# Becoming Bruneian

Negotiating cultural and linguistic identities in the 21st century

Breda O'Hara-Davies

Doctor of Philosophy

## **Certificate of Original Authorship**

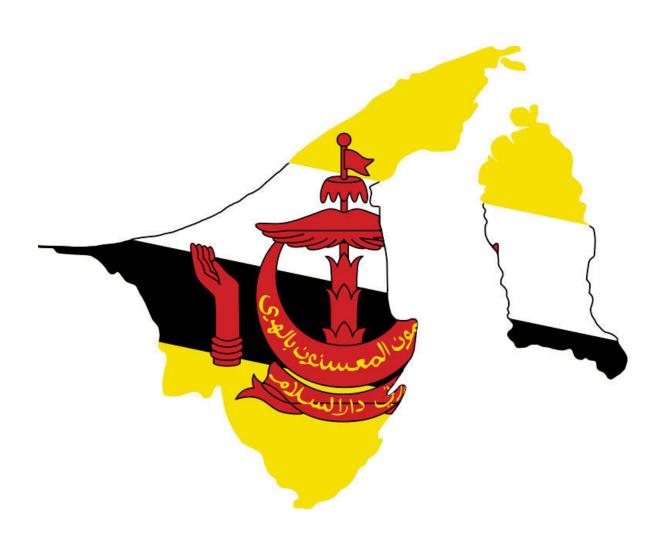
I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that this thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Signature of candidate

ii

## Negara Brunei Darussalam



#### **Acknowledgments**

This long journey has been nothing if not emotional. I would now like to thank the many people who have supported me along the way.

To my renowned supervisor, Professor Alastair Pennycook: You have been endlessly patient and understanding. Your insightful feedback and probing comments have guided me to produce what is hopefully a more focused account. Reading your body of work continues to inspire me to rethink my identity as language teacher and to adopt a critical approach to everything that this involves. To Associate Professor Liam Morgan, thank you for your enthusiastic support for my topic and for rescuing me when I almost gave up.

To the wonderful participants who took part so graciously in this research and who have allowed me into their minds and hearts: Your friendship, trust and belief in me are truly humbling. I hope I have done justice to your contributions.

To my ever-encouraging colleagues in the beloved English staffroom in Brunei who suffered my countless questions and discussions and who were always happy to explain, translate or allow me to borrow their words: This thesis is deeply indebted to your insights.

To Pg. Jaliha Pg. Sahbudin for her friendship and expert translation of documents into Malay as well as providing nuanced translations of Malay expressions: Your perceptive analysis of your lived experience of both the old and new education systems and of Bruneian life in general have been invaluable. Thank you for being only a WhatsApp away.

To my amazing research assistant / student liaison: You have contributed so much to making both the interview phase and the follow-up member checking run smoothly. Thank you for nagging me to finish, for believing that I could, and for keeping in touch. I look forward to seeing you achieve your full potential.

To my precious children, Jefri, Siân, and Billy: You grew up in Brunei and share my affection for the country. Being your mother is the identity I value most. I hope I have shown you that learning does not end at school.

To my dearest, long-suffering husband, Lyndon, who has been beyond exasperated at my procrastination: Thank you for your attention to detail and invaluable help with presentation and referencing. This document could never have taken shape without your help.

To my family in Ireland whose love supports me from afar: *Go raibh míle maith agaibh*. In memory of my late father, Patrick, who I know would have been proud of me for not giving up.

To those responsible for the growing body of qualitative Brunei-related research whose work has informed and impacted my thinking, David Deterding, Gary M. Jones, Geoffrey C. Gunn, Mukul Saxena, Noor Azam Hj Othman, Noorashid Muhammed Najib, and Salbrina Sharbawi: *Terima kasih*.

And finally to the many writers who have made me think, and think otherwise, about my language teacher identity and practices, including Adrian Holliday, Allan Luke, Angel Lin, Bonny Norton, Claire Kramsch, David Block, David Nunan, Elena Shohamy, Jim Cummins, Julie Choi, Luke Prodromou, Ofelia Garcia, Phan Le Ha, among many others: *Go maire tú!* 

## **Table of contents**

CHAPTER 1 Into the Identity Vortex: an introduction	1
Chapter 1: Introduction	3
1.1 The search for self: then and now	4
1.2 Identity: Entering the vortex	7
1.3 Ethnographically writing	15
1.4 Performativity	24
1.5 Identifying the research questions and the structure of the thesis	25
Conclusion to Chapter 1	27
CHAPTER 2 Identifying the Methodological Stance and the Researc Adopted	
Chapter 2: Introduction	30
2.1 Methodological stance	30
2.2 Research methods and procedures	47
2.3 Researching ethically	52
Conclusion to Chapter 2	60
CHAPTER 3 Getting to Know Brunei as Locality	62
Chapter 3: Introduction	64
3.1 Locating Brunei geographically	64
3.2 Brunei as a political domain	66
3.3 Brunei – the linguascape-glottoscape	73
3.4 Religions in Brunei	80
3.5 Bruneian society	82
Conclusion to Chapter 3	88
CHAPTER 4 Negotiating Politico-economic Identities	89
Chapter 4: Introduction – Into the political fray	91
4.1 Brunei's political reality	92
4.2 Nation-state	92
4.3 Forging an identity as a Malay Islamic Monarchy	98
4.4 The power of <i>titah</i>	100
4.5 Locating Brunei	101

	4.6 Colonial visions of Brunei	104
	4.7 The legacy of British protection	107
	4.8 Being anonymous	109
	4.9 Brunei's international identity	112
	4.10 Identifying the demise of political activism	117
	4.11 The caring monarch	124
	4.12 Being other than Malay	126
	4.13 Identification by colour	128
Co	onclusion to Chapter 4	133
CHA	APTER 5 Language and Identity	.135
Ch	apter 5: Introduction – English as a Bruneian reality	137
	5.1 The quest for real English / Who owns real English?	139
	5.2 Negotiating linguistic repertoires	142
	5.3 English in education	143
	5.4 Performing as 'bondees'	146
	5.5 Attitude to and in English	149
	5.6 Kampong Ayer – Identifying as poklen	158
	5.7 Choosing English language speaker identity	159
	5.8 Who is Bruneian? Who is local?	164
Co	onclusion to Chapter 5	172
CHA	APTER 6 Negotiating Religious Identities	.173
Ch	apter 6: Introduction – Brunei: a <i>zikir</i> nation	175
	6.1 Identifying with Islam	176
	6.2 The 'I' of MIB	179
	6.3 Ugama school: becoming Islamically minded	181
	6.4 Non-Islamic religious identities	184
	6.5 Badges of religious identity: tudungs and songkoks	189
	6.6 Images of Islam	199
	6.7 Religion-identity nexus	203
Co	onclusion to Chapter 6	207
CHA	APTER 7 Socio-cultural Identities	.208
Ch	nanter 7: Introduction	210

7.1 The Bruneian dream	210
7.2 Flavours of Brunei	212
7.3 Being anonymous	219
7.4 Weaving Bruneianness	227
Conclusion to Chapter 7	232
CHAPTER 8 Summary & Conclusion	233
Chapter 8: Introduction	235
8.1 Identity – from vortex to marble cake	237
8.2 Revisiting the research questions	238
8.3 Hyphen: friend and foe	242
8.4 On the tightrope between friend and stranger	242
APPENDICES 248	
Appendix 1: Road Signs Promoting Use of the Malay Language	249
Appendix 2: Recruitment advertisement for foreign 'experts'	250
Appendix 3: Interview schedule	251
Appendix 4: Conventions of transcription	252
Appendix 5: Sample excerpts from interview transcripts:	253
Appendix 6: Information sheet	256
Appendix 7: Consent forms	257
Appendix 8: Invitation Letter for Member Checking	261
Appendix 9: Social Network Support for Syariah Law	262
Appendix 10: HM The Caring Monarch	263
BIBLIOGRAPHY	264

## **List of illustrations**

Figure 2: Social media post (2016, August 18) re. reaction to continuing native speakerism	21
Figure 1: Social media post (2016, August 18) re. outside 'expert' recruitment reaction	21
Figure 3: Location of Brunei Darussalam	64
Figure 4: Districts of Brunei	65
Figure 5: Social media post (2014, April 11) re. family first	85
Figure 6: Social media post (2014, March 14) re. political comment by P7	96
Figure 7: Social media post (2014, August 29) re. spontaneous expressions of gratitude	100
Figure 8: Social media post (2014, August 29) re. in defence of Syariah law	102
Figure 9: The 10 members of ASEAN	112
Figure 10: Facebook poster (May 2014) re. reaction to external criticism	121
Figure 11: Social media post (2014, January 16) re. online satire in Brunei	122
Figure 12: Social media post (2015, July 27) re. online political awakening	123
Figure 13: Pigafetta's arrival in Kampong Ayer circa. 1521	130

### List of abbreviations and acronyms

A-level Advanced Level

APEC Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations

AS-level Advanced Subsidiary Level

BBC British Broadcasting Corporation

BCGCE Brunei-Cambridge General Certificate of Education

BIA Brunei Investment Agency

BICS Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills

BMA British Military Administration

BNE Brunei English (Language)

BNM Brunei Malay (Language)

BrSE British Standard English

BSB Bandar Seri Begawan (Capital City of Brunei Darussalam)

CALP Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency

CfBT Centre for British Teachers

D1 Daughter of R1

DV Deo Volente (God Willing)

EIL English as an International Language

ELL English Language Learning

ELT English Language Teaching

ENL English as a Native Language

GDP Gross Domestic Product

H1 Husband of P6

Hj. Haji (an honorific title for a male who has performed the Haji pilgrimage)

HM His Majesty (the Sultan of Brunei)

HREC Human Research Ethics Committee, UTS

IC Identity Card

ICJ International Commission of Jurists

IDB Islamic Development Bank

INT Interview

IMF International Monetary Fund

IRK Islamic Religious/Revealed Knowledge

KDN Keselamatan Dalam Negeri (The Internal Security Department)

KP *Kad Pengenalan* (Identity Card)

L1 First Language

lit. Literally

MIB Melayu Islam Beraja (Malay Islamic Monarchy)

MIM Malay Islamic Monarchy

MoRA Ministry of Religious Affairs, Brunei

MTeach Master of Teaching

NAM Non-Aligned Movement

NEST Native English-Speaker Teacher

NNEST Non-native English-Speaker Teacher

NNST Non-native Speaker Teacher

NST Native-Speaker Teacher

OIC Organisation of Islamic Cooperation

O-level Ordinary Level

P Adult Participant

PP Pilot Participant

PC Privy Council

PCE Primary Certificate of Education

Pg. Pengiran (a Bruneian honorific title of nobility)

PR Permanent Residency / Permanent Resident

R1 Researcher

RP Received Pronunciation

RTB Radio Televysen Brunei (Radio Television Brunei)

SLA Second Language Acquisition

SP Student Participant

SPL1 Student Participant Liaison

SPN-21 Sistem Pendidikan Negara Abad ke 21 (21st Century National Education System)

St. Saint

STE Standard English

STM Standard Malay

TEML Teaching English as a Missionary Language

TESOL Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

TL Target Language

UBD *Universiti Brunei Darussalam* (University of Brunei Darussalam)

UFO Unidentified Flying Object

UN United Nations

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNISSA Universiti Islam Sultan Sharif Ali (Sultan Sharif Ali Islamic University)

UK United Kingdom

USA United States of America

UTS University of Technology, Sydney

### Glossary of non-English terms

Bahasa language

baju kurong a long, loose tunic worn over a full-length skirt, usually in

bright, floral fabric

Berangin windy or lacking in conviction

biar baringgut dicabut inda

mau

although pulled, cannot be shaken or swayed (lit. Let [it]

shake, but pulled out it cannot be)

biawak punggur monitor lizard or lazy man

Bibiran lips and lips or too talkative

budi bahasa manners and etiquette (culturally linked to Malay)

Bumiputra a Malaysian of indigenous Malay origin (lit. sons of the

soil)

calak Brunei Bruneian identity

Campur mixing

cara Brunei the Bruneian way

cara Melayu a two-piece outfit consisting of a long tunic and loose

pants worn by males

Cina Muara a Chinese person who exhibits Malay culture and

qualities, but invariably lives in or originates from the

Muara area

Daerah district

darjah form class

dwibahasa bilingual

fatwa a ruling on a point of Islamic law

gharbzadegi west-struckness; occidentosis; westoxification

gnothi seauton know thyself

go maire tú! may you have a long life!

go raibh míle maith agaibh thank you very much

junjung ziarah a ceremony for a royal visit

kain tenunan Bruneian brocade featuring gold and silver thread

kaling a pejorative word for a person of Indian origin

kampong Village

Kampong Ayer Water Village

kemukaan face or reputation

Keselamatan Dalam Negeri the internal security department

nom de plume pen name

Negara Brunei Darussalam Nation of Brunei, the Abode of Peace

*Melayu* Malay

Melayu Islam Beraja Malay Islamic Monarchy

Mufti Islamic scholar

Muslimah female Muslim

orang puteh white person

orang puts anglicised plural slang version of orang puteh

Pengenalan identity

Perambahan proverb

Poklen member of anti-establishment group associated with

Brunei's Water Village

pra sekolah pre-school

Sabar restraint or reserve

seperti kacang lupakan kulit like a peanut that has forgotten its shell

sinjang a short decorative sarong-type garment, featuring

traditional Bruneian motifs, worn by Malay males

temet nosce know thyself

terima kasih thank you

Titah speech by His Majesty the Sultan

tudung (alternative spelling: tudong) headscarf

Yang Di-Pertuan Head of State (lit. he who is lord)

Wawasan vision

Ziarah royal visit when cash gifts are distributed

Zikir chant (lit.); strong adherence to Islamic ideals

#### **Abstract**

As the world has become increasingly globalised, long-held understandings of ethnic, national, religious, cultural, and linguistic identities have been uprooted and diffused. This has resulted in a 21st century re-engagement with the nebulous concept of identity. This ethnographic study explores how the competing forces of essentialising and hybridising social constructs impact the personal identities' construction of a group of 16 young people in Brunei Darussalam – a sultanate on the island of Borneo. It juxtaposes identity-asperformative with identity-as-assignation in light of the country's powerful ideology of Melayu Islam Beraja (MIB), translating as Malay Islamic Monarchy. This state apparatus seeks to confer and promote a triad of politically desirable identities on all Bruneians in an attempt to preclude the need for agentive identity construction at an individual level, something that is regarded as potentially destabilising. MIB emphasises Malay language and cultural norms as assertions of ethnicity and nationalism. However, Brunei has a rich linguistic ecology in which English, as one of its languages, plays a key role as the dominant medium of education, posing a linguistic dilemma. Drawing on qualitative data, generated by extended participant observation, informal interviews and content analysis, this study seeks to uncover how participants negotiate their multiple identities amid such contradictory influences. What emerges from four-fold thematic analysis (politicoeconomic; linguistic; religious; socio-cultural) is not a coercion of fixed identities, but a complex dynamic web of accommodation and reconciliation. Participants reveal how they actively calibrate their levels of commitment to or subversion of their many selves to achieve personalised local-global synthesis. In this way, they perform Bruneianness using all of their cultural and linguistic resources.