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LANGUAGE MARGINALIZATION AND (POSSIBLE) LANGUAGE RACIALIZATION IN THE INDONESIAN HIGHER-EDUCATION ENGLISH PEDAGOGY

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ABSTRACT

This study describes the subtle practice of language marginalization in the Indonesian higher-education English pedagogy. Employing an autoethnographic method to scrutinize my personal narratives concerning assumptions, biases, and internalized ideologies, I formulated two research questions to guide the inquiry: (1) How does language marginalization take form in the teacher-student interactions and teachers' perception toward students in the context of Indonesian higher-education English pedagogy? (2) How do these practices of language marginalization relate to language racism in the context of Indonesian higher-education English pedagogy? Through this study, I argue that language marginalization could occur tacitly in any English higher-education subject where students had to showcase their English production, such as speaking and writing courses. This is when their English productions are complained and appropriated due to the internalized monolingual ideology. Language marginalization could also ensue in any classes whether or not teachers demand students to demonstrate their English productive skills. In this case, the phenomenon is bolstered by the teachers' attitudes and assumptions on students based on students' physical phenotypes and language production. I also demonstrate how language marginalization relates to language racism in Indonesia's higher-education settings, in a way that both occur simultaneously and the former fuels the latter. Finally, I suggest some recommendations for Indonesian English teacher for more productive, just pedagogical practices.

Keywords: *Language marginalization; Language racism; TESOL; English teaching and pedagogy; Indonesia higher education.*

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INTRODUCTION

In one of the course assignments during my first-year PhD study at Indiana University of Pennsylvania, in the Fall of 2020, I wrote the following ideas as part of my teaching philosophy:

> *"For me, education should be accessible, and the accessibility could only happen if teachers are widely available. I turned my focus from attempting to educate individual students to teachers, so that more students would benefit. English has become the primary 'media' since*

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> *it has been considered as the lingua franca of education for so long. Had English not been the lingua franca, I would probably have gone with other languages. When I went with English, I did not see it as a way of persisting language hegemony or imperialism. I just saw it as the most effective media to hasten the accomplishment of my teaching vision. I believe that teaching teachers English would make education more accessible to students (regardless of their personal background, race, and economic status), in terms of resources the students could get through the widely available teachers and resources the teachers could obtain from employing English."*

This idea had been buried for a long time but instantly appeared when my professor asked me to write a teaching philosophy statement. It provides retrospective images of why I learned and taught English instead of other subjects. Since I was an undergraduate student, I have held a belief that English dominates other languages in every aspect of human life for ideological and political reasons. English is not widely spread in natural ways around the world. Unfortunately, I was unable to support my belief with cogent arguments back then due to a personal shortage of knowledge. However, when I stepped forward into the PhD level, I found myself well-equipped with understandings of how to speak about English, which could traverse beyond geographical borders and enjoy the position of *lingua franca* in education. Most importantly, I could articulate what exactly happens in my country, Indonesia, where English has been situated as the most superior foreign language over other languages (Coleman, 2016). This generates inequality in terms of (foreign) language teaching, where English is taught more extensively than other languages and is used more frequently as the medium of instruction in Indonesian pedagogy.

Similar to the majority of US institutions, English pedagogy in Indonesia is mostly implemented with the monolingual ideology, which considers Standard American English (SAE) the only language people should speak, due to its ability to escort people to success (Endo & Reece-Miller, 2010; Motha, 2014). This ideology allows Indonesian teachers to direct their students toward the dominant variety of English considered essential for achieving academic success, while diminishing students' English language variations in various academic settings (see for example Fitria, 2023; Hasibuan, 2020). Teachers with this ideology often deem some language variations as suitable for academic discourse, while others are deficient and in need of appropriation. As a result, they often appropriate students' language production, reflecting the act of oppression and discrimination that characterizes the practice of language marginalization (Freire, 1970; Ndhlovu, 2007, p. 119). The diversification and appropriation of languages in academic settings are executed on the basis of race and ethnicity, where other races besides the Whites are always regarded as deficient when performing English (Flores & Rosa, 2015). When teachers assume that some language practices of non-White students need adjustments to be in line with the dominant variety of English attributed to the White, they fall into what Flores and Rosa (2015) call raciolinguistic ideology. This is why language marginalization is deeply tied to language racism in a way that both occur simultaneously, as historically documented in Western colonization, in which the colonizers imposed their language while denigrating indigenous languages as primitive or uncivilized (see Greenblatt, 2015; Veronelli, 2015).

Research on English teaching in the Indonesian context has been going on for decades. They cover various dimensions, such as curriculum and policy (Hamied & Musthafa, 2019; Widodo, 2016), teaching methods (Fitria, 2023; Hasibuan, 2020; Tanjung et al., 2023), and pedagogical challenges (Songbatumis, 2017; Yulia, 2013). However, most studies in this context neglect attention to criticizing monolingual ideology, making their exploration less sensitive to

the involvement of race and ethnicity. Race and ethnicity play important roles in and cannot be separated from the development of English varieties due to the fact that particular linguistic features in certain vernacular languages often infiltrate English to some extent. Thus, the ethnoracial dimensions in English pedagogy are important elements to consider when dismantling monolingual ideology, which only acknowledges one valid variation of language.

Some Indonesian teacher-scholars have actually started to involve the ethnoracial dimensions by embracing translingualism (Canagarajah, 2013) and translanguaging (García, 2019) in their studies or teachings. Tanasale (2017), for instance, makes use of students' native cultures within the framework of translingualism to design writing activities suitable for "cherish[ing] the locality of my students and promote sensitivity about their diversity and dominant norms in the L2 classroom" (p. 18). On the other hand, Sugiharto (2015) illustrates how Indonesian multilingual writers and artists do translanguaging to incorporate their cultural values and traditions in their hybrid texts production. Therefore, Sugiharto explains that the translanguaging is deeply tied to writers' identities, cultures, and rhetorical tradition in which it takes place at lexical and morpho-syntactical levels. Although these studies infuse ethnoracial dimensions as crucial perspectives to work against monolingual ideology, the studies do not directly touch the practice of language marginalization, which frequently occurs in the multiracial and multiethnic classroom settings. Thus, a more detailed work specifically examining the practice of language marginalization in the context is absolutely needed.

In this study, I argue that language marginalization occurs in any English higher-education subject. Language marginalization often happened tacitly in classes where students had to showcase their English production, such as speaking and writing courses when their English was complained and appropriated due to the internalized monolingual and raciolinguisic ideology. Yet, language marginalization could also ensue in any classes whether or not teachers demand students to demonstrate their English productive skills due to the teachers' attitudes and assumptions, with or without the practice of language appropriation. Finally, I demonstrate how language marginalization occurs simultaneously with language racism under certain conditions in Indonesia's higher-education settings.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Monolingual ideology, race, and ethnicity in Indonesia

Monolingual ideology sees Standard American English as the only language capable of making people more civilized (Endo & Reece-Miller, 2010; Veronelli, 2015). It has a direct implication that other variations of English based on different races and ethnicities besides the SAE are less worthy. Gillborn (1990) explains that race situates people into certain social classifications based on physical traits assumed to originate from a common biological ancestry, while ethnicity refers to diverse groups of people that are culturally distinct, reflected through different practices of language, history, religion, etc. In Indonesia, the concept of ethnicity is widely used in various discourses (Handoyo et al., 2015) due to the presence of approximately 1,340 local ethnic groups residing in the country (Indonesia.go.id, 2020). However, race is also acknowledged in public discourse (Hugo, 2015), especially when it comes to racial issues, such as racial discrimination and misrepresentation (see for example Nasution & Wiranto, 2020; Tanasaldy, 2022).

Race and ethnicity significantly influence the development of English varieties because specific linguistic features from various vernacular languages often permeate English (see

Mendoza-Denton, 2016; Perez et al., 2016). Therefore, considering ethnoracial aspects in English teaching (and research) is crucial for challenging the monolingual ideology that recognizes only a single, valid language variation. However, it is unfortunate that the ethnoracial dimensions are often unconsciously neglected by people who have been exposed to and internalized the monolingual ideology. This results in more and more research on English pedagogy in Indonesian contexts being conducted, but they do not take the ethnoracial dimensions into account.

Language marginalization and language racism

Language marginalization can be defined as a situation where people encounter discrimination and/or oppression due to their language use (Ndhlovu, 2007, p. 119). It is a prevalent sociolinguistic phenomenon that has occurred since the European colonization, which framed non-European languages as inferior (Rosa & Flores, 2017). Initially, language marginalization thrived under the colonial superior-inferior dichotomy, in which the colonists claimed superiority over the colonized, considering the languages of the colonized to be so basic and animalistic (Greenblatt, 2015; Veronelli, 2015). Over time, the dimension of language marginalization expands, including aspects beyond colonialism, yet operating on the same basis of ethnoracial issues. This is why language marginalization is intimately related to language racism in a way that both often occur simultaneously and that the latter fuels the former.

Language marginalization also emerges under the same superior-inferior dichotomy but is propagated by different forces beyond colonialism. Hanafi and Arvanitis (2014), for example, delineate how Arabic is marginalized in social science, which predominantly employs English or French as the languages of instruction. Taking 160 respondents of Master's and PhD students, Hanafi and Arvanitis assert that the marginalization occurring in university settings results from, in part, the oppression of globalization toward university, requiring the institution to publish scholarly articles in high impact journals, in which most of the journals use English or France (Hanafi & Arvanitis, 2014). In this sense, language marginalization appears as the corollary of globalization and language hegemony. Another example of language marginalization beyond colonialism is documented in Mohanty's *Languages, Inequality, and Marginalization* (2010). Analyzing complex Indian multilingualism, Mohanty (2010) illustrates the ways in which economic, social, and political discriminations generate language marginalization, language shift, and loss of language diversity. Through these works, it is interesting to note that other aspects besides race and colonialism could also contribute to language marginalization.

In the specific contexts of English or English-speaking countries, minoritized groups with distinct language practices often encounter language marginalization (Perez et al., 2016). Marginalization in this context generally afflicts bilinguals or multilinguals, who are deemed linguistically different from the white mainstream English due to their accents (Baker-Bell, 2020). In the US, for example, various minoritized groups, such as Black American or Latinx, are subject to such practice and are labelled as deviant, wrong, and unintelligent (see Baker-Bell, 2020; Flores, 2019). Although accents do not have a direct relationship with negative attributes associated with them, people could easily perceive that notion as a truth because that is how marginalization works in society to form certain stereotypes. García-Sánchez (2016) explains that marginalization could work flawlessly if individuals or groups have been attributed to negative social identities, and the society has acknowledged the negative attribution of those individuals or groups. This acknowledgement does not occur naturally since hegemonic ideologies and the exercise of power play an important part in constructing the society's

acknowledgement and marginalized groups' attribution. In sum, marginalization is a structural product that can come about anytime and anywhere under various circumstances.

In education, language marginalization is usually maintained through standard language ideology. Within this point of view, standardized language is considered to be more appropriate than other languages that are deemed not standard. Lippi-Green (2012) defines standard language ideology as "a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, and homogenous" upper middle class' spoken language that is preserved and enforced by dominant groups. This language is claimed to be originally written language, but actually derived mainly from the dominant spoken language (p. 67). The key concept of standard language ideology is homogeneity, so a homogenous language is all people need to function well in the society, including in education. Standard language ideology goes side by side with monolingual ideology in education to maintain while at the same time opening up new vacant land to fabricate the practice of language marginalization. It is really important to examine the practice of standard language ideology in education since the educational system is the core of language standardization (Lippi-Green, 2012). Furthermore, the standard language ideology which is the practical implementation of monolingual ideology unquestionably requires more attention to be dismantled, not only because they foster language marginalization, but they could also preserve language hegemony which has a high possibility to be internalized by language teachers and passed to their students.

METHOD

While a part of this work involves a review of the literature aimed at relating the study to the ongoing development of the field (Creswell & Creswell, 2018), I also made use of autoethnographic data to zoom into individual cases and variables. Autoethnographic inquiry allows me to employ and scrutinize my real-life experiences as research data, as well as criticize culture and cultural practices (Adams et al., 2015; Ellis & Bochner, 2000).

Data collection

Employing critical incident procedures (Farrell, 2008) to collect autoethnographic data, I composed five narratives over the period of two months during my PhD coursework in Spring 2021. The narratives were guided by the following research questions: *1. How does language marginalization take form in the teacher-student interactions and teachers' perception toward students in the context of Indonesian higher-education English pedagogy?* And, *2. How do these practices of language marginalization relate to language racism in the context of Indonesian higher-education English pedagogy?* These two research questions were then broken down into five sub-questions focusing on distinct classroom events that align with the key themes of marginalization, such as, what do I feel when seeing my classmates' or my English productions were criticized by teachers? When and in what subjects were my classmates and I appropriated the most? When and in what subjects did I criticize my students' English production? How did I do that? What did I think about? And so on. I wrote narratives by engaging in consistent self-criticism and considering the social context relevant to the case at hand (Muncey, 2010 in Creswell & Poth, 2018). This measure was taken because an autoethnographic work is not simply a leisure activity of recounting personal narratives, but it is a research inquiry to frame the reflective and reflexive personal narratives in the context of society, in order "to make autoethnography ethnographic" (Chang, 2008, p. 49). In composing the narratives, I ensured the confidentiality and anonymity of individuals and institutions by anonymizing them and avoiding

overelaboration on their details. All reflections were constructed in a manner that respects the dignity and privacy of others, following the ethical guidelines of autoethnographic research (Chang, 2008).

Data analysis

The five narratives were subsequently analyzed through content analysis procedure (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Joffe & Yardley, 2004) to examine their connection and influence by fleshing out important themes within each event. Guided by Vaismoradi et al. (2016), four phases consisting of initialization, construction, rectification, and finalization were gone through to develop the themes out of the five narratives. The themes and categories were finally organized chronologically to establish a storyline to answer both research questions.

Positionality statement

Before sharing the findings and discussing them further, I would like to acknowledge my standpoint, philosophical worldview, and interpretive stance, which are integral to my identity as a researcher and influence the study. I offer these findings as only one possible interpretation of my own experiences based on my standpoint as a male, Muslim, Sundanese, PhD candidate in Composition and Applied Linguistics at a public university in Pennsylvania, sponsored by the Fulbright program. My enrollment in this program developed my conceptual repertoire and familiarized me with the ongoing conversation on TESOL. Reflecting on this background, my positionality as a non-native English speaker, teacher, and PhD student provides a lens for questioning the rampant concepts, perspectives, and assumptions on TESOL through my narratives using poststructuralist views.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Language marginalization in English pedagogy of Indonesian higher-education classrooms

In the higher-education level, English is presented as the first-year compulsory course(s) for almost all majors besides English majors. In this context, non-English major students need to enroll in one to two compulsory English courses, while English major students learn all English-related subjects during their studies. Referring to my past experience of being an undergraduate and graduate English student, I could say that language marginalization often took place tacitly. I prefer to use the word 'tacitly' since language marginalization happened as it is, with people participating in the event not realizing that they either marginalize or are marginalized by others. It indicates that the language marginalization has been internalized both by students and teachers, where negative messages about stigmatized people from certain groups are unconsciously accepted by themselves without objection (Hudley and Mallinson cited in Baker-Bell, 2020).

As I recall, language marginalization regularly happens in classes where students need to actively show their productive skills, such as in writing and speaking classes. In these subjects, the teachers always put their best efforts to appropriate students' English production to be in line with the Standard American English attributed to the "white American middleclass male speakers" (Alim & Smitherman, 2012, p. 21). Speaking classes are the prominent sites where Indonesian students constantly experience language marginalization through language appropriation. Using Standard American English as a benchmark, teachers constantly

"*concentrate on appropriating students' accents, intonation and pronunciation, and word choice and idioms*" (Critical Incident 3, September 30th 2021).

Reflecting my personal experiences and memories as an undergrad English student, I could say language appropriation happened regularly in classroom settings to most students. Maka (pseudonym), an English student from Eastern Indonesia, was regularly criticized by some teachers for his deep, Black American-like accent. Maka never wanted to sound like a Black American, and neither did I think his English resembled that of Black Americans. There was one occasion that I vividly remembered when a teacher shamefully said that Maka *"did not have to sound like Black Americans because of his appearance resembling them"* (Critical Incident 3, September 30th 2021). It is true that people from Eastern Indonesia have darker skin color and curlier hair, but noting the idea while associating Maka with a racial classification that he does not belong to is simply a racist remark, let alone assuming his language practice resembled that of other races on the basis of his physical phenotype.

A slightly different situation was experienced by Siti (pseudonym), another English student from the Sundanese ethnic group. In her case, her speaking performance was not complained or appropriated, but some teachers as well as students would rather be comfortable to joke about her English intonation and pronunciation that they assume to be Latina-like. *Telenovela* girl was the nickname Siti got from other students who shared the same opinion as the teachers. "*She apparently felt OK with that. No objection was raised since she thought the label did not racially hurt her. I had to admit that her English intonation and pronunciation are indeed unique, unlike any Sundanese people speaking English*" (Critical Incident 3, September 30th 2021). Back then, I also enjoyed the joke. I did not see that as something inappropriate. Now, I could say that this is exactly how the internalization of language marginalization takes place in the classroom settings, with people not realizing that they marginalize or are being marginalized by others (Baker-Bell, 2020).

Other aspects to which English teachers concentrate in speaking classes are word choices and idioms. Language appropriation always emerges in some situations involving students' word choices and idioms. It is pretty much acceptable for a teacher to correct students' word choice and idioms since they may think it is their duty to rectify some errors. However, when the teachers direct their students to a particular language variation while discouraging students' language use, then language marginalization happens (Baker-Bell, 2020). Oftentimes did I hear teachers correcting students' word choices; for example, *"you need to use 'as' with the word 'same', not 'with'. So Instead of saying 'same with', you need to say 'same as' because that's the way the native speakers talk. 'same with' is very Indonesian because you translate Indonesian language word-per-word into English"* (Critical Incident 1, September 3rd 2021). Shall teachers have desires to embrace language diversity in their classrooms, as a measure to eschew language marginalization, they need to at least acknowledge students' language variation and not to discourage students' language use. In the speaking classes, with or without the practice of language appropriation, the teachers' attitudes embody language marginalization. What they did was either directing students to the Standard American English, or associating students' speaking practices to certain races and ethnicities with prejudice; in this case to minoritized, racialized groups in the US contexts. To this end, it would be wiser if teachers accept students' English variations and introduce them to Standard American English (if needed) without doing any language appropriation (Flores & Rosa, 2015).

Most of the English writing classes in Indonesia are primarily implemented using the current-traditional rhetoric approach, which considers the students' final products as the main

objective (see Berlin & Inkster, 1980; Crowley, 2010). In these classes, English teachers pay more attention to students' grammar and the ways in which the students construct and deliver ideas. As a result, all of my writing teachers employ prescriptive traditional and/or formal grammar, built upon the dominant variety of English, in their pedagogy. The situation in writing classes is somehow similar to speaking courses in which teachers fix students' "errors" in word choices and idioms. But in this case, language appropriation is based on grammatical structures. As I recalled my memories about the teachers-students interactions in writing classes, I realized that writing teachers often demand their students to construct and deliver ideas in the same way as the "native speakers" do. When I was writing for one of my coursework assignments, my teacher told me the idea of constructing and delivering ideas like "native speakers"; that is, *"to go straightforward when thinking and writing"* (Critical Incident 2, September 12th 2021). It is widely believed that what so-called "native speakers" often refer to as the Americans or British, the concise and straightforward entities, while Indonesian people are those who are more likely to be equivocal and indirect in constructing and delivering ideas. This may be true to some extent. As an Indonesian, I need to acknowledge that most Indonesian people are equivocal and indirect when communicating, and it might result from our cultural values that we have lived for. Thus, it is not a wise measure to deprive what Indonesian people have as their unique features in communication, only for achieving homogeneity which has not been substantiated to be effective in academic contexts (Matsuda, 2006). Why don't teachers leave Indonesian students as they are, with their unique equivocation and indirectness in communication? As long as the unique equivocation and indirectness do not hinder the communicative functions, I believe the students could still perform well in the academic contexts.

While my personal experiences as a student inform me that language marginalization frequently emerges in classes requiring students to perform productive skills, my recent experiences as an English teacher recount otherwise. Language marginalization could happen in any classes whether or not they demand students to demonstrate their English productive skills. Matsuda (2006) explains that teachers' attitudes and assumptions could either sustain or shun the practice of language marginalization, so in this case, reflections on teachers' attitudes and assumptions toward students could be used to dismantle the practice of language marginalization. In Indonesia, there is a sort of racial prejudice in relation to education. Students from the Eastern part of Indonesia, such as Nusa Tenggara and Papua, are deemed to have slightly lower educational competencies than students from the Western part of Indonesia, especially in English (Kurniawan & Radia, 2017). The racial prejudice actually grows from the issue of access to education, where the Eastern areas are more likely to be less developed due to their remoteness. This situation motivates students from the areas to pursue higher education in the Western regions where education is more accessible, and this is how multiracial and multiethnic classrooms are typically formed in Indonesia.

As an English teacher of multiracial and multiethnic classes, I found myself embarking with prejudice when teaching. Usually, *"two clusters of students have been unconsciously formed from early assumptions since the beginning of the semester. These two groups were internally formed based on the initial impression toward students' language productions. The dichotomy comprises the 'well-performing students' and 'poorly-performing students,' based on similarity to Standard American English"* (Critical Incident 5, October 17th 2021). Indeed, it is too early to recognize an individual student's performance, but the racial prejudice generates the formations within me. When teachers have this dichotomy in mind, they would possibly engender misleading assumptions toward and provide different treatments to students. In my case, it is

related to privilege. I often gave more privilege to the well-performing students, those I thought to have a closer similarity to the Standard American English, to do more difficult tasks with a clear assumption that they would likely be more successful in doing the tasks compared to other students I classified into the poorly-performing students. For instance, *"when asking students to make a reading response, I provided at least two sets of reading resources; a set of reading resources with a more complicated delivery was assigned to the well-performing students, while another with a more easily understandable language was given to the poorly-performing students"* (Critical Incident 5, October 17th 2021). I did not think the measure would marginalize some students because I considered myself providing equity to the poorly-performing students by asking them to do easier work. However, it turns out that equity should not be implemented that way. Equity is indeed about allotting resources to the recipients differently, based on individual needs (Gutoskey, 2020), but constraining students from accessing particular resources on the basis of intellectual prejudice is not part of equity. Ideally, students are also given the same opportunities to develop, regardless of their distinct English competencies, including the chances to grow through the more difficult tasks. On another occasion, I found myself less attentive to the poorly-performing students when they delivered their ideas. It is not an apology, but I believe that it results from the internalization of language marginalization based on monolingual ideology. I assumed that "their English proficiency was low, so I did not need to listen to or read their written ideas attentively because their ideas would be somehow superficial and uninteresting" (Critical Incident 4, October 9th 2021).

Teachers in multiracial and multiethnic classes need to be aware of the subtle practice of language marginalization since it could emerge in classroom contexts even without the practices of language appropriation. I believe that teachers' attitudes and assumptions toward students are the key to avoiding language marginalization. Thus, English teachers at least need to realize that English variations do exist and have an equal position with the Standard American English. No particular English variation places a higher position than others. This way, if English teachers need to give lesson about the Standard American English due to the institutional demand, they could still embrace students' English variation based on their racial uniqueness by informing students that the English they are going to learn is a variation of Englishes acceptable worldwide while there are a lot of English variations with the same level. Moreover, English teachers ideally need to be free from racial prejudice and accept other English variations besides Standard American English.

Relationship between language Marginalization and language racism in Indonesian context

While language marginalization refers to a situation where people encounter discrimination and/or oppression due to their language use (Ndhlovu, 2007), language racism can be defined as ways of using language "as a proxy for race in order to exclude people" (Weber, 2015, p. 2). Language racism is the intersection point of language and race in which the language specifying a particular race is used as a benchmark to either exclude or include the race in certain circumstances. Through their concept of raciolinguistic perspective, Rosa and Flores (2017) explain an intimate relationship between language and race. They are the two fundamental components of European colonization. The concept of race was politically constructed to separate as well as build distinctions between the superior white European as the agent of modernization and the inferior non-European as the retarded entities requiring modernization (Rosa & Flores, 2017; Veronelli, 2015). On the other hand, language was one of the most powerful tools to sustain European superiority through the formation of language hierarchies with an

underlying assumption that the European language was the only tool the colonized people could use to evolve as human beings (Greenblatt, 2015; Veronelli, 2015). With the US's long history of colonization, slavery, and oppression of certain minoritized groups, language marginalization in the US education context is not the origin of language racism, but on the contrary, it is the site where language racism takes place. See how Flores & Rosa (2015) delineate how language appropriation, which is a form of language marginalization, toward the English use of Latinx students embodies language racism. Also, take a closer look at the same situation experienced by Black students whose English is continuously appropriated in academic settings (Baker-Bell, 2020).

When it comes to the context of Indonesian education, I personally believe that language marginalization relates language racism in a way that both occurs simultaneously and the later fuels the former. As explained above, the reality of English teaching in Indonesia is somehow similar to the US where the pedagogy is mostly implemented using monolingual ideology, but what makes them obviously different is the fact that the pedagogical practices of English in Indonesian classrooms mostly involve non-white entities (although more and more white teachers are intentionally employed these days). In the US context, it is very easy to relate language marginalization to language racism since those involved in language practices have deep personal and racial relations with the historical context of colonization. They could be effortlessly associated with the dichotomy of colonizer-colonized, superior-inferior, or oppressor-oppressed. However, in the Indonesian context, it is slightly tricky to link language marginalization to language racism on the basis of racial relations with the historical context of colonization.

Although the English pedagogy is implemented based on white supremacy through monolingual and standard language ideology, Indonesian people who carried out English language practices do not automatically fall into the category of colonizer-colonized because Indonesian people have no personal and racial relations to the use of English as the tool of colonization. When it comes to language and racism, Rosa & Flores (2017) argue that historical account needs to be taken into consideration since specific languages were historically situated in particular settings to support colonization. In the context of English-speaking countries, for example, English is deeply related to both the Blacks and Whites because the language was practically designed as a tool for supporting racial formation (Veronelli, 2015). Black people who use black language are considered deficient, while at the same time, white people who adhere to standard language ideology regard their language variety as the prime (Alim & Smitherman, 2012). In this context, there would always be a contestation between sustaining the mainstream language hegemony and struggling to attain language rights (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006). This situation is somehow different from Indonesia, where English has no direct relationship to Indonesian people given that they are not involved in the Black-White colonialization using English. Yet, if the languages in the contexts are Dutch or Japanese, Indonesian people would likely be more sensitive toward language appropriation, for instance, because they do have personal and racial relations to those of Dutch or Japanese as the tool of colonization in Indonesia. When it comes to English, Indonesian people could never be colonized because they are not involved in the black-white dichotomy using English, and they would never be the colonizer even if they implement English pedagogy in the basis of Standard language ideology. This makes the "typical practice" of English pedagogy apparently not racially harm Indonesian people even though Standard language ideology is applied to the pedagogy. What I mean by the phrase "typical practice" here is to refer to the English pedagogy which could possibly involve language

appropriation to be in line with Standard American English but free from negative prejudice and stereotypes toward other races. However, this elaboration does not completely disenthrall Indonesians from language racism. The disconnects to the Black-White dichotomy and colonialism are arguably enough to free the context from language racism. Yet, I argue that language racism also occurs simultaneously with language marginalization in the Indonesian context of English pedagogy as teachers executing monolingual ideology display internalized racial hegemony when they opt to go with Standard American English as the benchmark for appropriating their students (Omi & Winant, 2015). In this case, they unconsciously support and perpetuate the discourse of (White) racial dominance in language that exhibits the practice of language racism (Weber, 2015).

In addition, Indonesian people executing monolingual and standard language ideology could still be classified into oppressor-oppressed dichotomy that displays language racism once they consider the speakers of Indonesian-English varieties spiced with indigenous languages requiring to be appropriated. In Indonesia, more than 700 indigenous languages are actively spoken by more than 1,200 ethnic groups (Hadi et al., 2019). These indigenous languages have distinct linguistic features that often infiltrate English. Javanese people, for instance, are well known for their unique ways of pronouncing specific English phonemes. Wardani & Suwartono (2019) note that Javanese people have a hard time pronouncing phonemes /ʒ, v, θ, ð, z, ʃ, f, g, k, d, ʧ, ɳ, j/ due to their strong Javanese accents on these phonemes. This makes people from other Indonesian ethnic groups easily notice the Javanese from pronouncing some phonemes. Unless some Indonesian people have impossibly changed their accents and pronunciation to resemble Standard American English, their English productions would always be spiced with their vernaculars. Thus, if a teacher, for example, is capable of achieving the resemblance with the White, and he endeavors to change students' English, he definitely has transformed himself into the oppressor whose power and authority is employed to oppresses students' language variations.

In another case, Indonesian people could also be assumed to exhibit language racism and racialize other Indonesians if they associate certain Indonesian races with other races in relation to language production, as illustrated in the above narrative stories of Maka and Siti whose English productions were associated with other races that do not belong to them. In those circumstances, language marginalization done by their teachers embodies language racism where the racism does not focus on races but on language use as a proxy for race (Weber, 2015).

Given the complexity of Indonesia's linguistic landscapes, English pedagogy and research should be conducted using "trans" perspectives and taking multiracial and multiethnic dimensions into account. This way, both teachers and researchers could embrace students' language diversity while at the same time dismantling the aftermath of the implementation of monolingual ideology: language marginalization and language racism. Thus, I personally encourage Indonesian English teachers and researchers to conduct more research as well as to implement language pedagogies that involve "trans" approaches in the future.

CONCLUSION

Language marginalization in the Indonesian context of English pedagogy could take place in any form, at any time, and anywhere. It emerges with or without the practice of language appropriation due to the adoption of monolingual language ideology. Language marginalization

often occurs in specific classroom settings, where students are expected to exhibit English productive skills.

In the context of Indonesia, language racism also occurs simultaneously with language marginalization in English pedagogy as teachers executing monolingual ideology display internalized racial hegemony when they opt to go with Standard American English as the benchmark for appropriating their students. Thus, through this work, I strongly suggest Indonesian teachers embrace students' English variations and diversities without over-relying on language appropriation in their classroom practices. Shall teachers need to correct students' English production, they must do so wisely and cautiously by not making a certain English variation a benchmark standard and acknowledging that there are multiple English variations considered equally standard, legitimate, and valid. Finally, avoiding having assumptions on students based on their physical phenotypes and language production is also helpful to prevent teachers from the subtle practice of language marginalization and language racism.

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