

Researching L2 Motivation and Identity in the Indonesian Islamic School Context: an Insight into Research Opportunities

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Abstract

Motivation is one of the most important factors affecting foreign language learning. Some studies suggest that motivation has a robust impact on foreign language learning outcomes regardless of learners' language talent (Wigfield & Wentzel, 2007; Rehman & Haider, 2013; Islam et al., 2013). This is why motivation becomes the most 'complex and challenging' problem faced by teachers (Scheidecker and Freeman, 1999). Motivation can shape learners' attitude, objective (Maehr & Meyer, 1997), increase learners' learning effort (Pintrich, et al., 1993), and improve learners' achievement. However, motivation becomes a more intricate issue in the context of pesantren school in Indonesia (Farid and Lamb, 2020). That is because pesantren consists of learners from various socio-economic backgrounds. While pesantren students' main aim is to learn religious knowledge, some of them perceive learning English irrelevant to their future. Based on contemporary theories on L2 motivation and identity and utilising the authors' years of experience as they work as English instructors in the pesantren environment, this paper attempts to shed light on possible topics that can be explored by future

L2 motivation researchers in Indonesia, especially in the pesantren context.

Keywords: L2 motivation, identity, pesantren, research opportunities

A. Introduction

When second language learners learn a new language, literally they do not only learn to speak or write in a different language, probably with a different language system, but they might also adopt of a new identity that comes with the language. Gee (2000) defined identity as “being recognized as a certain ‘kind of person’, in a given context” (p. 99). This implies that people may have multiple identities when they are related to the social worlds, depending on how they want to be recognized as what kind of person. As a certain language is usually associated with the culture and values that come with that language, a language often serves as a vehicle of identity expression. Ochs (1993) pointed out that language is an essential instrument of expressing identity. Hence the connections between various aspects of identity and L2 learning have been widely researched by a number of researchers.

Furthermore, L2 researchers have also been interested in researching the links between identity and L2 motivation. For example, to investigate students’ L2 motivation in different social contexts in Indonesia, Lamb (2012) involved research participants from several junior high schools in the country. He examined students’ motivation to learn English in three different settings: an urban city, a small town, and a rural area found that participant who studied in rural areas who typically came from lower social backgrounds tended to find it more difficult to envision themselves as future users of English. Similarly, in the Chile context, Kormos and Kiddle (2013) reported that learners with high social background and upper-middle social background demonstrated considerably more positive motivational characteristics than those from the lower, lower-middle and middle social backgrounds.

Another aspect of identity that has been researched in relation to its connection to L2 learning motivation is gender. Some studies reported that female learners tend to show significantly higher motivation in learning a second language than their male counterparts. Bacon and Finnemann (1992) who involved 938 participants in their study found that female respondents had a considerably higher Instrumental Motivation than their male counterparts. Similarly, in a more recent quantitative study in Japan, Mori and Gobel (2006) reported that there is a significant difference between female and male students in Integrative motivation, with female significantly scoring higher. Integrativeness, in this case, does not necessarily mean that learners would like to integrate with native language community, but rather they learn a foreign language for travel and overseas study. Similar results showing that female learners have better L2 learning motivation can be found in some other research studies such as: Lamb, 2012; Dornyei, Csizer, & Nemeth, 2006; Williams et al., 2002; Martin-Jones and Jones, 2001 Muchnick and Wolfe, 1982).

In relation to family backgrounds, some studies have demonstrated the influence of parental encouragement on L2 learning motivation (e.g. Atay and Kurt,

2010; Taguchi et al., 2009; Csizér and Kormos, 2009; Lamb, 2007; Csizér and Do˝rnyei, 2005; Gardner, 1985). A quantitative study conducted by Lamb (2012) in Indonesia also showed that learners from a school in urban area whose parents have university qualification tend to have better learning motivation in English. In contrast, learners from rural area tend to be less motivated, and the fact is that only a small number of them have parents with tertiary education qualification. Lamb's finding is in agreement with Nikolov (2009) in a way that students with more educated parents tend to perform better than those with less educated ones.

Considering the fact that extensive research has been conducted to assess students' motivation in this globalised world, the authors of this paper attempt to provide insight into L2 motivation research opportunities in the Indonesian pesantren school context, in which heterogenous students study and live at the boarding school.

B. Literature Review

L2 Motivation Theory

Motivation is crucial in foreign language learning. Due to the importance of the role of motivation in L2 learning research, L2 Motivation has been viewed differently by different researchers, and this different perspectives on L2 motivation can be divided into three different phases: the 'social psychological' period, the 'cognitive period', to the 'L2 motivational self system'.

The social psychological period was marked primarily by the work on the L2 motivation theories proposed by Gardner and his colleagues from the late 50s onwards (e.g. Gardner and Lambert, 1959; Gardner, 1979; Gardner, 1985). Gardner (1979) holds that learning a second language is very different from learning any other subject because learning an L2 implies the learning of 'symbolic elements of a different ethnolinguistic community...and imposing elements of another culture into one's own lifespaces' (p. 193). That is to say that one's socio-cultural aspect is the element that distinguishes L2 learning from other learning. Gardner (1985) defines motivation as 'the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favourable attitudes toward learning the language' (p. 10). It is worth noting that Gardner and his colleagues conducted their studies in the bilingual social context of Canada, in which there are two language users – Anglophone and Francophone groups. Therefore, the main element of the theory is the notion of integrativeness. A second language is viewed as facilitating instrument between different ethnolinguistic groups. Integrating with the target community, which is referred to as an 'integrative motive', is seen as the key factor that motivates an L2 learner to learn a second language. Gardner defines the integrative motive as 'a motivation to learn a second language because of positive feelings toward the community that speaks that language' (p. 82-3). This view is in agreement with that of Tajfel's (1974) in that identity is heavily based on e's membership of a social group or groups.

In a more recent work, Gardner (2000) formulates the concept of L2 motivation into three main tenets, i.e. integrativeness, attitudes toward the learning situation, and other supports. The first tenet, integrativeness refers to L2 learners' positives attitudes towards the L2 community, interest in the second language, and

integrative orientation. What is meant by integrative orientation is the learners' willingness to mix with the L2 group, so that they can use the language to communicate with members of the L2 community. The second tenet, attitudes towards a learning situation, refers to the evaluation of L2 teachers and L2 classes. Other supports of L2 motivation includes instrumental orientation, which refers to the utilitarian value in learning a second language. When an L2 learner has an instrumental motivation, language is viewed as an instrument to achieve something desired such as social status, prestigious job, and education. Gardner's integrative motivation theory has been researched extensively. A number of studies have investigated the connections between integrative motivations and L2 achievement of students from different language backgrounds (e.g. Gardner and MacIntyre, 1993; Muchnick & Wolfe, 1982; Gardner et al., 1979) by using the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery.

However, in spite of its huge influence on L2 motivation research, the integrative motivation theory explanatory power started to wane as many arguments against the construct of integrativeness emerged from various sides. The cognitive-situated period was marked by the work of Crooks and Schmidt (1991), which suggests that the integrative motivation is not suitable with the educational context. McNamara (1997) posits that integrative motivation theory failed to capture the complexity of the new conceptualizations of social identity because it cannot draw the link between learners and the language learning context. Furthermore, Lamb (2004) argues that the integrative model is not compatible with the current age of globalization as 'English is no longer associated just with Anglophone countries' (p.14). That is to say that English has now become separated from its native speakers and culture. The integrative motivation theory is questionable as English now becomes a lingua franca used as an international language worldwide (e.g. Coetzee–Van Rooy 2006; Crystal, 2003; Widdowson, 1994).

In addition to their criticism to social-psychological model, Crooks and Schmidt (1991) also propose a new perspective on defining motivation as well as the pedagogical implications that motivation may pose. In defining motivation they align with that of Keller (1983), that is, motivation is what people choose to do in the light of things they want to achieve or avoid, and how they endeavour in that matter. Thus, the key factor of motivation is no longer the willingness to integrate with a certain community, but the outcomes. Motivation is determined by individuals' perception of themselves whether they are likely to succeed or fail. Therefore, the cognitive theory of motivation also takes classroom factors into account. This model holds that language teachers, classroom activities and teaching methods, as well as learning materials have an important role in determining learners L2 motivation.

After a long continuous debate in the past decades, a new theoretical framework for L2 learning motivation was introduced by Zoltán Dörnyei called 'the L2 motivational self-system' (Dörnyei, 2005). Dörnyei's model is a re-conceptualisation of the existing theory with regard to the concept of self and identity. The L2 motivational self system theory consists of three basic components: the ideal L2 self, the ought-to L2 self, and the L2 learning experience. As this theoretical framework is considered as the most relevant theory to the current study, it will be elaborated in more details in following separate section.

Defining Identity?

Gee (2000) defined identity as “being recognized as a certain ‘kind of person’, in a given context” (p. 99). This implies that people may have multiple identities when they are related to the social worlds, depending on how they want to be recognized as what kind of person. Gee proposed the four perspectives to view identity, i.e. nature-identity, institutional-identity, discourse-identity, and affinity-identity. The nature perspective or N-Identity) is the state that someone is in, which is derived from a force that someone has no control over it. For example, someone cannot choose whether he or she wants to be born as a male or female, black or white, and so on. The source of this type of identity is nature (religious people may refer nature to ‘God’), and the process through which it works is development. That is a process that cannot be controlled by the individuals themselves nor the society. The second perspective on identity is entitled the institutional perspective (or I-identity). The I-Identity perspective is a way to view a person in relation to an institution or organisation that the person is acknowledged by. For example, a student who attends an Indonesian pesantren school is recognized as a *santri*. Having the status as a *santri* is not something given by nature or something that can be self-accomplished; it is rather a status that is given by an institution – a pesantren – through an authorisation process, in which a pesantren student was supposed to pass admission tests which may include reading the Qur’an, demonstrating certain Islamic rituals, a psychological test, an interview, and satisfy all the entrance requirements. Therefore, without an Islamic institution recognition, a person cannot be identified as a *santri*.

The third perspective on identity is called the discursive perspective (or D-identity). The D-Identity perspective is a way to view a person with regard to his or her personal characteristics or individuality. It is not something that the person is born with, and it is not granted by any institution. A person can achieve a D-Identity by showing to and interacting with other people with a particular trait that he or she wants to be identified with. Therefore, a D-Identity cannot be achieved through a recognition process in discourse or dialogue. For example, a pesantren student might act in a certain way or utter certain words to be recognized as a more ‘Islamically’ religious person. The example from my preliminary study when some pesantren students frequently used Arabic expressions during an English class could best describe how individuals want to be recognised with the D-Identity. In the context of pesantren, as the use of Arabic could reflect one’s Islamic understanding and religiosity level, the students might want to portray themselves as Islamic individuals, and they tried to avoid using English language, which they may consider unislamic, or they may associate it with Christianity or the way western people speak and behave.

The last perspective of identity Gee proposed is Affinity perspective (or A-Identity). A-Identity is the way to recognise individuals by the experiences that they share with others from the same ‘affinity groups’ (p. 105). The main basis of the identification is distinctive practices that the members of the same group do. The source of power of this identity is not an institution because the practices are not an official part of the institution. For example, being a *santri* is comprised of a set of typical practices. For instance, a *santri* may speak a “distinctive Arabised Indonesian sociolect” (Coleman) with other *santris*, but he or she will use normal Indonesian dialect when speaking with those who they consider as not a member of the affinity group. Other

practices that 'santri group' share may include learning and reading Islamic books written in classical Arabic language, memorising new Arabic vocabulary on daily basis, reading the Qur'an together, attending the five-time daily congregations, and so on. Therefore, the basis of identification of A-Identity is 'affinity group', and participation is the process through which this power works.

A poststructuralist view of identity that considers identity is complex and a site of struggle is similarly established by Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) in their commentary on social psychological approaches to L2 motivation. They argued that by taking multiplicity into account poststructuralist approaches to identity allow researchers "to avoid monolingual and monocultural biases, to examine the multilingual reality of the contemporary world, and to see all individuals as users of multiple linguistic resources and as members of multiple communities of practice" (p. 295). They criticised social psychological views of identity which is based on Gardner and Lambert's (1972) sociopsychological approaches to L2 learning because their approaches cannot address the intricacy of the current multifaceted globalised world, in which most of its dwellers are not only parts of bilingual community but also members of multifaceted social, cultural, and ethnic groups.

However, despite the differences of the two perspectives on identity, they actually have something to offer to each other. Tajfel and Turner (1979) noted that an individual does not have only one 'self', but rather several 'selves' that the person can activate one of them in a certain context. McNamara (1997) added that "social identity is not fixed but depends on (among many things) the particular intergroup setting in which one finds oneself" (p. 564). In the same way, poststructuralist, however, views identity as highly multifaceted, contextually situated, fluid, dynamic, varied and negotiated because an individual may have different and frequently conflicting selves. For example, pesantren students who may view English as the language non-Muslim may want to avoid learning it, but because of their institutional identity as students and their ought-to L2 selves they – to pass the exam –, they have no choice rather than learning it.

C. Discussion

Based on the literature review presented in the previous section, we would like to propose several research gaps regarding L2 motivation and identity in the Indonesian Pesantren context as follows.

Religious identity and L2 Learning Motivation

While English has been associated with Christianity, Arabic language is regarded as an important part of Muslim identity (Jones, 1983). The noble status of Arabic for Muslims is strongly related to their religious belief that Arabic is the chosen language in which the Qur'an is written; it is the language spoken by the prophet Muhammad. As regard to the importance of Arabic for pesantren students, as education practitioner who have been working in the pesantren context for many years, we found some thought-provoking instances of how the students try to unveil their identity as Muslims during an English class. For example, at an English class consisting of 21 students, a teacher asked the students, "everybody, do you feel fresh?". The students' answers were varied; some students replied "yes, I feel fresh". Instead of replying in English, some

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students said “yes, *alhamdulillah*.” The expression ‘*alhamdulillah*’ is a typical Muslim’s answer to reply greetings such as ‘*how are you?*’, ‘*how’s your day?*’, ‘*how’s life?*’, and other greetings. ‘*Alhamdulillah*’ literally means “praise be to God”. From this point, we could see something appealing, that is, how pesantren students bring their identity in the English classroom. The students also sometimes mention a common quote in Arabic (deriving from the Qur’an) when they answered a question their teacher addressed, for example:

Mr. W : Who has ever been angry?

A student : Never been.....

Some Students : *inna Allaha ma’a assabeereen*.

Students’ reply *inna Allaha ma’a assabeereen*, which means ‘indeed, God is with those who are patient’, can be seen as a way to convey their Identity as Muslims. By saying the expression, they imply that being angry is not part of the Islamic teaching.

Their religion teaches them to restrain themselves from getting angry, so that they could seek the pleasure of their God by controlling their anger. Arabic words or expressions were used by the students throughout the lesson. Later during the lesson, the teacher asked one of the students to come forward to draw a picture. The instruction was given in English. One of the students confidently came forward, but it seemed that he did not know what to do until his friends in the back told him what to do in Indonesian language. One of the student mix the code between English-Arabic, “*you not fabmun-fabmun*”, which means ‘you do not understand’. During the group work, the first author also noticed that a student saying an Arabic word ‘*laa*’, which means ‘no’ when responding to his friend who was speaking English. The use of Arabic words and expression clearly indicates that the students would like to be recognized as a member of a group called Muslims or Muslim Students. In relation to the code mixing/switching sociolinguists, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), pointed out that bilingual speakers attempt to show linguistics behaviour pattern for themselves so as to act similarly with the group with which they wish to be associated.

National identity and L2 Learning Motivation

Indonesia is the world’s largest archipelago with more than 700 local languages spoken (van den Berg, 2014; Cohn, 2014; Riza, 2008). Those local languages belong to 35 major local languages. Javanese, Indonesian, and Sundanese are the three languages with the most speakers, consecutively 68.044.660, 42.682.566, 32.412.752 (Na’im and Syaputra, 2010). Indonesian language or Bahasa Indonesia was proclaimed as the national language at the 2nd Indonesian Youth Congress (*Sumpah Pemuda*) in 1928. Since then Bahasa Indonesia became a strong lingua franca that unifies hundreds of ethnic groups and local languages. With the globalisation of English the imposition of English as a compulsory foreign language subject in Indonesian secondary and tertiary education is inevitable. However, the status of English as the most important foreign language has caused some concern among Indonesians themselves as English may contribute negatively to their national identity. The use of English terms (while the terms are available in Indonesian language) and speaking Indonesian with English accent is considered as a symptom of the decline of nationalism (Pramono, 2009).

Pramono holds that good Indonesians are those who could speak Indonesian in a correct and right manner (*Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar*), which means that Indonesian speakers should avoid English terms and expression when speaking Indonesian.

At government level, officials of the Ministry of Education and Culture expressed their concern about children's poor mastery of Indonesian language by ending the teaching of English as a compulsory subject in primary schools in 2013. Deputy education and culture Musliar Kasim explained, "Elementary schools won't have English lessons because [students] haven't learned to understand the Indonesian language. Now even some kindergarten students take English courses. I pity the kids," (Lotbinière, 2012). However, other officials believe that it is an exaggerated concern about the national language. The vice chairman of People's Consultative Assembly stood against the policy and emphasized that English is an important foreign language for Indonesian students to face globalisation. He further addressed this issue as an 'exaggerated linguistic nationalism' (Setiawan, 2013).

In the pesantren context, a sense of national identity through the use of Indonesian language seems to be stronger. The reason is perhaps because pesantren students come from various tribes from Sabang to Merauke (laid end to end, Indonesia stretches from the UK to Iran), and they speak different local languages. Therefore, they use Indonesian language as their lingua franca when speaking to their peers, teachers, dormitory wardens, local people *ustadz*s and *kyais*. Therefore, the national Identity may also play a role in determining pesantren students' motivation in learning English as a foreign language because pesantren students may consider the use of Indonesian language to express their national identity. Lamb (2004), who examined self-report data from young adolescent students in Indonesia, suggested that L2 learning motivation may partly be formed by the search of bicultural identity, global and national identity. Therefore, because of the development of learners' 'bicultural identity', there might be times when national identity clashes with global identity, which leads to negative influence on their English learning motivation (p.16). However, in the Pakistan context, a different relationship between 'national interest' and L2 motivation was obtained by Islam et al. (2013). In Pakistan English is perceived as 'the language for development at both the individual and national levels' (Shamim, 2011, p. 293), therefore it is reasonable that Islam and his colleagues found that national interest is one of the noteworthy driving motives encouraging Pakistani (in the province of Punjab) to learn English.

Non-native Identity L2 Learning Motivation

Beside national identity, pesantren students, as Indonesians, have a non-native English speaker identity attached to themselves. Generally, many Indonesian learners of English still hold a traditional view that English belongs only to native English speakers, and therefore they consider that it is not easy to learn English. Pavlenko (2003) studied the identity options available to pre-service and in-service international students who attended a TESOL course. She found that students who consider themselves as non-native speakers tend to be passive, invisible, unimportant, and incompetent. Based on my professional experience as an English teacher for about 10 years in Indonesia, to some extent I can confirm what Pavlenko has found. For

instance, during a speaking class, I notice that it is very common to hear my student saying, “I can’t pronounce the word correctly because I am not a native speaker” or “I can’t speak English appropriately because I have an ‘Indonesian tongue.’” This sense of non-nativeness leads the students to feeling incompetent, no matter how hard they try. Viewing themselves as non-native speakers also generates a feeling that they will always make mistakes, which they are afraid of being ridiculed for. Their inferior feeling as non-native speakers is perhaps because, as Zacharias (2012) pointed out, Indonesian students shared the common assumption that only native speakers who could speak English perfectly and accurately. She (2012) also found that the use of English in Indonesian communal spaces could make the users have the feeling of being part of the haves or educated people. Those findings are in line with what Graddol (2006) mentioned, “English...is an increasingly urban language, associated with growing middle classes, metropolitan workplaces and city lifestyles.” Therefore, it makes them unconfident and nervous to speak English. These feelings may lead them to have negative feeling toward English because they may imagine their future self as unsuccessful users of English. This inevitably affects their interest in learning English because “a highly unlikely possible self probably will have little relation to motivation” (Macintyre et al. 2009, p. 197); and portrayal of a successful possible self would generate motivation (Dörnyei and Ushioda, 2009). Therefore, the possible relation between national and non-native identity and L2 learning motivation is worth researching.

Milieu and L2 Learning Motivation

Previous studies conducted in the Hungarian context to investigate the external factors affecting L2 motivation revealed that milieu has significant influence on shaping and maintaining L2 learners’ motivation (Dörnyei and Csizér, 2006; Csizér and Kormos, 2005). Apparently the term ‘milieu’ was initially employed by Gardner et al. (1979) in their research assessing the effects of integrative motivation on the achievement of Canadian and American learners of French. In L2 motivation milieu is referred to as “the social influences stemming from the immediate learning environment...usually operationalised as the perceived influence of significant others, such as parents, family and friends” (Dörnyei et al, 2006, p. 13-14). The role of parents and family members in developing L2 learners’ motivation has become a variable that appeals to L2 motivation researchers not only those from L2 motivational self system period, but also those from social psychological phase (Gardner, 1985; Colletta et al., 1983).

Beside the role of parent or family in shaping L2 learners’ motivation, Spolsky (2000) underscored the need to take into account another important constituent of the milieu, peer influence. Lamb (2012) found that peer influence has a positive effect in shaping L2 learning motivation of learners from an urban school, but not from provincial school or rural school (in Indonesia). Lamb’s findings, however, might not be generalisable to all urban schools in Indonesia, especially for students who attend pesantren schools in urban areas. Lamb conducted his study in general/secular schools, in which students generally live at home with their parents and commute to school. In the case of pesantren students, students live in dormitories called *pondok* or *asrama* with their peers. In their dormitories, they attend *madrasah diniyah*, literally ‘religious school’, in which Islamic knowledge from sources mostly written in Arabic is inculcated. In the

pondok, they mingle with other peers that they do not meet during the day because they may attend different schools (a pesantren normally has several schools of the same level), and they are also taught by different teachers (not those teaching them at school) usually called *ustadz* or *kyai* (Islamic subject teachers). That is to say that the amount of pesantren students' socialisation with their peers is much more than that of their general school counterparts. Thus, the notion of significant others for pesantren school can be referred to their peers and their *ustadzs*. As mentioned earlier, students attending pesantren schools originate from different regions in Indonesia, making it a 'melting pot' in which students from rural, provincial town, and urban areas blend together. This factor makes the investigation into the link between milieu and pesantren students' L2 motivation even more interesting.

D. Conclusion

This paper was aimed at formulating possible research topics in the field of L2 motivation and identity in the pesantren or Islamic education contexts. We were encouraged to write this paper because we see motivation as a key element to successful English learning. Farid and Lamb (2020) suggested that modern pesantren, as a centre of the learning of both religious and secular knowledge, is a rich research site to investigate motivation and Identity. This is because pesantren consists of students from various socio-economic, cultural, language, and religious backgrounds. We would like to end this paper by offering recommendations to prospective researchers who would like to research L2 motivation in the pesantren context that they can focus on the four topics, i.e. religious identity, national identity, non-native identity, and milieu. However, there could be other topics that may be salient in this particular context. By researching L2 motivation and taking these aspects into account, it is expected that there would be pedagogical implications that can be drawn from the studies, which would make the teaching of English in pesantren to be more effective.

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