see Vignette 13) where the teachers seem to discuss several issues openly. When the principal opens the discussion to the meeting participants, I expected one of them would raise some issues, such as the provision of financial incentives for the committee for doing extra work and for other work or positions on which they are required to spend extra time, the need for the principal to include expenses for tea and coffee in the school budget instead of taking them from teachers' salaries, and so on. Later in the evening, when we played domino cards, I mentioned this matter. The teachers said that they did not dare raise such questions. Pak Man, the secretary of the committee said,

I was going to suggest that special funds be provided for the committee, because actually, there is some money from the government for school operational purposes, but I did not, because I realise that I was a new comer here. Later after visiting Pak Anggi at his place I knew that they were not paid extra money for doing this. "No wonders the senior teachers did not want to be the secretary because they are not paid for this.

The use of Indonesian in meetings is both the result of and the cause of the formality of the social context in the sense that the speaking of Indonesian maintains the formality of the meeting, and as a result of a formal meeting, there is the necessity to use Indonesian. Throughout my informal observation in my personal as well as my professional lives, I have noticed that the formality of contexts of speaking play important roles on the "how" and the "what" of people's speech. For instance, if direct criticisms against superordinates were made in formal meetings, the critics would be considered impolite and guilty of misbehaviour.

In addition, this vignette is also indicative of the management system of the school. It is very likely that in his school management, the principal keeps almost all decision making in his own hands. According to a teacher, he tends to keep certain information, especially the school budget, to himself, but nobody criticises him for this. There seems to be a degree of mutual obligation between the teachers and the principal,

because he does not really mind them being late or absent from school, especially if they have no lessons to give.

In terms of channel, both written language and spoken language are used by the principal to communicate important messages to the teachers. However, the most common way to communicate everyday school routines is spoken language. Invitations for meetings, notifications about long holidays, and so on, are temporarily written on the notice board in the office. Only formal documents such as decrees, letters of reference, and so on, are written as permanent records.

6.8.2 Teacher-Student Patterns of Communication

In common with communication outside the school setting, communication between teachers and students in the school environment, outside the classroom, is very rare. During recess, teachers have informal discussions among themselves in the reception room and sometimes in the teacher room(s). Yet, occasionally, there are still communicative events involving teachers and students. Communication patterns between teachers and students are similar to those between the principal and the teachers. They tend to be mono-directional in the sense that these communicative events are dominated by the teacher talking in Indonesian. The following narrative vignette encapsulates the pattern of communication between teachers and students in school settings.

(23)   9 November 1999

In the teacher room I see a teacher is talking to four students, two are males and the other two are females, while two other teachers are busy working at their tables. The students are under interrogation because yesterday, they left for home early, so they did not attend the afternoon assembly. They say that they went home early because they wanted to help their parents. The teacher accuses them of telling a lie and insists that they admit they went out as two couples. "*You know what time you can go home*? *You know that you should join afternoon assembly*?" The boys answer, "*Yes*". None of them dare to look straight ahead. They all bow their heads looking at the floor. "*Will you do this again or not*?" The teacher raises his voice which is already audible to other rooms. "*No, sir*" the students reply. "*All right, I will take your word, but don't do this again*."

Right after the meeting with the teacher, I met and talked with them. "We went home early because we wanted to help our parents. We hardly had any lessons yesterday, because teachers did not come to the class. Instead of staying around the school playing, we thought it better to go home." When I asked them why they did not suggest the school just eliminate afternoon assembly from the school activity, they answered, "It is not possible, we are afraid." ….

This vignette is indicative of the power of the teacher. Even if the students went home because they had no lessons, the teacher successfully used his power and social status to get the students to admit to a false reason. Because of his power, students were not able to argue that their leave was only a result of poor quality school management. In addition, the teacher, who is a native speaker of Tolaki language, was successful in keeping his social and psychological distance from the students, and maintained that distance throughout the communicative event by using only Indonesian.

It seems that although these students had good justification to suggest the elimination of something from the school ritual, they did not dare to make such a proposal. They were scared in front of the teacher. This feeling can be attributed to the 'cultural interpretation' of politeness by the students, or by other socially less powerful members of the community, when they meet face to face with their teachers. Culturally, directly suggesting to someone higher in status, let alone criticising them, is not a common custom in this society. Furthermore, I am almost sure that if they had asked permission from their teacher, to go home early, he would not have allowed them to do so. If he had, there would be more students doing the same thing, and on many occasions this could result in only a handful of students staying at school until 1:30 p.m., because of the high frequency of lesson cancellations. For the same reason, the proposal for eliminating the afternoon parade would not be accepted.

In the school environment, communication between students and teachers only takes the form of spoken language. Announcements are normally given orally in assemblies. Only certain things, such as lesson timetables, examination results, certain rules and regulations are typed/written and posted on office windows. These regulations are still re-emphasised orally at assemblies. In most cases, students have to read and copy these written announcements.

Posting examination results is of great concern to me because of the lack of confidentiality. Instead of returning the exam papers with a grade on it, teachers just post the names, student identification numbers, and grades on office windows.

(24)   2 March 2000
    9:30 a.m. Attracted by a crowd of about 16 students, I walk out of the office. They squeeze to be able to see something posted on the inside of the office window. I ask one of the students what are they looking at. "*Nilai ulangan matematika, Pak*", 'Mathematics exam grade, sir'. Some boys have to jump on their friends' shoulders to be able to see their grades. Those whose grades are good express their happiness in different ways: jumping in the air (boys) or hugging (girls). Some others just walk away with long faces, a couple of boys punch the wall with anger and disappointment, and so on. This behaviour indicates that they are not satisfied with their grades.
    After a couple of minutes, more students come. I notice several students stop before getting close to the window because someone else has seen and thus can tell him/her what his/her mark is. There are also boys who do not want to go up to see their grades and ask their friends to find out for them.

This narrative vignette reveals more than just the way teachers notify their students of their grades. It also reveals some of the implications of using this way to announce exam results. Despite the fact that this is a common practice, some teachers admit being aware of its negative consequences. "*Of course the weak students might be embarrassed by seeing their bad grades posted, but this should motivate them to try next time,*" the mathematic teacher said in our chat. "*What else can we do, it's impossible to return their exam papers because some of them get very low grades, two or even nil. . ... Moreover, final grades are not only based on exam grades, but also on other classroom quizzes, homework, and students' classroom performance*", another teacher added.

Students have different opinions about this way of grade notification. In my chats with the eight student informants, three different comments were given. Stronger students tend not to mind this

method. Wati, for example said, "*I don't mind teachers posting our grades, but it is good if they return my exam papers, so I know which numbers I answered correctly and which ones I didn't.*" Koko added, "*If my grade is good, I don't care, but if it is not good, I get embarrassed.*" Tono said, "*It's better if teachers do not write our names on the paper, just our student numbers.*" Some others just accepted this way and take it for granted. "*I get embarrassed, but what can I do, I know I am not good, and everybody knows that I am not good at English and mathematics*", Isa said.

6.8.3 Intra-Group Patterns of Communication

During recess, students spend their time having fun with their friends either in the school area, or outside it (because no fences separated the school from the areas around it). Most of them have fun either by playing or chatting in the schoolyard and around the classrooms. Since classrooms are not closed during recess time, often there are students who stay in or go in and out of the classroom. Other spots where they spend time when in recess time are at the small *warungs*, 'canteens'.

In informal school settings, students use both Indonesian and Tolaki. The use of code mixing and switching is a common linguistic phenomenon in informal settings. I treat the two terms differently to distinguish between conversational behaviour occurring in a speech event where two or more languages are used. With regard to code mixing, the occurrences of (an)other language(s) are not only less frequent but also do not exceed clausal or sentence level – the use of a foreign word of phrase in a clause or sentence is an indication of code mixing. Code switching, on the other hand, is a switch or change of language as the means of conversation in which the languages involved normally occur at syntactic level. The following narrative vignette illustrates one of the occasions when students use code switching and code mixing in their outside classroom conversations in the school environment.

(25) 23 February 2000

It is 8:25 a.m. Students are gathering in groups as has been the case during the last several days. I walk around to observe. At the beginning, nothing is really of interest to me. All students are just having a chat or playing. They were code-mixing the Indonesian and Tolaki languages. However, I listen carefully to what they say. When I am passing a group of about eight students, three of them boys, I heard a girl say, "*tombe mbuleto*", 'let's go home'. One of the boys answers, "*yamo molesu mbule, kau bolos, lai apel siang*", 'Don't go home now, there will be afternoon assembly'. "*Tapi tamboki guru Sam*", but the teacher, Pak Sam, is not present', said the girl. .... (Indonesian is underlined).

This vignette exemplifies a sociolinguistic setting where interlocutors employ code switching and code mixing. The girl only uses Tolaki language in her proposal: "*tombe mbuleto*" (Tolaki), 'come on, let's go home now' but uses code mixing in her final comment: *Tapi*, (Indonesian), 'but', "*tamboki* (Tolaki), 'no/not/' (present) "*guru Sam*" (Indonesian), teacher/Pak Sam'. In the boy's answer there is code switching from Tolaki language to Indonesian: "Y*amo molesu mbule*" (Tolaki) that is followed by "*kau bolos*" (Indonesian). There is also a code mixing: "*lai*" (Tolaki*) "apel siang*" (Indonesian)", 'Don't go home now, there will be afternoon assembly'. Since they are

in a less formal setting, and they are not talking about school-subject-related topics, I assume that their conversations would be dominated by the Tolaki language. The use of Tolaki, as well as code mixing and switching, is a means to simultaneously decrease the formality of the setting while maintaining a harmonious relationship.

Among students, discussions tend to take place in less formal settings, when teachers are not present. Vignette 25, indicates that they can discuss an issue among themselves – the girl thinks it is worthless to stay in the school because the teacher is not present; hence there is nothing to do but chat and play. The boy, on the other hand, challenges or refuses the proposal because he knows the consequence of leaving the school before the afternoon assembly. In my chat with them I found that they could openly challenge or agree with the ideas of their friends. For instance, in my informal interview about 'good teachers' they provided different views about who their favourite teachers were, and why they thought their favourite teachers were better. The speech event among the students in this vignette is also indicative of a disagreement of a student with the application of the rule of staying in the school until the last session only because of afternoon assembly. The occurrence of such a disagreement is easily understood in this school context where the majority of students live far away from school, and they have to walk home. They, however, seem to have no power to change the situation.

Similar patterns of communication also occur in informal speech events involving teachers. Observations reveal that they often criticise the government's and the principal's policy when the criticised person is not present. Similarly, teachers have serious discussions and challenge and agree with each other's ideas. For example, when I asked a group of teachers having a chat during a recess what they thought about the income of a teacher and the quality of their school management, they openly criticised the government and the principal. When they expressed their criticism of the principal one of them said, "*Why don't you all say this in front of the principal or supervisors? We are all afraid in front of them and say a lot when they are not present.*"

These findings from intra-group communication suggest that certain social and cultural rules – 'respect older people by not or openly criticising and challenging them' – keep them from communicating their ideas to their superordinates. The informality of the setting seems to be one of the orders. Formal settings are not common domains where comments are made. A statement of direct opposition or disagreement in a formal meeting is considered impolite and humiliating. Moreover, in formal settings speech events are mostly dominated by superordinates. There is also a common view that expressions of comments are almost similar to criticising which is considered culturally impolite. In addition, open expressions of criticism may cause a serious result – a superordinate may use his power to treat a critic unfairly by hindering him/her from being promoted to higher rank, or may simply be

strict on the rules and regulations hindering him/her from doing his other personal and social businesses. In contrast, criticism and negative comments about someone, including about superordinates, can be expressed openly in a socially homogeneous group, or in the absence of the person criticised. The criticism or the comments find their way to the people criticised or commented on, but rarely are the critics known.

6.9 Summary

This chapter has provided a brief, but hopefully comprehensive, description of the culture of *SLTPN* 1 Oleo. It provides a description of the school in terms of its physical, cultural, and social context. First, it provides a general description of buildings, school facilities such as library, laboratory, office and equipment, classroom, and canteens. These are all of importance in order to examine as thoroughly as possible the culture of the school, because these are what they use – the artefacts – in their social interactions. The physical context of the school indicates that there are enough building and rooms, but the learning facilities are very poor. To some extent, the physical context contributes to the type and quality of activities engaged in, as well as the manner of doing those activities. By and large, facilities in both laboratory and library can affect students' and teachers' learning/teaching motivations and attitudes. A resource-rich library can induce a teacher to enrich her or his knowledge and vary her/his teaching materials, and students to spend more time in the library reading or learning something interesting. Similarly, a resource-rich laboratory can enhance students' motivation to learn theories and try them out in the laboratory.

A general description of some specific cultural aspects of the school and its community indicates that the emphasis is on ritualistic and formalistic aspects. For example, it describes the existence of student intra-school and parent and citizen organisations, as well as the lack of their actual roles in school education quality improvement. Students' intra-school organisations cannot function well due to the control from teachers and school management. This suggests that the feudal system, which has its roots in the wider community, contribute to the school culture. The lack of students' parents' contribution to the development of education quality is due to the lack of both communication between the school and wider community members and parents economic ability to support the school.

Indeed, frequent lesson cancellations also contribute to the quality of teaching and learning. Because of these cancellations, the teaching materials which are expected to be covered in a specific term, are not completed. These can also decrease student's motivation to learn because they may get an impression that classroom meetings are not that important. Furthermore, a consequence of a lesson cancellation on students learning attitudes and motivation is that if they see lessons as too formal, pressing and imposed, they feel happy when it occurs because they can then be free and released from tense situations. A more indirect, long-term effect of lesson cancellation is the occurrence of students' lack of seriousness and concernedness, as well as their appreciation of the lesson.

The emphasis on ceremonial events such as morning and afternoon assemblies and flag-raising ceremonies, dress and uniforms, particularly with frequent cancellations of lessons can also affect the school community's view about school as a place where rituals and formality are more important than teaching and learning activities. This impression may be stronger due to the poor organisation of examinations, which also seems to emphasise only ritualistic and formalistic aspects but then fails to

have them administered based on standard requirements. The negative impact of poor administration may be more serious because of the poor marking system.

This chapter also provides a general description of the individual and social actions or interactions of the school community members. It describes students' activities around the school, both in formal or scheduled and informal or non-scheduled activities. For example, it describes when, why, and what generally happens in assemblies and flag-raising ceremonies, and how these happen. It presents some thoughts on students' learning styles, attitudes towards lesson cancellations, teachers' briefings in an assembly, how students interact during examinations, and how the school prepares and administers examinations. In addition, it also presents details of the marking or grading system and relates it to the praising and complimenting system which can be analysed as the impact of cultural and social phenomena. These all can significantly contribute to the whole culture of learning and teaching, and even the value system among members of the school community. If a teacher talks about discipline, but frequently cancels lessons or comes to the classroom late, students may gradually distrust him/her. If students do not have any idea about lesson cancellations – when and why – because there is no prior notification, they may gradually become disrespectful of their teachers, or may even gradually distrust them and develop a negative attitude towards them – and this will then affect their classroom behaviour. If they have plenty of opportunities to cheat in examinations, they do not need to prepare seriously for them, neither do they need to pay attention to or be actively involved in classroom lessons. These all indicate that activities constituting the culture of this school can be viewed as rituals and formalities in the sense that they are repeated basically in the same patterns over and over again. Students' and teachers' presence at school is of greater importance than the teaching and learning activities, and hence real learning processes do not take place (see also Coleman, 1996a and Sadtono *et al.*, 1997). There is an impression that classroom interactions are ritualistic and occur in an artificial situation in the sense that participants engage in and create a situation to perform activities which are called teaching and learning activities. Whether or not true teaching and learning really take place is not the primary point as long as the 'artificial' setting is indicative of them.

Last but not least, this chapter also highlights the power and social status of the school community and sociolinguistic situation of the school. It describes patterns of communication between and among groups. Evidence from this study indicates that two factors primarily determine patterns of social behaviour of interlocutors: power and status, and the (in)formality of a gathering. There is a tendency that in more informal, internal group gatherings, open discussions take place and criticism of inappropriate conduct is openly discussed. On the other hand, in a formal meeting, more particularly in the presence of someone more powerful, these kinds of social interactions do not, or are less likely to, occur. This strongly suggests that in formal settings, respectful behaviour tends to occur because of conformity rather than of true acceptance and agreement. In other words, true agreement, acceptance, and obedience are most likely to be only at the surface level. What is seen is possibly very different from what is accepted. This can also be explained by the emphasis on more ceremonial and ritualistic events taking place in the school environment.

Social status and power are of relevance to the examination of the patterns of communication in the school environment – whether it is mono- or bi-directional. Findings show that communication

between interlocutors of different social status and power tend to be more mono-directional in the sense that more powerful interlocutors dominate most of the communicative events. When communication involves the principal and teachers or students, or a teacher and students, the school domain is clearly not a neutral social space. It is here that the more powerful interlocutors can most freely enact their strategies of imposition. On the other hand, intra-group communication is more bi-directional in the sense that interlocutors have equal talking opportunities. The school domain may become a neutral social space only if involved interlocutors share equal power; this only happens in certain informal settings e.g., outside the classroom or office, and during recess.

In summary, cultural, social and sociolinguistic practices in the school environment may have implications for the behaviour of teachers and students in the classroom context, which is the topic to be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7
CLASSROOM CULTURE: ENGLISH LANGUAGE LESSONS
7.1 Introduction

This chapter is concernedwith particular aspects of the classroom and its community's culture, which are related to the teaching-learning process. It starts with section 7.2 which elucidates the first step taken in the process of studying the community and its culture, i.e., getting into the classroom. This is followed by Section 7.3 which provides a description of the physical context of the classroom. Section 7.4 presents the ritualistic nature of a lesson. Section 7.5 examines the classroom community. It includes a description of teachers' conditions, in terms of material, professional, and personal aspects and students' conditions, in terms of their attitudes towards English lessons, their English ability, and their general behaviour in the classroom. Section 7.6 analyses the classroom culture: the teaching and learning practices. The analysis of students' learning practices focuses on students' learning preferences, students' participation, competition, and the characteristics of a good student. The analysis of teachers' teaching practices focuses on their lesson preparation, use of textbooks, use of translation, use of space, time management, distribution of opportunities, the teaching of forms and skills, use of small group work, and error correction techniques. This section also analyses the influence of teachers' beliefs and learning experiences on their classroom practices and teaching mission. Section 7.7 analyses the means and patterns of communication in this society, i.e., communication among students and interaction between teachers and students. The last section, Section 7.8 summarises the whole chapter.

7.2 Getting into the Classroom

Being considered by students as a teacher, and by the English teachers as their teacher as well as a researcher, would have made it difficult for me to develop personal relations with them, which could cause difficulties in obtaining the required information for my study. Consequently, I had to convince them that I did not represent anybody else other than myself, and that I was doing the study for my thesis, in which I would not mention any individual's real name. As I am a researcher, the teachers seemed to suspect that I would want to know what they did in their teaching, including their weaknesses, and be critical of them. Therefore, I had to convince the teachers that I was not going to be in the classroom to act as either a critic or a supervisor, and that I would not make any comments unless they wanted me to. Despite this, they later admitted that, at the beginning, they felt nervous and uneasy. *I've never been observed during my teaching, except when I did my teaching practicum when I was at the university*, one of them asserted. After several consecutive observations and the placement of recording equipment, they became used to my presence and the classroom went back to its normal routine.

Another effective means of getting into this community was by way of dressing less formally – most of the time I wore a pair of jeans and a t-shirt. This, to some extent, was effective in reducing my social distance with both teachers and students. Although my dress style successfully brought me closer to the students, as an adult, I still felt it important to approach them to initiate communicative and friendly relationships.

To sum up, only after a number of approaches to both the students and teachers under study was I actually accepted as a member of their community – hence my presence in their lesson was taken

for granted – yet still viewed as an outsider who would not do them any harm. This enabled me to perform my participant-observer role.

7.3 The Physical Context

The classroom is a world of its own. It is a microcosm in which a particular community interacts and produces its own specific culture. It contains certain artefacts, which function according to its context-specific characteristics. Its community members engage principally in, yet are not limited by classroom-culture-specific interactions which are universally called teaching-learning interaction. In other words, there are certain interactions in the classroom that are not directly related to the teaching learning process.

Due to the potential contribution of the physical setting of a classroom to the shaping of classroom culture, it is of importance to provide a general description of the classroom under study. This is important in the sense that the place ment, for instance, of the teacher's table on the dais in front of the class, and the arrangement of the student desks in rows may affect the types of activities and psychological relationship between the teacher and students.

7.3.1 General Description

The Classroom of Class 2B, like the others, is set up very traditionally, i. e. benches are arranged in rows with the teacher's desk in the right front corner near the blackboard. It is equipped with very basic facilities, tables and chairs for students, a table and a chair for the teacher, and a blackboard. There are thirty-eight seats available, but only thirty-four are used. The desks measure 50 by 60 by 75 centimetres. A blackboard measuring 120 by 90 centimetres hangs on the front wall. There is also a small blackboard measuring about 40 by 50 centimetres that hangs on the wall near the teacher's desk, which is used to record the number of students present; I noticed that the record hardly ever changed. From this description it can be seen that the classroom is very poorly equipped with learning resources. There are not any maps, figures, or pictures, except a water-colour painting of an Indonesian hero, hanging above the window on the left-hand side of the classroom; the quality of the painting suggests that it was painted by one of the former students attending the school. On the other side there hangs a piece of cardboard containing the organisational structure of the class (see Section 7.5.2).

There is only one relatively large door to the classroom. There are glass windows along both sides of the classroom – the ones on the side facing the schoolyard begin at about one and a half metres, and the ones on the other side start at about one metre. Because of the height of the windows towards the schoolyard side, students cannot see or be interrupted by events taking place during school hours. The podium floor in front of the class, where the teacher's desk is placed, is about thirty centimetres higher than the rest of the classroom. Students' desks are arranged in rows; classrooms in urban schools also have similar features.

This classroom setting also has the potential to affect both students and teachers psychologically, which, in turn, will be influential to the teaching-learning behaviour in the classroom. The raised 'teacher zone' enables teachers to survey the whole class. It also affects teachers' self-confidence, and authority performance in the classroom, as illustrated by the following comments from

a teacher, "The dais enables me survey the whole class.... Standing up there, I feel better and this helps me control the class more easily."

The formalistic and ritualistic nature of this classroom is not only indicated by the way its community members dress (see Section 6.4.3) and the formal opening of a lesson (see Section 7.4), but also by the type of classroom floor plan and seating arrangement, as indicated in the next section.

7.3.2 Seating Arrangements

The seating arrangements of the class are fixed. According to the *wali kelas,* the teacher who is responsible for the management, supervision, guidance, and counselling of the class, seats were arranged at the beginning of the academic year, but might be rearranged one or more times in an academic year. Despite this, an individual teacher might, and is free to, temporarily change the arrangement. Similarly, students might also temporarily change their seats. However, no one can move from one seat to another whenever he or she likes. Although they are not totally free to choose where and with whom they sit, several students admitted choosing their own seats. Koko and Andy, for instance, decided to sit side-by-side because they were close friends, were almost equally motivated and diligent – the latter was the reason they were allowed to sit side-by-side at the back of the class, in the girl-only zone. In contrast, Adi and Ani reported that the *wali kelas* instructed them to sit in their current seats. In other words, the seating arrangement of this class is based on a combination of the teacher's imposition and student decision. As a result, a student has his/her own assigned seat, which may not be taken by any one else unless there is a seating rearrangement by the *wali kelas*. Hardly ever, does a student move temporarily from his or her permanent seat, unless being instructed to do so by a teacher. There were only a few occasions in which I observed temporary movements without a teacher's permission.

The following figure presents the seating arrangement of students in classrooms.
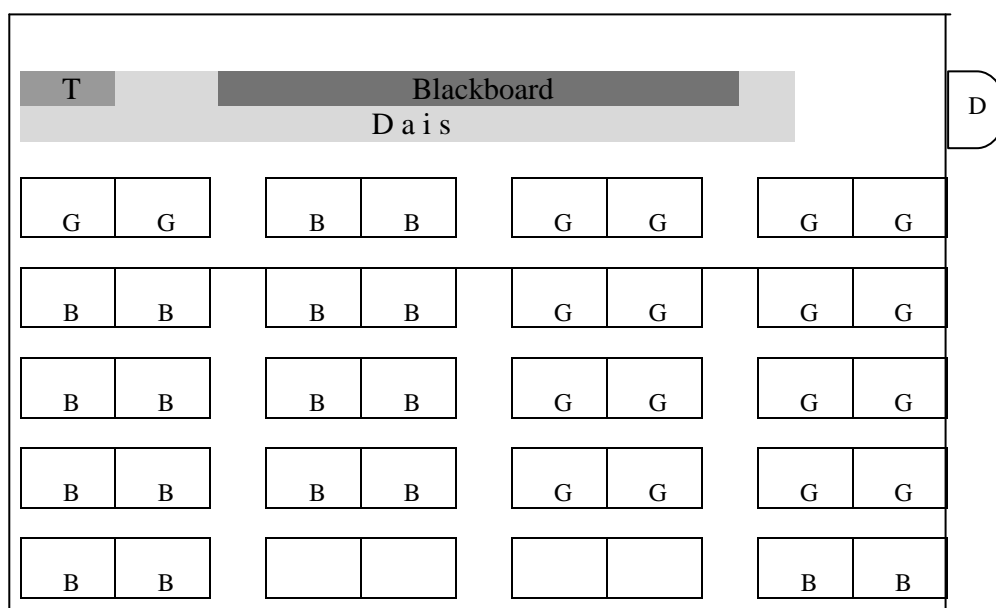
Notes: B: Boy　　　　D: Door　　　　G: Girl　　　　T: Teacher
Figure 8: The seating arrangement of Class 2B of *SLTP*N 1 *Oleo*.

As in the classroom layouts of other public junior high schools in this province, two desks were joined to allow two students sit side-by-side (in the classrooms of one of the urban schools visited, three students were sharing the two-joined tables; nobody knows the main reason for putting two small desks together for pairs of students instead of a bigger one for two students. From the layout and size of the classroom, the most plausible reason that two tables are joined together is to accommodate more tables – hence more students – in a classroom and to maximise free space along the aisles. Yet the aisles are still very narrow – less than half a metre – making it hard for students to move around easily.

The figure also indicates that the teacher's table is on the right front corner of the classroom. There are two possible interrelated reasons for such a placement. First, if it was right in the middle, the teacher will obstruct students' views of the blackboard because the desk, at which s/he spends most of her time, which is on the dais, would be right in front of the blackboard. Secondly, if it was right in front of the blackboard, it would not be very practical for the teacher who sits with her/his back to the blackboard, to make use of the blackboard, especially because the space between the desk and the blackboard would be very small. This is particularly impractical as a teacher spends most of his/her time sitting or standing by the table, while the blackboard is low and it is not possible to slide it up and down. Furthermore, the space between the students' tables and teacher's desk is less than two metres.

The figure also indicates that there is a boy-only zone and a girl-only zone and that boys are placed closer to the teacher's table. The placement of boys in front of the teacher is based on a presumption or stereotype that they are less disciplined than girls as stated by a teacher in the following expression: "*Because we (teachers) face them (boys), we can easily see the ones who are not paying attention*". In other words, placing boys right in their gaze enables teachers to easily notice boys if they misbehave – thus, it is hoped to affect boys' behaviour.

A similar stereotype is widely held by the wider village community. Boys are normally considered more stubborn and less obedient than girls. This is likely to be due to the impact of giving more freedom to boys than girls in doing particular activities requiring more movement and physical challenges. For instance, it is culturally more acceptable if a small boy, rather than a girl, makes a lot of movements –e.g., jumping around and joining war games. It is culturally acceptable if a boy climbs trees, plays *takraw* and soccer, or plays away from home, but unacceptable if such activities are done by a girl. In other words, boys are expected to be more active than girls; hence, people often comment that a girl is boyish if she is rather active.

7.4. A Lesson's Ritual/Routines

All lessons can be divided into three parts: the introductory part, the main part, and the concluding part. The main part is concerned with the actual teaching and learning activities, which comprise three stages: topic introduction, teaching and learning of the topic, and conclusion/evaluation. The introductory and concluding parts of a lesson constitute lessons' routine/ritualistic events. They are

kinds of ceremonial events taking place at the beginning and end of a lesson. On the surface, they mainly contain phatic communication between teachers and students: greeting exchange and gratitude expression given consecutively. These are marked by students' initiation of greetings at the beginning of a lesson and closing remarks from the teacher and gratitude expression from students at the end of it. The following narrative vignette encapsulates the two speech events taking place at the opening and the closing part of an English lesson.

(26)   21 September 1999
Pak Sul enters the classroom and the class that was noisy is suddenly quiet. He walks straight to the teacher desk in front of the classroom across the door and puts his books on the desk. Instead of taking a seat, he stands straight facing the class right beside the desk to receive formal greeting from the class. He stands still for a few seconds to allow the class to greet him.

Class captain (Cc): (Bang his desk with his hand).
Class (C)   : (Stand)
Cc   : (Bangs his desk with his hand) One, two, three.
C   : Good morning Sir.
Teacher (T)   : Good morning.
Cc   : (Bangs his desk with his hand)
C   : (Take their seats)

This is followed by the teacher's calling the rolls.

T   : Anti
Anti   : *Hadir Pak*
         Present, sir
T   : Andy
Andy   : (Puts his right hand up) Present, sir
T: : Koko
Koko   : Present sir.
....
T   : Ani.
Ani   : I am here Sir.
T   : Suleman.
Suleman : Hadir.
                    T   : USMAN
               C   : (NO ANSWER)
                    T   : IS HE ILL?
               T   : FARIDA, IS USMAN ILL?
               FARIDA   : (NO ANSWER)
               T   : MARIANA, IS USMAN ILL?
               MARIANA   : "SICK"
               T   : YES. IS USMAN SICK?
               MARIANA   : YES.
               T   : WATI…. WHERE IS WATI?
               WATI   : PRESENT.

The closing part of the lesson took place in the following way:

T   : This time's up for this lesson today. See you next time. (Before the teacher leaves the classroom, he takes a position, stand still facing the class, to receive gratitude).
Cc   : (Bang his desk with his hand).
C   : (Stands up)
Cc   : (Bang his desk with his hand).
C   : Thank you Sir.
T   : You are welcome.

These routine parts of the lesson took place in an almost similar manner in the other lessons I observed, both in urban and village schools. They are definitely parts of classroom ritual and formality in the form of phatic communication between a teacher and a class. In urban classrooms, the class captain not only commands the class by banging his desk, but also by saying "one, two, three".

These introductory and concluding parts of the lesson indicate the regimented emphasis of the class. In the eyes of students and teachers, these are performed especially for the purpose of courtesy, that is, students respect the teacher as someone coming to the class to teach knowledge to the class. This courtesy is not enough only by greeting and thanking the teacher, but also by taking a position considered polite and respectful, i.e., the military-like-way of saluting their superiors. Indeed, greeting a teacher is important, but, considering the uniformity and regularity of these events' occurrence in a school, it is clear that the way greetings are exchanged and gratitude is expressed is also of great importance. As noticed throughout the fieldwork period, it was the students who initiated the greeting exchange and gratitude expression in the classroom. This is in line with the commonly held view in the wider society that by courtesy, the young should initiate greetings and it is inappropriate for the young to expect the elder to greet first. In real life outside the school environment, the issue of who initiates phatic communication is complex. Students seem to avoid meeting their teachers in public places because they are shy or afraid of them, and often pretend not to see them. This was confirmed by most of the students in informal interviews.

During the fieldwork, I hardly ever noticed a student being absent from a lesson, unless he or s/he was unwell, in which case a letter or a message would be passed on by his/her classmates to the *wali kelas* or the teacher teaching the first lesson of the day. In spite of this, roll calls are still done by teachers, which often takes quite long, especially in big classes – a class in the village school is often more than thirty students. There are two main reasons for calling the roll at the beginning of a lesson, as implied in the following statements by a teacher. The first is that "*I am not only checking who is present and who is not, that's part of teaching business, you know*". This indicates that calling the roll is considered a classroom routine business; hence widely done by the teacher. Secondly, because a class is so big "*It is hard to know who is present and who is not, it is hard to remember everyone's name, especially because I teach more than a hundred students*". The problem of having difficulties in remembering students' names is particularly problematic for teachers in urban schools, where a class may exceed fifty students.

The regimented emphasis through a military-like command from the class captain and the choral expression of greeting and gratitude from the class also suggests that the opening session of the lesson functions as more than just a matter of phatic communication. It also contributes to the creation of a formal setting in the classroom and therefore, students have to behave accordingly, and listen attentively to the teacher. It marks the beginning of a teaching-learning session that requires the students and the teacher to engage, under conventional rules and regulations, in certain types of social events.

In the main part of a lesson, where the teaching and the learning of a subject take place, a number of aspects of the classroom culture can be elucidated by examining student's behaviour.

7.5 The Classroom Community

As stated previously, one of the major concerns of this study is the culture inside the classroom. The second reconnaissance (see Section 5.2.2) and particularly my efforts to approach both the teachers and the students of the classes being observed enabled me to get into the classroom community and be accepted by both the students and teachers.

In the present study, both the students and teachers of the classes being observed constitute a classroom community. They are the ones who interact in the classroom domain – students perform the learning while teachers perform the teaching. The classroom culture encompasses both physical and non-physical aspects of the classroom: from teaching-learning facilities to student and teacher practices.

Classroom culture is a complex mix of teaching-learning interactions, involving certain facilities. Therefore, in the analysis of it, three major components should be taken into account: the community – the students and the teachers – and its organisational structure; the artefacts – books, blackboards, desks, and other existing facilities; and the physical domain – the classroom. The inclusion of artefacts and physical domain is of great importance for they also function as the learning and teaching resources of the community of practice (Henning, 1998).

The following section examines the practices that constitute the culture of the community.

7.5.1 Teachers

A teacher is a member of a classroom community. Classroom culture does not exist without the presence of a teacher.

As indicated in chapter 3, two English teachers were used as the main informants of the classroom culture in this study. However, this does not mean that this study strictly limited its sources of data to the two of them. A lot of information was also obtained from other members of the teaching staff during informal chats. In addition, by way of comparison two urban school English teachers were also used as informants. They were both observed and interviewed (see Section 3.5.2.2). For the sake of our analysis, the two rural school English teachers serve as the primary focus, but the others are mentioned where appropriate.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 130) recognise three essential problems in teacher supply: source, training, and rewards. As the framework for describing English teachers' problems, these three problems are examined, though using rather different labels: material condition, training, teaching experience, English proficiency, personality characteristics, and English learning experiences. The following description is concerned with the two core subject teachers: Pak Sul and Pak Hamzah.

7.5.1.1 Material Condition

Pak Sul, married with two small children, five and three years old, was a Tolaki and lived almost forty kilometres away from the school, in a village called *Morini* which is situated close to the capital of the district. He was a newly appointed contract-based teacher, starting to teach English at *SLTPN 1 Oleo* in September 1999. He was recruited as a contract teacher under a government project funded by an ADB-Loan. As a contract teacher, he was paid Rp. 400,000.00 (about A$73.00) a month. For a married teacher with two children like Pak Sul, this amount was not sufficient.

There were two reasons for him to live in another sub-district. Firstly, he was teaching English part-time at two private schools, at a new private university, and ran private English courses from home in *Morini*. According to him, he earned slightly more from his part-time teaching and his private English courses than from his contract teaching. Secondly, moving close to *SLTP Oleo* meant he would have had to rent a house; whereas remaining in *Morini* did not cost him as much, since he lived in his own house. Moreover, moving could also cost him financially because he might lose the part-time teaching and private English courses. Therefore, he decided to remain in *Morini* and to spend two nights, Tuesdays and Fridays, in *Halu*. Consequently, he only had to pay for the transportation which was Rp. 10,000.00 or almost A$1.8 for one way – two return trips cost about A$7.2 a week or about A$29.00 a month.

Choosing to live and maintain his part-time jobs in *Morini* was financially more advantageous for Pak Sul. However, this also means that his lesson preparation time decreased because he needed to spend about twelve hours a week travelling to and from *Halu* – the trip took about three hours each way. His total teaching load per week was twenty hours – six hours at *SLTPN 1 Oleo* in *Halu*, four hours at the private university, six hours at the two private schools, and four hours for private English courses. In a collective society, like the one in this study, where various social, cultural and religious activities frequently take place, Pak Sul did not have much time to prepare his lessons, and hence, the quality of his teaching was undoubtedly effected.

Pak Sul had to choose this way of working not only for financial but also for professional reasons, that is, in order to get a chance to have a permanent job, which had not been possible for him in the past for political reasons – his father was identified as a member of a prohibited party, the Communist Party. During the Suharto's period, the children and the grandchildren of those who had been accused of being members of the party were discriminated against by the government in job recruitment. Moreover, the chance to get a permanent position as a government civil servant is increasingly difficult due to the government's 'zero growth' policy in civil servant recruitment (World Bank, 1998). According to Pak Sul, being contracted opened a chance for him to get a permanent job, something that he had been dreaming about since his graduation. However, if Pak Sul had only relied on his monthly salary from his job as a contract-based teacher, he would not have been able to support his family. Therefore, he needed to maintain his former part-time jobs. In the meantime, he would look for possible opportunities to move to another public *SLTP* in an area closer to *Morini*. When I revisited *SLTPN* 1 *Oleo* in February 2001, he no longer taught there because he had been moved to an *SLTPN* in *Morini*.

On the other hand, Pak Hamzah, thirty-one years of age, and single, was a Munanese, an ethnic group residing on Muna Island situated to the south of Sulawesi's Southeast peninsula. He lived within walking distance to the school, about half a kilometre from school; so he did not need to spend money on transportation. He lived in his own small, poor house (see Figure 9), that he bought in 1995, but could not renovate because of financial problems. There were two bedrooms, a small kitchen, a sitting room, and a bathroom, but there was no toilet. The house would not meet normal health standards. As a permanent teacher, he earned about Rp.600,000 (about A$100). In addition to this, he

also earned about Rp. 100,000 (about A$18) a month from his tutoring at Open *SLTP* in *Oleo* and the Package B Program (for more information about this program see Section 4.4.3).

The amount Pak Hamzah earned is more than sufficient if it had only been used for his own expenditure. In real life, however, these amounts were never enough to meet his needs because the money he earned was also used to support his parents and his siblings, and even sometimes was used to help the members of his extended family. Pak Hamzah, like other members of the community in this study, had the responsibility to look after his parents and siblings. As far as I remember, his younger brother came twice to ask for money. He also informed me that he felt responsible for supporting his parents and thus regularly sent them money, because they were only poor subsistence farmers. In addition, there are often invitations to wedding parties, *akikah,* 'first hair cut rite'*, sunatan,* 'circumcision rite', where it was expected that some money would be put in an envelope and given as a present to the family conducting those parties and rites. In addition, there were a number of deductions from his salary made by the government for various reasons (see Section 6.4.1). All these expenses add up to make a teacher's income insufficient. The picture of Pak Hamzah's house in the following figure

helps illustrate the material conditions typical for many teachers.

Figure 9: The English teacher's house where I stayed during my fieldwork
(1999-2000)

7.5.1.2 Training

Training is part of the process to become a teacher, especially through formal education. It is one of the basic requirements that a teacher must fulfil. In Indonesia, secondary school teachers are prepared by *Lembaga Pelatihan Tenaga Kependidikan* (*LPTK*), 'teacher training institutions', which include or the *Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan* (*FKIP*), Faculty of Education and Teacher Training, and the *Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan* (*IKIP*), 'Institute of Teacher Training and

Education'. *FKIP* of *Universitas HaluOleo* (*Unhalu*) opened an English Language Teaching Program in 1984.

Pak Sul graduated from the English Language Teaching Program of the *FKIP* of *Unhalu* in 1990 after more than six years of study to finish his bachelor or *Sarjana* (S-1) degree (undergraduate degree program requiring 4 or 5 years of study). With this qualification he can teach English at senior high school. A lot of university teachers only hold this qualification. Although he has never attended an in-service teacher training course nor any English teaching workshops, he was well aware that there had been a significant change in ELT methodology in Indonesia, since he completed his degree.

Pak Hamzah entered a three-year non-degree diploma (*D3*) program in English teaching in 1989 and finished it in 1993. In 1997, under government's sponsorship, he went back to *Universitas Haluoleo*, in Kendari, to complete his *Sarjana* degree, in English, that took him three semesters. How much these three semesters helped him to improve his quality of teaching is questionable. As one of the lecturers in the program, I would argue that it was not very helpful. Firstly, the participants were not released from their teaching duties. Therefore, Pak Hamzah had to teach three days (Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays) and attend lectures four days a week (Thursdays, Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays). He acknowledged that he did not benefit sufficiently from the upgrading program because he could not concentrate, and more importantly, it did not cover practical teaching issues.

Before returning to the university, Pak Hamzah attended two *PKG* (*Pemantapan Kerja Guru*, 'Strengthening Teachers' Work') workshops – for two months each, of which one month was used as teaching practicum under the supervision of a 'tutor' – which were conducted to help teachers improve their teaching methods. The workshops were aimed at improving teachers' ability to teach through the implementation of Communicative Language Teaching among Indonesian English teachers (Huda, 1999: 104-105; Mahady *et al.*, 1998; Sadtono; 1997a).

The government of Indonesia realised that training could make a significant contribution to the quality of a teacher. Therefore, as early as 1954, the government launched three teacher training colleges – because during the colonial period, there was no teacher training in Indonesia. Since then, efforts to enhance the quality of Teacher Training Institutions which prepare a teacher candidate have been initiated (Sadtono, 1997a).

The improvement of the teaching quality does not stop after pre-service training. It is a process that goes on continuously throughout a teacher's career. As new theories and principles develop from new research findings, teachers need to be up-to-date with them. Therefore in-service training is also important to improve teacher quality. At the moment, there may be a hundred Teacher Training Institutions, public and private, throughout Indonesia. A large number of teaching staff members of these institutions are sponsored, under bilateral or multilateral cooperation, to undertake further education either in Indonesian universities or overseas. The government, with the assistance of the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, USAID, UNDP, and other international funding organisations, has been providing financial support for in-service training programs for high school teachers for a long time. The latest, biggest and most well-known in-service project was the *PKG* project (Achmady, 1997; Boediono and Dhanani, 1998; Dardjowidjojo, 1996; Mahady *et al*., 1998

Sadtono, 1997a; Sadtono *et al.* 1997; Wiradinata and Moyle, 1996) which was expected to improve the quality of teaching- learning in Indonesian high schools (see Section 4.5.2).

Although, academically speaking, both of the teachers in this study are more than qualified to teach SLTP Students, it does not mean that they can teach well, because training or a qualification is not the only requirement for being a good teacher. This is particularly the case if training is more likely to emphasise getting a qualification rather than quality, as indicated by the upgrading program discussed previously and as implied by a study conducted by a research team led by Boediono (Boediono and Dhanani, 1998) which found that most of the teachers, qualified or not, lacked the basic skills to teach children to learn. This is supported by teachers' discussions of the contribution of pedagogical and methodological knowledge that they studied in the university and or in other methodological training and workshops to their classroom practices. For instance, when asked about how much of these they remembered while they were teaching, they answered "not much". Pak Hamzah highlighted this when he said, "When I am teaching I don't have any specific methods in mind. I hardly remember what I learned from the university because they were too theoretical. I just follow the book and teach the way my teachers taught me English." This confession suggests that teacher training institutions need to re-evaluate their programs so that their teaching materials relate more directly to classroom practice. It also suggests that presently the teaching of English in this school, and possibly in other schools, is not very much different from the teaching in the past.

In addition to training, other factors such as methodology, experience and the "t-factor" (born-teacherness) also contribute to good teaching performance (Ur, 1998) although she argues these factors play different roles in teacher quality. For an English teacher, English proficiency is also important in his teaching practice. The following section discusses the two teachers' experiences in relation to these factors.

7.5.1.3 Teaching Experience

In order to understand the current teaching practices of the teachers in question, we also need to scrutinise their teaching experience. With a good understanding of their experiences in the field, we can evaluate how much their classroom practices are influenced by their experience.

Pak Sul has been teaching for almost ten years at different schools, from junior secondary to tertiary education level. Since his final year at the university, he has been teaching English at two different private schools in his home village and occasionally runs private English courses for *SLTP* and *SMU* students. Since 1996 he has also been a part-time English teacher at a private university in the capital city of the district, Unaaha, where he teaches English to students in the non-English language Departments. He started teaching at *SLTP Oleo* in September 1999. This indicates that he has been involved in the teaching of English to *SLTP* students for more than a decade, and to university students for about five years. Thus, he has experience in teaching English to young as well as mature learners, in formal as well as informal education.

On the other hand, Pak Hamzah started his teaching profession in 1994 when he was appointed as a permanent civil servant teacher at *SLTPN* 1 *Oleo*. He began his first teaching job at *SLTPN* 1 *Oleo*, and has never been taught at any other school. Since 1995 he has also worked part-time as an English tutor for Open *SLTP Oleo* and Package B program in the sub-district. In both types of

education, the settings are different from the ones in formal education. In addition, the majority of the students of the two informal types of education are more heterogenous in ages than students of *SLTP*. This certainly adds to his experience in teaching different students in different settings. In terms of the number of years of teaching, Pak Hamzah is less experienced than Pak Sul. However, experience alone does not necessarily indicate that either of them does their job better than the other. Although there is a common belief that experience is a good teacher, that is, people learn through experience, experienced teachers may not necessarily be good teachers unless that experience has been of a high quality. Therefore, Ur's (1998) claim that experience (and reflection) can contribute more to good teaching than training and methodology is open to debate. It is important to note that a reasonable amount of experience without reflection and self-evaluation may contribute very little to the quality of teaching. A teacher can only learn from her/his teaching experience if s/he does the necessary reflection and evaluation and learns from that experience.

7.5.1.4 Proficiency

The English proficiency of the two teachers was not assessed formally, and there are no English language proficiency tests for teachers in Indonesia. However, using retrospective method, and observation notes, a general description of their English language proficiency can be provided.

Pak Sul was one of the first students in the English Language Teaching Program of *Unhalu*. According to the first chair person of the program, the quality of the first several intakes of the program was very low. They were senior high school students who had failed to enter *Unhalu* through the *UMPTN* (*Ujian Masuk Perguruan Tinggi Negeri*, '(National) State Universities Entrance Test'. She said that two tests had to be administered because the number and quality of the applicants were very low; hence they accepted almost all applicants. As previously stated, Pak Hamzah attended a 3-year non-degree diploma program. There was a general perception that the quality of the students accepted in diploma programs was lower than that of the students accepted in *S-1* programs, and this also applied to their English language programs. As one of the English lecturers in the program, I was able to judge the quality of the first intake into the program as well as the quality of the non-degree program students.

The fact that Pak Sul and Pak Hamzah, like their other friends, could complete their teacher training programs is an indication that they were qualified to teach English and that during their coursework, their own English proficiency improved. Unfortunately, this measurement alone may not be reliable because observational data indicate that their English proficiency still needed improvement. For example, I observed that Pak Hamzah, did not know how to use "comparative degree", and Pak Sul did not use correct tenses with correct adverbs of time (see Section 7.6.3.10). However, they both could use English intelligibly when they dealt with very basic conversational topics such as greetings, asking simple questions, and giving simple and short directions about certain tasks they had been familiar with. They also understood simple discourse, such as that used in their textbook.

In addition, their occasional use of English utterances in their teaching can also be used as an indicator of their proficiency. For instance, they use expressions like: (a) "At the first class ... you've studied about (pause) that (pause) but now I explain about that (pause) for how to use some personal pronouns", which took about 15 seconds; (b) "What's the meaning soft (pause) fur (pronounced as

[fUr]?", which is grammatically correct but with incorrect pronunciation of 'fur'; (c) "what does the meaning [fUr]?", instead of 'what's the meaning of [f3]?'; (d) "What's your activity at home?" instead of 'what do you usually do at home?'; (e) "If we can er, add (pause) how many", If we cannot add ... how much" to mean 'if it is countable ... if it is uncountable ...'; (f) "where the option is true?" to mean 'which option is true?'; (g) "Who has OK?" to mean 'Who's finished?' and (h) "What time's now?" to mean 'what time is it?' These usages suggest that these teachers' general English proficiency, as well as their "specialist language skills" (Elder, 2001: 152), were inadequate. They not only lacked the ability to use English in public domains, but also in classroom domains, in informal as well as in formal settings.

This low quality was not only a serious problem among high school English teachers but also among English lecturers at *Unhalu*. As a member of the teaching staff of the university, I am well aware that the majority of us are not very proficient in English. Using Institutional TOEFL and IELTS simulations, only a few of them managed to reach the standard requirements. When taking Institutional TOEFLs in 1994, 1995, and 1996, most of the English lecturers scored under 450. Of the nine English lecturers who have taken IELTS tests, most scored below 5.0. This is probably not a very good way of assessing the proficiency of the subject teachers. However, to some extent it can provide us with a general idea about the English proficiency of English teachers in the province. This is to say that if the English proficiency of the teacher provider is low, we can predict that the quality of the teacher produced is likely to be low as well. This is especially true if the input quality is low, which is the case for almost all *LPTK*s because the teaching profession is less attractive than other professions due to poor pay scales (Sadtono, 1997a).

The picture of the English proficiency of these teachers supports a study made by Pasassung, *et al.* (1995) who concluded that in general the English proficiency of *SLTP* English teachers in this province was low. The problem of English quality of *SLTP* English teachers is not specific to this province, but seems to be a national issue (Sadtono, *et al.,* 1997). This is supported by Boediono and Dhanani (1998) who argue that the implementation of the Communicative Approach in Indonesia fails to take into consideration the poor level of English among the teachers – a matter which was then discussed publicly in the newspapers.

7.5.1.5 Personality Characteristics

The quality of teaching of the two teachers in question may also be explained by looking at their personality characteristics that relate to the teaching profession. These personality characteristics (see Section 2.6.3) include general qualities and specific qualities. General qualities consist of, among others, intelligence, inter-personal relationships, organisation, responsibility, confidence, motivation and a sense of mission, enjoyment, desire to learn, and the ability and willingness to work hard; whereas specific qualities are factors which are contributive only to the teaching profession such as ability to 'sense' one's learners' learning ability and problems, to transfer what one knows about the language into a form that is accessible to her/his learners, and to know when learning is or is not happening (Ur, 1998).

Both teachers stated that they wished they had had another job which was financially more beneficial, but they did not think they could find one as easily as a teaching job. They both agreed that

becoming a teacher, especially an English teacher, was easier in comparison with becoming a policeman, a soldier or a bank officer because there were not sufficient English teachers around. As Pak Sul emphasised, "*Even though I was not accepted as a civil servant teacher because my father was accused of being a member of the Indonesian Communist Party, I can still earn my living by teaching English at private institutions*". This suggests that both teachers have chosen the English teaching profession primarily because it is likely to be hard for them to find other salaried jobs.

In terms of teaching experience (see Section 7.5.1.3), both teachers can be categorised as experienced teachers. To understand the quality of their teaching, observations were made during their teaching practices (see Section 7.6.3). These observations suggested that their teaching quality needs to be improved. However, observations made both inside and outside classroom suggested that they seem to have constraints in their effort to improve the quality of their teaching. During my observations I could see that they were not always confident in dealing with certain themes and answers, but hardly ever did I observe them preparing their lessons. Therefore, an outsider may get the impression that these teachers teach for the sake of teaching rather than learning, that they are more concerned with 'their own business' – teaching – rather than their students' learning (see Section 7.6.6.2).

It is very likely that the teachers knew a lot about their students' levels of proficiency because they both stated that their students' learning achievements were very poor, and some of their problems were things such as time, resources, low level of motivation, and economic ability. However, due to the pressure from the principal and the supervisors from *Kanwil Depdiknas* who always based their supervision on the amount of teaching material finished they often seemed to be more concerned with their own teaching rather than their students' progress. Therefore, instead of taking into account students' learning pace, they attempted to fulfil the principal and supervisors' requirements. This was probably due to the fact that students do not complain or protest about teachers. In addition to this, grades, which are used as the main measure of learning achievement, can be modified (see Section 6.7.2).

Both teachers relied very heavily on using the textbook directly – they followed everything in it without any attempt to vary some of the materials to better meet the needs of the students. While this can be partially attributed to the package textbook system and the lack of confidence of the teachers, it probably indicates that the teachers lack confidence to modify materials in a form accessible to the learner, and to design and administer activities and exercises that will foster learning. This could also be attributed to the low level of teaching motivation and morale due to inadequate incentives (Boediono and Dhanani, 1998). But, above all, it was observed that sociocultural condition is likely to be the source of constraints.

Using Ur's (1998) concept of "born-teacherness" or "t-factor", it was observed that that both teachers needed to improve both general and specific qualities which encompass personality characteristics which contribute to good teaching. For example, as observed during the fieldwork, teachers and students did not have a close inter-personal relationship because of different power and status. Observations also suggested that, in spite of socio-cultural constraints, the teachers in this study did not

spend enough time to prepare and organise their lessons, and to try to learn from what they did in the past. The frequency of teachers' absence without prior notices also indicates their personality characteristics. However, this does not mean they totally lack characteristics which are related to the 't' factor, because, as suggested previously, other conditions such as the imposition of the textbook (see Section 4.5.6) and the system of teaching performance assessment affect their performance.

In addition, another aspect which may also contribute significantly to teaching practices is learning experiences. Therefore, it is of relevance to describe briefly the teachers' English learning experiences in high schools.

7.5.1.6 English Learning Experiences

Both teachers participating in this study went to State *SMP (Sekolah Menengah Pertama,* the former name of *SLTP)* and *SMA* (*Sekolah Menengah Atas*, former name of *SMU* or senior high school) in their respective places of origins – Pak Hamzah went to an SMAN in Kontu, and Pak Sul went to an SMAN in *Morini*.

English learning at the two educational levels followed similar processes. Therefore, they both had similar English learning experiences; both learned English in similar ways and in a similar environment. They both stated that they were taught English twice a week using traditional methods, that is, translating sentences, repeating after teachers for pronunciation, answering comprehension questions, and studying grammatical aspects, such as parts of speech, subject verb agreement, object, and tenses.

They also said their teachers just used the government package textbooks and had to write most of the tasks on the blackboard because there were only a few textbooks available in the class. Therefore, they spent a lot of time copying exercises from the blackboard. In addition, they both said that their teachers did not ask them to work or discuss answers in groups. However, when they did homework, they often did it with other classmates.

7.5.2 The Class

The picture of the class in the following figure provides a description of the physical setting of the classroom and the class members in this study.

Figure 10: Class 2B of *SLTPN Oleo*. The teacher's table (unseen) is in the
right front- corner

There were thirty-four students in this class, sixteen boys and eighteen girls. As stated previously in the preceding chapter (see Section 6.4.2), class Bs were made up of students academically weaker than class As but stronger than class Cs. Informants of this study were selected from this class, because they were the member of the selected class selected to be the main source of data in this study. In addition, the academic ability of this class is between class A and C.

Two of the students were children of policemen, four were children of teachers, and the rest were children of either fishermen or subsistence farmers. The majority of them identified themselves as children of subsistence farmers. The distance of their residences from school varied, from less than one to eight kilometres requiring them to travel on foot over that distance everyday. The majority of them, however, indicated that they lived around four or five kilometres away from school. Generally, their social, cultural, and economic backgrounds were similar. The eight students used as main informants in this study were from this class.

In terms of the number, the size of the class was not as big as the ones in urban schools – a class of the inner-city consists of fifty-two to fifty-six students; whereas a class of the outer-urban school consists of forty-six to fifty students. As a consequence, it was less crowded and less noisy.

The class has an organisational structure as indicated by the class board. The members of the board are written on a piece of cardboard hanging on the right-hand side of the classroom. It consists of a *ketua kelas*, 'class captain', *a wakil ketua kelas*, 'vice class captain', and coordinators for several different divisions such as Devotion to the Almighty God, Security, Sports and Arts, Public/External Relations, and Cleaning. To a total stranger, the setting up of such a formal organisational structure with such clear divisions appears to be very impressive. It suggests that students are not only made aware of their learning responsibilities, but also of their social responsibilities as members of a society. They are made aware, for example, of the importance of their mental and spiritual lives. Unfortunately, there was not much information about both the academic and non-academic roles and functions of the formal organisation of this class due to the lack of activities. The only effective section of the organisation was the one dealing with cleaning. The class captain's real function is to be responsible for the availability of learning-support facilities such as chalk and the blackboard eraser. He is also often asked to pick up and return packaged textbooks from the teachers' room and distribute them to his classmates.

The class captain informed me that he took the position because he was elected by his classmates. He did not nominate himself to be the captain of the class but *"[I] was promoted by the wali kelas, so I could not refuse and everyone agreed with the [wali kelas's] suggestion...."*, he said. Commanding his class in morning and afternoon assemblies, and in flag-raising ceremonies, greeting teachers at the beginning of every lesson, and thanking them at the end of it are also parts of a class captain's regular duties.

From what I observed during my fieldwork, the display of this formal organisation board is a mere formality – its real function and meaning are not very important; otherwise, everyone would have been aware of and would have performed their duties and responsibilities according to that organisation. Koko and Tono agreed that the organisation did not work well. "*I was appointed as the coordinator of class security, but I haven't done anything about it, because there isn't any security problem, but should there have been one, I think I wouldn't know what to do*", Koko explained.

A *wali kelas* has a powerful, respected position in the classroom community. In theory, s/he plays an important role in the community's life by providing supervision, guidance and counselling for the students – s/he is the one to consult with community members if they have a problem. S/he is the first-contact-person should there be a member of the community found misbehaving by other teachers. Any extra- and co-curricular activities of the community have to be approved by her/him. Important decisions about the life of the class community are in his/her hands. S/he is the one to consult with should a class member need to take leave. A final decision on whether a student should repeat a class is made by him/her, because s/he also plays an important role in the marking system.

In summary, except for the *wali kelas* the organisational structure of this classroom community, and of other classroom communities in general, does not play such a big role in the life of this community, especially in how teaching should take place to ensure effective learning processes in a lesson.

7.5.3 Students' Attitudes towards English Lessons

Attitudes, one of the many sources of motivation to learn a subject, are often misinterpreted as being similar to motivation. Although Gardner and Lambert tend to believe that attitudes are the main source of motivation in second language learning (Spolsky, 1989: 149), they also believe that other factors such as teaching techniques, parental encouragement, and learning objectives, can certainly affect the attitudes and motivation of the student (Gardner and Lambert, 1972: 9).

Since motivation and attitudes are two relevant topics which are very broad, this section will focus on one aspect which is believed to be important to examine, that is, "Why do these students learn English?" The answer to this question will provide a significant starting point to the discussion of attitudes and motivation of the students under study to learn English.

The answer is not related to immediate use or needs. English is not the language students use in every day interaction, neither is it the language of instruction at schools, nor are students likely to meet any native English speakers because their village is not near a tourist attraction.

As a basis of the analyses of the English learning motivation of these students, two types of data will be considered: (1) data from observations, and (2) data from questionnaires.

The following narrative vignette taken in an observation is used as the basis for the description of the learning motivation of students in this study.

(27)   30 November 1999
> There are only a few students in the classroom. They seem to be surprised by my sudden presence. "Good morning", I greet them in English. Still being surprised, they only look and smile at one another. So I switch to Indonesian and tell them that I didn't come to teach, just to have a chat with them.

Seeing me in the classroom, several students sneak in. Others, mostly boys, were viewing from a distance but after about five minutes, they all, I think, come into the class. Believing that everyone has come in the classroom, I repeat that I won't be teaching but will have a chat with them. I try to reduce the social distance between us.

I THINK THIS IS A GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO DRAW SOME INFORMATION FROM THEM ABOUT ENGLISH. I START WITH VERY GENERAL QUESTIONS, SUCH AS 'WHAT THEY THINK ABOUT ENGLISH LESSONS

ARE THEY INTERESTING, EASY OR DIFFICULT. THE ANSWERS ARE: "*VERY DIFFICULT, SIR*", "*THE WAY (WORDS?) ARE READ IS DIFFICULT, SIR*", "*THE WAY WE WRITE [AND SAY WORDS?], SIR*", "*THE MEANING, SIR*". SO I ASK WHY THEY WANT TO LEARN IT, WHO WANTS THEM TO LEARN IT. A FEMALE STUDENT WHO IS SITTING AT THE LEFT-FRONT ROW WITH HESITATION SAYS, "THE TEACHER". FOURTEEN STUDENTS AGREE WITH HER. "*WHAT ABOUT THE REST*?", I ASK. A MALE SITTING IN THE SECOND ROW, REPLIES, "*THE GOVERNMENT, SIR*". THERE ARE SEVEN OF THEM THAT AGREE WITH HIM. I HEAR SOMEONE SAY THAT IT IS BECAUSE OF THEIR OWN SELVES WHICH IS FOLLOWED BY A LOT OTHER STUDENTS' AGREEMENT. THERE ARE EIGHTEEN STUDENTS IN FAVOUR OF THIS OPINION. I NOTICE SOME STUDENTS HAVE CHANGED THEIR MIND. ....

With regard to the time for English lessons, most of them consider that it is sufficient, although several think it is not. Furthermore, the majority of them say that they have sufficient time for English at home and only several say they don't because when they come home they help their parents in the garden (males) and at home (females).

During the discussion, there was no pressure, intimidation or any other provocative treatment prior to the dialogue. It was conducted under a very natural and relaxed situation. I did not represent any party, such as the school or the government. Students clearly viewed me as a stranger or an outsider, not as a teacher or a government official, nor as somebody who was threatening or who would be influential to their attitude and performance assessments. Otherwise, they would not have said that "the teacher and the government" made them learn English. Supposing that there were thirty-two students in the classroom, and those who thought they learnt English because of "the teacher" and "the government" were fourteen and seven subsequently, it means that more than sixty per cent of them felt that English was imposed.

If we postulate that those considering English as being imposed have less positive attitudes, it could be predicted that at least 50% of the students have a less positive attitude towards English lessons. Without relating it to other factors which may contribute to their attitude, such as the learning atmosphere which is closely related to methods, classroom conditions, to learn English (Brown, 1981; Ellis, 1997; Gardner and Lambert, 1979; Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991; Spolsky, 1989), this finding suggests that the English subject is imposed and their motivation to learn it is extrinsic.

Their attitudes towards English language can be inferred from their opinions about English language as 'very difficult' because of the way words are written and read/pronounced and because of the meaning. In addition, although some students thought that they had enough time at school and some others did not, this can still indicate that students' attitudes towards English lessons need to be evaluated. I believe that the ones who said they had enough time at school did not take into account lesson cancellations nor compared it with the whole set of subjects – there are 18 subjects altogether (see Section 6.4.1).

Let us consider what the data from the questionnaire indicated. There are several questions in the questionnaire which can be assumed to be indicative of students' attitudes towards English, in one way or another. However, the most relevant questions for the present discussion are the ones directly related to attitude, such as (1) reasons for learning English, (17) the amount of time allocated for English lessons, (18) English as a compulsory or optional lesson. With regard to reasons for learning English, respondents were asked to rank the options provided from 1 (most likely reason) to 5 (most unlikely reason). In the analysis, the option ranked 1 scored 5 whereas the one ranked 5 scored 1. However, with regard to the reason for learning English, only one of the options (d) implies imposition. The others are more self-benefit-oriented or 'investment' in Norton's term (1995).

Option	Score
(a) It (English) will some day be useful in getting a good job	2.60
(b) It will allow me to meet and converse with foreigners	3.50
(c) It will be important for my future education,	4.10
(d) It is part of the school subject	2.15
(e) There is a lot of information available only in English.	2.20

Table 10: Reasons for Learning English

This table shows that the score for option (c) is the highest (4.1), which implies that the respondents decided to learn English because they thought it would benefit them in their future education. This means that based on the questionnaire results, the reason for the respondents to learn English is not simply because it is a compulsory school subject, but more importantly they learn it for their future "investment" (Norton, 1995, 1997).

Interestingly, the score for option (e): 'There is a lot of information available only in English' is only 2.20, which is almost half of the score for option (c): 'It will be important for my future education', that scores 4.10. In terms of the role of English in Indonesian education, these two options are closely related because Indonesian students are taught English to be able to read textbooks written in English. This implies that a lot of information which is important for advanced education is available in English. Thus, it would be expected that the gap between the scores for these two options would not be great. The large gap suggests that the students may not realise that much tertiary material is in English.

With regard to 'the amount of time allocated for English lessons (17) the data reveal that the overwhelming majority of the respondents (80%) think that the present allocation – two meetings, with a total of three hours a week – is enough. Pedagogically, learning a foreign language for three hours is not much, especially if the learning process is not effective. The reason students in this study consider three hours is enough can be related to the number of subjects and the total hours that they have at school. Moreover, three hours is the highest time allocation for a school subject, and only a few other subjects such as mathematics and Indonesian are given three hours a week.

The data on 'If English is optional I would ....'' (18) indicate that the overwhelming majority of the respondents (84%) "would learn it". This strongly suggests that English is important for them in one way or another and this can contribute to their positive attitude towards English lessons. Taking

into account the findings from informal interviews as revealed by vignette 27, it is still evident that English is seen as being imposed, as indicated by the number of students in the class (65.63%) learning English because of the teacher and the government. In other words, it is very likely that more than half the class would not learn English if it were not included in the school curriculum. Therefore, in the analysis of the informants' actual English language learning practices, other social phenomena should also be taken into account. The findings from questionnaires are somewhat different from classroom observations and direct, informal interviews. The difference is very likely to result from respondents' misconception about questionnaires. As previously indicated (see Section 3.5.2.3) they tended to consider a questionnaire as a test instrument; hence the 'best' – most socially acceptable – answers were chosen.

The motivation to learn English is closely related to the attitudes towards it. The following table summarises the attitudes of the respondents towards learning English (item 21 of the questionnaire).

1 (Very Boring)	2 (Boring)	3 (Alright)	4 (interesting)	5 (very interesting)
0%	3.08%	9.23%	31.54%	56.15%

Table 11: Students' attitudes towards learning of English (N=130)

It shows that the majority of the respondents found learning English very interesting and only about 3.08 per cent of them thought that learning English is not interesting.

Using the concepts of 'investment' and 'motivation', the questionnaire data strongly suggest that the students in the present study are highly motivated to learn English, and, as a consequence, one would predict that their English learning behaviour will most likely to be good. In contrast, observational data revealed that they did not put sufficient effort in their learning – they tended to refrain from asking questions or answering questions, and/or completing a task due to unwillingness to take the risk of making mistakes which can cause embarrassment. Moreover, their English achievements were low. Observations outside school also indicated that a lot of students did not spend a significant amount of time outside the classroom to rehearse what they had learned in the classroom. All the teachers interviewed also agreed that their students had very low motivation to learn the English language, and considered students' low motivation as the major source of students' failure. This is in line with Sadtono's (1997b, 1995b) contention that emphasises the crucial role of motivation for success in English language learning.

It should be noted that the level of motivation and attitudes are not the only factors influencing English learning behaviour and learning achievement. There are other factors, social and psychological, such as language aptitude and age, which also play influential roles in the process of learning, but which were not explored in this study. In other words, many factors are involved in the learning process and they all influence the level of English achievement or English ability of the learner.

7.5.4 Students' English Ability

This study does not include students' English proficiency assessment. However, both Pak Hamzah and Pak Sul agreed.that in general, the English achievement of the students in the present study is very low. According to them, if they had used the real exam results, very few students would have passed the exams. However, exam results are not likely to be reliable measurements of the English achievement of students in the present study, since the quality of the exam organisation (see Section 6.7.1), marking system (see Section 6.7.2), and exam questions (see Section 6.7.1) is poor. (For more information about English questions in a summative exam, see Appendix C). Therefore, instead of using exam results, I will use observational data to indicate the English achievement of the students in this study. Consider the following narrative vignette.

(28)   16 November 1999
        I am asked to teach Class 2B because the teacher, Pak Sul, suddenly decides to go home, for personal reasons. ...
"What page?" I ask. The class is in dead silence. They just stare at me. I repeat my question three times but I do not get the answer. "What page are you up to?" Clapping my hands to wake them up, I walk off the stage. After this fourth question, I still get no answer. It is only after using Indonesian Language that they answer me "*Halaman lima puluh tiga*", 'page fifty-three'. "In English please. What's the English for *lima puluh tiga?*". They look at one another. I repeat the question once, twice. A bit frustrated I speak Indonesian with higher pitch. I write the number on the blackboard. Tono says, "five three". "Yes, this is five and this is three", I write the numbers separately. Then I write 23 and 33. "This is twenty-three and this is thirty-three", I say. I then write 43. "What's this? This is forty…three". I point my finger to 53. Wati says, "Fifty-three, almost unheard. "Good". I look at her and extend my hand towards her. "Say it again". She is very shy. "Come on. *Keras-keras*", '(say it) louder'. She says it again still in a very soft voice. "Fifty-three" I say to the class. The class repeat after me chorally, "fifty-three". This takes very long. I complain in my heart. ….
        I draw pictures of a plane, a bus and a truck on the board. Then I ask the class what each of them are called in English. "What's this?". No Answer. "*Apa ini?*", I finally ask in Indonesian. A number of them answer, "*Kapal terbang*, 'aeroplane', followed by others saying, "*Pesawat*", 'plane'. "Yes, In English? What's this in English?" No answer. I pointed my finger up to the air. I heard a boy says "plane" hesitantly. All right. "Air plane. Repeat after me. Air plane." After a short brainstorming session on different types of transportation, I ask them to read the text and answer questions following it. ....
Fifteen minutes have passed, but most of them are still reading the text and have not started to answer the questions. They've only written numbers 1 to 8 and left them blank. Only Wati, the girls around her, Koko and Andy, who are always sitting next to each other, have completed the work half way. ....
        Two numbers of the listening task are about clock time. I have to say a sentence which contains one of the clock times featured in the exercise (each number has three clocks featuring different points of times). I say, "I went to bed at 9 o'clock last night", and "The meeting will start at quarter to nine", three times each very slowly. It surprises me that most of them choose incorrect options for them. "If they do not understand even very simple sentences like these, how much English have they learnt?" I ask myself. This is already their fourth month in year two which means they have been learning it for more than a year.

The vignette also indicates that some students can say "three, five" as separate numbers, but cannot say "fifty-three". It also reveals that several students are try to answer the reading comprehension questions, but most of them are not. This vignette also indicates that most of the

students still have problem telling time in English. They not only have a problem saying them but also listening to them. In terms of vocabulary, a number of students often look up the meaning of very basic vocabulary items such as 'carry', 'drives', and 'once'. For example, students asked the meaning of very basic vocabulary items such as 'vegetable', 'bowl', 'soft drink', 'meal', 'has', 'brought', and 'might'. Because most of them knew the meaning of 'have', 'bring' and 'may', this suggests that they also lack understanding of the past forms of these verbs.

Students' English achievement cannot only be related to student factors such as motivation and attitude towards English but also to teacher factors that further influence teachers' classroom practices which will be examined in the next section.

7.5.5 Student's General Behaviour in the Classroom

Students' classroom behaviour can be divided into two sub-groups: 1) non-lesson related or general behaviour, and 2) lesson-related behaviour or learning behaviour. In order to elucidate the classroom culture of the community in this study, it is important to examine both sub-groups. This section is concerned only with the general behaviour of the students in the classroom, whereas their learning behaviour will be dealt with in Section 7.6.2. However, the following vignette will be used as the basis of the discussion for both types of classroom behaviour observed in this study.

(29) 27 November
....
When the teacher instructs the class to study the conversational text and to do Task 1 and Task 2, everyone seems to focus his/her attention on the teacher. However, after the instruction, it is clear that many of them only copy questions from the textbook, without reading as instructed. I notice Tono, Wati, and two other students in a front desk very often look up words meaning in their old, worn-out dictionaries.

After about three minutes the class is increasingly noisier. Every time the teacher looks at the students and warns them, those who are just talking, or not doing anything pretend to be busy working. After about seven minutes, he finally leaves his desk and steps down from the dais. When he leaves his chair, everyone seems to work seriously. He approaches two of the front desks, stops at each very briefly, and then goes back to his own desk (this visit takes less than two minutes). I then walk around to take a look at students' work. By then, they could have completed Task 1 and two or three items of Task 2. To my amusement, most of them have only finished copying Task 1's questions and four or five out of eight questions of Task 2, none has written answers to any of them – except Koko, Andy, and Wati who have answered some of the questions correctly. Instead of doing the tasks as instructed most of them only copy questions from the textbooks. I guess about ten minutes have gone.

Up to this stage, the class is not that noisy, although quiet conversations take place here and there. It is clear that the majority of students do not do Task 2 as instructed. They just copy the questions while talking about non-lesson-related topics.
....
After about fifteen minutes the teacher stops the students reading and elicits answers for Tasks 1 and 2 from the class. This is followed by the teacher's explanation of the usage of auxiliaries *do* and *have*. I notice that most of the students, including Koko and Andy, do not really follow the explanation.

This vignette is indicative not only of students' English learning practices but also of their general behaviour in the classroom. When the teacher is explaining something they listen attentively; at least this is what can be inferred from their physical behaviour; they sit still and look straight ahead.

The situation changes when they are working on a task, for instance, completing an exercise. Although they seem to work seriously, they probably do not. A few students also make more movement and louder noise. Indeed, students' physical behaviour indicates that the majority of them are working and being attentive to the teacher's explanation. However, how much learning in the true sense takes place remains unclear. Similar behaviour occurs in other lessons. This supports the study made by Sadtono *et al.* (1997) who also doubted the occurrence of real learning in junior high school English lessons despite a lot of teaching taking place. The majority of students seem to do something on the task but meanwhile, they are also engaging in other non-lesson-related activities. Even during the teacher's explanation, a few students, instead of listening to the teacher, may talk about outside school or classroom activities. On several occasions, too, I observed students that did not listen to the teacher; they leaned forward and put their chins on the table while playing with his/her pens or fingers. Surprisingly, the teacher kept on explaining, and seemed to just ignore these happenings.

This vignette also suggests that when the teacher elicits answers from the class, almost everyone seems to be involved in providing answers chorally. However, it strongly suggests that brighter students always start an answer and only after they finish or almost finish answering then the others join in. This should not be interpreted as most of the students knowing the answer because in fact most of them do not have written answers; hence, they might join the 'choir' to save themselves from being identified as lazy students.

This vignette also indicates that Andy, Koko, Tono, and Wati are the most responsive/active students in this class. They were also observed as the most active and motivated of all in other lessons being observed. This was reflected by their efforts to complete given tasks.

Without close monitoring, these classroom behaviours cannot be clearly identified. Unfortunately, as observed throughout the field work, teachers did not take the relevant course of action – e.g., monitoring individual students to make sure that they understood the instructions and did the exercises according to what they were told to do – to improve the learning quality of their students. In this lesson, and in other lessons that were observed, teachers just sat at their desks and only once in a while looked at students very quickly warning them to be quiet when they were making noise.

After the lesson, I asked Koko why they did not pay attention to the teacher's explanation about 'do' and 'have' and why a lot of the students did not seriously do the task given to them. "*... He has explained this thing several times and I think we already knew the rule [of that grammatical aspects] ... The problem is we don't know how to use them. Moreover every one could not wait to have the break for recess*". This suggests that students' classroom behaviour is also determined by topics and the way teachers present them. It can be inferred from Koko's statement that if the teacher had presented the topic in a more practical, real life situation, Koko and Andy might have been interested in the explanation although it was close to recess time.

The following statement from a student is also indicative of students' classroom behaviour.

> *Well, actually it is not polite to talk about something else when the teacher is explaining or talking about something. .... But often we don't know the meaning of most of the words in the questions so we cannot answer. Also, because often most of our answers are wrong, we just wait until correct answers are given [or/and proofed by the teacher], so our book is full of dirty scratches.....*

However, if the teacher is going to collect the answer, everyone will attempt to finish the task.

This collaborates the observations in vignette (29). This student's statements also encapsulate students' classroom behaviour, including the ones deviant from conventional rules. It can be inferred from the statements that students still exercise deviant behaviour despite being well aware of classroom conventional rules and regulations. It is particularly indicative of the reason underlying students' reluctance to answer questions, that is, firstly, because the task is too difficult for them and secondly, possibly because they are not put in situations where performance is insisted on. Task 1 in the lesson described in vignette 29, for example, indicates that a task may be considered very difficult by the students because only two, out of ten, of the words in it are listed in the textbook's vocabulary lists; whereas there were only four dictionaries in the classroom. This can affect not only their learning behaviour, but also their general behaviour.

Efforts to do or finish classroom work, as well as homework, also depend on whether the answers will be scored or collected by the teacher. There were a lot of occasions in which students were found copying homework from others when they had no classes in the preceding lessons, or even during a lesson itself, because the teacher was going to collect the homework. Is this a positive or negative washback effect of grading or the result of orientation emphasis on learning? The answer might be both. In a situation where students are dependent on the teacher and take schooling and learning for granted, insistence on performance can be instrumentally motivating for them to learn (Gardner and MacIntyre, 1990). This is a positive washback effect. For those who view learning as a process, where primary emphasis on test scores can only affect students' short-term learning motivation, the washback might be considered negative. Whether insistence on completing a task through the use of scoring affects students in either or both ways, the most important thing is that students' learning practices and general behaviour in the classroom should be adequately monitored by the teacher.

The statements also suggest that students do not answer, or postpone answering, questions due to their lack of self-confidence. Since they are not confident of their answers, students do not want to end up with incorrect answers which they will need to scratch out and replace with correct ones, leaving their books untidy; students only use ballpoints and never use pencils for writing. This is probably why most of the textbooks contain exercises with answers completed by former students. Their unwillingness to try or to make errors could also be interpreted as a sign of inadequate learning motivation; otherwise, they would be willing to try hard, regardless of the level of difficulty of a task. However, it may also be the result of classroom climate and expectation of teachers. In other words, how does the classroom community view and react to errors? Do teachers, for example, consider error production as a normal part of the learning process? (For more information about error corrections, see Section 7.6.3.10).

In addition, the content difficulty of an exercise – in this case vocabulary, but could also be related to other grammatical and semantic aspects – is another reason for not completing a task. If a task is too difficult for students, it will create errors that can be a source of embarrassment and frustration. It is important to mention that the difficulty of the material might also be attributed to the

poor standard of students' prior learning, i.e. student achievement that may result from poor teaching or poor learning.

In terms of noise levels produced, there was a significant difference between urban and remote village students. Students in urban classes produced much higher levels of noise and this is attributable not only to the bigger size of the urban classes but also to the fact that a number of students finished some exercises ahead of the classroom meeting – these students might attend private English courses where help was provided on homework and school-related lessons. As a consequence, when others were working on a task, they talked or did something else, such as teasing each other, which contributed to the increase in the level of noise. In addition, urban school classrooms were much noisier as a result of the infiltration of the traffic noise. The two urban classes observed were affected significantly by traffic noise due to their location right beside busy roads. Unfortunately, teachers did not seem to be aware of this problem and only once in a while warned the students to be quiet. In addition, the sense of competition among urban students seemed to be at a higher level in comparison with that among village students.

Finally, there was a tendency that outside noise interference – loud noise from the next classroom and from the traffic – caused students in urban school classrooms to make noise. This is to say that, the students in a classroom might also produce noise because it was often difficult for a teacher to hear students' disruptions which were masked by noise coming from outside.

Overall, despite different levels of noise production, classroom behaviour of students from both environments was relatively similar. However, it is important to mention that despite the greater noise and relatively similar classroom behaviours, some students in the urban school classrooms seemed to work more actively in the classroom than their village counterparts. In my observations I found that, although they were not asked, some of the students even did exercises at home, before coming to school, either with the help of private English course instructors or by doing it in their study groups, and only a few of them copied homework from their classmates. However, this needs further research, firstly because my classroom observations in urban schools were done only on a few occasions. Secondly, a number of students in urban schools had their own textbooks, either photocopied or original textbooks. By way of contrast, none of the students in the village school had their own textbooks – there were no photocopiers, let alone a bookshop in the village.

7.6 Teaching and Learning Practices

The principal reason for having classroom lessons is to enable learning to take place. Teachers are considered to be teaching successfully, if they are able to help their students learn. Every classroom activity is oriented to facilitating student learning. Therefore, it is obvious that teachers' and students' classroom practices are the essential foci in the description and analysis of the classroom culture.

This section is particularly concerned with students' classroom learning and teachers' teaching practices that constitute classroom culture.

7.6.1 Classroom Learning Practices

Students' classroom learning behaviour as observed in this study (see vignette 27) strongly supports the findings of previous research that extensive copying from textbooks, memorising notes and information for examinations were widely practiced by Indonesian students, and that they learned grammar from teachers' explanation and learned vocabulary by way of direct translation and by way of out-of-context memorisation (and Lewis, 1996; Webster, 1988).

However, learning practices commonly occurring in the classroom are not sufficient to be used as the only basis of students' learning styles analysis due to the interplay of various factors in learning practices. Firstly, in a classroom community, teachers are perceived as the ones knowing everything (Lestari, 1999). Secondly, teachers also tend to perceive themselves "as having a body of information that students do not have" (Siegel, 1986: 149). Thirdly, students' classroom learning practice is influenced by the textbook, especially because teachers, as also observed by Siegel, simply teach or repeat the textbook. As a consequence, a student and a teacher may come to the classroom with the expectation that the classroom is a place where change of knowledge or information takes place – the teacher is the one who transfers, and the student is the one who receives. In other words, the classroom teaching-learning process is a matter of knowledge transfer. Therefore, the classroom is a setting dominated by students who learn according to what the teacher and textbook say. This, however, does not mean that everything students do in the classroom is teacher- or textbook-dictated. The following part of a vignette illustrates information on different types of student learning practices.

(30)   ....
> Students then work on the tasks. At the beginning, the class does not make a lot of noise. The majority of them seem to be busy: writing and sometimes talking with their neighbours in Indonesian. Several students who own dictionaries are also busy opening them to look up meanings of words while several others use the list of vocabulary at the end of the textbook. Occasionally, a student asks the teacher the meaning of a word. Several others simply ask their friends to tell them the meanings of certain words.

This vignette illustrates that students rely on a range of resources and suggests that students' learning practice is contingent upon access to them.

It can also be inferred from this vignette, and also vignette 17, that there are students who are individualistic and there are also ones that prefer to work with peers. This is supported by findings from the questionnaire (see Section 6.6.1) which reveals that group learning and individual learning are equally popular among the students. The most likely reason for a student avoiding learning in a group is, as a female student once commented,

> W*orking in a group is not good because sometimes we make a lot of noise about something not important. …. Working in a small group is good if all members of the group work and help one another. The problem is often only one or two of us do the task and the rest just copy the answers from us.*

It is clear that this student did not dislike working in a small group. Her statements suggest that she understood the essence of group-work. The reason she did not like working in a small group is she found that the essential objective for working in a small group could not be achieved due to fact

that the members did not follow the rules such as every member should be involved in finishing the task assigned.

Students' learning practices vary individually and are context-dependent and indicate which practices are more common and more likely to be preferred. In other words, students' learning practices can be used as the basis for examining their learning preferences.

7.6.1.1 Classroom Learning Preferences

Which classroom learning practices are more popular or less popular among the members of the community is something interesting to scrutinise. The results of the questionnaire (see Section 6.6.1) suggest that students have different learning preferences, and their learning practices are context-dependent. There are students who favour both group and individual learning. There are also others who are peer-dependent and like to work in small groups or in pairs. This is implied by narrative vignette 30, and also by statements of informants in informal interviews. For example, there were students who said that they chose to sit next to their friends so they could help one another. Tono, Wati, Emi, were all in favour of pair learning and small-group learning, but still practiced individual or self-dependent learning in the classroom.

In the classroom, different learning practices occurred. In my observations, I noticed that Tono, Koko, and Wati, sometimes looked up difficult words in a dictionary and sometimes asked the teacher. They also admitted that sometimes they asked and worked together with their friends. Andy, Usman, and Tono emphasised that they preferred to learn with friends so that if they did not know something, a friend could help them. However, they also stated that they often asked the teacher if they had difficulties. Koko even emphasised that he preferred asking the teacher to asking his friends because he did not trust his friends' explanation. However, several students also admitted, "*when I know something but I am not quite sure, I ask my friends ... I am afraid to ask the teacher*". Why are some of the students afraid of their teachers? One of the reasons is that they tend to consider them as authoritative figures. In several informal chats, students repeatedly indicated that teachers were as powerful as their parents. Some argued that teachers were even more authoritative and deserved more respect. All informants described parents and teachers as unchallengeable persons because they were always right. In contrast, Tono stated, "*I don't feel afraid [of teachers] because I know I am learning.... But often I worry about asking questions because I am afraid of being considered as asking too much.*" Such worry can be understandable, especially because, in such a classroom environment, only certain students make use of opportunities offered by the teacher. In addition, when a motivated student answers questions several times during the lesson, a teacher often says, "*let others answer, you have had a turn*", "*it is not only you who wants to answer, allow others to answer*". These teachers' comments could be intended to allow equal participation among students. However, they might also have a negative impact on students which teachers are probably not aware of, that is, discouraging those already motivated to ask questions and for clarification, rather than encouraging other students to ask questions. Vignette 30 also indicates that some students ask the meaning of difficult words from their friends. These examples suggest that not all students – only a very small number – are afraid of teachers and shy of classmates.

These findings show that individual students practise various learning styles and it is difficult to identify learning preferences unless they are related to their situational learning contexts. Therefore, it is rather simplistic to overgeneralise and say that a group of students who are culturally, ethnically, or socially homogenous are also homogenous in their learning behaviour. These findings also suggest that the learning styles and preferences of an individual may change in accordance with the context and the type of task s/he is engaging in. When teaching these students, I observed that their learning styles and preferences also changed due to teacher factors. After being exposed to my teaching, they started to be more active. This seems to be due to the fact that I always began with a brainstorming session on the topic and approached individual students during a task completion. This suggests that brain storming and closer monitoring were effective techniques that encouraged them to learn. In addition, working at their own pace is also very important because only by doing that do they become aware that they know something from learning. It is understandable if they lose interest in English because teachers proceed without making sure that most of the students have learned something from a task. I noticed that a lot of students asked me not to stop a lesson, but to continue on for a few more minutes, because of my close monitoring that allowed them to have more time to work by themselves, while being provided with assistance whenever they asked. The introduction of some topics via brainstorming allowed them to use their background knowledge (schemata). For example, prior to the reading of a text on transportation in Sub-unit 2 of Unit 5, I asked them to mention types of transportation they had known, means of transportation they had ever used and they would like to use. Since this brainstorming was held in Indonesian, there were many of them who expressed ideas. However, I should mention that at the beginning, most of them, especially the girls, tended to be shy about expressing their problems, but after a few approaches, they started to feel more at ease. This suggests that participation of students in classroom activities, the topic to be dealt with in the next section, also depends on the teacher's teaching and classroom monitoring techniques.

7.6.1.2 Students' Classroom Participation

Examining the classroom participation of the students in this study, particularly that of individual students, necessitates a more comprehensive approach. The previous perceptions about learning motivation did not take into account the concept of social identity that also significantly determines students' desire or reluctance to participate in a classroom activity. In this community, students are considered as the objects of teaching, rather than as the subjects of learning, and therefore, are given a secondary social class, a view that is very likely to be inherited from past generations (see Section 2.2.2).

In spite of teachers' dominance of classroom time (as indicated, for example, by the lesson excerpts in Section 7.6.3.3), there were still occasions when students demonstrated their active participation by answering questions. This is encapsulated by the following lesson excerpt.

(1)   T: Society, You know society?
(2)   Wati +Koko + Andy (almost simultaneously): *Masyarakat* =
                                      Society
(3)   Sss: =*Masyarakat*
(4)   Sss: *Masyarakat.*
(5)   T: OK.. society *artinya masyara-*
         OK, society means *masyara-*

(6)   C: *Masyarakat.*
....
(17)   T: OK.. let's answer the question together. →
             Number one.. *Nomor satu*... live *artinya*?
                              Number one ...   means?
(18)   C: (Just look at the teacher)
(19)   T: *Apa artinya* live?
              What's the meaning of live?
(20)   Koko: (hesitantly) *Tinggal*=
                          liv*e*
(21)   Sss: =*Tinggal*
(22)   Sss: *Tinggal.*
(23)   T: *Ya?!*
             Yes
(24)   C: *Tinggal.*
              live
(25)   T: OK.. Number three? *Nomor tiga*?
                                   Number three
(26)   `Wati: (Very softly) *Kampung, Pak* =
                              Village, sir
(27)   Sss: *Kampung*
....
(51)   T: Task two.. (reads the instruction) Answer these questions according to the text
             above. →
                              Jawablah pertanyaan-pertanyaan ini sesuai dengan
             bacaan di atas.
             Answer these questions according to the text above
             Whe.. Number one. Where does Tedy's grandfather live? →
                              Di manakah kakek Tedy tinggal?
             Where does Tedy's grandfather live?
(52)   Andy: In a small village in Central Java=
(53)   Sss: In a small village in Central Java.
(54)   C: In Central Java.
(55)   T: Where? .. He?
(56)   Wati: He lives in a small village in Cental Java.
(57)   T: He lives
(58)   C: He lives in a small village in Central Java.
(59)   T: *Dia tinggal di-*
             He lives in-
(60)   Wati: *Dia tinggal di sebuah desa kecil di Jawa Tengah.*
                   He lives in a small village in Central Java.
(61)   T: *Nomor Dua.*
             Number two
(62)   Tono: Yes, he does
C: (63)   Yes.
(64)   T: Yes, he-
(67)   C: he does.

This lesson excerpt provides some information about their participation in task completion. For instance, it is evident from these observations that when a strong student responded to a question, some of his classmates, and later, the rest of the class repeated the response – e.g., (2) (3) (4), (21) (22), (53) (54), and (63). This way of responding occurred regularly in classes that I observed. One of the implications of such a way of responding was that the teacher might misinterpret it as sign that the majority of the students were involved in that activity. That is, the teacher tended to consider, without reflecting, that the majority of the students understood the exercise as indicated by their participation in answering or providing the answers.

The fact that only the strong students actually participate in classroom activities also was observed in other lessons. In doing Task 7 – an exercise consisting of eight sentences that required the students to write the correct form of the verb in brackets based on the adverb of time (Textbook page 80) – it was observed that only a few students such as Koko, Wati, Andy, and Tono attempted to identify and to point out the adverbs, which they seemed to do correctly. It was also noticeable that most students, in the front zone, did the task and often worked with their neighbours. Their participation may also increase in particular classroom situations as indicated in the following narrative vignette.

(31)   The teacher asks several students to write their answers on the blackboard, one sentence each. ... A boy writes a wrong answer for sentence 4 on the board. Some of girls say rather loudly that the answer is incorrect. This makes the classroom become a bit noisy. Instead of agreeing or disagreeing with the answer, the teacher asks a girl volunteer to write her answer for that number right beside the boy's answer. Her answer is correct and that is probably why he does not ask for another answer, but asks several students to go to the blackboard to choose which answer they think is correct. When, finally he says that the answer given by the girl, with most votes, is the correct one, the girls cheer to show their happiness. Since the competition goes on, strong students from both sexes always offer to correct incorrect answers written by those of the opposite sex group.

This vignette indicates that a competitive situation influences the degree of students' participation. It indicates that a lot of students, especially those in the front desks, were involved in trying to correct or judge the answers given by students from the other sex. This is the first, and the only time that I observed the teacher dividing the class into two groups creating a competitive situation. The teacher admitted after the lesson that he did not plan to create competition in the class but that he took advantage of a situation that occurred.

This vignette and the lesson excerpt reveal that the students' degree of classroom participation is contingent upon their academic ability. This is to say that the stronger a student the more often s/he participates in classroom activities, regardless of gender identity. They provide examples that suggest that gender differences play a less significant role in students' level of classroom participation than one might expect for cultural reasons, despite the common belief in the wider society that boys are more active than girls. In addition, it is also indicates that students in the front zone work more industriously than those in the back zone. Shamim's (1996) six-month study of a Karachi secondary school classroom in Pakistan also revealed a somewhat similar classroom culture. In addition, the present study also found that higher degrees of participation of students might be contingent upon the academic ability of the students. In the present study, Koko, Andy, and Wati, who were identified as stronger students in their class, sat in the back but they were among the more active students in their class. This strongly suggests the need to look beyond seating location in determining factors influencing the degree of students' participation, e.g., their academic ability.

Vignette 31 also suggests that some students are likely to be involved more actively in group learning, especially when they are put in a competitive situation. It also suggests that gender-based grouping seems to also contribute to the active participation of students in the classroom. However, this needs more in-depth study because those who were involved in judging answers from the members of the other group were stronger students.

In addition, a teacher's classroom monitoring techniques are also influential in the students' degrees of participation. Whenever the teacher paid attention to the class, those who were just talking or not doing anything pretended to be busy working. This classroom phenomenon was identified through repeated incidents in the lessons being observed. In all English lessons I observed, as well as the biology lesson, in the village school, teachers hardly ever walked around the class during the lesson, and only very occasionally stepped down from the dais. When observing an Indonesian language lesson, as well as a mathematics lesson, the teacher walked, though only a few times, around the class during his lesson, and this closer monitoring clearly had a positive impact on students' participation in the classroom. The following students' statements, which were obtained in an after-lesson group informal chat, encapsulate the positive effect the teacher's closer monitoring has in improving students' classroom participation.

S1: If the teacher is standing beside us, [we] have to show that we are doing what he has instructed. If not, we can be considered lazy and irresponsible [in our learning].

S2: And he can get angry at us and punish us.

S3: It is good if the teacher walks around the classroom to monitor what we're doing. If we aren't working, he asks what our problem is. ... It's good because often we feel embarrassed to ask questions because our classmates might laugh at us. ....

These statements indicate that a teacher's closer monitoring positively affects students' learning participation in three ways. Firstly, since students do not want to be considered by their teacher lazy and irresponsible, they will work or participate in the given activity. Secondly, since students do not want to upset the teacher, they will participate in a given activity. Thirdly, and probably most importantly, there are students who feel uneasy about asking the teacher questions publicly because they think that their friends will laugh at them; hence they find it much easier to ask him/her without being heard by their classmates. Yet, in all the English lessons that I observed, teachers hardly ever walked around the classroom to monitor students' work. When giving instructions, they normally checked students' understanding, but they did it by asking a vague, general question such as "*ada pertanyaan*?", 'any questions', or "*mengerti*?", 'Do you understand'. (Both pairs of questions frequently occurred together as a single utterance, either preceding the other). They merely relied on the choral reply from the class "Yes/*mengerti*", 'yes/understand', and did not walk around the class to check whether or not all students have understood the instruction or explanation and weare working accordingly. On many occasions, I found students not working on a task nor asking for clarification, because they had not understood the teacher's instructions.

During my own teaching, the participation of students increased. Indeed, I observed that the level of students' participation during my first teaching was low, but it gradually increased after a few meetings. The increase in their participation may have resulted from closer monitoring, which I also used to help students individually, and which I continuously did during my own teaching. One of the obvious results of my close monitoring was the increase in the number of students who attempted task completions. This is supported by comments made in an informal interview by Wati and Koko who

stated that their friend considered me a friendly and caring teacher because I approached them, asked about their problems, and offered them help.

Through close monitoring a teacher can take initiatives to talk to a student or a group, or *vice versa*, and a student or group feels more comfortable to ask the teacher questions without being heard by the whole class because, as some students expressed, they were also shy to be heard by their class mates asking questions. It can also be very effective in improving students learning participation since by 'leaving the teacher zone' and by 'being in the student zone' they may be considered more friendly and caring by students. In other words, these initiatives can help reduce both psychological and social distances between teachers and students. Without taking such initiatives, the gap between the two will always be big, particularly because, in a classroom community, 'student' and 'teacher' social identities are already fixed. If a teacher undermines students' classroom social identity, communication breakdown can happen. This suggests that close monitoring is an effective technique to create an atmosphere in which students become active learners.

It is also important to note that when a student answers incorrectly, other students may laugh at him/her and this causes him/her embarrassment. In the girls-boys competition, when the answer given by the opponent was incorrect, the other group spontaneously yelled "*uuuhhh*". Similarly, sometimes a cynical comment "*Iya taua*", 'Yeah, listen to/look at how s/he answers, so why don't we envy him/her?' will be heard when a student asks or answers a question. Although teachers could 'police' such comments to reduce their impact, I observed that they just took them for granted. This is probably, in addition to overriding need not to lose face in front of their peers, one of the major reasons that students refrain from asking or answering questions. Similarly, on many occasions, students prefer not giving an answer when asked by teachers, to giving the incorrect one, in which case nobody will laugh or give a cynical comment. This, together with teachers' error correction techniques, seems to gradually affect students' self-esteem.

It can be inferred from this that there is a common view among this community that the production of a mistake is a sign of stupidity which causes embarrassment. In other words, in spite of the fact that the production of errors is a critical part of learning (e.g. Brown, 1987; Corder, 1967; Hendrickson, 1981; Rusek, 1994) this community tends to be less tolerant of it. In a similar manner, asking questions may also be interpreted as being stupid or inattentive. This classroom social phenomenon is further reinforced by the fact that teachers occasionally say *bodoh*, 'stupid', when a student responds incorrectly or, *pertanyaan bodoh*, 'stupid question', when a student asks a question which according to him/her has an easy answer.

Classroom participation is impinged upon by other classroom phenomena such as the distribution of questions and opportunities by the teacher (7.6.3.6), discussion opportunities, and teacher dominance in the classroom (7.6.6.2). For example, it was observed that classroom time was dominated by the teacher's excessive translation of almost every single word and sentence in a dialogue or a text (7.6.3.3) and explanation of the grammatical aspects (7.6.3.8), all of which contributed to passive participation by the students. The classroom participation of students is also impinged upon by the value of competition and cooperation in the classroom. Therefore, it is important to examine these two practices in the following section.

7.6.1.3 Competition and Cooperation among Students

Competition among students in the village classroom seems to be less strongly expressed than that of students in urban classrooms. However, judging them as less competitive students is simplistic, as in some observed lessons, the sense of competition emerged naturally. As vignette 31 encapsulate shows, students of different sexes in the village school can rigorously compete to provide the correct answer to an item in an exercise. The question is 'does the teacher create a sufficiently conducive atmosphere for such an aspect of the learning process?'

Despite a lower degree of competition, this does not mean that cooperation in completing a task or homework is not based on certain conventional rules. As previously discussed, better students would not object to allowing his/her homework, or answers, to be copied by his/her classmates, but this seems to have certain invisible rules. The first rule is that the one who is going to copy the answer must be a close friend – normally boys make friends among themselves and so do girls. The second rule, which closely relates to the first, is that the person copying will not object to helping with both classroom and non-classroom work. The third, is that the person copying is not a rival, in an academic sense; this rule is applied especially when the rivals are of different sexes. Cooperation is more noticeable in examinations where students tend to help one another in answering test questions (see vignette 19 in Section 6.7.1) and in completing take-home assignments / homework (see vignette 9 in Section 5.7.3.3).

These practices can be explained in relation to the cultural system and values of the wider community. In this community, there is a clear gender-based separation. This is exemplified by the seating arrangement (see Section 7.3.2) in the classroom and in the mosques. In many social activities, people of different sex rarely mix. Similarly, a man and a woman – unless they are brother and sister or a married couple – or a boy and a girl are rarely seen walking together. Helping one another is common human nature as social beings, but the degree is higher in a collective community. As a consequence, the sense of 'collectiveness' and cooperation may also be applied to assisting a friend in any situation, regardless of the negative consequence of the assistance such as the risk of being arrested and detained by the police (see Section 5.3.5).

In summary, in this classroom community, a competitive, active student is not necessarily a good student. What characterises a good student in this community is examined in the next section.

7.6.2 Characteristics of a Good Student

In informal interviews with teachers, Wati, one of the main informants in this study, was characterised as one of the best students in Class 2B. One of them explicitly said, "*She does not show off, is very quiet, and does not ask a lot but her exam results are always high*". In several observations, I noticed that she was very calm, but usually answered correctly, and very rarely challenged teachers. She rarely volunteered to answer an item, unless called on by teachers. When asked why she was a bit quiet, she answered, "*I don't want people think I am overacting and showing off. I know a few of my classmates always raise their hands when teachers ask questions. I don't like people like that, especially if their answers are often wrong*".

The fact that teachers identified her as a good student because of her exam performance, her quietness, and not asking a lot of questions suggests that a good student is expected to be submissive, i.e., not to ask a lot of questions, not to challenge teachers, but to express him/herself modestly and to perform well in exams. Lesson observations revealed that in the presence of teachers, students were mostly passive and teacher dependent. This also suggests that a motivated English learner is not necessarily verbally active in the classroom, but is attentive to the teacher.

This is in line with the conclusion of the survey on *SLTP* students' behaviour conducted by Sadtono *et al.* (1997). Similar findings are also reported by Caiger *et al.* (1996). It also, to certain degree, supports Reid's (1987) findings that Indonesian students favoured auditory and kinaesthetic modes of learning and that they prefer individual learning to group learning. However, Wachida (2001) argues that the general description of Indonesian students' classroom patterns of behaviour should be done cautiously, because most of the studies are Javanese-based. She also argues that the passivity of Javanese students is contingent upon the cultural perception, i.e. how students are expected to behave in the classroom context. In other words, classroom learning practices are contingent upon social and cultural values held by the wider community.

7.6.3 Teaching Practices

The classroom has always been the shared world of teachers and students. In real classroom life, teachers often consider the classroom as their "private domain" and "their preserve" (Bowen and Marks, 1994: 30); hence they take control of it and often do not like an outsider to be there. Therefore, any classroom culture analysis should include the examination of teachers' activities or practices that are related to classroom teaching.

As indicated previously, the teaching practices of the teachers in this study are influenced by a number of complex issues (see Section 7.5.1). For instance, it was observed that the way more experienced and young teachers taught was not very different. They were all observed to practise relatively similar teaching behaviours. The most likely reason for the experienced teacher to teach similarly to the young ones is because hardly do they ever reflect on, observe, monitor, and evaluate their own teaching. As strongly suggested by Richards (1985), teachers need to self-monitor or self-observe their teaching since self-monitoring is a significant source of feed-back, a means for a critical and systematic look at one's own teaching, a means to look at one's actual teaching practice. This implies that the number of years spent in the teaching profession means very little unless reflection and self-evaluation are made by individual teachers. Teachers' classroom behaviour also varies because of individual teacher's teaching style (Katz, 1996). However, the observational data in this study indicate that the teaching styles of the teachers in this study did not vary.

In the case of female teachers, the complexity of factors is even higher because they tend to have more responsibilities, especially if they are married with small children. As wives and mothers, they do most of the domestic work and child rearing. In the case of Ibu Ifah, forty years old, who had four teenage children, she was helped by her daughters in doing domestic work. On the other hand, for Ibu Ina, thirty-one years old, who has two small children, a five-year boy and a three-year girl, life is more difficult since she has to do all domestic work: cooking, cleaning, and looking after her children.

Getting married before they are twenty-seven years old and having children soon after that are the ideals of women in this society. Therefore, it is well-accepted if female teachers sometimes have to take their small children to school, or if they are absent from school when they do not have any one to look after them at home. For them, at least at the moment, family, husband, and children are no less important than their careers.

All of the factors examined not only contribute significantly to the teacher's observable behaviour in the classroom but also to the unobservable ones like beliefs, which can only be inferred from observable behaviour. The following sections describe the teachers' teaching practices and how these were affected by teachers' aspects and beliefs. The section starts with lesson preparation which is followed by teachers' classroom behaviour, teaching practices and beliefs, and teaching missions.

7.6.3.1 Lesson Preparation

Since it is generally believed that prior to a lesson, teachers need to plan what and how they are going to teach in the lesson, it is important to examine the lesson preparation of the teachers in this study.

Formerly, a lesson plan was popularly recognised by teachers as a *SP (Satuan Pengajaran)*, 'Unit of Teaching' but is now more popularly recognised as a *RP (Rencana Pengajaran),* 'Teaching Plan'. In this province, teachers do not need to prepare their lesson plans because they use a uniform lesson plan which was designed by a team of teachers in a special training program. The latest version of this lesson plan was written in early 1999 (see Appendix B). Teachers are required to use this officially made lesson plan.

However, I never saw the teachers in this study taking out their lesson plans nor did I see them reading them ahead of their classroom meetings. The most likely reason for this is that the lesson plan is written on the basis of the textbook. Another reason is that not all teachers are happy with the lesson plan which they think is too demanding. "*If I followed the recommended lesson plan I would kill myself*", Pak Hamzah commented. Similarly, other teachers had the impression that it was not entirely relevant to their actual classroom conditions. Sadtono *et al.* (1997) also identify the complexity of lesson preparation as one of teachers' major complaints and their demand for it to be simplified.

Lesson plans also help teachers make sure that they have good knowledge of what they are going to teach and to make sure that types of activities and instruments required are all prepared. Without preparation, they may encounter problems in the classroom as evident from observations made. In one of his lessons on the use of the comparative and superlative degrees, Pak Hamzah had a serious problem. In several other lessons, I noticed that he was not confident of the answers he gave or corrections he made. Similarly, Pak Sul occasionally had problems with his teaching, as indicated by his teaching of adverbs of time. Both teachers admitted that some of the vocabulary items were too difficult for them and caused problems in their lessons. These problems, however, were not sufficiently problematic to make them prepare their teaching materials ahead of their lessons. In fact, I never saw either of them, nor any of the other teachers I came in contact with during my fieldwork, preparing their lessons either at home or at school. "*I've been using the same textbook for about five years, so I do not need preparation*", Pak Hamzah reported. This lack of preparation influences both teachers' teaching practices such as the way they use 'package textbook', translation, classroom space, time, the

way they distribute opportunities, their teaching of language skills and grammatical rules, their use of small group work, and error correction, as indicated by the next several sections.

7.6.3.2 Use of Textbook

Using a "community practice" frame (Henning, 1998), the textbook is an artefact used by a classroom community, in their day-to-day interaction. In the community under study, only "the government package textbook" is available for use. While the teachers in urban schools reported that they also used other textbooks as supplementary materials, observations indicated that rural teachers only used the package textbook supplied by the government.

Pak Hamzah's statement that he did not need to prepare his lessons because he had already been using the same textbook for years is indicative of the role and function of the textbook in his teaching as well as in the teaching of others in this study. It also suggests the likely way teachers use the textbook in the classroom. In all observed lessons, students and teachers only used the package textbook specially written for the SLTP level as its title indicates: "English for Junior High School" (see Section 4.5.6).

It is noticeable that teachers used the textbook exactly as it was, in the sense that, in general, no tasks or activities were modified, let alone changed. In all the classes being observed, teachers relied upon the textbook and progressed according to the order of tasks and topics in the book. In other words, exercises are presented almost exactly as supplied in the book, except for the listening and speaking sections – there were few observations of teaching, speaking, and listening, which revealed that teachers did not always teach speaking and listening as they were supposed to.

As observed throughout the fieldwork, the teaching of reading invariably started with pronunciation practice. The teacher read a clause, or a phrase, which was repeated by the class. This was usually followed by the translation of the text of the sentence by individual students, most of whom volunteered, but also very occasionally were assigned by the teacher. For conversational texts, this was sometimes followed by a role-play in which the teacher took a role and the class took the other roles. In spite of the presence of a picture below the title, the teachers did not use it to guide the class to the topic under discussion by, for instance, talking about what the picture was about. The next teaching proceeded to follow the textbook: students did the exercise/task after the teacher's reading and translating of the instructions. Very often, the teacher asked students to translate both questions and answers.

The teaching of other skill areas also took place based on the textbook. None of the activities was different from those presented in the textbook's. No games, no songs, no realia, were used in the teaching. Similar practices were also identified by Sadtono *et al.* (1997: 16) who reported that teachers " ...simply follow the textbook faithfully" and Siegel (1986) who found that in the teachers' view, the addition of elaborating information was a deviation from the required procedure.

7.6.3.3 Use of Translation

A very striking phenomenon observed in lessons was the use of translation. All the teachers observed used translation, in one way or another, in their teaching even though they all stated that they were not supposed to use it. On a number of occasions teachers were observed translating not only the instructions, which were all in English, for an exercise but also their own English utterances. They

were also observed to ask students to translate the meaning of a word or a question. This practice was common, repeatedly occurring in every English lesson being observed.

The following excerpt from an English lesson is an example indicative of the use of translation.

…
(1) T: I help my father. I help. Help?
(2) S: *Membantu*.
　　　help
(3) T: *Membantu, menolong. Tolong. Help me, tolong saya*. Help me, please! I help my
　　　Help,　　help　　help.　　　　Help　me
　　　father work in our farm. Farm... Farm?... *Pertani-*
(4) Sss: *Pertanian*
　　　　agriculture
(5) T: How about agriculture. Agriculture? *Budidaya　pertani-*
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　cultivation　agricul(ture)
(6) Sss: *Pertanian*.
(7) T: Farm**,** farmer. Farm, *pertanian*. Farmer?
(8) Sss: *Petani. Petani*.
　　　Farmer/subsistence farmer
(9) T: *Peta -*
(10) C: *Petani*
　　　　Farmer
(11) T: *Petani*. In our farm. *Di pertanian, perkebunan. Kebun*. In our farm. *Di kebun-*
　　　Farmer　　　　　　in　agriculture, plantation field/garden　　　in farm
(12) S: *Kami*.
　　　our
(13) T: *Di kebun kami*. I help my father work in our farm. What's the meaning.
　　　　In farm we (in our farm)
　　　Apa artinya?
　　　What's the meaning?
(14*)* Sss: *Saya*
　　　　　I
(15) T: *Saya-*
(16) C: *Membantu-*
　　　　help
(17) T: Membantu-
(18) Sss: *Ayah-ku*
　　　Father I (my father*)*
(19) T: *Ayahku-*
(20) Sss: *Bekerja, di pertaninan, bertani*
　　　　Work　in the farm,　(to) farm
(21)T: *Bekerja di kebun-*
　　　Work　in farm
(22) Sss: *Kami*
　　　　We (our)
(23) C:　*Kami*

Note: T= Teacher; S= A student; Sss = Several students (respond almost simultaneously); C= (most of) the class.

This lesson was supposed to focus on speaking based on a dialogue. However, this lesson excerpt indicates that instead of using the lesson to improve students' speaking skills, the teacher translates the dialogue. In other words, he teaches the content (see Section 7.6.6.1) rather than skills (see Section 7.6.3.7)**.**

It is noticeable that using translation was a familiar feature of all the lessons observed, and this suggests that the emphasis in teaching is on the content rather than on the language or on the language skills. This lesson excerpt indicates that the session is merely about the teaching of the content of the dialogue, i.e., about someone's activities outside school, rather than the teaching and learning of speaking skills. As observed later in this lesson, students did not practice speaking at all because the teacher moved directly to the next task which required the students to answer comprehension questions.

It is also worth mentioning that the lesson excerpt indicates that the use of translation in this lesson, and in other observed lessons, was not of the kind practised during the period when the Grammar-Translation Method was popular. The teachers did not ask students to translate passages as a complete text; rather they guided them to translate word by word, then phrase by phrase, clause by clause, and then sentence by sentence.

The use of translation techniques is even more pervasive when the teacher asks students to open the textbook to the page where the lesson is, and where the lesson is described. Every single English utterance is directly followed by its Indonesian equivalent: "Today, we are going to learn about speaking based on [a] dialogue". *"Sekarang kita akan belajar speaking, berbicara berdasarkan dialog"*. "Please open page seventy-eight". "*Buka halaman tujuh puluh delapan.*"

In a chat after the lesson, the teacher admitted that the use of translation was part of his teaching strategy to enable the students to understand the dialogue. He also argued that students liked him to translate the dialogue and that dialogue practice (in pairs) could not be done in the classroom because the time was up. "*Jadi saya suruh mereka mempraktekkannya di rumah"*, 'so I ask them to practice it at home', he added. Whether or not the students really practiced the dialogue at home is questionable. The most likely outcome was that only the well-motivated, active, and clever students would do it, especially because, as I observed, the teacher never checked it again in the following class meeting.

Various factors contribute to the inclusion of translation in the teacher's lessons, of which one is probably a misconception about the primary goal of teaching. For example, one purpose, as stated by one of the teachers was, "*I did that* (translating the completed listening text) *to make sure that students knew what the text was all about*". Secondly, the practice of word and sentence translation in the classroom is most likely to be inherited (by example) from the previous generation. Thirdly, there may be a misinterpretation of the promoted EFL teaching approach in Indonesia, i.e., "*Pendekatan Kebermaknaan*" – the name coined to replace the Communicative Approach – which can be translated in two ways: "Meaning-based instruction" or "Meaning-based Approach", and "Meaningful instruction" or "Meaningful Approach" (Huda, 1999: 142). However, the use of the so-called "Meaningful Approach" could lead to a focus on meaning and translation. When the previous English curriculum used the term *PKG* Approach which is equivalent to the Communicative Approach (see Section 4.5.2), a lot of Indonesian English teachers misinterpreted it as an approach emphasising oral proficiency and not allowing the use of the first language as a medium of instruction (Pasassung, *et al.*, 1995).

Observational data also indicate that the teachers in this study used Indonesian almost all the time to explain the instructions and grammatical rules. The following lesson excerpt is indicative of the use of Indonesian in the explanation of instructions and rules.

    ….

(1) T: *Keterangan wak-*
        adverbs of ti-
(2) C: *Waktu*
        time
(3) T: *Kalau kamu mau mengerti kata kerja yang ada dalam kurung,* →
        if you want to understand the verb in the brackets',
        dan kurungnya jangan ditulis lagi, ya?! →
        and the brackets should not be written again
        Jadi saya lihat itu, masih ada yang pakai kurung lagi. →
        But I see some of you still write the brackets
        Jangan dikurung lagi untuk jawabannya. →

Don't use brackets when you write the answer

Harus tahu keterangan wak-
                must know the adverb of ti-
(4) C: *Waktu*
        time
(5) T: Pay your attention here, *perhatikan di sini..Supaya mengerti dulu.. Mengerti*
                                pay your attention here So you understand first, understand
        tentang keterangan waktu, yang mana itu keterangan waktu, dan pada tensis apa kita guna-
        about the adverb of time, which ones are the adverbs of time, and which tense we u-
(6) C: *Gunakan,*
        use
(7) T: *Ini menyangkut tensis. Keterangan waktu, pemakaian waktu bahasa Ing-*
        this is about tenses, use of tense in Eng-
(8) C: *Inggris.*
        English
(9) T: *Saya sudah tuliskan,* 'tonight, two weeks ago, since 7 o'clock, in the morning'
        I've written
        bisa digunakan pada tensis simple present perfect tense. *Rumusnya ini* (points to the board).
        are used with simple present perfect tense   this is the rules
        Sedangkan everyday, every year, *digunakan pada* simple present tense,
        whereas   use simple present tense.

Berdasarkan rumus ini, dengar baik,   ya?
        Based on   rules these, listen carefully, OK
        ....
        Yang harus dirobah adalah yang ada di dalam kurung saja, berdasarkan keterangan wak-
         Only (verb) forms in brackets need changes   according to adverbs of ti-
(10) C: *Waktu.*
         time
        ....

This lesson excerpt indicates that the teacher resorts to the Indonesian language for particular purposes such as for (re-)clarification of instructions and explanation of grammatical aspects. He did not use Indonesian to translate instructions or English sentences – except in utterance 5, where he used English which he translated right away. In order to check whether the students followed and

understood his explanation, several times at the end of his utterances he gave a prompt by inviting the students to complete the last word (in 1, 3, 5, 7, 9).

In some lessons they also used Indonesian for advisory purposes which frequently followed an occasion when students did not do an assignment well. The reason for resorting to Indonesian for these purposes may be related to the low level of English ability of the teachers as well as the students. As Wehantouw (1998) concluded, there were five reasons for teachers using their native language (NL) in English language lessons: 1) teacher's limited English ability to explain teaching materials; 2) student's limited ability or inability to understand material presented in English; 3) teacher's strong belief of the positive effect of NL use on student's level of understanding; 4) the fact that their students are Indonesian; and 5) NL could improve student's motivation (see Chapter 2). However, many of these are self-fulfilling prophesies. If the teacher does not use English, students are not exposed to it, they cannot understand it and their comprehension is poor.

7.6.3.4 Use of Space

The space in a (big) classroom may be viewed as consisting of two distinct areas: the front of the classroom – " [it] lies within the surveillance zone of the teacher" – and the back of the classroom – [it] is outside the teacher's attention zone (Shamim, 1996: 125-126). She argues that several aspects of classroom culture such as the location of students, why students prefer to or not to sit in certain zones, and students' classroom behaviour are affected by this view. This method of classroom division also suggests that there is a particular zone of a classroom that is specifically claimed to be the teacher zone.

This study finds that the existence of such a zone is not only marked by the physical construction of a classroom (see Section 7.3) but also by both the physical and psychological behaviour of the teacher. As described previously, the floor in front of the class, where the teacher's desk is placed, is raised about thirty centimetres, and is the teacher zone where s/he spends her/his time during classroom meetings. The following narrative vignette amplifies the use of the space by the teachers under the present study.

(32)   ....

> The teacher reads the instruction for Task 1: "Find out the meanings of these words in your dictionary or at the back of the textbook". …. This is a vocabulary exercise (Textbook, p.59). …. After about seven minutes the teacher asks the class to say the Indonesian equivalents of the listed words in the task. The teacher has never left his desk since the beginning of the lesson. When he checks the students' answers, he keeps sitting at his desk. ... When he checks the answers of task two, he asks students who want to volunteer to write their answers on the blackboard, while he remains sitting at his desk. When a student has written an answer on the blackboard, he asks the class to judge whether it is correct or not.

This vignette is indicative of another way of looking at the front, teacher zone, that is, as the centre of the classroom in terms of the interaction taking place (Shamim, 1996). It is the place from where instructions about what to do are given, and where teachers supervise and monitor classroom activities. Therefore, the fact that a lot of students do not perform tasks as instructed can also be attributed to the teacher's failure to move from the front zone. Without spending time walking around the classroom to visit individual students, it is difficult for a teacher to be sure of what his students in the back zone are really doing, neither can s/he help them should they have any difficulties.

The use of choral answers as the means for checking students' understanding can also be attributed to the way teachers use classroom space in monitoring classroom activities. Choral answers that involve almost all students (see for example the lesson excerpt in Section 7.6.1.2) do not necessarily mean everyone or the majority of the class knows the answers. This seems to escape teachers' attention and can be attributed to the way teachers used classroom space in monitoring classroom activities. The teachers in the present study do not seem to realise that closer monitoring can contribute to the students' learning process.

The following expressions noted during an informal interview with a group of teachers explain the reason teachers remain in front section of the classroom during their lesson:

A: I THINK IT IS BETTER TO SUPERVISE THE CLASS FROM THE FRONT OF THE CLASS BECAUSE I CAN EASILY SEE WHO WORKS AND WHO DOES NOT.

B: IF WE ARE IN FRONT, WE CAN SEE THE WHOLE CLASS BECAUSE WE FACE THEM. THEY (STUDENTS) ALSO SEE US AND THIS AFFECTS THEIR BEHAVIOUR. THE TEACHER'S TABLE AND THE BLACKBOARD ARE IN FRONT, TOO.

C: If we are in front [of the class], students can easily hear what we say and [I] can easily see them.

D: IF I GO TO THE BACK TO HELP STUDENTS THERE, IT IS DIFFICULT FOR ME TO 'MONITOR' THE REST OF THE CLASS. I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THEY'RE DOING THE 'TASK' OR JUST PLAYING. IF THEY DO NOT SEE US AND THEY KNOW WE ARE NOT ATTENDING TO THEM THEY TEND TO PLAY.

It can be inferred from these statements that teachers' use of classroom space is affected by their common beliefs – this is inferred from the use of "If ...". Firstly, teachers spend most, if not all, of their lesson time in front of the class or in the teacher zone for supervisory reasons, as pointed out very clearly, though in relatively different ways, by all four teachers. Secondly, teachers B and C also mentioned communicative reasons: (B) "we can see the whole class ... and they also can easily see us"; (C)"... student can easily hear what we say ... and we can easily see them". Thirdly, the physical layout of the classroom illuminates and characterises how teachers use classroom space. The fact that classroom arrangement is very traditional creates an image that the teacher's place is in front and not anywhere else. Although only one of the teachers' expressions clearly includes this image, it can be argued that it is the primary source of the division of the teacher zone and student zone in the classroom.

In addition, despite the fact that it is mostly used by the teacher, the front zone is also occasionally used by students, for example, when they write their answers on the blackboard or, as observed in an urban classroom, to role-play a dialogue, although some students indicated in our informal chats that they did not like being there, because they felt they might be embarrassed by making mistakes in front of the class. However, teachers are not always aware of this. As stated by Pak Hamzah, "Yes, that [not asking the student to come forward to fill in the answers on the blackboard] was my weakness in this lesson. I should have asked them". He clearly feels guilty for not asking students to write their answers on the blackboard. This kind of teaching practice, as well as the translation of sentences, was a common thread in other lessons that were observed.

7.6.3.5 Time Management

Teaching a lesson takes place in a limited period of time. Therefore, a teacher is required to be able to use it as efficiently and effectively as possible to allow effective learning to take place. Otherwise, s/he may not be able to succeed. In other words, teaching requires good time management.

In this study, teachers were often observed using time inefficiently. For example, a lot of the time was spent by asking students to write their answers on the blackboard (see vignette 34 in Section 7.6.3.6) and to copy tasks from the textbook (see vignette 35 in Section 7.6.6.1). They were also observed translating every word or sentence of the questions and answers (see Section 7.6.3.3), or even a simple instruction. Frequently, they also translated texts word-by-word or sentence-by-sentence and even simple and often repeated comprehension checking questions such as "Any questions?", "Do you understand? ", and instructions like "Open your book", "Don't be noisy", and "What's the meaning?" were translated into Indonesian.

In some reading activities, teachers asked students one by one to read aloud a sentence of a passage. During the reading, teachers often corrected students' pronunciation errors, and asked individuals to translate the sentence they had read into the Indonesian language.

The following narrative vignette also exemplifies the ineffective use of time by a teacher.

(33)   Prior to the completion of task 7 on page 80 in the textbook the teacher writes two formulas which will be used in this task:
1. Simple Present Tense: S + (do/does) V 1(s) + (O) + Adverb of time.
2. Simple Present Perfect Tense: S + have/has + Verb III + (O) + Adverb of time.
After that he does number one as an example: "Andy has seen a film tonight", which is wrong, because in the current context, tonight is a future time. I read the other questions and find that some the adverbs of time in this task also require simple present tense and future tense. I think, this explanation will mislead the students, so I decide to walk around the class to see how they do it.
...
     When he sees a student in the front desk still using "has seen" in the next question, he concluded that the whole class did not understand how to do the task. He then stops the class working and explains the exercise again using Indonesian, which takes about five minutes.

I observed, however, that many students, although using the tenses incorrectly, actually understood the instructions. Their problem was which adverb of time went with which verb form, rather than with the instructions. This was indicated by the fact that most of them wrote the items and reserved a space for verbs; e.g., Herman _____ to London yet, Naniek _____ beautifully two weeks ago, They _____ in the garden since 7 o'clock, etc. This suggests that probably only very few students did not understand the instructions. The student in front answered item number two incorrectly either because she did not understand the instruction or did not understand the meaning of the sentences, or possibly both. However, the teacher decided to stop the class and to have them listen to him re-explaining the instructions in Indonesian. This re-explanation only took about five minutes, but, with other wasted time, it is an example of poor time management. Furthermore, the re-explanation also interrupted the whole class.

 On many occasions, teachers in the village complained of having problems with finishing their teaching material as required by the curriculum targets due to insufficient time. By way of

contrast, the two teachers in the urban schools thought that time allocation for English, which was three hours a week, was sufficient. Despite their complaints, the teachers in the rural school did not seem to manage their classroom time efficiently. Often, they spent too much time on explanation of instructions, translation, and grammar points.

Copying questions or exercises from the textbook to the blackboard is a waste of time because when the teacher is writing a cloze passage or list of questions on the blackboard, students are just copying the same passage or the list from the textbook. Instead of copying them, the teacher could walk around the classroom to monitor students.

These findings suggest that the time management ability of the teachers is inadequate and the common practice of copying questions or exercises on the board, which is not always necessary, can be related to the ritualistic nature of education. Therefore, their time management ability needs significant improvement, which could be done through the improvement of lesson preparation and teachers' self-teaching-reflection. Teaching preparation could help them to plan what they need to do in relation to the type and requirements of a particular task and how much time they possibly need for it. Furthermore, continuous reflection on one's own teaching wiould be helpful in evaluating the use of time in the classroom.

7.6.3.6 Distribution of Opportunities

Distribution of opportunities in this study refers to the teacher's distribution of chances to the students to perform a task. This can be in the form of role-playing a dialogue, reading sentences of a passage, or providing answers to a comprehension question.

In the reading practice sessions, when the teachers asked the class to read every sentence of a passage, they usually used two techniques: (1) assigning individuals by randomly picking names from the student list, or (2) starting with either a student in a back or front corner and proceeding to the next student and so on. It was observed that the second technique was used more frequently. On the other hand, when the task related to providing answers, e.g. tasks on answering comprehension questions, on writing, and on grammatical aspects, teachers mostly asked for volunteers, either to write answers on the blackboard or to read them. Before the presentation of the answers, they always asked the students to do the tasks individually.

The following narrative vignette encapsulates an example of opportunity distribution in practice.

> (34)   The teacher asks students to write their answers on the blackboard. Instead of assigning or pointing to certain individuals, he, as usual, asks for volunteers. Six students, four boys (Andy, Arif, Koko, and Tono) and two girls (Ani and Anti) raise their hands. The teacher gives the chance to Ani, who is at a front desk. Since her answer is wrong, the teacher asks another volunteer to fix it. Six students put their hands up, the former five and Wati (girl). Koko gets the chance and he corrects the answer. The same technique of answer elicitation is applied to the whole task. Every time the teacher asks for a volunteer, only four, five, or six students want to volunteer. I notice in this session that there are eight volunteers who actively participate in the presentation of their answers on the blackboard. They are Ani,

Andy, Arif, Koko, Madi, Santi, Tono, and Wati. The teacher sometimes asks individuals, but does not allow enough time for them to respond. In such cases, the task is assigned to one of the eight who had previously raised hands. Because there are only eight items in this exercise, all of the eight had a chance to write their answers on the blackboard.

The eight students who offered to volunteer in this exercise were identified in other lessons being observed as the ones who usually participated in such an activity. They were also observed as being active in the completion of a given task. They were the ones who not only copied questions from the textbook when asked to do a task, but also who actually tried to do the work required. In the reading and translating of sentences of a text, they are also identified as the ones who perform better than the rest of the class.

Even though the teachers being observed agreed that students needed to be given equal chances in the classroom and that teachers needed to give more attention to weaker, less active students, vignette (34) indicates that they did the opposite, because they did not give enough time for the weaker, less active students to respond and gave the more active, smarter ones more opportunities. A similar distribution of tasks was observed in other classes taught by the other teachers being observed. This suggests that despite the fact that this practice was not effective in increasing the participation of the weaker, less active students, teachers are very likely to use it. The teachers asked individual students to perform a task, but this only happened in the out-loud reading of sentences in texts. When the task was about providing answers, they usually chose strong students. The reason for doing this is not necessarily due to teachers' being unaware of the inequality of task distribution, but probably due to a mix of personal and professional traits. This is implied by Pak Hamzah, when he says:

I OFTEN CHOOSE THE GOOD ONES (STUDENTS) TO BRING THE CLASS TO LIFE. SECONDLY, IF I WANTED TO DO THAT, OFTEN, ER, IF I ASK THE WEAKER ONES, AND THEY JUST DO NOT TAKE IT SERIOUSLY, I DO NOT FEEL GOOD. "WELL, I HAVE GIVEN YOU THE EXAMPLE BUT YOU STILL CANNOT ANSWER." I DO FEEL UNEASY (FRUSTRATED AND UPSET). I FEEL LIKE WISHING TO BEAT THEM. ... THE STUDENTS PROBABLY THINK THAT I ONLY ADDRESS MY QUESTIONS TO CERTAIN STUDENTS. OK, THIS IS PROBABLY WHY. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT ONLY THESE STUDENTS PAY ATTENTION TO ME, SO I ONLY CHOOSE THEM. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE ONES IN THE BACK PROBABLY ER, THEY DO NOT PAY SUFFICIENT ATTENTION TO WHAT I SAY. MY PRINCIPLE IS "IF YOU PAY ATTENTION TO ME, I WILL ALSO GIVE YOU ATTENTION", (LAUGHS) BUT THIS IS NOT ALWAYS GOOD, BECAUSE THEY ARE ALL OUR KIDS, AREN'T THEY? ...

This teacher feels responsible for bringing the class to life, that is, making it do something or respond to his teaching. He gives more opportunities to strong students because he finds that weak students do not respond properly, or even keep silent when given a chance to do a task.

Despite the fact that most of the students were reluctant to take the initiative to present their answers on a task unless called upon, teachers did not seem to make sufficient efforts to make them participate. Most of the time, the teachers threw a question to the class and asked for a volunteer to answer. As exemplified by vignette (34), only certain students – those who are academically stronger, more confident, and more motivated – wanted to take the opportunity. Indeed, sometimes, probably when teachers realised that these volunteers had had many chances, they might name a student who seemed reluctant to respond. Unfortunately, if s/he did not respond quickly, they did not wait, and either answered the question themselves or returned to the ones eager to volunteer.

As a consequence of these teaching practices, it was only stronger, highly motivated students that got the chance to participate; hence they dominated classroom opportunities. Pak Hamzah once expressed his concern about students' participation as follows,

> *On most occasions, only better students take the opportunity to provide answers, and I know that often certain students dominate the opportunity. Therefore, I often remind them that they should also let others take their chances. Also, I sometimes offer an opportunity to a weak student but most of the time they will not answer and I wait too long, without any answer. Finally, I return to the stronger ones. .... It is just a waste of time. ... We are supposed to teach all of them, but what can we do? We need to finish the topic and move on to the next one, don't we?*

Vignette (34) and the teachers' statements indicate that teachers tend to teach for the good students and are less likely to spend sufficient time to enable weaker students to participate. Pak Hamzah, for example, and probably the other teacher, were aware of the fact that they gave unequal opportunities to strong and weaker students, but kept doing so in their teaching. They could have taken another initiative to tackle this problem, e.g., by walking around the classroom to monitor individual students or small groups while they were working. Improvement of time management would also help them overcome this kind of problem. The end of Pak Hamzah's statement also gives crucial information about the importance of finishing the materials rather than keeping the pace slower to enable weaker students to benefit from the teaching.

That there is a tendency for these teachers to teach only to the strong students and not to the weak ones was particularly observed in one of Pak Hamzah's lessons on speaking. In that lesson, he decided to appoint Anti, a girl, who was sitting at the desk in the back, right hand corner and Emi, a girl, who was sitting in front, left hand corner of the class – this formed a diagonal line – to role-play a dialogue. This was followed by a role-play on the other diagonal line, which involved Tina, a girl, in the front, right hand corner and Rita, a girl, in the back, left corner. Being curious about the use of this technique in role-playing a dialogue, I asked Pak Hamzah to have a brief discussion after the lesson. I asked why he did it that way and whether he planned it before or not. In that discussion he told me that he had not planned it at all and that he did the diagonal, corner to corner dialogue performance because he found that Anti, without his knowledge had moved from her usual seat in front to the right back corner. He said,

> *Anti is a good student and she is one of my favourite targets, so when I suddenly found her sitting in the back corner, I decided to use that way (diagonal). .... Most of my favourite students in this class are girls; among them is the one I asked to role-play [the dialogue].*

Another unusual phenomenon in this lesson was that the teacher actually visited three different spots in the classroom several times, though only very quickly. These places were the back right-hand corner, where Anti and another girl were sitting, which received four visits, the front left-hand corner, where Emi and another girl were sitting, which received four visits, and the front right-hand corner, where Tina and another girl were sitting, which received three visits (each visit lasted only about a minute). This was the only observed lesson when an English teacher left his desk on a number of occasions, nevertheless, he visited only three different places in the room.

For comparative purposes, several observations were made in biology, mathematics and Indonesian language lessons. In terms of opportunity distribution, biology and math lessons were not very different from the English ones. By way of contrast, in the Indonesian language lessons, the teacher at the end of his lessons, at the evaluation stage, checked students understanding of the presented topic by addressing questions to individual students. For example, in one of his lessons on 'Personal letters', he started the evaluation stage by questioning Koko, Yansen, Wati, Andi, Lian, Tono, and several others. Of those asked, only a few did not answer at all. It was observed that when a student who had been called upon did not respond, the teacher elicited answers from the class by calling on those who raised their hands. Every time he asked the class an unanswered question, about two-thirds of the students were enthusiastic to answer it by raising their hands and saying, "*Saya Pak*", 'I, sir'. Students even raised their hands to answer questions before he asked a question. I was so impressed when I observed his lesson for the first time. He was so confident and that indicated that he had the talent to teach. I am sure that he taught this way as a rule, not just because he had especially prepared for it for the observation, since, in fact, I had only asked to come to his lesson about ten minutes ahead of time. Of the teachers I observed, he was the most organised teacher because he always presented his lessons systematically by introducing the topic, checking students understanding of his instructions before letting them do a task, and making an evaluation at the end of a lesson. He also walked around the classroom, though only a few times, to monitor students' activities. In addition, I think he taught better than the other teachers observed, probably because as an Indonesian language teacher, he was confident of his Indonesian language skills. No wonder, in my informal chats about their favourite teachers, students often mentioned his name. They commented that he explained clearly, and that he was fatherly (read: caring), friendly, patient, and not temperamental.

7.6.3.7 The Teaching of Language Skills

In general, language consists of four macro-skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing. In the acquisition of a mother tongue, and in some cases of a second language, a speaker develops his/her language acquisition first by listening, then speaking, reading and finally writing. In the actual language acquisition and learning one begins to learn from the oral form, then from the written one and the speaking ability does not start before s/he can produce linguistic sounds. However, in the classroom context, the learning of these skills takes place at the same time. In other words, in second language and foreign language classrooms, the learning of the listening skill does not necessarily come first. On the contrary, students are very likely to be exposed to the written form of the target language. Therefore, the four skills develop together throughout the language learning process.

The fact that English is a foreign language in Indonesia means that learning it begins after the acquisition of a mother tongue and after being literate in Indonesian. Students start to learn it from books, in the written form. One of the first prominent facts beginning Indonesian English learners experience is that English words frequently have written forms that differ from their pronunciations – unlike Indonesian words which are written phonetically. This is one of the primary reasons Indonesian students consider English so difficult (see Section 7.5.3). To get a picture of the teaching of English language skills by the teachers in the present study, let us consider the following brief description.

As stated previously, when teaching reading, most of the time teachers began by reading the text out loud once or twice while students were listening to them. This was followed by reading the text on a phrase-, clause-, or sentence -basis and by asking the class to repeat it after them. Often this was followed by the reading of every sentence of the text by individual students. Often too, students were asked to translate the sentence they read into Indonesian. A teacher sometimes explained grammatical aspects of a text, particularly tenses, sentence types, and word classes. In the end, the teaching of reading took a long time – little of which was spent on comprehension.

Listening sections comprised of only one task. However, most of the time the teachers skipped this task as they did not prepare it. When it was taught, it usually took only a very short time. For instance, the listening sections of Sub-units 1 and 2 of Unit 2, of Sub-units 3 of Unit 3, of Sub-unit 3 of Unit 4, of Sub-Unit 1 of Unit 6, and Sub-unit 1 of Unit 7 were skipped. Frequently, the two teachers in the present study did not actually teach listening, because, as I later found out, they did not have the teacher's book; and therefore did not have the listening passages which were not in the student's book. As a consequence, practicing listening skills rarely took place in their teaching. An example of the teaching of listening skills is illustrated by vignette 35 (see Section 7.6.6.1).

The teaching of listening was followed by speaking, which was always presented, based on the textbook, in the form of a dialogue. The teaching of speaking skills always started with the reading of the dialogue by the teacher. Most of the time the teacher read the whole text first. This was then followed by a 'listen and repeat' session, in which the teacher read a clause or a phrase which was repeated by the students. Students were seldom put into small groups or pairs to practice a conversation or oral presentation. Never was a genuine speaking activity promoted in the teaching of speaking skills. There were always two tasks following a dialogue one of which was devoted to comprehension questions, whereas the other one focused mostly on the completion of a dialogue.

The teaching of writing skills was done after the three other areas were studied. It normally covered only one exercise which related to word and sentence arrangement. I never observed a writing skill lesson which required students to write a simple composition using their own words, based on their own experiences.

The teaching of language skills were less integrated because the teachers simply proceeded according to the textbook. In the package textbooks, the presentation of language skills starts with reading (an elaboration and discussion about package textbooks has been presented in Chapter 4). The current National English Curriculum – officially launched in 1994, hence 1994 Curriculum – clearly points out that the four skill areas are all covered and to be taught in an integrated manner, but emphasis is on the development of reading skills. The teaching of linguistic aspects such as grammar,

vocabulary, pronunciation, and spelling can be done for the purpose of improving the four language skills, but not for the purpose of mastering them. In practice, the teaching of a unit always started with a reading task followed by listening, speaking, and writing tasks. The order of teaching presentation always follows the order of presentation in the textbook. The teaching of reading skills invariably starts with reading comprehension exercises, that is, reading a text or a conversational text, which is followed by two or three tasks requiring students to answer questions.

Despite the inclusion of language skills in the teaching, and that the curriculum clearly points out that the teaching of language skills should be the primary purpose of ELT in Indonesia, observations revealed that in practice teachers in the present study very often converted the focus of their teaching to the teaching of content that sometimes included the teaching of linguistic rules. This is clearly indicated by the narrative vignettes and lesson excerpts presented in the previous sections. Also, despite the clear suggestion that language skills need to be integral to teaching, teachers taught every skill separately.

7.6.3.8 The Teaching of English Grammatical Rules

As mentioned previously, the teachers in this study sometimes taught English grammar as part of the teaching of language skills. In a discussion about the importance of teaching grammatical rules to students, they all indicated that they need to be included in their teaching because English and Indonesian have different grammatical rules. Moreover, almost all sub-units in the textbook have a task on grammatical aspects (see Section 4.5.6.2). For example, there were exercises on tenses that required the students to use correct verb forms. Before completing the exercises, teachers explained the rules or read the formulas provided prior to a task. The following is an example of the presentation of a grammatical aspect in the textbook (page 6).

E. Language Focus
Study the sentences below.

1. They will play tennis in this court next week.
2. The students will not play volleyball next Sunday.
3. Will you go to Jakarta by plane next month?

The pattern of the simple future tense:

(+) I/we + shall/will
You + will
He + will
She + will   + Verb I
It + will
They + will

(-) Subject + Shall/Will + Not + Ver I
(?) Shall/Will + Subject + Verb I

Task 8
Put the verbs in brackets in the right forms.

Example

We (Study) English tonight.
We shall study English tonight.
We will study English tonight.

1. They will (borrow) some books at the library.
2. The boys will not (swim) soon.
3. Will Sony (go) to London Next month?
4. There will not (be) a badminton champion (sic) there.
5. I shall (see) a film tonight.
6. The students will not (go) on a picnic next week.

The presentation of grammatical rules in this task is out of context in the sense that the task is comprised of unrelated sentences. This grammatical aspect was taught without reference to function or use. In this exercise, there is not much for the students to do – the exercise already gives the answers. As Section 7.6.3.10 illustrates, students, and also the teacher, know which verb forms are used in the present perfect tense, but use the form with incorrect adverbs of time. In the same exercise, the teacher and some students identified the adverbs of time correctly, but failed to use them with correct tenses. At the beginning of the session on Task 7 of Unit 7, which was about the use of correct verb forms in reference to adverbs of time, the teacher explained in Indonesian for more than five minutes the use of tense. From his explanation it is clear that it was form which was being emphasised rather than 'how to use the form in actual communication'.

The teaching of grammatical aspects is not totally prohibited in the current national English curriculum. As the curriculum suggests, they can be taught for the purpose of developing language skills, and moreover, should be integrated in the teaching of language skills. However, observations in this study revealed that grammatical knowledge often became the focus of teaching, that grammatical knowledge was presented out of context, and that skills to use that knowledge in actual communication did not receive sufficient attention.

7.6.3.9 Use of Small Group Work

In this study, teachers did not use group work in the classroom. In my observation notes I recorded only one occasion when the teacher overtly asked students to form groups of four, but there were no tasks that were specified to be done in those groups. I also recorded on two occasions, once in an urban class and once in the rural class, when teachers assigned pair-work which was given in relation to dialogue performance. The unpopularity of group work among these teachers is very likely to be attributable to the common belief that group work does not promote good learning. Pak Hamzah stated that,

> *WORKING IN GROUPS IS NOT GOOD BECAUSE LAZY STUDENTS WILL JUST COPY ANSWERS FROM THE DILIGENT ONES; WHEREAS THE REST JUST COPY ANSWERS AND JUST PLAY AND EVEN MAKE NOISE. THIS DOES NOT PROMOTE LEARNING BECAUSE ONLY BRIGHT STUDENTS WORK. MOREOVER, LEARNING IN GROUPS CAN BE VERY NOISY …. THEREFORE, ONLY FOR HOMEWORK DO I ASK THEM TO WORK IN GROUPS.*

Pak Sul also had a similar perception of the efficacy of putting students into groups. He contended that,

> *In my opinion, working in groups is not yet effective to be implemented in the classroom. It does not help students to learn English effectively. Therefore, I haven't implemented group work so far because I don't see its advantages. ...*

When working in groups, they do not work seriously, only the good ones will do the job, and the rest will just copy.

However, research has indicated that group work is effective in increasing students' active participation in the classroom (e.g. Long and Porter, 1985). The fact that these teachers disliked small group work is attributable to their beliefs, which are likely to based on the common practices they have experienced both as teachers and as students. Thus, their opinions also suggest that the effectiveness of group work is culture-dependent, in the sense that interaction among members of a group are based on certain values. Although, Lightbown (2000), maintains that in foreign language classrooms group work provides the learner with opportunities to engage in real communication using the target language, in a class consisting of monolingual students, real communication might not take place as expected due to the possibility that they would use their L1- unless they are given tasks that require them to use L2. In addition, their participation may also depend upon individual student's academic ability. However, it can also provide opportunities for learners who feel afraid of asking questions of their teachers, to learn from their peers.

7.6.3.10 Error Correction

Another common issue especially in a foreign or second language classroom is the problem of error correction. This is related to the fact that error production is part of learners' language development. There is no language classroom that is free from error production, and hence error correction in some form.

With regard to teachers' error correction, two areas particularly merit discussion: the method of correction and, types, that is, aspects that were most corrected. In terms of the methods, most of the time teachers do the correction by themselves, and very rarely elicit corrections from other students, let alone allow enough time for self-correction. Also, corrections are made directly after error production. As observed in a lesson, a teacher spent a relatively long time to correct the pronunciations of "eight, thirteen, fifty, years, and high fences, cow, and money, because he found that students pronounced them incorrectly as exemplified by the following lesson excerpt.

> ....
> (1) T: Next.. Yansen. *Baca kalimat berikutnya.*
> Read the next sentence
> (2) Y(ansen): [yes, bʌt not ... heikh fens]
> (3) T: [haɪ fensɪs]
> (4) Y: [haɪ fensɪs]
> (5) T: *Ulang.*
>   Again
> (6) Y: [yes, bʌt not ... haikh fensɪs]
> (7) T: [Not, haikh]. *Coba semua ulang.* [haɪ] fensɪs]
>   All repeat
> (8) C: [haɪ]
> (9) T: [haɪ fensɪs]
> (10) C: [haɪ fensɪs]
> (11) T: *Baca ulang.*
>   Read (it) again.
> (12) Y: [yes, bʌt not ... haɪ fensɪs]

Utterance (7) is a kind of a direct correction from the teacher who directly points out the student's mistakes. It is different from the first correction he makes – when he only provides the correct pronunciation – because in this one, by saying [Not, haikh], he explicitly points out that the student has made a mistake.

In this study all teachers being observed dealt with errors in a similar manner, that is, they rarely allowed time for self-correction. As Pak Hamzah asserted,

> *I always correct a mistake directly after it is produced. Because I think I will probably forget to go back to the mistake later or I might not have time to correct it if I leave it until the end of the lesson. Also, I think s/he (read: the student) will attend to the mistake easily and will remember the correct form longer. ... When I was a student, I did not trust correction given by my classmates. So, in my opinion, it is much better if the correction is made by the teacher.*

With regard to the form, teachers put a great effort in correcting verb forms, especially when dealing with tenses and aspects. However, teachers' corrections did not always provide the correct forms, as observed in a lesson, when a teacher used incorrect tenses when correcting students, in the following sentences:

Students' sentences (written on the board)	Teacher's corrections
1. Andy will see a film tonight (given as an example)	
2. Herman do not go to London yet.	Herman does not go to London yet.
3. Nanik danced beautifully two weeks ago.	Nanik had danced beautifully two weeks ago.
4. They have worked in the garden since 7 o'clock.	
5. Father goes to his office by car everyday.	
6. We usually read a newspaper in the morning.	We usually have read a newspaper in the morning.
7. The students run around the schoolyard soon.	The students have run around the schoolyard soon.
8. She does not make a birthday cake every year.	

Number 3, was done correctly by Wati who was identified as a good student by teachers (see Section 7.6.2), but she did not challenge the teacher because she was not quite sure whether it was correct. After the lesson, she asked me which was the correct form. Similarly, the answer from a student for number 6 was correct, but the teacher thought it was not so he changed it.

Pronunciation and use of tenses are among difficult areas for most Indonesian students, and even teachers; hence error production in these areas is very common. This may be attributed to the fact that the Indonesian language does not have verb declinations that mark tense. In terms of the writing system, Indonesian words are written almost the same way they are pronounced.

Since errors are incorrect forms, the production of them is often interpreted as a failure on students' part. Many teachers overreact at their occurrence, and often correct them without careful consideration of the potential negative impact it could bring about. Pak Hamzah, for instance, admitted that he often corrected students' errors emotionally, particularly if he had explained something several times or provided them with correct forms. This may affect students' attitudes towards the teacher's corrections which may lead to problematic student learning behaviours. All students being interviewed in this study said that they preferred direct correction from their teachers, whenever an error occurred. However, some agreed that sometimes teachers seem to tackle errors emotionally by saying "stupid" or "that's wrong", which is most likely to cause embarrassment for the student. This supports studies

conducted by Hafsah (1997) and McPherson (1994). Hafsah concluded that her subjects preferred corrections to be made politely right when they occurred. Similarly, McPherson (1994) found that both teachers and students thought direct, polite correction was better. Her study also revealed that advanced learners, though they also favoured direct correction, "liked methods which indirectly offered them the chance to make the correction" (McPherson, 1994: 44).

7.6.4 Teaching Practices and Beliefs

The classroom practices described in the previous sections may be attributed to various factors such as teachers' beliefs (see Section 2.6.1) and learning experiences. This section is intended to elucidate the relationships between classroom practices and teachers' learning experiences, beliefs, and teaching missions.

Researchers strongly believe that teachers' beliefs are influential in their classroom practices (Burns, 1992; 1994). Studies have shown that teachers' classroom decision making practices, for instance, are very much based on their beliefs (Freeman, 1989) which are in turn related to their educational and teaching experiences (Greenwood and Parkay, 1989). It is these beliefs which determine their decisions on teaching methods, selection of materials, and the use of media (Saleh, 1994). Similarly, Bailey and Nunan (1996) found that teachers' decisions to depart from their lesson plan were attributed to their beliefs.

The teachers in this study generally believed that a teacher was someone who passed on or transferred knowledge to learners, that learners came to school to learn something that they had not known, under a teacher's instruction. I believe that this concept is partly formed by earlier, traditional culture that reflects the public perception of teaching and learning which they experienced during their primary and secondary education. A similar phenomenon was also captured by Siegel (1986: 140) in his study of a Javanese society. He found that teachers considered themselves as the ones "having a body of information that the students did not have." During their tertiary education, they might still experience traditional approaches to learning and teaching, and this could also contribute to both their conscious and unconscious beliefs about teaching. This is not to say that they did not experience learning under more contemporary approaches at all, because a couple of their lecturers had graduated from programs in English speaking countries. These lecturers were in favour of more contemporary ways of teaching. In addition, the Volunteer Service Overseas (VSO) – an organisation from the UK – has been providing volunteers since 1984 to teach in the English Department of *Haluoleo* University, where the English teachers observed did their teacher training courses. These volunteers exposed students to more contemporary teaching approaches. Only one of the teachers observed had not been involved in any *PKG* workshops, an in-service training program which is supportive of a more communicative approach to language teaching. In other words, the teachers in this study have been exposed to teaching approaches which were more communicative. However, these experiences seem to contribute very little to their classroom practices. Observational data indicated that their high school learning experiences and traditional heritage overcame the theoretical knowledge that they might have gained in the workshops and at the university. As teachers in this study have been teaching for quite a while, their beliefs about learning and teaching do not seem to be formed by their own teaching

experiences but by their learning experiences which were influenced by their teachers' teaching approaches.

They also believe that vocabulary learning is the central factor in communicative ability which is the primary goal of English learning. This may be the explanation for the excessive translation of words and sentences that was practiced by all teachers. As Ibu Ifah commented,

> HOW CAN THEY COMMUNICATE IF THEY DON'T HAVE ENOUGH VOCABULARY? THE BEST WAY TO TEACH VOCABULARY TO THEM IS BY WAY OF TRANSLATION;TRANSLATE ENGLISH WORDS INTO INDONESIAN. ... THE ONLY WAY TO UNDERSTAND THE MEANING OF ENGLISH WORDS IS THROUGH TRANSLATION, ESPECIALLY BECAUSE THEY HAVE ACQUIRED INDONESIAN AS THEIR FIRST LANGUAGE.

Unfortunately, the teaching of vocabulary items did not take place effectively because translation was the only major technique being used. This was noticeably unsuccessful, as the students' vocabulary mastery was very low, especially since vocabulary items taught in the previous lessons were not followed up, e.g., through rehearsal and sentence constructions in the following classroom meetings.

However, beliefs are not the only factor attributed to teachers' classroom practices. As discussed previously, methods, training, experience, the "t" factor, and proficiency play significantly important roles. The following section discusses the influence of learning experiences on teachers' classroom practices.

7.6.5 Teaching Practices and Learning Experience

Teachers' learning experiences can also influence their teaching practices (Richards, *et al.*, 1992). For instance, excessive practice of word, phrase, and sentence translation is most likely to be inherited from traditional English teaching. As expressed by Pak Hamzah, " *... My teacher attended not only to tenses and pronunciation, but also to the meaning of words and sentences by translating them into Indonesian and asked us to memorise the meaning of the words*". From my own experience, it was not only Pak Hamzah's teacher(s) who attended a lot to grammatical aspects and word/sentence translation. I still remember my teachers in secondary education practising similar teaching. Passages were translated a sentence at a time rather than as a whole text. Observations revealed that it was not only Pak Hamzah whose teaching practices were influenced by his previous classroom learning experiences – which emphasised the understanding of every single word by way of translation into the first language, sentence translation, structural aspects of the learnt language, and the absence of group work – but also the other teachers. In relation to working in groups, Pak Hamzah commented,

> I don't think working in groups is bad. [But]only because of my high school experience I don't think it is good to implement in the classroom. I don't think it is effective, because my expectation that all members are actively involved, will not be fulfilled. When I did homework in a group with my friend, it was only me who worked, because I was the best in my group. All the others just copied.

I can say that all the teachers observed during the fieldwork taught almost the same way as my teachers in high school. They were different only in the fact that in current English classrooms, separation between language skills is clear and that oral English is taught, even though the teachers

under observation still spent substantial time teaching content and form. However, the fact that the teachers were still textbook-dependent was still noticeable.

These teachers' teaching practices can reflect their teaching missions, the topic to be discussed in the following section.

7.6.6 Teaching Missions

As previously stated, the teachers in this study generally believed that a teacher is someone who passes on or transfers knowledge to learners, that students come to school to learn something they had not known, from the teacher. This means that the teacher is responsible for teaching and the student is responsible for learning. All teachers, I think, agree that their main job is to help their students learn. However, in reality, there are teachers who forget this, when they are standing in front of the class. This causes their teaching to become teacher- or teaching-benefit-oriented rather than student-benefit-oriented. The following two issues, teaching for content and teaching for the sake of teaching, indicate that teaching is not always performed for the sake of learning.

7.6.6.1 Teaching for Content

The primary purpose of translating text or sentences or even words, as elucidated in Section 7.6.3.3, is to ensure that students know the content of the text. In other words, the text's content, rather than the skills, becomes the teacher's primary concern. This reflects the Indonesian concept of education which emphasises knowledge acquisition rather than the development of students' skills (Boediono and Dhanani, 1998).

In Pak Sul's lesson on speaking (see the first lesson excerpts in Section 7.6.3.3), it was not speaking skills which were being taught because the time was dominated by him reading and translating sentences of the given dialogue. Thus, he seemed to lack all understanding of the essence of speaking lessons. He did not seem to understand that in a speaking activity, it is the skills, for instance skills to anticipate what is coming next, how to structure information, how to ask and answer questions appropriately, how to change topics, and so on, which are more important than what is talked about in a written dialogue.

In a lesson that started with a listening exercise, Pak Hamzah was supposed to teach listening. Therefore, he needed to read a cloze passage, which was a summary of the reading text which had been taught in the previous week. Students were expected to listen and fill in the missing words which had been provided for them. Instead of reading the cloze text to the class he wrote it on the board, asked the students to copy it and fill in the blank spaces. The following narrative vignette illustrates the teaching of the listening practice.

(35)   TODAY'S LESSON STARTS WITH LISTENING. THE TEACHER COPIES THE LISTENING TEXT ON THE BLACKBOARD AND STUDENTS COPIED IT FROM THE TEXTBOOKS DISTRIBUTED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE LESSON. AS IT IS A CLOZE PASSAGE, THE STUDENTS ARE REQUIRED TO FILL IN THE MISSING INFORMATION WHILE LISTENING TO A PASSAGE. I LOOK AROUND THE CLASSROOM AND SEE THAT ALL STUDENTS ARE COPYING THE TASK FROM THE TEXTBOOKS IN FRONT OF THEM. AFTER FINISHING COPYING THE EXERCISE THE TEACHER TAKES A SEAT AND STAYS THERE FOR ABOUT TEN MINUTES THEN HE ASKS THE STUDENTS

WHETHER THEY HAVE FINISHED THE EXERCISE. HE DOES NOT READ THE PASSAGE AND LETS THE STUDENTS FILL IN THE MISSING INFORMATION BY THEMSELVES. I GO AROUND TO SEE HOW THE CLASS GOES ABOUT THIS EXERCISE. ... ONLY A FEW STUDENTS COMPLETE THE EXERCISE. THEY MUST BE WAITING FOR THE TEACHER TO READ THE PASSAGE AS THE INSTRUCTION IN THE TEXTBOOK INDICATES. HOWEVER, NOBODY RAISES ANY QUESTIONS ABOUT THIS. WHEN THE TEACHER ELICITS THE ANSWER FROM THE CLASS, BY ASKING WHAT IS THE ANSWER FOR EACH OF THE BLANKS, MOST OF THE ANSWERS PROVIDED BY THE STUDENTS ARE INCORRECT, SO HE HAS TO REFER BACK TO THE READING PASSAGE. WHEN ALL THE BLANKS HAVE BEEN FILLED WITH ANSWERS, THE TEACHER STARTS TO PICK THE VERBS IN THE TEXT AND ASKS THE STUDENTS TO INDICATE THE TENSES OF THOSE VERBS. THIS IS THEN FOLLOWED BY THE TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT, SENTENCE BY SENTENCE.

In a discussion with Pak Hamzah after this lesson, I asked him to reflect and talked about the listening session. He explained that,

> …. I did not read the passage because it had been read in the previous lesson and thus I assumed that they would have known the relevant, missing information. I also told them 'Now, let's complete the text based on the reading text we read last week, last Friday. This is why [I did not read the passage]. Because when I read a text, it takes a lot of my time because I have to read it several times, but the students still ask 'what are you saying?' Should I read the reading passage or this text (pointing to the listening exercise in the textbook)?

The vignette shows that the lesson was not related to listening practice, rather it was about reading, grammar, and translation. The reason for him not reading the text, i.e. "it takes a lot of my time" not only indicates that he does not understand the essence of a listening activity but also that he teaches for the sake of teaching.

7.6.6.2 Teaching for the Sake of Teaching

Classroom practices not only reflect teachers' beliefs and teaching styles but also their understanding and awareness of the primary goal of teaching. Observational data suggest that teachers in this study emphasised the completion of teaching materials and the performance of teaching duties. This is evident from the pattern of communication between teachers and students in the classroom. As observed in most of the lessons, teacher talk dominated most of the classroom time whereas students had only a very small proportion of it. This is implied, for example, by the lesson excerpt in Section 7.6.3.3, which indicates that teacher's turns are usually much longer than those of students. Similar findings are also reported by Lewis (1996). Many doubt the effectiveness of such teaching practices for the learner, especially in language learning. This teaching practice indicates that the teachers under observation placed more emphasis on ritualistic performance.

Another practice indicating that performance of teaching is more important than the actual learning by the students is the way teachers distribute questions to their

students (see Section 7.6.3.6). As described previously, weaker students tend to get fewer opportunities to provide answers in comparison with stronger ones in order for the teaching, rather than the learning, to proceed smoothly. In other words, by giving more opportunities to strong students, the teacher feels secure – their teaching is not failing or frustrating – regardless of the fact that the majority of the class is not participating actively, and may not be benefiting from the lesson. Although the teacher realises that he should teach for the whole class, he also requires every student to attend to what he is teaching. Teachers' statements – e.g. "learning in groups can be very noisy", "… it takes a lot of my time", and "for the lesson to be alive" – suggest that the primary goal of classroom interaction is for him to teach, regardless of the small number of students who are actually involved or actually learn. In other words, the purpose of a lesson is for him to complete his task – to teach.

In summary, teaching practices are a complex issue. In a lesson session of forty-five minutes or more, a teacher performs her/his teaching in a way that reflects personality characteristics, her/his teaching beliefs, teaching styles, teaching professionalism, and teaching missions. These more abstract, invisible elements of teaching can only be inferred from the more concrete elements such as the ways teachers use space, teaching resources, distribution of opportunities, and correction of errors.

7.7 Patterns of Communication

The sociolinguistic context of a classroom is a complex phenomenon. It covers a wide range of behaviours, including both verbal and non-verbal communication among students, between teachers and students, and in relation to topics of conversation. It is certainly not possible to describe all these at length in this limited section of the thesis. Therefore, this section deals only with the communication between students and teachers and among students based on interactions during observed lessons.

Successful communication in the classroom will enhance the quality of learning and teaching. This is the case, because the teaching-learning process can only take place through both verbal and non-verbal communication. According to Allwright and Bailey (1991: 19) any interaction, including those in the classroom, is complicated because every participant is "managing at least five different things, at the same time, at all times: turn distribution, topic, task, created environment/tone, and code".

To examine patterns of communication of a classroom society, social identities attached to its members need to be identified, because they are also very important in the description and analysis of a communicative event. Social identities of classroom community members can generally be labelled under two categories: teacher and students. Therefore, communication patterns of the community will be described and analysed with regard to these two social groups.

7.7.1 Patterns of Communication among Students

It is important to mention that it is difficult to provide details on the patterns of students' communication in the classroom because they were not expected to talk loudly with their friends. In the rural school, I observed that students rarely had verbal interactions among themselves, and if they did, they did them very quietly. By way of contrast, in the urban schools, I observed that students sometimes talked very loudly to tease their friends or to ask something of them.

Furthermore, as the narrative vignettes and lesson excerpts presented in the previous sections demonstrate, the students did not have much time for discussion because they were not asked to work in small groups. If they worked on a task in pairs or in small groups, this was done on their own initiative. During such interactions they only, for example, asked for answers and meaning of words, borrowed things, for which they mostly used Indonesian or, occasionally, used their vernacular.

In general, students' patterns of communication were contingent upon other aspects of classroom culture, particularly the teacher's teaching practice, textbook and tasks.

7.7.2 Teacher-student Interactions

Teacher-student patterns of communication analysis can be done by carefully dividing their conversation into segments which show turn-taking. With clear identification of the beginning and end of a turn, we can then separate every turn and see how a turn takes place. Clear identification of the turn of a speaker is a crucial aspect of communication pattern description and analysis since it helps decide the length and the number of turns an interlocutor takes during a speech event.

In general, there are two features of communication between the teacher and students in English lessons. First of all, it is teacher-initiated. This is common in all classrooms – the teacher asks and students answer, s/he gives instructions and students act accordingly. Secondly, it is teacher-dominated. The teacher uses most of the time to explain topics, to provide information and clarification whereas students only listen. These two features make the pattern of communication between teachers and students in the classroom mono-directional. The following lesson excerpt indicates the teacher-initiated nature of a classroom interaction.

(1) T: *Nomor tiga*.
      number three
(2) S1 (a girl at a front desk raises her right hand): *Saya, Pak*

I   sir
(3) T: *Ya, kamu*.

Yes, you
(4) S1 (G): (Writes her answer on the blackboard correctly).
(5) T: *Sudah bagus*.
      that's good/correct
(6) S1 (a girl): (Shows her happiness) Yes…Uuu..
 (7) T: *Siapa lagi?*

Who else/next
(8) Ss: (two students, a girl in front and a boy in middle, raise hands): *Saya, Saya Pak*.

'I,   I,   sir'.
....
(16) T: *Ada yang lain?*
    any body else
(17) S4 (a Boy in the second row): *Ada Pak.*,
         yes, sir
(18) T: (asks a girl, S1, in front) *Kamu, tulis di sebelah-nya.*
        you, write beside it',
(19) S1: (Uses correct verb form).

This lesson excerpt is an example of one of the common patterns of teacher-student classroom interaction. It indicates that the teacher's turns function to initiate, in terms of offering a chance or to invite a student, while students' turns function to respond to the initiative. In utterance (1), the teacher initiates the interaction by offering number 3 of the exercise. Utterance (7), is an open invitation, but is also an offer of a turn. Similarly, utterance (16) is an open invitation which also functions as an offer. The students are not likely to take a turn unless openly invited to do so by the teacher. Utterances (3, 9, 18) function as the teacher's invitations to certain individual students to write their answers on the board. The students would not write the answers unless given this individual invitation.

The teacher's dominance in classroom interaction is more obvious from the lesson excerpt in Section 7.6.3.3. The lesson excerpt in that section indicates that the teacher dominated teacher-student interactions. It was observed in this classroom community that teacher talk-time was reduced only when students were answering comprehension questions and during students' working on writing tasks. Teacher's talk-time dominance is not specific to the classroom under the study. As pointed out by Allwright and Bailey (1991: 139), research has shown consistently that "teachers do between half and three quarters of the talking done in classrooms." Similarly Tsui (1996) found that in EFL classrooms, teachers used more than 80% of the total talk time and that there were no instances in which students initiated a question.

The dominance of teachers and the teacher-initiatedness of classroom interaction is probably a common phenomenon in Indonesia. As contended by Milner (1996: 92), "the teacher in ... Indonesia is the student's superior in the classroom – an authority figure to whom the student must defer, in the classroom – and outside it – the teacher's authority is absolute". Students are required to tolerate teachers' actions in order to maintain a harmonious relationship by not challenging them. However, their dissatisfaction with a teacher's conduct may be expressed in various forms e.g., by talking quietly with other friends.

7.8 Summary

This chapter attempts a general description of a classroom society and its culture. It provides information about the physical context of the classroom, the artefacts, students and teachers, and their practices and tendencies. It indicates that the culture of the classroom community in this study is full of formal and ritualistic/routine activities. These are important to be examined due to their potential effects on the classroom community's behaviour.

It has been argued in this chapter that the classroom physical context, such as seating arrangement and the teacher's table position, also shape classroom culture in the sense that they influence both social and psychological behaviour of the classroom society. The traditional, teacher-fronted classroom, especially with a 'raised teacher zone, suggests that teachers are more likely to

spend most of their time in front of the class because they believe that it is the place where everyone in the class can see her/him, while s/he, too, can overview the whole class. This type of classroom can also psychologically affect students and teachers – not only may a wide social gap occur, but also a psychological one. Seeing a teacher standing in front, on the higher floor, might cause students to consider her/him as an authoritative person, and this can stop them from asking questions or making suggestions, let alone challenging her/his ideas. On the other hand, being in front, on a higher floor can make a teacher overconfident so that s/he becomes authoritative, less tolerant, and less patient with his/her students. This type of classroom setting also indirectly suggests that small-group work is not likely to be promoted.

This chapter also describes thoroughly the community members, their practices and the artefacts they use in their interaction. It describes the students, the teachers, and the textbook and interaction among them. Students' behaviour is described and analysed in order to understand their classroom lives such as their learning styles and preferences, their sense of competition and cooperation, their motivation and attitudes towards English, and their English ability. The findings agree with the conclusion of the study made by Sadtono *et al.* (1997) who found that in general, Indonesian *SLTP* students' English achievement was low. Testing the four areas of language skills, they found that sixty per cent of the subjects scored below average and only about fifteen per cent obtained good scores. They found that Indonesian students' productive skills were weaker than their receptive skills.

Evidence from observations suggests that it is too simplistic to generalise about the students' learning styles and preferences, their unwillingness to compete and cooperate because these are all contingent upon a range of factors.

Indeed, description and analysis also indicate that in general students' classroom behaviour is very much influenced by the teacher as would be expected. Teachers contribute significantly to the shaping of students' classroom behaviour, particularly their learning behaviour. It is the teacher and, because of his/her textbook dependency, the textbook that determine what they should do, how they should do it, and how long/how short a time they should spend on a particular activity. However, this does not mean that the entire behaviour of the students is dictated by the teacher and textbook. Observations indicate that more general, social behaviours such as production of noise, peer-communication, and peer-cooperation are mainly determined by students. Writing and copying of questions or tasks from the textbook can be done either at the student's own initiative or on the teacher's instructions. With regard to task completion, findings suggest that variation in students' behaviours are attributed to five factors:

1) Self-confidence – Students are not confident of their answers and, therefore, do not want to try and to end up with incorrect answers which will force them to scratch out their incorrect answers and replace them with the correct ones, causing untidiness in their books. This implies that the source of the variation is in individual students – an internal factor.

2) Perception of mistake production – however, unwillingness to try should also be examined in relation to their perception of mistake production, since there is a tendency to view mistakes as a sign of stupidity; hence, embarrassing – an internal factor.

3) Motivation – students' (English) learning motivation might be rather low. This is probably the reason for unwillingness and hesitancy to try hard, which in turn causes the learning improvement of students to be very low – an internal factor.

4) Content difficulty of an exercise – exercises in the textbook, both in terms of grammatical and semantic aspects, might be too difficult for the majority of the students, in which case the source of variation is external.

5) Teachers' monitoring technique – teachers do not monitor students closely; rather, they prefer to supervise the class from the front zone. Findings suggest that this technique is not effective – an external factor.

Students' English learning attitudes and motivations are also examined using both interviews in a very relaxed situation and questionnaires - the two data collection instruments provided different data. However, it is argued that in this study the data that were collected in a more natural, less formal situation were more reliable, while the data from the questionnaires were only used as additional data because the respondents tended to perceive them as test instruments, and therefore, they chose the most commonly or culturally acceptable options. In addition, the characteristics of a good student according to this culture are also briefly discussed. It is indicated that a good student in this community is submissive, i.e., does not ask a lot questions, does not challenge teachers' ideas, but expresses him/herself modestly and performs well on exams.

This chapter also attempts to describe and analyse teachers' classroom life, from the way they use classroom space, error corrections, time management, teaching beliefs and practices up to the influence of their learning experience on their teaching practices. It indicates that teachers in this study do not fulfil expected roles mentioned in Section 2.6.2. It indicates that teachers' teaching practices are strongly influenced by their former teachers. It is also argued that in the first place, the teachers teach for the sake of their job rather than for the sake of their students, and for the sake of the content rather than language skills. It is also argued that the teaching styles of the teachers are very similar in the sense that they are all textbook-dependent, use the translation technique, and spend most of their time in front of the classroom. The whole description of the teachers' classroom practices indicates that their teaching practices are under the influence of very complex factors such as social identity, economic condition, teachers' personalities and professionalism, classroom context, the textbook and students behaviour, and their own learning experiences which play essential roles in the shaping of teachers' classroom practices. In addition to these factors, it is argued that teachers' lack of lesson preparation, insufficient understanding of curriculum, and lack of self-monitoring of their own teaching are also the major sources of their inability to perform at their best in the classroom, and that their own learning experiences and former teachers' practices shape their own teaching practices.

Finally, sociolinguistic behaviours of the classroom community are also briefly discussed. Several aspects of the sociolinguistic phenomena such as language choice, patterns of communication between teachers and students, and among students are highlighted. It is indicated that genuine conversations among students, as well as between teachers and students, are conducted in Indonesian and very rarely in English.

The findings suggest that the social relationship between teachers and students, which is determined by their roles, significantly influences the patterns of their communication. Two striking characteristics of the community's patterns of communication are discussed: 1) teacher-talk time, and 2) teacher-initiated interlocution. Classroom speech events are described as dominated by teacher-talk-time and most of them are initiated by teachers. These cause teacher-students communication to be mono-directive. In brief, the classroom is viewed as a formal setting where two distinct social identities – teacher and students, each with clearly different powers, authorities, and roles – engage in communication. The two identities have been defined by the wider community: the school community and village community. The interpretation of the roles, power, and authority of the classroom community is based on the wider community's definition of them.

In summary, classroom culture is full of complexity. It is shaped by various, interrelated factors both from outside and inside the classroom. The government, the village culture, the school culture, the classroom physical context and formality, and students and teachers are all contributive to the shaping of classroom culture.

CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

This thesis describes TEFL in a specific context, i.e. in the acquisition-poor context of a remote village in Southeast Sulawesi Province of Indonesia. As Chapter 1 indicates, Indonesia's remote areas have been left under-resource affecting not only the economic but also the educational development of the areas. It also discusses some of the central government's efforts to improve the quality of education in general and English education in particular. Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework and a review of the literature related to this study. It discusses the complexity and interdependency of factors involved in the formation of classroom culture, particularly EFL classroom culture. It argues that factors outside the classroom, such as national and local cultures, the sociolinguistic situation, and material conditions influence classroom culture. It emphasises that teaching methodology should be assigned to allow learning to take place. Chapter 3, research methodology, elaborates how this study was conducted using an ethnographic approach and provides an orientation to the relevance of its use in this study. It also presents a brief orientation to the principles of an ethnographic approach such as the importance of the role of the ethnographer and the prominence of the natural setting and first-hand data. Procedures for data collection and analysis commonly applied in an ethnographic study are also discussed.

The findings of this study are presented and discussed from Chapter 4 to Chapter 7. An account of the national context of English education in Indonesia is presented in Chapter 4. A thorough description of the context, both outside and inside the classroom, of EFL teaching and learning in a remote, rural area is provided. Chapter 5, focusing on the wider culture of the local community, provides a detailed account that helps contextualise TEFL in a remote village school. Chapter 6 describes the situation of the school in this study and its culture which helps elucidate the current general "around-school-life" of the school community which potentially impacts on classroom practices, especially the teaching-learning process which is the main concern of Chapter 7.

Even though this study focuses on the EFL culture of a remote *SLTP*, it has some degree of generalisability. From short visits to and observations in two urban *SLTP*s, and from my long personal involvement in Indonesian EFL education, both as an EFL learner and an EFL teacher, I can say there are some similarities across EFL classroom culture in many Indonesian communities. (I started learning English at a remote *SMP* in Toraja, then in a seminary in the city of Makassar, the capital of South Sulawesi Province. From 1985 to 1989 I taught English to *SLTP* and *SMU* students and since 1986 have taught English to English teacher training students). Based on these experiences, I am confident that most of the findings of this study could be replicated in many other Indonesian communities and, therefore, some of the conclusions and suggestions of this study may also apply and could be applied to those contexts.

This concluding chapter offers a summary of the findings which are presented in Section 8.2 and the implications of the findings, i.e. recommendations for the improvement of EFL teaching and learning practices in Indonesia, especially in remote areas, which are presented in Section 8.3.

8.2 Factors Impacting on EFL Teaching in the Village

As indicated in Chapter 1, the issues related to the failure in EFL teaching and learning in Indonesian formal education are very complex. Therefore, it is simplistic to suggest that the failure is simply related to methodological problems. The findings of this study suggest that various factors – the context outside the classroom, be it national or local, and those inside the classroom – contribute to current EFL teaching and learning practices that cause the failure.

Despite the complexity and interrelatedness of these factors, this study, in its attempt to answer to the first major question: "What factors impact on the way EFL is taught in Southeast Sulawesi?", concludes that there are four main principles underlying the lack of success of EFL teaching and learning in Indonesia: 1) the value of harmonious social relationships, 2) the status of English, 3) material conditions, and 4) teaching practices. Each of these factors is addressed in the sections that follow.

8.2.1 The Value of Harmonious Social Relationship

This study shows that the main purpose of children's education in the family setting is to cultivate and preserve cultural values which encompass both material and ethical norms (see Section 5.6.4) so that they live in harmony with other members of the community. This is because harmonious social relationships have a crucial value in a collective, feudalistic society as they are the primary prerequisite for togetherness. This is particularly true since feudalism supports order in the absence of democracy. In the absence of democracy, harmonious social relationships among different members of the community are established through other systems such as the means and patterns of communication in verbal interaction, the level of formality of settings, and participation in social activities.

A feudal system distinguishes the power of the members of a community according to their social class relationships such as those between child-parent, teacher-student, government authority-common people, men-women, and elder-younger. In Indonesia, this feudal system is still practiced at all levels, from the national down to the household level. At the national level, centralised policy is a good example of the implementation of feudal system. As a consequence, the central government has more power in the management of the country. As shown in Chapter 4, the Indonesian government has implemented a centralised system of education at *SLTP* level. Curricula, syllabuses, textbooks, and methods of teaching are all decided by the central government. Even the lesson plans can be considered products of the national system since they are written in workshops at the provincial level, while the workshops are led by senior teachers trained by a national agency, through the *PKG* project. Although this study has shown that teachers did not specifically follow the prescribed lesson plans, they did proceed to teach mainly on the basis of the government's packaged textbooks. Only recently, since the fall of Suharto's regime, has decentralisation become an issue in the political discourse. Criticisms of the centralisation of power in Jakarta, which has led to power manipulation and corrupt governance, has successfully forced the Indonesian government to issue Law No. 22/1999 which is concerned with the distribution of power to the local government, including the distribution of power in educational management. This law has been implemented since January 2001. In the field of education, one of the results of this decentralisation is that at primary schools *EBTANAS*, the National Exam, has been abolished from 2001. Given the long tradition of centralisation, the effectiveness of decentralisation of power in the field of education, and possibly in other fields, is still questionable due in part to political factors, but more importantly to the limited resources available at the local level. Without

empowerment through the provision of local resources, local autonomy has little power to change the local situation, including the teaching practices in schools.

In the community examined in this study, the use of Indonesian in formal meetings, the unwillingness to challenge authority figures, i.e. parents, teachers and persons in authority, the participation in social activities such as *gotong royong*, 'cooperative work based on solidarity', and the involvement in informal social, cultural and religious events are important factors in achieving and preserving social harmony. For instance, in a *gotong royong* event, people are bound to proceed based on the instruction from an authoritative figure. In verbal and non-verbal communication, participants have to behave according to the social rules whose orientation is unquestioning respect of the more powerful parties.

In the school environment, the principal is the central, powerful figure and every member of the school community is required to obey him unquestioningly. Therefore, other members of the school community culturally accept that he should not be challenged by teachers and students. Teachers are more responsible to their superiors rather than to their true teaching mission: to enable the student to experience learning. Open discussions and open self-expression among teachers and among students in the classroom and in smaller groups rarely happens in the presence of a more powerful person. Similarly, in the presence of more knowledgeable and more powerful persons, the production of errors is interpreted as stupidity; hence, when students answer incorrectly, other students may laugh at them and this causes them embarrassment. This is particularly strengthened by the fact that teachers always use on-the-spot error correction techniques, and even sometimes make embarrassing comments (see Section 7.6.3.10) which might undermine students' self-esteem. Consequently, students are often afraid to try to answer or respond to teachers' questions, especially when they are not very sure whether their answer is correct. They prefer to remain quiet rather than participate in a discussion or to provide answers when asked by the teacher – not responding is felt to be more appropriate than giving incorrect answers, since it will not invite cynical comments. At the other end of the spectrum, strong students often refrain from giving answers or volunteering because they do not want to be considered to be showing off. These are good examples of the overwhelming influence of a feudalistic system on classroom practices.

The transfer of the wider community's concept of teaching-learning into the classroom seems in part to be a result of the way students and teachers consider their social relationship to be very similar to the parent-children relationship. In a family, parents and adults are considered more knowledgable than children, and therefore it is the parents and adults who are supposed to tell the children what is correct and not vice versa. Communications between parents and their children are characterised by the

dominance of the parents, and children's limited verbal turns are filled with the asking of informative questions (see Section 5.6.4). When children speak to their parents they have to choose polite forms, and are not allowed to challenge their elder's ideas. Arguing with and questioning parents or adults (see also Section 5.6.4) means challenging them, where challenging is a face threatening action – a behaviour which threatens harmonious relationships. Similarly, in the classroom domain, teachers take on the role 'parents', they are seen to be more knowledgeable and thus they are to be respected: they are the ones who tell students what is true, and because of their power and position, go unchallenged. More importantly, it is culturally the obligation of a student, like a child in a family, to always save adults' face and help them not to lose it. One may expect that similar phenomena will occur in the classroom setting since both teachers and students are likely to understand that that is the way classroom interactions should take place in the teaching-learning process. In other words, teachers' and students' classroom practices are strongly influenced by the wider community's concept of teaching and learning. At an implicational level, some of these cultural aspects should be developed or eliminated from school and classroom contexts to enhance the quality of learning and teaching practices. The process of elimination and development of wider cultural aspects from or in the classroom setting would need to be carefully planned and examined.

Teachers do not seem to provide activities and exercises that foster individual learning because they are overtly dependent on the textbook. From the way they monitor classroom activities, they do not seem to care about differentiating between whether their students actually learn or are just pretending to learn. Furthermore, they cling excessively to the textbook which they seem to believe contains no mistakes because it is an official government publication and is written by scholars. This also indicates their appreciation of the hierarchical system in this community: the leaders think they always know better, whereas those with less power, in addition to accepting that the leaders know best, feel responsible to them. In addition, this may also result from the fact that they lack confidence du to low proficiency of English.

This study shows that the values expressed in *gotong royong* are also commonly practiced in the classroom domain. For example, in the classroom students were found to help one another to perform a given task. Despite the positive side of 'peer-assistance' in the learning process, this study has shown that cooperation can also hinder learning progress, especially when it was based on copying rather than vivid discussions among students. In this classroom community, the practice of cooperation occurred but in a way that discouraged vivid discussions, mainly because weaker students only copied from the stronger ones. Due to the value of harmonious relationships, weaker students are reluctant to challenge stronger students (if they believe there is an error); while stronger students may find it culturally hard to refuse to help the weaker ones – passing on their answers – because they need to preserve harmonious relationships. In particular, when students did their homework, classroom assignments, and took exams, weaker students were very likely to depend on copying the answers from the stronger students. This indicates that cooperation was favoured by students not primarily for the sake of learning, rather for the sake of task completion on the part of the weak students and preservation of harmonious relationships on the part of the stronger ones. This is particularly the case in the situation where students lack a sense of competitiveness (see Section 7.6.1.3) and in the absence of teachers' close monitoring (see Section 7.6.3.4) as observed in this study. Since teachers are very likely to have had similar experiences during their formal education, they may believe that discussion and working in small groups hinder learning, and forget that learning in small groups can be effective so long as close monitoring is in place. As a consequence, instead of implementing close monitoring, they limit or even remove formal group work from their classrooms.

In addition, teaching is a respected profession in this community. In such a position, a teacher, as one might expect, and as was evident from the classroom observations, has high social status and a relatively powerful position within the community. Therefore, as members of the wider community, students are culturally brought up and expected to

be respectful to their teachers and to maintain harmonious relationships with them, which means they are expected to be submissive and inoffensive to them. If maintaining a harmonious relationship with teachers entails submissiveness and inoffensiveness to the status quo, it is very likely that this is one of the major factors keeping students from asking questions and presenting arguments. This also suggests that patterns of communication in the wider community, which help understand the flow of the discourse, e.g., who dominates the talking, when a turn is taken, and how participants get their messages across, contribute potentially to the way communication occurs in the classroom (see Section 7.7).

In the presence of a teacher in the classroom setting, it is the teacher who dominates the communication, whereas students are passive listeners and contribute very little to the flow of the communication. This is less likely to occur when communication is not under the influence – the absence – of more powerful persons. Lively discussions among girls (see Section 5.7.3.3) and among teachers (see Section 6.8.3) outside the classroom were only possible because the participants were all of equal standing. In other words, the presence of a person with higher status and better knowledge will inhibit lively discussion, especially in the teaching and learning context. However, the change is likely to take place when there is a teacher who is caring and friendly.

The feudal system has also been nationally instituted through formal education. This is evident from the presence of ritualistic, regimentative practices with a greater emphasis on formality and ritualistic procedures than on learning performance (see Section 6.4.3, Section 6.5 and Section 7.4). Regimentative and feudalistic behaviours of the teacher may be felt to be repressive by the students and therefore keep them from active participation, or may even induce contradictory responses such as discouragement to learn.

Another factor that favours feudalism is apparent from the way the classroom is physically set up: benches are arranged in the classroom very traditionally in rows with a dais in front of the class (see Section 7.3). To some extent, the presence of a dais, and the placement of the teacher's table on the dais, seems to have an effect on teachers' ideas about where they should locate themselves during the lesson. Being on the dais, to begin with, seems to affect their opinion that they are better able to supervise students from that position. As a consequence, they hardly ever move around the class to do close monitoring of or to have interactions with the students (see Section 7.6.3.4). To some extent, a teacher's being in front, on a dais, and students being positioned on floor, which is lower that the dais, may also affect teachers and students psychologically. This physical position is a sign of the inherent power relationship which is typical of certain types of interactions. Therefore, this physical position has the potential to widen the social and psychological distances between teachers and students that can lead to submissiveness, passiveness, and low self-esteem in students.

In sum, the value of harmonious social relationships in a collective, feudalistic community, like the one in this study, is still widely preserved. The preservation of such values, together with the status of English, material conditions, and teaching-learning practices that are discussed in the following sections, clearly have an influence on English language classroom culture and language learning.

8.2.2 The Status and Function of English

As described in Chapter 5 (see Section 5.7.2), verbal communication in this community was dominated by the local language, *Tolaki*. The other major language used was *Bahasa Indonesia* that was used as the primary language of instruction in classrooms, including English classrooms. It was also indicated that interactions in formal settings were characterised by code mixing and code

switching. There were no observed verbal interactions that required English. This outlines the typical pattern of daily communication taking place in rural and remote areas: verbal communication among speakers of the same vernacular are dominated by the vernacular, while communication among speakers of different vernaculars are dominated by Indonesian. In addition, there were no English language textbooks or resources used in teaching-learning interaction, except the package English book that was used in English lessons. Therefore, students do not have access to and use real English nor do they need it for any of their social interactions. This sociolinguistic description strongly suggests that English does not make any direct contribution to Indonesian students' current needs.

This pattern of communication is the result of the national language policy in Indonesia that has been successful in engineering *Bahasa Indonesia* to fulfil its function as the State, Official and National Language, through political, educational, and other social institutions (see 4.2). Hence, it is the most important language in modern Indonesia. It is the most powerful linguistic means to gain symbolic capital through formal education which, then, also provides a stepping stone to various important positions. This implies that one can get access to higher education provided that one is literate in Indonesian. This is particularly true since the language of instruction in formal education is the Indonesian language, except in the first three years of elementary school where a local language is allowed provided that the students are native speakers of that language. The use of English as the primary language of instruction in English Departments at university level still varies according to the type of course and the level of English proficiency of teachers and students.

> In Indonesia, there is a common assumption among educators and government officials that English is important for Indonesian students because they will need it to read English textbooks at university – hence, the government places more emphasis on the teaching of reading skills (see Section 4.5.4). However, many doubt that a lot of university students really read English textbooks because "there are so many translated books and textbooks written in Bahasa Indonesia for them to make use of" (Anugerahwati, 1997: 127). It is probably an overestimate by Nababan (1991 cited in Kaplan and Baldauf, 2002) that eighty per cent of university library materials are in English considering that the price of such books is very expensive while university library book budgets are very limited. Therefore, the importance of English proficiency for general education may be questioned particularly when the English ability of university graduates and university lecturers is limited.

Consequently, it is very likely that many Indonesian *SLTP* students simply perceive English as a school subject whose direct contribution to their current and future needs is not apparent; hence, for them English proficiency can not be considered as cultural, economic, or educational capital. Understanding the Indonesian language is already sufficient to gain such capital. Therefore, it can be concluded that the students in this study, and probably most Indonesian *SLTP* students, are not able to enjoy the benefits of English in the form of accessibility to symbolic resources that include "the language, education, and friendship" and do not foresee its future benefit as a means to get access to material resources that consist of "capital goods, real estate, and money" (Norton, 1995:17).

In other words, at the national level, while English is a required subject for all students, its lack of an apparent function is very likely to contribute to the lack of success of the TEFL in Indonesia. The fact that English is only a foreign language, which does not have a gatekeeper role in education, is a potential factor causing low motivation of many Indonesian students to learn the language. Although data from the questionnaires indicated that students in this study had a positive attitude towards English

language lessons, informal interviews revealed that their attitude towards it was rather negative (7.5.3). This negative attitude is supported by observation results which indicated that students did not put enough effort into their EFL learning, that they worked only in the presence of the teacher, that work completion was related to rewards and punishments, and that when they were given homework, most of them would just copy answers from their classmates.

> Students' motivation in and attitude towards the English language are very likely to vary according to the apparent functions of the language in their lives. In urban areas such as Jakarta, Denpasar, and Surabaya, the motivation of the students to learn English is very likely to be stronger than that of those in the small cities and remote areas due not only to the greater function that English plays in the white-collar-job market, but also to the availability of better resources. This is to say that the level of development or remoteness is related to the role and functions of English, which are often taken for granted in a centralised ELT policy.

> To sum up, the status and functions of English in a community play an important role in the teaching and learning of it in the classroom. Low status and unclear functions influence students' motivation and attitudes to learn it – hence, they contribute to the low quality of English teaching and learning. If the status and functions of English are unclear, and the material conditions in the community are poor, as in the case of the community examined in this study, the quality of English teaching and learning will be even worse due to that poverty, as indicated in the following section.

8.2.3 Material Conditions Affecting English Teaching

As mentioned in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.2) a classroom is simultaneously a microcosm in its own right and a part of a macrocosm. This study has revealed that as a part of a macrocosm, the classroom culture is affected by the macro culture.

Chapter 1 indicates that Indonesia is poor country. This is mainly caused by the colonisation of the Dutch for three and a half centuries and a centralised corrupt system of government that was cleverly developed during Suharto's regime. The corrupt system has caused big gaps between the poor and rich. Those who managed to get rich were the ones who were part of the system, the ones who were the cronies of the government, while the majority of the people are very poor. Since the majority of Indonesians live in poverty, they are not able to afford a better education – they cannot buy textbooks and other educational materials, let alone attend good, but expensive, private schools. Meanwhile, the corrupt and centralised government does not provide sufficient attention to the quality of public education.

Unequal socioeconomic prosperity between urban and rural areas and between the eastern and western parts of the country remains another big problem for Indonesia. This results not only from historical and geographical differences but also from the remoteness of the eastern part of the nation created by the uneven nature of the centralised government's development programs. The central government has failed to realise that historically, the western part of the country has always had better economic conditions due to the fact that the Sriwidjaya Kingdom in Sumatra (2nd to 12th Century) and Majapahit Kingdom in Java (1293-1527) were both in western Indonesia. In addition, during its occupation, the Dutch mainly centralised their power in Java and later in Sumatra. In a similar manner, Suharto's centralised government continued to give greater attention to the western part of the nation despite the fact that the eastern part contributed significantly to national revenue. This further broadened the developmental gap between eastern and western Indonesia. Therefore, it is generally

acknowledged among Indonesians that the centralised management of the country has primarily benefited the western part of Indonesia (i.e., Bali, Sumatra, and most particularly Java) leaving the eastern part and rural areas underdeveloped. If the practice of centralising the power that has been traditionally exercised from Java continues, the gap between the west and east in Indonesia will remain a significant problem.

The central government does not seriously take into account its responsibility for the quality of public education. As a consequence, the quality of teaching and learning in most public schools, especially in rural areas, is very low. Since the majority of Indonesians live in rural areas, they can only attend poor quality public schools. Consequently, they do not receive a good education. Meanwhile, the centralised system in education – the imposition of a centralised curriculum, syllabus, and textbooks – fails to bring good education for the majority of the people because it favours urban areas and more developed provinces that only comprise a small part of the country. Recommended textbooks and better resources are only available in the urban areas, while the central government provides only limited support for rural schools. These conditions indicate that the Indonesian government does not take enough account of the fact that economic development varies from province to province, and more particularly between urban and rural areas. This also implies that only wealthy families can get access to a good education. If the government fails to improve the quality of the public education sector, the gap between the rich and the poor, between urban and rural areas and between the west and the east will continue to widen.

Since the central government is implementing a target-oriented curriculum, teachers' teaching success is measured on the amount of curriculum content covered in their teaching; teaching less than seventy-five per cent of the required content is judged to be a teaching failure which can cause teachers serious problems in achieving their rank for promotion. The implementation of this policy is monitored not only by school principals but also by government supervisors selected from school principals who are near retirement. Consequently, teachers attempt to achieve at least this minimal target regardless of their students' learning progress. In addition, the measurement of education success in all fields of study is product-based, i.e., the number of graduates and the level of students' achievements as indicated by their grades. Since student grades, in addition to the amount of curriculum content covered in the teaching, were used as the main measurement of teaching-learning success, teachers tended to focus on the product rather than the process. This means that the number of students passing exams and their grades are indicators of teachers' ability to teach. If teachers do not want to be blamed for unsuccessful learning, the grades and the number of students passing the exams need to meet at least the standard requirements. As a consequence, if the majority of the grades are very low, mark modifications take place (see Section 6.7.2). The lax exam supervision practised by teachers in this study (see Section 6.7.1) might also be another side effect of the placement of blame for students' poor performances on the teacher. In a product-oriented education, this marking system and lax exam supervision is likely to affect students' learning motivation which then has some impact on students' classroom behaviour.

This study also reveals that teachers and students in this study do not have access to sufficient resources. The only book they use as their reference is the government's "packaged textbook" (see

Section 4.5.6) whose quality is very poor not only in terms of its physical condition (see Section 4.5.6.1) but also in terms of activities and tasks (see 4.5.6.2) and its content – it contains some unnatural English expressions (see Section 4.5.6.3). Unfortunately, the school library does not have even a single dictionary (6.3.3) and only a few of the students have their own bilingual dictionaries. In addition, the textbooks used in the classroom were worn-out not only because of the fact that there were not enough books for a class, but also because they had been used for many years. In addition, many of them also had answers for the exercises written in them making it very difficult for students to work effectively on the problems.

> Since teachers did not have teacher's books, they had to work from student's books. As a consequence, they did not have clear, practical guidance on how to proceed with tasks in the classroom. In addition, without a book with answer keys to the exercises, they did not have any references whenever they needed help on certain aspects of the language. For instance, due to low English proficiency, teachers were observed on several occasions to provide the wrong answers to an exercise. The unavailability of the teacher's book is also the most likely cause of the teachers' skipping some of the listening exercises.

In addition, the *English for Junior High School* book (see Section 4.5.6), and to some extent also the *English for Senior High School* book, not only seemed to be poorly designed but also, in terms of content, is too difficult and uninteresting for EFL beginner learners. Of course, having to study from materials that are too difficult and not interesting can affect students' learning behaviour. The English textbook-related problem is not only one of quality but also of quantity – the number available is much less than the number needed to meet student needs. Textbook quantity is particularly problematic because the size of the classes in this study, like other classes in Indonesia, is large. Since the class outnumbers the available textbooks , two or three students need to share a textbook.

The consequence of having large classes also means that teachers need to attend to and look after many students. A large class size also affects classroom teaching and learning activities if the classroom is not spacious. As described in Chapter 7 (see Section 7.3.1) the size of the classroom is quite small in relation to the number of students. This caused insufficient room for students to move around. Meanwhile, the classroom is set up in a very traditional way with the teacher's table on the dais in front of the classroom.

Last but not least, this study indicates that the teachers in this study have to take multiple jobs in order to fulfil their needs. They have to teach at a few schools or to be housewives. Consequently, they do not have much time to prepare their lessons or reflect on their teaching practices which in turn influence the quality of their teaching.

In summary, together with social values and the status of English, the material conditions of the community play important roles in ELT. The poor economic conditions in the community affect students' ability to purchase required resources. The poor material conditions of the teachers, as well as other teacher factors, will further affect the quality of their teaching practices, as accounted for in the next section.

8.2.4 Teaching Practices

The teacher plays a decisive role in the classroom community. As shown throughout Chapter 7, teachers were simultaneously the 'main character' and the director of the 'play' performed in the

classroom theatre. Therefore, one can expect that the flow and rhythm of the performance will be in the hands of the teacher. The way teachers fulfil their roles as directors and main characters is also affected by other factors. Section 7.5.1 discussed six teacher factors that influence the classroom culture. In terms of the impact of teacher factors on the classroom culture, this study concludes that while training and teaching experiences do not significantly influence teacher classroom performance, factors such as income, personality characteristics, English learning experiences at *SLTP* level are bound to affect their classroom practices.

> Of the six teacher factors, the material conditions, English learning experiences at secondary schools and English proficiency seem to contribute the most to the quality of ELT teaching and learning in this study. There is a clear indication that, based on the results of the classroom observations in this study, English learning classroom experiences during formal school education and informal education in the community shape their beliefs about good teaching. For example, the notion held by teachers in this study that real learning cannot be experienced in small groups (see Section 7.6.3.9) may be the result of the teachers' own learning experiences and social and cultural experiences in the community. Therefore, it can be argued that the most likely reason that Asian students in general, and Indonesian students in particular, seem to be passive learners and to favour rote learning in the classroom is their teachers' inability or reluctance to change their teaching practices – as a consequence of the pedagogical tradition – from a target-oriented to a process-oriented focus, from teacher-centred to student-centred activities.

Teachers' lack of "teacherness", that is, lack of motivation, desire to learn, sense of responsibility, and emphasis on the mission (see Section 7.6.6) of "the act of teaching" rather than "the experiences of learning" (Thornbury, 2001b: 403), is a factor affecting the poor quality of EFL instruction in this study. Indeed, it sounds too patronising to blame the teachers and accuse them of lacking "teacherness" because this poor quality is related to a complex set of issues, and their lack of teacherness is very likely to relate to their income and pedagogical experiences. It is very likely that teachers in this study did not learn nor reflect on their own teaching nor did they prepare their lessons properly, because they spent too much time on teaching at different schools, doing domestic work, and participating in many social and cultural activities. However, it is also very naive to minimise the contribution that their personal characteristics make to the quality of their teaching. Hence, it can be concluded that the teachers in the present study did not exhibit the positive characteristics discussed by Ur (1998).

Another teacher factor that is a potential factor contributing to the preservation of traditional ways of EFL teaching is their confusion about CLT which was introduced to Indonesian TEFL in 1985 through the *PKG* project under the auspices of the British Council. When the previous English curriculum used the Communicative Approach, many Indonesian English teachers misinterpreted it as an approach emphasising oral proficiency that did not allow the use of the first language as a medium of instruction (Huda, 1999; Pasassung, *et al.*, 1995). This project might have succeeded in getting teachers to believe that CLT was the most effective ELT approach, but it failed to get the most important message across to the teachers, i.e., an understanding of the basic principles underlying CLT and requirements for applying it. Many teachers might be amused when attending *PKG* workshops because they were impressed by the way instructors, and some participants, presented their lessons. However, these teachers did not realise that in these workshops, they had sufficient time and resources to prepare and present their own example lessons to the participants who were all English teachers,

who therefore at least understood simple English. In addition, the instructors in these workshops were relatively fluent in English. Teachers' failure to understand the basic principles and to fulfil the basic requirements, such as good English proficiency, good communicative ability, good linguistic knowledge and good pedagogical skills, meant they would go back to using traditional teaching methods in their classes.

This suggests that teachers do not always learn from their training experiences and hence are not 'mediators' in a relationship between theory and practice (Thornbury, 2001: 403). Although they sometimes find constraints in their classroom, they might not be bothered to learn from their own teaching experiences (see Section 7.5.1.3), nor to think about applying theories of learning and teaching to those they taught (see Section 7.5.1.2), to improve the quality of their teaching. Therefore, although many involved in the *PKG* project indicated that their classroom performance has improved significantly because of *PKG* (Tomlinson, 1990), this study reveals that in remote areas, the impact of *PKG* project is questionable. The findings of this study suggests that the teachers, despite their involvement in the project, did not implement the CLT.

Even though student factors, together with factors outside the classroom context and teacher factors, are considered major issues that determine the EFL classroom culture, the findings of this study suggest that student factors are dependent upon wider community and teachers' classroom practices. As discussed previously, the majority of the students in this study were very dependent upon their teachers. Their learning styles and preferences were described as being dictated by their cultural perception about learning (see Section 6.6.1) and by teachers' use of translation (see Section 7.6.3.3) and methods of error correction (see Section 7.6.3.10). Teachers' monitoring techniques (see Section 7.6.3.4), distribution of opportunities (see Section 7.6.3.6), and encouragement of competition (see Section 7.6.1.3) determine the level of students' classroom participation (see Section 7.6.1.2). Similarly, students' general behaviour also depended upon the teacher's monitoring system. This study has indicated that classroom activities were dominated by "acts of instruction" and lacked "experiences of learning" (Thornbury, 2001: 403). This is to say that student's low motivation is also very likely to be caused by students' actual experiences in the classroom. Although much effort is invented to avoid learning failure, the emphasis on ritualistic aspects of the classroom culture causes the classroom environment not to be "a success-building context", but rather "a learner-failing context" (Millrood, 2001: 406).

> The stereotype, which is widespread among Indonesian teachers and students, that Indonesian learners are passive and non-voluntary, teacher-dependent, and unlikely to criticise or take risks does not seem to be strongly supported by the findings of this study. Of course, it is probably important to highlight why this is the case. From my own experiences with Indonesian students, their classroom learning styles are only tentative and subject to change when they are exposed to a range of teaching techniques and learning situations. This is particularly evident from the fact that they can actively be involved in small group discussions in less formal situations (see Sections 6.6.1 and 6.8.3).

In summary, an EFL classroom culture is under the influence of several factors including teacher-related factors. These factors are interdependent with other factors such as the social value of harmonious relationships, the status and functions of English, and the material conditions that have been discussed in the previous three sections. Based on the interdependency and complexity of these

factors, the following implications are drawn, in the form of suggestions for a future course of action for the improvement of the quality of Indonesia's EFL teaching and learning in formal school classrooms, especially in remote areas. This course of action needs to be taken simultaneously at several different levels.

8.3 Implications

The results of this study have shown that the quality of EFL in Indonesia's remote areas is very poor due to the complexity of the issues involved – including sociocultural, socioeconomic, sociolinguistic, educational and personal characteristics. When taking all these factors into account, it is very difficult to recommend a course of action for improvement of the quality of EFL classroom interactions. However, based on the results of this study and an attempt to answer the second major question: "How could the EFL classroom experience be improved for both teachers and students?", it is recommended that the following course of action be initiated at four different levels: at the national, provincial, at school, and at individual teacher levels.

It is important to stress that this course of action needs to be taken simultaneously at all levels since past experience from the *PKG* project, for instance, has indicated that improvements initiated at the national level only are less likely, by themselves, to change EFL classroom culture.

8.3.1 English Curriculum and Syllabus

The 1994 curriculum and syllabus, in fact, were designed for Indonesia as a whole. For such a diverse country, in terms of sociocultural, geographical, and economic conditions, and where the demand for English and availability of learning resources are different from place to place, the decision to implement a single curriculum and syllabus is problematic. As products of a centralised system, the 1994 English curriculum and syllabus which are currently the basis for ELT in Indonesia, failed to take into account diversities among different parts of Indonesia.

Therefore, it is suggested that the central government limit its centralised education system as it relates to the national English curriculum, and that it give more autonomy at the provincial level to develop syllabuses and materials based on the students' needs. A more decentralised system would allow provinces to design more contextually relevant syllabuses and materials that might help increase the learning motivation of the students in the various provinces.

It is also suggested that the provincially based curricula and syllabi be developed on the basis of process-oriented, rather than on the product-oriented, principles. The current centralised curriculum and syllabus, which are product-oriented, have made teachers and students simply the object, rather than the subject of the teaching and learning program, in the sense that the curricular, syllabus and teaching objectives emphasise the amount of material that should be covered and learned in a certain period of time, rather than the quality of teaching and learning experiences. As a consequence, activities in the classroom are not enjoyable, but rather stressful. This is particularly true with EFL teaching and learning at *SLTP* level where pseudo- rather than real-learning of EFL has been taking place in the classroom. With the emphasis on the process, the teaching and learning experiences, teachers' success is not merely based on the amount of material they have taught, but also, and more importantly, on the teaching and learning processes, that is, on whether real learning has taken place.

If the government makes a crucial decision to upgrade English it is also suggested that it provide sufficient support for the improvement of resources, which relates to both teaching and learning material and human resources. The change of policy in the curriculum and syllabus design will not change the current ELT situation if these aspects are not given serious attention. Support such as funds and training for provinces to do this wiould also need to be provided.

8.3.2 Training Programs

It is general knowledge that teachers play an essential role in the success of classroom learning processes. This implies that students' learning achievement is also influenced by teachers' teaching performance, whereas teachers' performance is influenced by their quality. As this study indicates, training did not contribute very much to the teaching quality of teachers in this study (see Section 7.5.1.2). Observational data suggest that this may be related to two factors. Firstly, teachers relied too much on their former teachers and on government package textbooks. As members of a community who believe that materials prescribed by those in a higher position are always the best, they seemed to believe that all they needed to do was to follow government-prescribed textbooks. Secondly, despite CLT having been promoted through *PKG* training and introduced in TEFL courses at university, it was observed that teachers did not implement it in their classrooms. One of the reasons for this is the teachers' poor English proficiency. CLT method requires English teachers to be linguistically and pedagogically competent and proficient in English. In addition, teachers also believe that the package textbook is designed based on CLT principles. Consequently, despite a number of years of formal training that prepared them to be English teachers, and in-service *PKG* training, they simply based their teaching on the textbooks and followed their former teachers' ways of teaching.

Whether changes in the policy put in place by higher levels of management reach students in the classroom or not is in the hands of teachers. They are the spearhead of the government in the implementation of its educational policy because it is in the classroom where most actual formal education takes place. In relation to EFL teaching and learning, it is important that at the classroom level, teachers are able to take the relevant course of action to ensure that the learning of English takes place. As the results of this study indicate, teachers still have very limited teaching and learning evaluation skills, and there is a need, as Nasution (2001) suggests, to empower teachers, both in teaching and test designing.

In relation to the empowerment of teachers in teaching, it is recommended that in-service training programs be provided to improve teachers' ability in the following areas.

8.3.2.1 English proficiency

It is suggested that the English proficiency of EFL teachers, especially in remote areas, be improved. This improvement program can be included as part of an on-going training program such as *PKG* or by way of intensive training. In other words, it is suggested that the government budget for the improvement and maintenance of EFL teachers' English proficiency.

The English proficiency improvement program planning and implementation can be done in coordination with *Kanwil Diknas,* 'the Provincial Office of the National Education Department', at provincial level, which can collaborate with English language institutions. This collaboration should be based on quality and accountability principles.

Improvement of teachers' English proficiency alone will not be effective without improvement of their teaching practice quality which is concerned with the preparation of lesson plans, teaching approaches and methods, and self-evaluation/reflection.

8.3.2.2 Lesson Planning

It is important that teachers are encouraged to spend time planning their lessons because this can help them explore and think of the various techniques that they will implement in the classroom. This is particularly important in the case where teacher's books are not available. This study has found (see Section 7.6.3.7) that teachers often skipped listening tasks because they had not prepared relevant materials.

Observational data indicated that teachers did not prepare their teaching, including writing a lesson plan, because of various factors including lack of time available and inability to write a lesson plan. This suggests that teachers need to be trained to write simple but practical lesson plans, rather than ask them to use prescribed, complicated lesson plans (see Appendix B which provides an example of prescribed lessons plans). Having used the same textbook for years without a teacher's book was the most plausible reason for teachers not using lesson plans. However, they should have learned from their experiences using the textbook, and at least could have attempted to write listening texts in their lesson

plan. If they had had problems doing this due to their low English proficiency, they could have sought help from their previous university English lecturers.

8.3.2.3 Teaching Approaches and Methods

In the context of Indonesia, particularly in remote areas, it is recommended that ELT be approached through what Win (1991: 232) refers to as a "book-based approach" which basically means that ELT is mainly based on textbooks. This approach is useful due to the fact that many Indonesian English teachers lack English proficiency and the ability to create their own teaching materials. The implementation of a book-based approach requires that teacher's and student's books contain clear guidelines about what teachers and students should do.

It is recommended that teachers do not base their teaching practices merely on their former teachers' teaching styles but also explore other teaching methods that they learned in teacher training colleges and in in-service training programs. With various methods and techniques of material presentation, teachers can simultaneously reduce students' boredom and increase students' active participation in the lesson. This means that teachers need to choose teaching strategies that can induce students to learn. Teaching approaches and methods are important because students' "learning depends on what happens in the classroom" (Cheung, 2001: 57).

In relation to teaching approaches and methods, teachers need to pay special attention to the following areas:

a) *Use of the textbook:* Since student's books do not include detailed information about what teachers need to do for a particular activity, teachers need to think of different ways, during their lesson planning sessions, to guide students to the completion of a task. For instance, in reading sections that include a picture, teachers need to plan an activity around that resource as a pre-reading activity that can help students to concentrate on the topic. The presentation of a picture prior to reading a text is not simply for cosmetic purposes, rather it provides an additional text resource that needs to be considered in the process of the completion of a reading task.

b) *Translation*: It is recommended that teachers avoid using translation all the time as the main technique to teach the meaning of words and reading comprehension. Direct translation of every single word and sentence of a text is not an effective way to improve students' English comprehension. It can even be argued that excessive translation removes learning opportunities and the need for effort to comprehend the text in the target language. Furthermore, word by word translation often misrepresents 'texts'. In other words, translation is to be used, but only when it is necessary, e.g., when students really misunderstand the meaning of a sentence or an utterance. If necessary, the meaning of significant words are translated into Indonesian.

c) *Language skills*: According to the National Curriculum of English, reading skills are the most important area in Indonesian EFL, followed by listening, speaking, and writing skills. As this study indicates (see Section 7.6.3.7), teachers seem to perceive that those skill areas were not to be taught in an integrated manner. For example, in the teaching of reading, students simply read and answered questions – except that teachers often corrected their pronunciation. Reading was never, for instance, preceded by a brief oral discussion about the topic or followed by the writing of a summary of the text. In the case of listening skills, although it is the second priority in the curriculum, teachers sometimes did not teach it. Similarly, teachers need to find other ways to present real speaking activities in the classroom. A guided dialogue is only one of the ways, oral presentations on a simple topic is another. Continuous

engagement with the language, through real experiences in listening, speaking, reading and writing, is the best way to learn a language.

d) *Use of space*: In spite of the fact that the teacher-fronted position has been a common feature of the classrooms, it does not mean that teachers should always position themselves in front of the class during the lesson. Walking around the classroom while students are doing an activity is important. It not only improves the quality of classroom supervision and monitoring, but also narrows the spatial and psychological distance between students and teachers. In a society where open questioning is not culturally encouraged, e.g., it may be embarrassing to ask a question that others might consider easy, a student might be encouraged to ask a question when the teacher is closer to him/her. Close monitoring is an effective way to approach individual students or small groups and to find out their specific problems. Choral responses, as found in this study (see Section 7.6.1.2) are not reliable indicators of true learning participation.

e) *Grammar*: Knowing grammar is an important factor in language learning. Therefore, it is important that students know English grammar. However, English teachers need to distinguish between knowing English grammar and knowing about English grammar. They do not need to introduce complex ideas of grammatical terminology to the students, especially when these are separated from their function. This means that teachers need to teach English grammar in its context and function, rather than teaching "about" English grammar which is what the observational data indicated (see Section 7.6.3.8) occurring most frequently.

f) *Distribution of opportunities*: It is recommended that teachers self-monitor and reflect on the way they distribute opportunities to participate in learning. They need to make sure that everyone in the classroom gets an equal chance to participate. Opportunity distribution should benefit not only brighter students and those sitting in the front but also weaker, slower learners and those sitting in the back of the class. Good use of classroom space and increased chances to work in small groups could be helpful in the distribution of equal participation opportunities.

g) *Working in small groups*: In order to ensure that everyone has the chance to learn, it is recommended that teachers include working in small groups in their classrooms. This practice will also help those who are afraid or shy to ask teachers, to ask publicly – hence increase the chance for students to learn from their peers. However, in a situation where students' learning performances are dependent on the teachers' presence, teachers should intensify their close monitoring. In addition, for small groups to work effectively teachers need to closely monitor their in-group interactions. This close monitoring could also inhibit weaker students simply copying answers from the stronger ones.

h) *Error correction and reinforcement*: In spite of the finding that the majority of the students in this study were in favour of direct correction techniques, it is recommended that teachers vary their approach to errors. It is suggested that it is beneficial to encourage self-correction as well as peer-correction. It is also important that they do not overcorrect or treat errors emotionally (see Section 7.6.3.10). Also, teachers need to pay more attention to communicative errors than

to form, especially for pronunciation. While form and pronunciation are important, as long as the meaning is understood, form and pronunciation can improve gradually. Too much attention to form and pronunciation can even affect students' attitudes towards English and motivation to learn it. This is particularly the case when teachers only correct and rarely re-enforce students correct or nearly correct production, as was observed in this study. Therefore, teachers need to re-enforce and praise students correct productions because reinforcement and praise are psychologically important rewards. In addition, this also provides models for other students.

In terms of teaching methodology, consultants and local counterparts with relevant backgrounds need to be recruited to work closely and continuously with teachers so that operational and technical problems can be discussed and solved. Through this system the consultants can also be assigned to monitor the implementation of planned programs. This is particularly important in the change of the classroom environment due to the change of the types of roles and relationships of teachers and students in their classroom interaction. These consultants can also guide the teachers to develop self-evaluation and reflective practices.

8.3.3 Self-evaluation and Reflection

This study has shown that teachers did not learn from their own teaching experiences because they did not self-evaluate and reflect on their classroom practices (see Section 7.5.1.3).

Therefore, it is recommended that teachers spend some time after their teaching sessions, or at the end of the day to continuously self-evaluate and reflect on their lessons. This is important for their understanding of what has been done well and what still needs some improvement. This self-reflection does not need to take too much time so long as it is done regularly – ten minutes after a lesson or twenty minutes on average at the end of the day should be enough. This can also be done by way of sharing classroom experiences among teachers, particularly of the same subject. Since this would be a new evaluation system for most Indonesian teachers, it is suggested that the government provide clear guidelines for teacher self-evaluation and reflection.

8.3.4 Improvement of Teachers' Material Conditions

This study has also shown that English teaching quality at the school under study was poor due to the poor material conditions of the teachers (see Section 7.5.1.1), which resulted from their low salaries. Therefore, they had to hold multiple jobs in order to fulfil their families' needs. It is hardly possible to expect them to spend most of their time on teaching when the income from this source does not allow their basic needs to be fulfilled. This also means that there is a need to stop the practice of cutting teachers' salaries and a need to provide more incentives to teachers working in remote areas. In addition, since living costs vary among provinces, and between urban and rural areas, the government should consider variable income scales that are sufficient to meet teachers' basic needs.

The improvement of other aspects previously suggested and the teaching methodology that is suggested in the following section can only be effective with the improvement of teachers' material conditions by way of increasing their salaries.

8.3.5 Improvement of Teaching and Learning Materials

The quality of the material is an important aspect for the success of teaching and learning processes. In ELT, this means that the quality of the textbook used as the primary teaching and learning resource needs to meet certain standards. In the Indonesian context, especially in its remote areas, where a textbook is used by a number of different students, it needs to be well bound. More importantly the tasks, activities, and content of language teaching in terms of the types of information contained in the linguistic forms need to be relevant to the students.

Because of the poor quality of the package textbooks in conjunction with insufficient numbers of copies (see Section 4.5.6), and the absence of teacher's books in most schools,

especially in remote areas, there is a major resource problem. This means that the current package textbooks need to be replaced with textbooks of better quality. In addition, the number of both student's and teacher's books need to be increased. Consequently, the government needs to increase its budget for textbook production.

It is also important that the government apply a good system of book production for the purpose of quality control, and if possible provide several titles for teachers to choose from. The availability of different books may also increase the competition among textbook writers and publishers to improve the quality of their books. The availability of sufficient student's and teacher's books of good quality is very important in maximising the classroom experiences of teachers and students of EFL in Indonesia in general, and in its remote areas in particular. With the availability of quality textbooks, teachers are released from a number of burdens such as the ones related to material design and preparation. It is important to emphasise that EFL teaching and learning can be conducted based on the "book-based approach" (Win, 1991) provided that the quality of the textbooks used is good.

In relation to textbook provision, it is recommended that the authors be selected from those who have knowledge of applied linguistics, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics. Knowledge in these fields is important for it provides theoretical contributions to ELT material writers. More specifically, as McDonough and Saw (1993: 68-69) suggest, ELT material writers need to understand the following:

a) The intended audience or targeted students, especially their age and the level of their

   proficiency.

b) The context in which the materials are to be used.

c) How the language is to be presented and organised into teachable units/lessons.

d) The relationship between language, teaching-learning processes and learners.

For a textbook to be learner-friendly, it needs to take into account the age and the level of proficiency of the targeted learners, the context, and the type of information and activities it covers. What is of interest to young learners may not be interesting to adult learners. Materials that are too difficult may cause frustration whereas those that are too easy may decrease students' motivation.

The knowledge of context is important because it helps authors decide what materials are to be included in the textbook. A textbook that is intended for students learning general English needs to be different from a textbook that is intended for those learning it for specific purposes. The authors' knowledge of the context can help them choose topics that are culturally appropriate and currently popular among the learners.

Authors need to present the materials in units/lessons that fit into the given educational program. They need to consider the length of time needed for a specific unit and what activities or tasks are suitable.

With regard to language and learning processes, ELT material authors need to take into account that learning a language is both learning the forms and skills. It involves the process of learning rules and functions. It is necessary that learners are involved in activities that can help them use their linguistic knowledge in real language situations.

In my opinion, for an ELT textbook to be an effective means for English learning, it should contain materials based on various genres such as descriptive, explanatory, and expository texts. In terms of activities, a textbook should expose targeted learners to various types such as recounting, predicting, role-playing, collecting and exchanging information, summarising, drawing pictures, and so on. In terms of layout, a textbook should be designed in a way that not only contains texts, coloured pictures and photographs but also uses various fonts with different sizes. In addition, a textbook needs to include authentic materials and games. Research has indicated that authentic texts can increase learners' motivation (Peacock, 1997). Playing games is part of real life – for relaxing purposes. Therefore, they can be effective learning media in the EFL learning classroom.

In relation to the provision of student's and teacher's books for classroom use, it is suggested that the government work in cooperation with local universities to conduct student needs analysis studies and to use the results as guidance in textbook production. In

some cases, the provincial government needs to find competent 'local' book writers to be seconded to the central government to write textbooks for the province.

8.3.6 Classroom Atmosphere and Class Size

The findings of this study also indicate that when students were out of the classroom, in more relax and informal situation, they could learn more effectively (see 5.7.3.3). Therefore the emphasis on rituals and formality, two factors which were observed to hinder students' learning quality, need s to be reduced or eliminate if learning is to take place. In addition, it was also found that the classes observed were too large causing difficulties for students to move around their relatively small classrooms. Overcrowded classrooms without any air conditioning in a tropical country like Indonesia are definitely uncomfortable due to the heat. In addition, large class sizes affect teachers' classroom and time management as well as the effectiveness of their monitoring and supervision. In a large class teachers need to check more assignments, quizzes, homework, and need more time for monitoring and supervision to enable them to reach every individual and small group. Therefore, it is suggested that schools reduce their class sizes to ensure quality teaching and learning. This will either require more teachers, or changes to the compulsory status of English as a school subject.

In terms of the physical classroom setting, the classrooms observed were all set up in a very traditional, teacher-fronted way, that is, students' benches were arranged in straight rows in front of a teacher's desk. For more interactive activities both between the teacher and students and among students, there needs to be the ability to rearrange the physical setting of the classroom. This could be done by putting student benches in a half-circle or U-position which would still maintain the teacher-fronted nature of the class but increase its interactive capacity.

8.3.7 Learning Evaluation

It is also suggested that the central government reconsider its decision to remove *EBTANAS* in 2002, because it may be too early to take this step, taking into account that the quality of TEFL varies from province to province, and between rural and urban schools. Moreover, teachers' ability to design tests still needs a lot of improvement (see Section 6.7.1). An 'English National Examination' is still required in Indonesia since, currently, it is the only means used to measure the quality of the country's TEFL program. The main problems are not with the English national examination, rather, it is with the quality of the teaching and learning of EFL, the administration, and the format of the examination. A good achievement test does not mean that its questions are simply copied from the student's books. Teacher package books should include example questions to support teachers developing these skills.

In relation to evaluating student's achievement, this study recommends that teachers be trained to improve their skills in test design. Before being able to construct their own tests, teachers need to be provided with several tests that they can choose from for their own students' achievement test. A good test will be able to objectively measure students' learning achievements, and this will help solve the problem of the modification of grades.

In relation to exams and tests, there needs to be improvement in the organisation and marking system. Exams and tests are really effective only if rules and regulations are strictly implemented. If an exam or a test is poorly supervised, there exists opportunities for participants to cheat, and the objective of the exam or test as a measurement of the participants' (discrete) ability will not be attained. Therefore, it is also suggested that schools encourage their teachers to supervise exams and tests based on stated regulations.

8.3.8 School-based Management

The school is the lowest formal organisation that is responsible for the implementation of the government's educational policies, both from an administrative and a pedagogical point of view. Since the role of the school in the attainment of national education objectives is crucial, the implementation of the previously suggested system can only be successful with the involvement of school management in the process of planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. To ensure the effectiveness of national and provincial initiatives as suggested previously, every school, based on the general guidelines from the government, needs to create a conducive atmosphere for teachers and students to provide critical input on educational issues. In order to do this, it is suggested that *Kanwil Diknas*, 'the Regional Office of the Department of National Education', give up part of its authority to individual schools so they can decide their own policy on technical issues related to management of the school such as student recruitment policy, and teacher career assessment.

This change to the system simultaneously requires effective quality monitoring and evaluation from *Kanwil Diknas* in order to ensure that schools do not diverge from standardised guidelines. In relation to the improvement of ELT programs, it is suggested that continuous monitoring and evaluation, not only in methodological areas but also in the improvement of EFL teachers' English proficiency, be put in place. This includes effective monitoring and evaluation of quality improvement programs currently in-progress, such as the *PKG* project and other in-service training programs, funded by the central government. This can be done in cooperation with a local university that has qualified academics to become consultants who will assist in the planning and implementation of the monitoring and evaluation system.

However, it is important to note that a school-based management system can only be effective if school principals are promoted based on their managerial ability, rather than on their length of service, let alone on their familial, ethnic, political, or religious backgrounds. Therefore, *Kanwil Diknas* needs to provide clear guidelines, including objective criteria that a teacher should fulfil to be promoted to the position of school principal. Equally important is that it provides specific management training for principals. It is also necessary that more autonomous schools apply an open management system to increase the involvement of teacher and student boards in the program planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation for quality control. This includes not only administrative areas but also financial ones. The involvement of the whole school community in these areas will reduce inefficient use of funds and the chance that school resources will be squandered.

8.3.9 The Status and Functions of the English Language

The change of curriculum, syllabus, and the improvement of the quality of resources and management might not guarantee a significant change of the learning experience of Indonesian students if the quality and number of learning resources is insufficient. Therefore, the government should increase the quality and the number of English learning resources, that is, teachers and learning

facilities, because whatever the status and function of English, it is unlikely to matter as long as the quality of teaching and learning is poor. This implies, first of all, that the number of teachers needs to be sufficient and their economic conditions, the quality and quantity of textbooks and other classroom facilities need to be improved. In addition, the quality of English teacher training programs needs to be improved.

If the government is unable to provide the resources to improve the quality, then it is suggested that the national government needs to decide that English lessons are not compulsory, and that the decision to learn it is left to the students. Leaving it to students to decide is advantageous in several ways. First, it can help cope with problems of overcrowding in the classroom as fewer students will attend English lessons. More importantly, those who choose to learn English are more likely to be highly motivated because they may consider it as an investment for their future. Second, the decrease in students' numbers may also help to cope with the problem of shortage of (competent) English teachers. Third, a smaller number of motivated students can be advantageous to both teachers and students. Fourth, a good teacher will consider well motivated students as his/her teaching resources and hence in the process of teaching material design, will involve them in the selection of topics, and in the classroom will reduce his/her talk-time and give students more chances to practice.

However, it is very important for the government to remember that, despite the practical advantages of the second option, removing English from the list of compulsory subjects and leaving the decision to learn it or not to the student will probably increase the gap between rural and urban communities, since many students in rural communities may decide not to study English. A possible solution would be to postpone English learning until later in the curriculum when there are fewer students, and thereby concentrate available resources. If this option is taken, English teaching needs to be more intensive. Another solution would be to provide intensive English courses later for those who require them. This would give them a better and more intense experience.

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