

Identity and Imagined Communities in English Textbooks Illustrations

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Abstract

Illustrations in English textbooks are not merely decorations (Romney, 2012); they can represent ideology and identity (Elmiana, 2019; Ihm, 1998). This paper explores the sociocultural and political dimensions in English textbooks' illustrations for public schools in Indonesia. The leading question for this inquiry is "What imagined communities, diversity and identities do the illustrations in the English textbooks reflect?" Identity refers to the identity shown in the illustrations. The diversity refers to the government's coined terms SARA, *suku* 'ethnicity', *agama* 'religions', *ras* 'races', and *antar golongan* 'various social and political groups' as well as gender, age and disability, which are parts of social reality in Indonesian society. Multiculturalism, as it related to diversity, refers to different cultures represented in the textbooks. The data (visual illustrations) were collected from three English textbooks, from grade 10 to grade 12 and they were analyzed in terms of critical discourse analysis (CDA) framed in the terms imagined communities (Anderson, 2006). The results suggest that the illustrations in the ELT textbooks represent a tendency that views Indonesian identity in a more monolithic identity and imagined community. This uniformity of identity in the illustrations may serve the purpose of integrating the character education to enhance nationalism as mandated by the government—indicating the political dimension as hidden curriculum in the textbook illustrations.

Keywords: identity, illustrations, multiculturalism, English textbooks, Indonesia

Introduction

Teaching English is not a neutral activity as it embraces the sociocultural perspectives (K. A. Johnson, 2009; K. E. Johnson & Golombek, 2011). The sociocultural perspectives involve the critical views on the dominant power and discourses (Karmani & Pennycook, 2005; Pennycook, 1989, 1998, 2007). These perspectives and the critical dimensions in English language teaching (ELT) can shape the way we see teachers, learners, and the materials used in the classroom. Teachers and students always engaged in negotiations of meanings and values (Curtis & Sussex, 2018; Vu, 2016; Willemse, Lunenberg, & Korthagen, 2005). Therefore, the authors of English textbooks may not be sterile from biases of their beliefs, ideologies and their past experiences.

Consequently, their identity and subjectivity can be traced back in the textbooks, their language contents and illustrations.

In the backdrop of sociocultural perspectives practiced in English language teaching (ELT) and the important of ELT textbooks for teachers and learners, this current study is aimed at understanding the sociocultural dimensions inherent in the English textbooks for high school in Indonesia. As the government mandated the 2013 National Curriculum, textbooks for public schools should align with the mandated standards, which integrate character education with its five major values: religiosity, nationalism, collaborations, independence, and integrity (Widodo, 2017). In these values, the hidden curriculum is to enhance nationalism and unity as well as to fight against corruptions and injustices. It has been realized by the government that the country is in danger of separatism, rampant corruptions, and radicalism. These embedded value education, therefore, is an effort to mitigate conflicts and fragmentation of the nation.

In line with the background this paper explores diverse sociocultural and political representations in English textbooks endorsed by the government to be used in public schools. The authors are especially interested in the various cultural representations found in the visual images to see how diversity is represented in the illustrations used in the endorsed government textbooks for high schools. These endorsed textbooks are free to download for students and teachers all over Indonesia and they have played crucial roles in reinforcing the implementation of the 2013 National Curriculum and the implementation of the character education. With the online textbooks, the government opens access for students and teachers to quality resources, especially for students and teachers in remote areas where commercial textbooks are out of reach and expensive. The textbooks have become indispensable learning resources in the classroom all over Indonesia.

Illustrations or visual images offer a universal language to the readers and they convey pedagogical purposes (Romney, 2012). They can “provide an immediate window into what another culture is like, and may thus help students to achieve the aim of intercultural competence in the foreign language classroom” (Brown & Habegger-Conti, 2017, p. 16). Therefore, in English textbooks, illustrations at least serve two major functions, to attract the readers (i.e. motivating factors) and to reinforce learning by highlighting important facts or concepts or stories (i.e. conveying its own meaning and messages, and culture). These two functions are more pedagogical as they focuses on helping the readers to understand and to engage more on various pedagogical tasks provided in the textbooks and to enhance their intercultural knowledge.

In addition to the pedagogical purposes, illustrations can also serve the hidden curriculum as mandated by the Indonesian Ministry of Education to integrate the character education with the five major values to enhance at all levels of education: religiosity, integrity, nationalism, collaboration (i.e. *gotong royong*), and independence (Widodo, 2017). Illustrations in the textbooks, then, can serve this function well because visual images can be easier for the eyes and stronger in bringing the intended messages to the audience.

The leading question for this inquiry is: “What imagined communities, diversity and identities do the illustrations in the English textbooks reflect?” To answer the question, the imagined communities, identities and diversity were traced back in the illustrations of the textbooks selected in this study. The term *imagined communities* refers to the communities as imagined in the illustrations. Similarly, identity refers to the identity shown explicitly or implicitly in the illustrations. The diversity refers to the government’s coined terms *suku* ‘ethnicity’, *agama* ‘religions’, *ras* ‘races’, and *antar golongan* ‘various social and political

groups'(SARA) as well as gender, age and disabilities, which are parts of social reality in Indonesian society.

Review of Literature

Identities in ELT have been researched in various perspectives and foci, from the identities related to native and non-native speaker debate in the 1990s (Liu, 1999; Medgyes, 1992; Reves & Medgyes, 1994) to the current issue related to identities of English teachers in the postmodern perspectives (Holliday & Aboshiha, 2009; Llurda, 2004; Tajeddin & Akeh, 2016). Interestingly, research on identities represented in textbooks illustrations is somewhat limited as most research usually focus on gender and gender bias found in the illustrations (Jin, Ling, Tong, Ling, & Tarmizi, 2013; Setyono, 2018; Yang, 2016). Cultural identity is also researched in textbooks illustrations such as one conducted by Brown and Habegger-Conti (2017). In their study the focus is on the visual representations of the Norwegian indigenous cultural identity. They found that “the images of white people more frequently invite the viewer to interact and empathize with the participant” (p. 16) so that illustrations in ELT textbooks potentially can be the carrier of ideology—which opposes the general cultural aims of ELT in Norway, which is focused on promoting multiculturalism and enhancing intercultural competence as well as avoiding otherness.

Imagined communities as suggested by Anderson (2006) refer to intangible communities perceived by a group of people as theirs in terms of affiliation and membership. Explaining about nationalism in terms of imagined communities, he wrote: “It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (p. 6). While Anderson used the term imagined communities to explain the rise of nationalism and the emergence of sovereign nations in Asia and Africa in the post-World War II, the term currently has been used to explain various communities in which its memberships and affiliations are imperceptible.

In EFL contexts, the term imagined communities has been used to explain the relationship between learners and teachers and their identity (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Yumarnamto, 2017). Pavlenko and Norton (2007) argue that the desire for membership among English language learners can influence their learning trajectory, their motivation, and their agency. As for identity, they exemplify using five areas of identities: postcolonial, global, ethnic, multilingual, and gendered identities. They conclude that English language classroom all over the world should be reimagined as a place of possibility by understanding imagined communities the students may aspire for memberships and affiliations.

Yumarnamto (2017) explores critical events that provides clues to imagined communities surroundings his experienced in learning English. He identified opposing communities that have influenced his learning experiences: native speaker (NS) and non-native speaker (NNS) communities, local and global communities, colonial and post-colonial communities. In those polarizing communities, he was in tension of his own identities as “a cassava-tongued boy”, a local identity as a person speaking English with an accent, who aspired to claim his global identity. Similarly, the history of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia had influenced his aspiring identities as he pursued his profession as an English teacher.

These examples of imagined communities in EFL provide a backdrop for this current study as identities and ideologies are inherent in EFL textbooks provided by the Indonesian government and written by Indonesian. We especially interested in the imagined communities as represented in the textbooks' illustrations and the third space (Liaw, 2007; Lotherington, 2013;

McKinley, Dunworth, Grimshaw, & Iwaniec, 2018; Prieto-Arranz, Juan-Garau, & Jacob, 2013; Xiaowei Zhou & Pilcher, 2018) created by the illustrations. The imagined communities and the third space could bring about intercultural connections and could contribute in shaping learners' identity, especially after the government mandated the integration of character education and multiculturalism in the curriculum, including English as a subject in public school.

Methodology

To answer the leading question, the authors collected data from three English textbooks, from grade 10 to grade 12 (senior high school). The main reason of selecting the textbooks was that they were endorsed by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, the textbooks were widely available nationally for free and they have wider audience than textbooks published commercially by other various publishers. The textbooks can be downloaded from the government subsidiary website at <https://bsd.pendidikan.id/>.

The English textbooks as the sources of data are listed in Table 1 and the covers of the books can be seen in Figure 1.

Table 1: The Three English Textbooks as Sources of Data

Author(s)	Year	Title & Grade	Publisher
Utami Widiati, Zuliati Rohmah, and Furaidah	2017	<i>Bahasa Inggris: SMA/MA/SMK/MAK Kelas X (Grade 10)</i>	<i>Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan</i>
Mahrukh Bashir	2014	<i>Bahasa Inggris: SMA/MA/SMK/MAK Kelas XI (Grade 11)</i>	<i>Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan</i>
Utami Widiati, Zuliati Rohmah, and Furaidah	2018	<i>Bahasa Inggris: SMA/MA/SMK/MAK Kelas XII (Grade 12)</i>	<i>Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan</i>

All the authors were Indonesian English teachers and educators working at higher education institutions in Indonesia. Their expertise and experience in English language teaching have brought them to the development of the English textbooks based on the 2013 Curriculum. These developed textbooks were meant to be used nationally in public school from Grade 10 to 12.

From the textbooks, illustrations were identified and coded for further analysis (sample illustrations can be seen in Figure 2). In analyzing the illustrations, first we identified all the visual images in each book. All images containing human figures were coded for further analysis in terms of identity and diversity. Illustrations that do not contain human figures, such as pictures of animals and natural sceneries were excluded from the analysis. Human figures were coded for gender, age, ethnicities, and religions, whenever it was applicable. This categorization, however, was not easy as some illustrations were not clearly shown the gender, age, ethnicities, and religions. In term of gender, the main identification is the clothes and appearance of the figures, especially the facial and hair. These identification factors may not reflect the outlier in the society where one gender may appear similar to the opposite gender. In the analysis, we took the prototypical gender appearance which generally accepted by the society.

Similarly, we also had to decide on the cross-cutting classification of age. We identified young and old people based on their appearance and their roles in the pictures. The appearance of young and old people was identified by their relative physical features, especially size and facial attributes. More importantly, young and old people were identified from their roles, such as kids and as students for young people as well as parents, teachers and doctors for old people. In short, old people were adults in the illustrations.

Ethnicity was a difficult construct for pictures identification as most pictures in the textbooks were not realistic pictures or photos. We solved this problem by first, identifying their physical appearance. All figures indicating Caucasians/Westerners were marked as foreign. Non Western foreign figures include African American such as Obama. These foreign figures were marked wherever there was a clear indication that they were foreigners such as figures of famous persons. In addition to physical appearance, we identified ethnicity from the verbal clues corresponding to the figures.

Finally, religions of the figures were identified only when there was a clear indication of religious affiliation of the persons. Typically, female figures wearing hijab were identified as Muslim while other female figures were not marked as they did not appear to affiliate to a certain religion.



Figure 1. Online English Textbooks Provided by the Indonesian Government

In this way, the first stage of analysis was done by counting the number of occurrences for each area of identities to provide a general description of the diversity of the illustrations and plotting a table (see Table 2). The second stage of analyzing the illustrations was conducted by identifying emerging themes, which was then classified and presented in the summary table (see Table 3).

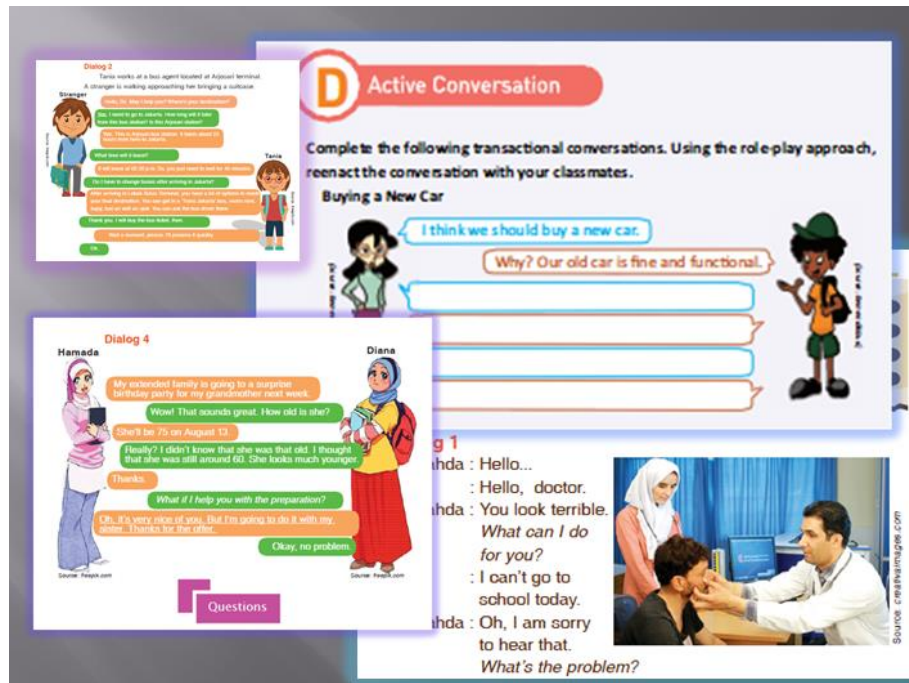


Figure 2. Sample Illustrations found in the Textbooks

The way we analyzed the illustrations can be best described as a critical discourse analysis (CDA). We see the illustrations as communicative events in which topics, speakers, and the surrounding contexts were considered (Gee, 1986, 2008, 2011). From these communicative events we identified the representations of gender, age, ethnicities, and religions. To interpret and make sense of the results, the concept of imagined communities (Anderson, 2006) was used as the main lens to see identity, diversity, and multicultural issues as reflected in the visual images.

Results and Discussion

From the analysis of occurrences, we identified 228 pictures in the three textbooks. In terms of gender, age, ethnicity/race, and religion, the occurrences can be seen in Table 2. From the table, the number of male is little bit bigger than female figures. In terms of age, young people are dominant, reaching 236 (74%) of the pictures containing human figures. From all the human figures, 181 cases (57%) can be identified as Indonesian with no specific ethnic groups apparent in the pictures. Indonesian ethnic minority such as Papuan appears in only 15 cases (5%). In terms of religion, only Islam can be identified, especially in female figures wearing hijab or head cover. From the images depicting Muslims 16 occurrences (5%) are of young people while 12 occurrences (4%) are of old people. Majority of the images (91%) does not show religious identity.

Table 2: Gender, Age, Ethnicity, and Religion as Represented in the Illustrations**GENDER**

Female	Male	N/A*
140 (44%)	172 (54%)	5 (2%)

AGE

Female	Male	N/A*
140 (44%)	172 (54%)	5 (2%)

ETHNICITY/RACE

Indonesian: Not Specified	Indonesian: Minority	Foreign: Western/White	Foreign: Non-Western	N/A*
181 (57%)	15 (5%)	71 (22%)	17 (5%)	33 (10%)

RELIGION: MUSLIM

Young (Wearing Muslim Attire)	Old (Wearing Muslim Attire)	N/A*
16 (5%)	12 (4%)	289 (91%)

Notes: N=228/ F=317; N/A* = not clear in the pictures

The illustrations containing human figures were also analyzed in terms of the representations of female and male figures as well as in terms of settings/contexts, occupations, activities, and famous persons (see Table 2). The male figures in the illustrations seem to be in more diverse contexts/settings, occupations, and activities. They occupy various places and spaces, from school library, to health clinic, to mountain, to beaches, to streets, and to forests. In contrast, female figures occupy mostly indoor spaces and limited outdoor ones such as in a market place and on the street. The spaces occupied by males and females in the illustrations also reflect different activities they perform. Males do more activities outdoor while females indoor.

Table 3: Setting, Occupations, Activities, and Famous Persons in the Illustrations

	FEMALE	MALE
SETTINGS/CONTEXTS	talking head/body (no clear contexts), classroom, library, market, health clinic, show place, office, street	talking head/body (no clear contexts), classroom, library, health clinic, mountain, beach, show place, office, street, forest
OCCUPATIONS	Singer, housewives, teacher, leader	athlete (football), doctor, pilots, soldiers, politician, president, scientists, chef, businessman

ACTIVITIES	Indoor: reading, talking, selling, bringing books/folders, bringing stick pointer, dancing with man, dancing with other girls, bringing bag/backpack, eating, teaching/talking in front of the class	Indoor: talking, speaking in front of the class, reading, selling, bringing backpacks/bag, bringing megaphone, dancing with girls, teaching/talking in front of the class
	Outdoor: buying and selling, walking on the street	Outdoor: fishing, hiking, biking, buying and selling, walking on the street, marching, playing sport (football)
FAMOUS PERSONS	National Heroes: Kartini, Cut Nya Dien Leader/Politician: Tri Rismaharini (the famous mayor of Surabaya)	Leader/Politician/Heroes: Habibie, Sukarno, Obama Scientist: Einstein Educator/Heroes: Ki Hajar Dewantara

Famous female persons appear in the illustrations include national heroes, such as Kartini and Cut Nya Dien and one politician or leader, Tri Rismaharini, the famous mayor of Surabaya. Meanwhile, famous male persons include politicians/leaders, scientists, and educators. Habibie, Sukarno, and Obama are found in the illustrations representing politicians or political leaders. Albert Einstein is depicted there as a male scientist and Ki Hajar Dewantara, the father of Indonesian Education, as an educator. Famous persons in a textbook generally are intended to draw students' interests and in this case of these textbooks, they can facilitate the integration of national ideology in English language teaching.

Table 4: Corresponding Communities in the Illustrations

Indonesian Community	International Community
Cosmopolitan, International, Modern	Mostly Western
Local culture is minority, less visible	Asian, and other international culture are generally invisible
Religions are generally invisible; moderate Muslim attire	Religions are generally invisible; moderate Muslim attire
Various ethnic groups are invisible	Various ethnic groups are invisible
Political groups are totally invisible; Indonesians are seen as one, a united nation state.	Political and global issues are limited; generally invisible

The various representations found in the ELT textbook illustrations reflect the aspirations of the authors and publisher regarding imagined communities supporting the practice of teaching English in Indonesia. The two imagined communities are the Indonesian community, representing national perspective of teaching English, and the international communities representing global speakers of English. Table 4 describes the two major corresponding imagined communities as reflected in the illustrations, the national community, i.e. Indonesia and the international community or global community.

Based on the illustrations (See Table 4), Indonesian community is perceived and presented as more international and cosmopolitan such as found in the figures of Indonesian persons in international contexts and urban settings. Local culture, religions, ethnic groups and various political groups are generally invisible. These dominant pictures of Indonesian community can be understood as English is more important in urban and international contexts and English is intended for international communication. The dominant power that wants to present Indonesia as a modern united country is visible through the illustrations.

The dominant pictures representing International community are of Western countries. Other regions such Asia and Africa are invisible. The dominant Western culture is understood as English is generally perceived as belonging to the native speakers, who are White and Westerners. In this way, the representation of the original English countries in general and Western culture and civilization are apparent.

Identity and Ideology as Reflected in the Illustrations

The dominant identity shown in the illustrations of the textbooks is the Indonesian identity, which is presented in a more uniformed way. The uniformity of identity in one aspect can be the manifestation of avoiding exclusion of various indigenous identities in Indonesia. In short, all-inclusiveness can avoid ‘othering’ (Brown & Habegger-Conti, 2017) as all members of the society are considered the same—leaving out their unique identities. This representation may indicate that the book authors and the publishers want to enhance the image of modern and cosmopolitan Indonesia, which is a member of a global community. In this way, diverse cultural images may not be important or at least hidden from the curriculum and the illustrations.

The illustrations show the monolithic Indonesia and the unity of the nation without representing diverse cultures and ethnicities. In this way, they may avoid the complexities of the issues as neutrality is the likely agenda in the textbooks. The uniformity in the representation of Indonesian identity may also indicate the neutrality that the authors want to maintain in the illustrations. The neutrality means that practice of ELT should serve the pedagogical purpose of teaching English, i.e. the learners’ proficiency in the target language. The representations of different ethnic groups in the contexts of Indonesian identity may not be considered relevant as the focus is on teaching English as a means of international communication. Focusing on a more cultural representativeness may add unnecessary burden as they can bring about sociocultural and political debates on the supposedly neutral activities of ELT.

Nationalism is the prominent agenda in integrating the character education in ELT in Indonesia. Among different aspects of character education mandated by the Indonesian government in public schools (Widodo, 2017), the illustrations in the textbooks indicate a strong tendency to put nationalism in front of other aspects. The number of national heroes presented in the textbooks can become the carrier of the hidden curriculum of integrating character education. Kartini, Cut Nya Dien, Soekarno, and Ki Hajar Dewantara are Indonesian national heroes who can give examples to the young generation about nationalism. The focus on nationalism as reflected in the ELT textbooks’ illustration may serve two functions. The first one is that nationalism as the part of character education is the most visible one and can be represented easily by the national heroes. The second one is that nationalism may mitigate the negative influences of English as perceived by some Indonesian educators (Lauder, 2008). In this way the illustrations in the textbooks can become the carrier of nationalistic values education as mandated by the Indonesian government in the president’s decree (Widodo, 2017).

Imagined Communities in the Textbooks

In the previous section the dominant Indonesian identity is signified by its uniformity and its lack of diversity. This identity that the authors and the publisher want to perpetuate is the unity of a nation, hiding the diversity and its complex issues related to sociocultural and political aspects of the nation. Aligned with this identity, the Indonesian imagined community is described as an international, cosmopolitan, and modern one (see Table 4). In the community, local cultures and minority is hardly visible. Similarly, religions and various groups are also hidden. It was the imagined ideal Indonesian community which was represented in the illustrations of the ELT textbooks.

This ideal image of Indonesia indeed is imagined to connect with the young learners of English in Indonesia's public schools. Young male persons are shown wearing long or short pants and shirts or t-shirts and interestingly most of them bring backpacks. Older persons, such as teachers, are described as wearing ties and they have proportional body, not too fat or too skinny. Islam, as the dominant religion in Indonesia is represented in a modern way, highlighting the moderate Islam as represented in a girl wearing hijab, bringing books and backpacks. It is in contrast to the image of traditional Islam in Indonesia which maintain traditional female roles; they should be at home as a housewife not as a learned woman. The picture, then, brings an image of modern and moderate Islam embraced by young people in Indonesia.

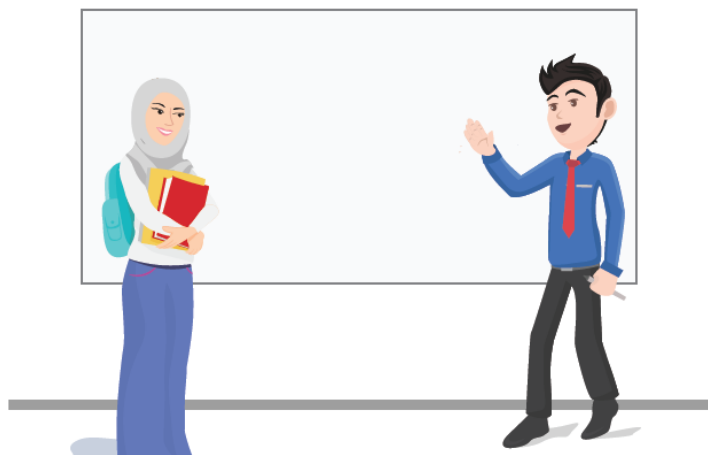


Figure 3: A Muslim Student and the Teacher in the Classroom

The question is why the authors and publisher of these government endorsed textbooks want to highlight the modern and cosmopolitan Indonesia to their readers, i.e. students and teachers in public schools. The answer to this question may not be answered straightforwardly as it is complex and involves many aspects related to pedagogy and politics in Indonesia. The possible answer for this uniformed and apolitical Indonesian imagined community is related to the ideology that teaching English is a neutral activities and English as a foreign language is considered as a tool for international communication, as the language of science and technology, and as a tool to support the development of the country (Lauder, 2008). As neutral activity, teaching English is confined in its subject matter so that the students are able to communicate the language and access knowledge written in English. Thus, illustrations in the textbooks are not necessarily representative of diverse cultures and ethnic groups in Indonesia. Simply, it may not be considered important by the authors and the book publishers. In this way, the textbook

illustrations may enhance the ideology of neutral English language teaching. In contrast with the national language that serves as a unifying element in the nation's building after the Dutch colonialism, English is considered high power language and the middle class language of modern communication (Lauder, 2008; Lie, 2002, 2017).



Figure 4. Sample Illustrations Representing International Culture

The illustrations in the three textbooks show that international culture is somewhat limited in terms of representations as the dominant one is the home culture. When it appears, the dominant international culture is the Western culture. Therefore, the international imagined community as reflected in the illustrations is marked by White Caucasian. The covers of the textbooks, for example, highlight the international nature of English education by providing the iconic Western culture in the images: the Liberty statue in the US, Sydney Opera House in Australia, and the Windmill in the Netherlands. These illustrations suggest that English is the language of dominant culture internationally. This is the target culture when Indonesian students learn English and the illustrations in the textbooks are better representing this attitude of many Indonesian, probably including the book writers and publishers. As shown in the examples on Figure 4, the target culture is represented in the image depicting a farmer markets with Whites are mostly on the picture and a biker in front of a chocolate factory in the US.

The two imagined communities, the national and the international imagined communities were present and have become part of the ideology in ELT. The more dominant national imagined community can be understood in that it echoes what Lauder (2008) suggest as utilitarian function of English. In his own words he wrote: “English is essential but the role that English be allowed to play is restricted to its utilitarian value in accessing information that can promote economic growth” (p. 13). In this perspective English is essential but it is also considered as a threat of the youth's nationalism. For some educators, English may give negative impact on the youth, especially in introducing cultural values which are not aligned with the national values. In turns, the introduction of foreign culture may affect the youth behaviors and it threatened the nationalism and patriotism of the Indonesian youth.

As the policy of ELT in Indonesia is framed in such perspective, the authors and the publisher's decision to integrate nationalism in the illustrations can be understood as they rely on the government policies and agenda. As the textbooks were endorsed by the government to be used all over Indonesia, the authors and the publisher may have decided purposefully to align with the nationalistic and patriotic values mandated by the government. In this way, illustrations

in the textbooks can be the best carrier to introduce these patriotic values to the learners while they learn English.

Conclusions

Indeed, illustrations are not only decoration (Romney, 2012) and the findings of this study are aligned with the assertion. Illustrations in the form of visual images can serve various functions in addition to pedagogical purposes. Such functions can be seen in the ELT textbooks endorsed by the Indonesian government to be used in high schools all over Indonesia. One of the salient functions is to integrate the character education. In this integration of character education the authors and the publisher align themselves with the government policies and agenda to enhance nationalism as the main value to counter the ‘danger’ of English. Therefore, the illustrations, which seem to be neutral, were in fact could bring the government political agenda in the hidden curriculum.

In the strap of Indonesian language policies with ambiguous attitude toward English (Lauder, 2008), the identity and imagined communities as reflected in the illustrations are very much reflected the attitude. The Indonesian identity and imagined community tend to be presented in a more uniform visual representations marked by lack of local or parochial identities. Instead, the one ideal model of Indonesia tends to be presented in a modern and cosmopolitan society, which at the same time could hide the diversities and the complexities of various cultural identities existing in Indonesia.

International imagined communities, which supposedly to be pervasive due to the nature of English as an international language, were represented in the illustrations in a limited perspective and they mostly represent Western culture. These representations may not be enough as English now is a language for international communication, which does not only belong to the original English speaking countries.

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