



English: The Elite Language for The Elites

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APA Citation:

Aprianti, D. (2023). English: The Elite Language for The Elites. *iRecall Journal: An Indonesian Journal for Language Learning and Teaching*, 1(2), 47-65.

Received
31/12/2023

Received in revised
form 31/12/2023

Accepted
31/12/2023

ABSTRACT

The notion of Elite multilingualism is deeply related to the current status of the English language in Indonesia as a foreign language, but it is highly desired due to the prestige and power attached to the language. Those who are proficient in English are likely to be hired rather than individuals who do not have the proficiency and it gives access for students to enrol to reputable universities. However, the prestige embedded with English has declined the users of *Bahasa Indonesia* and social inequality is inevitable due to the limited access to English learning. This essay aims to illuminate what makes English an elite language belongs to the elites by reflecting on relevant literature.

Keywords: *Elites Language, English, Indonesia.*

Introduction

Zein (2018, p.2) states “Indonesia is the second most linguistically diverse nation in the world. His observation is consistent with the viewpoints of Noprival et al (2021) and Wimayanti (2023), both of whom acknowledge the prevalence of multilingual phenomenon in Indonesia. In this diverse country, individuals typically acquire proficiency in vernacular languages, the national language, and foreign languages. As an Indonesian, this concept strongly resonates with my own experience in which I speak three languages, my mother tongue (minangnese), *Bahasa Indonesia* (official/national language), and English (Third language). Situmorang (2023) claims being multilingual is a widespread phenomenon in Indonesia, yet Baracos and Seleck’s notion (2019) about Elite multilingualism where they claim a particular language can give privilege and prestige compared to other languages has made this phenomenon unique. Home to at least 772 vernacular languages and one national language (*Bahasa Indonesia*), the famous slogan in Indonesia is “If you are not good at math, then you should be good at English.” Why English and why not *Bahasa Indonesia*? Setyawan (2016) illuminates that its status as a foreign language does not make Indonesian citizens undervalue English but it is treated as an elite language in which those who are proficient in English will possess a sense of pride in themselves and other people admire them. His insight shed light on how Indonesians consider English-speaking individuals as highly intelligent.

Setyaningrum (2016) emphasizes mastering the English language is a necessity and inevitability for Indonesian people and without the proficiency, it is impossible to achieve success or a high-quality career since globalisation has covered all public and private sectors as the language of aviation, diplomacy, international trading, and media industry etc (Pennycook, 2009; Sayer, 2017; Panda, 2021; Dash, 2022). Drawing on the importance of English, globalisation is like an aeroplane with English as one of the wings always sticking to the airline wherever it lands. Globalisation had made English a global language possessing economic, social and political values and the value has embedded socioeconomic power motivating people to adopt it as the language in a global context. Previously, English was learnt as a subject that needed to be learnt so students could pass the exam but nowadays, we can feel the notion brought up by Muth and Percio (2019) about a shift of value regarding the priority of language that should be prioritized depends on the market demand and Indonesia has been experiencing the shift.

The Indonesian government is intensely promoting the importance of
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English acquisition to produce a qualified workforce by including English as the first and only foreign language to become a compulsory subject in the national curriculum at secondary schools and tertiary education for 76 years (Prayogo, 2022). However, schools cannot cover all the needs of English language learners because teachers teach what has been decided in the national curriculum. According to Rusman (2022) English teaching in Indonesia focuses on linguistic competence where grammar is given a large portion and other skills are ignored while the different needs of English skills have led to the increasing demand for English learning that cannot be obtained in formal education.

English, as an elite language, has market value and the increasing motivation for learning English has created opportunities for the private sector to fill the gap but the private companies have mainly contributed to the commodification of English learning where English teaching and learning become commodities and luxury products sold in Indonesia which is known as the largest linguistic market (Zein, 2019) and the luxury product is limited for those who classified as the elite group and restricted for the mediocre.

This paper aims to discuss the process of how elite multilingualism occurs in Indonesia and I will explain the factors contributing to shaping English as the superior language, how English belongs to the elites, the impact of English as the Elite language and English on the elites, steps made to rebuff the impacts, the future status of English and conclusion.

The Construction of English as the Elite Language

English has gained international recognition due to its status as the lingua franca, embedding power in its speakers and granting them unlimited access to their pursuits. The significance and influence of linguistic competence in this globalised era have become a crucial asset. Pierre Bourdieu (1986) proposed the concept of cultural capital in which he extended the understanding of wealth beyond material possessions such as money, cars, and houses to encompass cultural capital referring to the knowledge and skill including linguistic capital possessed by an individual that confer social advantages. From Bordieuan sense, English proficiency is indicated as a form of cultural capital that has value and English's status as the lingua franca used in any domain of life has made the language become the symbolic capital which can be exchanged for value when the individuals enter social settings. Following Bourdieu, Hogan-brun (2017) and Moore (2017) also claim linguistic competence in this globalised era is an asset with tangible market value and undeniably a must-have skill since it is strongly linked to business, entrepreneurship, and innovation. In line, mastering

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the English language is closely linked with gaining economic capital because it opens the door to upward mobility. English serves as the lingua franca where individuals with strong linguistic competence are preferred by companies since they are able to actively engage with global partners. Not only business, but English proficiency also extends access in the realm of education and research. Studying in anglophone countries labelled as the countries with the best education system in the world requires a high level of English proficiency and academic institutions are often involved in international partnerships to enhance the quality of their research. Thus, individuals who master the English language gain the advantage of studying in prestigious universities, accessing countless information, and conducting research by collaborating with scholars from diverse linguistic backgrounds. The advantages of acquiring the English language have truly motivated people to learn English making English an “Elite language” and people have less interest in acquiring other languages due to the privilege that the English language offers. This resonates with Selleck and Baracos’ definition (2019, p.2) of elite multilingualism “a phenomenon that brings social and/or material capital, a sense of belonging, prestige, excellence, privilege, and access through the use of specific linguistic resources for certain social groups and individuals.

Without any means of exaggerating it, the symbolic capital that English possess is like a *black card* (credit card with no limit belonging to the super elite group) that offers unlimited access for its users. Why I dare to call it such a black card is clearly described by Tan & Rubdy (2008), Cameron (2012), and Heller and Duchene (2016) Linguistic competencies have played a dominant role in important societal domains such as the workplace, marketing, tourism, education, and even art. These domains serve as starting points to showcase how language can be utilized as a means of acquiring different forms of capital gain in specific markets. Now, we discuss how English functions as symbolic capital in the context of Indonesian society, consistently sitting on the peak as the most potent foreign language in Indonesia’s linguistic landscape where its status as a foreign language does not primarily underestimate its significance among Indonesian societies (Jon et al, 2021). There are several factors that are being accounted for contributing to the unrivalled position of the English language in Indonesia such as education and globalisation.

Drawing on Lauder (2008), English is commonly used in Indonesia, especially in academics and employment. English is included as the subject tested in the high-stake National Examination (NE) for junior and senior high school together with math, science and national language. Failure on this exam will hinder junior high school students from continuing their studies to senior

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high school, and for senior high school students, the consequence is worst because failure on NE means they cannot continue to tertiary education. Top universities in Indonesia even require their prospective students to have a high English proficiency level proven by IELTS / TOEFL ITP certificate as the prerequisite for those who want to pursue their education in their university and all universities in Indonesia demand their students to prove their proficiency level by TOEFL ITP test. Not only students, Indonesian university lecturers at the senior level are also obligated to take the Test of English Proficiency (TOEP) if they want to be promoted to a higher position (higher salary) and TOEP is also mandatory for new-recruited lecturers as a requirement to attain their NIDN (Indonesian Lecturer Identification Number). The government also specifically founded schools for brilliant students where the schools employ “English Only” and the students are not allowed to talk in *Bahasa Indonesia* because they are prepared to study in reputable international universities mainly in anglophone countries (Wahyuni, 2014; Setyaningrum, 2016; Jon et al, 2021; Alrajafi, 2021).

From the range of examples, we can genuinely relate to Bourdieu that linguistics acts as symbolic capital in the field of education which can be exchanged for access to higher education, acceptance in top universities, and higher position which also leads to higher salaries. Linguistic capital grants the students access to social capital where they meet other highly intelligent students and for lecturers, their English competencies have promoted them to a higher status and they are like killing two birds with one stone, gaining exactly economic capital (higher salary) and social capital (being promoted will place the lecturers in the room filled with lecturers who sit in the same position).

Globalisation has made employment strongly related to English proficiency as cited in Zein (2013) and Dash (2021) that English skill is highly valued in the job market since job advertisements always include English skills in their requirement lists both on a national and international scale. The need to have employees equipped with good English has benefited Indonesia since Indonesia is now experiencing a “demographic bonus” addressed by Hayes (2015) as a “demographic dividend” which is defined by Suryahadi et al, (2012) as a certain period where a country is dominated by a productive age group and less non-productive age group. This demographic bonus is expected to accelerate the economic growth of Indonesia because English proficiency, a symbolic capital, will allow Indonesian citizens in the productive age to join the global job market. This golden period started in 2020 and is expected to reach its peak in 2030 in which Indonesia is predicted will become a developed country in that year. Globalisation and demographic bonus have indeed strengthened

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English status because it expands the audience of English learners, not only students at secondary schools or tertiary education but also individuals who wish to expand their career to higher position in local and abroad companies. Wisnumurti (2018) warns that the government plays a prominent role in preparing the competent workforce for exploiting the demographic bonus. In fact, the government seemed to be well prepared for they have created a massive training program for Indonesian citizens started in 2020 and the training includes English course for the citizens.

Stoicheva (2016, p.103) comments “The positive attitudes, status and prospects offered by prestige forms of multilingualism make it highly desired, worth the effort and investment”. Drawing on her perspective, multilingualism has offered people privilege and prestige, yet it is necessary to highlight the fact it does not apply to all form of multilingualism since a certain language possess different power influenced by culture, politics, economy and power dynamics.

English: The Language of the Elites

I have illuminated how education and globalisation positively influence Indonesians to learn English for pursuing mobile upward and career opportunities. English has become “A Big Language” that everyone wants to learn, but is English available for Everyone? While it is widely known that learning English is mandatory for secondary education and tertiary education students giving them the opportunity to learn English for 10 years, Setyawan (2016) contradicts the facts emphasizing that there is an exclusion in achieving English proficiency because English is a language of the elite group, 8% of the Indonesian population. English education is available to everyone is indeed true, but what Setyawan implies is “Best English education” is not for everyone. Drawing on the statement of social inequalities and English for the elites, Lie (2007) parses access and opportunities to improve English proficiency are mainly available to students from middle and upper socio-economic classes because of their ability to enrol in private courses, utilize computer-aided language instruction, and be exposed to western culture, movies and songs.

As English gains international recognition for providing access to a better education system and higher employment opportunities, Indonesian citizens’ awareness of linguistic competence has increased. The awareness has made English glorified and then “commodified”. English learning has become a tradable commodity by the private sector since schools cannot accommodate the variety of English skills needed by society due to many factors (Hamdan, 2011; Sukmahidayanti, 2015; Hawanti, 2015; Badriah, 2019; Darmawan, 2020). Wahyuni (2014) points out the consequence of low quality in formal education

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has transformed private English academies into a thriving multi-million-dollar industry throughout the nation, with local and international English course chains engaging in fierce competition to attract students through enticing packages that highlight native speakers or Indonesia teaches graduated from abroad as instructors. In line, Lamb and Coleman (2008) acknowledge the private sector has commodified language to become a luxury product. The emergence of private English courses to accommodate the growing demand for English skills for variety and why it creates a multi-million-dollar industry and makes English a luxury product is perfectly portrayed by the pictures I attach below.

a. International English Courses

Whatever your age, ability or ambition, we have a course to suit you.

Learn with professional teachers
Our special teachers are British Council approved, have the best professional experience in the industry and are located worldwide.

Easy-to-use platform
Our learners love using our learning platform. It's easy to use and you can clearly see your progress.

BRITISH COUNCIL English Online How it works Pricing For Businesses Gift Voucher Up to 25% off

Package	Credits	Original Price	Discount	Final Price	Per Class
Silver	5	£126	50%	£63	£13
Gold	10	£103	20%	£82.40	£8
Platinum	15	£140	25%	£105	£7

Pay monthly & cancel anytime. Includes 7-day free trial & 20% off (Silver) / 25% off (Gold & Platinum).

(britishcouncil.org)

b. Local English Course

Jago Bahasa
"Speak Like a Pro"

PROGRAM ENGLISH FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSE

Merupakan program belajar intensif untuk kamu yang ingin custom materi. Kamu akan belajar menggunakan metode unggulan Jago Bahasa, dibimbing oleh teacher yang sudah berpengalaman minimal 3 tahun. Pada kelas ini kamu akan mendapatkan pembelajaran super intensive dan perhatian exclusive dari teacher dengan materi yang kamu inginkan dan disesuaikan dengan kebutuhan kamu.

Fasilitas:

- Private Class Concept (1 orang)
- Certified & Experienced Teacher (bisa request teacher*)
- Kelas Intensive Senin-Jumat (80menit/meeting)
- 60++ Video Pembelajaran akses selamanya
- Modul pembelajaran
- E-Certificate dari JagoBahasa
- Proven Successful Method
- Kelas Gratis seumur hidup untuk semua member
- Quiz & Discussion Group 24 Jam by Telegram

PRIVATE

995.000	Durasi 2 MINGGU
1.695.000	Durasi 1 BULAN
2.900.000	Durasi 2 BULAN
4.150.000	Durasi 3 BULAN
5.350.000	Durasi 4 BULAN
6.450.000	Durasi 5 BULAN
7.600.000	Durasi 6 BULAN
8.750.000	Durasi 7 BULAN
9.900.000	Durasi 8 BULAN
11.000.000	Durasi 9 BULAN
12.100.000	Durasi 10 BULAN
13.150.000	Durasi 11 BULAN
14.100.000	Durasi 12 BULAN

*Semakin panjang durasi yang diambil, maka materi yang didapatkan lebih dalam dan level yang dicapai lebih tinggi.

Jago Bahasa
"Speak Like a Pro"

JAGO SPEAKING PRIVATE

Merupakan program belajar bahasa Inggris ONLINE dengan fokus utama mengajak member secara aktif praktek Speaking dengan materi yang terintegrasi GRAMMAR, VOCABULARY dan PRONUNCIATION.

Pada kelas ini peserta akan mendapatkan pembelajaran super intensive dan perhatian exclusive dari teacher.

Fasilitas:

- Private Class Concept (1 orang)
- Certified & Experienced Teacher (bisa request teacher*)
- Kelas Intensive Senin-Jumat (80menit/meeting)
- Weekly Examination
- Placement test Gratis
- 60++ Video Pembelajaran akses selamanya
- Sertifikat English Fluency (bisa untuk daftar BUMK CPNS, Kampus dll)
- Proven Successful Method
- Kelas Gratis seumur hidup untuk semua member
- Silabus & Modul Pembelajaran
- Quiz & Discussion group Telegram 24 jam nonstop

Durasi dan Harga

2 Weeks	SALE	Rp 615.000
1 Month	SALE	Rp 1.495.000
2 Months	SALE	Rp 2.450.000
3 Months	SALE	Rp 3.850.000
4 Months	SALE	Rp 4.750.000
5 Months	SALE	Rp 5.950.000
6 Months	SALE	Rp 7.000.000
7 Months	SALE	Rp 8.050.000
8 Months	SALE	Rp 9.100.000
9 Months	SALE	Rp 10.100.000
10 Months	SALE	Rp 11.100.000
11 Months	SALE	Rp 12.050.000
12 Months	SALE	Rp 12.900.000

chat CSI

- 08133 6977 089
- 08133 6977 094
- 08133 6977 096

*Semakin panjang durasi yang diambil, maka materi yang didapatkan lebih dalam dan level yang dicapai lebih tinggi.

(Jagobahasa.com)

It does sound so promising and convincing “Whatever your age, ability, or ambition, we have a course to suit you.” The institution highlights their qualified teachers who is available worldwide to promote their English courses. However, the best class is almost half of Indonesian’ citizens average salary per month. Indonesia Statistic Bureau (2022) announces that Indonesian citizens' average salary per month is only IDR 2.686.954 (£250) while the minimum cost of enrolling English course from the British Council is 63£ and the platinum (the best class) is £105/month. The local private course offers even higher tuition IDR1.695.000 (£110) /month more than half of their monthly salary. Undoubtedly, the best English education is not for the mediocre.

However, we cannot only take sides with Bourdieu’s theory about Linguistic capital and are fully convinced by the notion of the Commodification of the English. Simpson and O’Regan (2018) challenge the theory about the commodification of language arguing that language does not go through producing processes like commodities, and it is just a glorification toward a particular language driven by the capitalist interest. Simpson does not stand alone in his rejection since Block (2014, 2018) and Holborow (2015) also claim that the notion of language commodification lacks grounding theory because the use of the term is often metaphoric. While Bourdieu claims language is a privilege that can help someone achieve higher social status, Simpson and O’regan highlight it as a glorification by the capitalist which we can link to linguistic imperialism and the metaphoric use of the term “commodity” make us think the value of the language from another perspective like “it is not exactly commodified, it is just a metaphoric term because it is being tradable like a commodity but it is not, it is just an analogy”.

The impact of Elite language belongs to the Elites

1.1.A Threat to the Existence of *Bahasa Indonesia* (National Language)

De Costa (2018) argue “promoting some language to elite status inevitably results in the devaluation of other languages because languages often have to compete within a competitive linguistic market for the attention of language learners”. Indonesia has been experiencing a dilemma because of the high public enthusiasm toward English. Many nationalists fear that Indonesian people will lose interest in using the national language that has become an identity of Indonesian citizens. Alrajafi (2021) and Agustin (2015) claim mastering English will not cause any harm to *Bahasa iRecall Journal: Vol.1, No.2 (2023)*

Indonesia if people possess a good understanding of the position and function of the two languages.

However, consideration and a good understanding in using English language are unlikely to happen as explained by Wahyuni (2014) middle-upper classes families and Indonesian academicians who graduated from abroad university are raising their children with English as their first language and it is now common to see Indonesian children do not speak any Indonesians word and they cannot communicate using *Bahasa Indonesia*. The children who do not speak Indonesian are not the worst case because the most surprising fact is many students from senior high achieved higher scores in English rather than the national language which Sadtono (2013, p.61) has addressed as “English Tsunami” slowly sweeping *Bahasa Indonesia*. Those cases alarmed the Ministry of Education and Culture that *Bahasa Indonesia* needs to be saved so they remove English from primary schools. In fact, the government’s solution does not seem to work since parents end up registering their children to private courses. Drawing on Dardjowidjojo (2003, p. 57) “The question is how to keep a balance between nationalism, on the one hand, and the use of a foreign language.” However, it seems to be a difficult task since there is no regulation ever made after the removal of English in primary school and the solution to find the balance is hardly found even Hamied (2012) draws on this situation as an educational dilemma caused by multilingualism.

1.2. Social Inequality

This is interesting how social inequality is not only caused by wealth or material stuff but by language as Bourdieu (1990) claims language is a form of capital. I remember when I worked in a multinational travel company as a fresh graduate, it was so hard to get promoted yet after the manager knew I have advanced English proficiency, I was admitted to the A-list team in 3 months when other employees took years to get into the team. I have got my privilege because of my English proficiency and my colleagues who work much earlier than me were still in the same position because they don’t have English skills. Being multilingual has granted people privilege and prestige but it is also a starting point for the emergence of vulnerability and inequalities for those from underprivileged backgrounds and there is always an exclusion (Codo and Sunyol, 2018; Baracos & Seleck, 2019; Paquet & Levasseur, 2018. Park & Wee (2012) explain limited access to high-quality English education has led to social and economic inequality since access to reputable universities and better career opportunities requires English proficiency. Drawing on the claims, it is

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more problematic since underprivileged individuals are not only limited by access to the best English learning resources but also to employment and the rich has double access, access to experience learning English from highly qualified institutions or private language academies, and the English proficiency they obtain will also make them possess the higher possibility to be accepted in the job vacancies.

Rebuffing the Eliteness and Effort for Inclusive education

I might sound biased, but I think it is right for me to appreciate the endeavour made by the Indonesian Government to prevent *Bahasa Indonesia* from extinction and provide inclusive education. As De Costa (2018) states that authorities should collaborate strategically to achieve educational justice, the government has stepped for achieving educational justice. Rebuffing the notion that the best education is only for the elites, Government regulation number 47 (2008) has mandated that all students are exempted from paying tuition fees for basic education (primary school and junior high school, and for higher education, the government has launched numerous scholarships for undergraduate study, postgraduate study and doctoral study, and training programs for the citizens. There are several programs made by the governments explained below.

1.3. Language policy

The government launched a new language policy in 2017 “Prioritize *Bahasa Indonesia*, Preserve the vernacular Language and Learn Foreign Language” mandating streets name, airport signs, brands, private language institutions, buildings, offices, advertisements to be displayed in *Bahasa Indonesia* (large font size) and English (small font size) (kemdikbud, 2022).

1.4. Kartu Indonesia Pintar (KIP) Smart Indonesian Card for Undergraduate Study

Indonesian government first launched a fully funded scholarship for senior high school students in 2010 known as “Bidikmisi” and currently it is changed to Smart Indonesian Card. Article 76 of Law No. 12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education, the scholarship aims at rewarding or financially supporting those who are categorized as possessing good academic potential but limited economic capacity.

During his interview, Abdul Kahar (The Head of the Education Financing Service Centre) states Indonesian Government is fully committed to provide an inclusive education that the total number

of recipients up to 2022 has reached 1,052,445 students from 38 provinces in Indonesia. In addition, the students who get the scholarships are also provided with various English programs from the Universities' Language Centre which will allow them to upgrade their English proficiency (Permata et al, 2019; Roziqin, 2019).

1.5.LPDP Scholarship (postgraduate and doctoral studies)

LPDP (endowment fund) is a highly prestigious fully funded scholarship in the Republic of Indonesia, initiated by the Ministry of Finance in 2014. Putra (2018) claims LPDP is one of the government's endeavours to provide inclusive access to education for public, including access to higher education. Established in 2012, and the President Director of LPDP during his meeting with the Indonesian House of Representatives (2022) reported LPDP has funded 35.536 awardees with 55,7 % of awardees studying in domestic universities and 44,3% studying abroad. Additionally, this scholarship is for individuals from underdeveloped regions and underprivileged family backgrounds who intend to pursue their postgraduate or doctoral studies in reputable universities across the globe. Not only funding, but the government is really being considerate of the applicants from the first two categories. It is stated in the policy that applicants from underdeveloped regions and underprivileged families are given a free IELTS preparation program taught by English language lecturers from Indonesian reputable universities and government also funds their IELTS test (LPDP booklet, 2023).

Two thousand applicants are accepted every year and obligated to sign a contract declaring their commitment that after accomplishing their education, they will come back to Indonesia, contributing to the nation with their own expertise. As an awardee of this scholarship, I personally undergo the contract signing and get directed about my task after finishing the study. For instance, awardees who graduate from the TESOL program will work in government's institutions or collaborate with other awardees to provide qualified teaching but with reasonable prices compared to private language academies in their own area.

1.6.Pre-Employment Card

Not only scholarships for individuals who aim at pursuing their education to a higher level, the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs (2020) has *iRecall Journal: Vol.1, No.2 (2023)*

also initiated a program called the “Pre-employment Card” for Indonesian citizens who wish to improve their soft skills by partnering with various ministries and government agencies, as well as private entities using a new partnership scheme 150 training providers have offered 1,701 courses via digital platforms provide training skills for English language, sports, bakery, computers, singing class, sewing, coding, finance etc assessed by the experts.

Future Directions of English as an Elite Language

In the future, English will remain an influential language in Indonesia considering English's role as the lingua franca and as one of the wings of globalisation. English will coexist together with *Bahasa Indonesia* since the government has promoted the importance of English proficiency while prioritizing *Bahasa Indonesia*. Further, inclusive access to English best education is possible to achieve as a result of governments' consistent support in improving social inequalities.

I believe the scholarships and the training skills provided by the government will slowly progress to achieve the equality of the best education access although these steps are perceived as naive decisions by experts like Pennycook (2007) and Park (2010a, 2011a). I challenge their assumption by the fact that the government's programs have improved social inequality on a large scale. The recent data from LPDP (2022), there are 27.000 awardees from socially disadvantaged backgrounds who already finished their education at abroad or local universities and now are founding their own company or working with the government to contribute by using their own expertise for improving inequality in the nation.

Conclusion

The elite multilingualism in Indonesia emerges because English, driven by globalisation and education needs, has become an elite language among other languages. It is highly desired that people want to invest in English learning since English proficiency grants people access to a high-quality education and a better career, but this phenomenon has made less space for national language since people have their personal pride when they are talking in English and Best English education is expensive that can only be accessed by certain people in Indonesia, the Elites. The notion of

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English as an elite language can perpetuate social inequalities and reinforce existing power dynamics but the Republic of Indonesia's government has made several policies and programs to achieve inclusivity for all Indonesian citizens, and if the government keep controlling the efficiency and effectiveness of steps taken, the goal will be achieved.

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