INDONESIAN JELT

Indonesian Journal of English Language Teaching

INDONESIAN JELT:
INDONESIAN JOURNAL OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

TABLE OF CONTENTS

English language in Brunei: Use, policy, and status in education – A review

Claire Goode
Otago Polytechnic, Dunedin, New Zealand

Abstract

This paper explores the literature on the status of the English language in Negara Brunei Darussalam, particularly in education. The review encompasses a total of 103 sources, including 44 journal articles, 27 book chapters, 15 books, and 17 other items (institution/organisation websites and reports, government documents, newspaper articles, and conference presentations), published between 1985 and 2020, with at least 70 sources published in the last decade. The author summarises findings from research in key areas in the Bruneian context including bilingual education, linguistic diversity, the status of English, educational policies, educational divides, and challenges to the student experience, particularly in higher education in the bilingual setting. The author found that: i) while there are concerns over the impact of English on the Malay language and on indigenous languages in the Sultanate, and apprehension around an educational divide, the majority of attitudes appear to be very positive about the use of English in Brunei, including in education; ii) the bilingual education policy has evolved over time, and now places an emphasis on English as a key competency for the 21st century; iii) the student experience in the bilingual context is a particularly under-researched area. Staff working in tertiary education can always benefit from further insights into different aspects of learning, teaching, and content delivery, which may be applicable in many settings. The paper concludes with recommendations for further research in Brunei.

Keywords: bilingual education, tertiary education, Brunei Darussalam, English language, linguistic diversity

Introduction

This paper aims to contribute to knowledge and existing research around education in Negara Brunei Darussalam (henceforth Brunei), by reviewing the literature on the status of the English language in Brunei, particularly in education contexts. In addition, the author aims to help educators and

Direct all correspondence to: cgoode@op.ac.nz

curriculum designers gain a deeper understanding of elements influencing learning and teaching, such as challenges experienced by students working in a bilingual environment, as well as student expectations. Staff working in tertiary and/or further education, including, for instance, at the University of Brunei and at the Military Academy of the Royal Brunei Armed Forces, can always benefit from further insights into the student experience and into factors affecting student performance. The practical benefits of this paper extend beyond the Bruneian context, and will help identify aspects of learning, teaching, and content delivery which may be applicable in many settings, such as the delivery of other educational programmes in cross-cultural and/or multilingual contexts, and tertiary-level studies delivered through the English-language medium for students from a non-English speaking background.

This review of the literature summarises findings from research in key areas including bilingual education in Brunei, linguistic diversity, the status of English, educational policies, educational divides, and challenges to the student experience. The paper concludes with recommendations for further research in the Bruneian context.

The Bruneian context and linguistic diversity

The small sovereign state of Brunei Darussalam, located on the north-western coast of the island of Borneo, in south-east Asia, was under British protection until achieving independence in 1984 (BBC, 2019), and maintains strong ties with the United Kingdom. The population of approximately 450,000 is predominantly Malay (in the region of 66 per cent), with a significant Chinese minority (around 10 per cent), and indigenous peoples (around six per cent) making up nine ethnolinguistic groups: Belait, Bisaya, Dusun, Iban, Kedayan, Mukah, Murut, Penan, and Tutong (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d.; Sammons, Davis, Bakkum, Hessel, & Walter, 2014). While Standard Malay, or *Bahasa Melayu*, is the official language (Sammons et al., 2014), English is spoken widely, with Brunei sitting in the 'Outer Circle' of Kachru's (1985; 1992) much-cited model. In addition, multiple other languages are used in Brunei (Barry, 2011; David, Cavallaro, & Coluzzi, 2009), including Mandarin, Tagalog, Arabic, Urdu, Thai, and seven indigenous languages (Martin, 1995; McLellan, Haji-Othman, & Deterding, 2016). The country is certainly multilingual, with 'societal multilingualism' being broadly defined as the coexistence of two or more languages used by any person or group of people in society (Richards & Schmidt, 2002, p. 493). Standard Malay is used in formal contexts, including media broadcasts and government speeches

(McLellan et al., 2016), but it is the local version of Malay, Brunei Malay, that is the lingua franca (Martin, 1992; McLellan et al., 2016), with other unique varieties used within particular groups. These include Kampong Ayer, the dialect of the Water Village; Kedayan, the dialect of the land Malays; Lun Bawang, spoken mainly in Temburong (Brunei's easternmost district); Iban, also spoken in Temburong, and in the districts of Tutong and Belait (which, in turn, have their own Tutong and Belait varieties); Dusun, "an unwritten language with a number of varieties, mainly found in the Tutong district" (Noorashid & McLellan, 2018, p. 218); Bisaya, closely related to Dusun; and Penan (spoken by only "40-50 speakers in the village of Sukang in the Belait District" (Haji-Othman, McLellan, & Jones, 2019, p. 315)) (Poedjosoedarmo, 2004; Haji-Othman et al., 2019; McLellan et al., 2016). This rich linguistic diversity, not highlighted until Nothofer's fieldwork study conducted in 1987 (Nothofer, 1991), is particularly high for a country of only 5,765 square kilometres (BBC, 2019).

Although the official government position is that the minority indigenous languages "are all dialects of Malay" (Haji-Othman et al., 2019, p. 315), none of them are recognised or carry any status in education, in language planning, nor in the media, and some are at risk of dying out altogether (David et al., 2009; Sammons et al., 2014). This would mean the loss not only of the language itself, but also of the cultural heritage and identity of these people (Crystal, 2014; Haji-Othman, 2012). Having said that, "Community members and language experts have taken up the challenge of maintaining the use and vitality of indigenous ethnic minority languages in the Sultanate" (Noorashid & McLellan, 2018, p. 218), and credit-bearing courses in several of the indigenous languages (specifically Iban, Belait, Dusun, Tutong, and Lun Bawang), alongside Brunei Malay, are currently available through the Language Centre at the University of Brunei Darussalam (Language Centre, Universiti Brunei Darussalam, n.d.). Research by Noorashid and McLellan (2018) suggests that students enrolling in these courses do so not only out of personal interest, but also "to maintain the language as part of Brunei's heritage" (p. 223). This is certainly a positive step, but is perhaps only one part of a complex puzzle.

Another aspect of the linguistic diversity in Brunei is that English is the main language for business and government affairs, and is the only official language of ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN Secretariat, 2013; Lim, 2017), of which Brunei is a member state. Barry (2011, p. 212) cites ASEAN's *Socio-Cultural Community Blueprint* (2009), which "promotes English as 'an international business language at the workplace'... and ranks English… as [a] key area to be invested in", along with applied science, technology, and communications. It is also worth noting that, with huge oil revenue in Brunei contributing to the

nation's wealth since the 1950s, the British and Dutch-owned multinational oil company *Royal Dutch Shell* plays a major role in the national economy (Deterding & Sharbawi, 2013; Jones, 2016a; Sercombe, 2014), which is possibly one contributing factor in Brunei's strong connection with the United Kingdom. Officially, standard British English is encouraged over other varieties (Haji-Othman & McLellan, 2014), although, informally, American English appears to be on the increase in Brunei (Gardiner & Deterding, 2019), and Brunei English is gaining ground as its own distinct variety (Deterding, 2014; Deterding & Sharbawi, 2013; Ho, 2016; Low & Ao, 2018). As Martin (2002, p. 182) summarises, then, the English language, in whichever form it may be, "has a significant position in Brunei's language ecology".

The status of English, however, is not always viewed in a positive light, with concerns over, for instance, its impact on the Malay language (Barry, 2011; Kon, 2013; Martin, 1999; Poedjosoedarmo, 2004; Sercombe, 2014), and its influence on traditional Bruneian culture, values, and identity (David et al., 2009; Deterding & Sharbawi, 2013). O'Hara-Davies (2010) goes so far as to question "the spread of the English language in Brunei in terms of its deliberate orchestration or its occurrence as part of a market-force-type response of supply to meet demand" (p. 108). Others, though (Chin, 2007; James, 1996; Ramly, Othman & McLellan, 2002), maintain that the English language is not considered a threat in Brunei, and that, while competence in English is important, it is still a choice; Malay remains the first and only official language of the nation (Berns, 2010; Jones, 2015). As Sammons et al. (2014) highlight, the so-called "'anachronistic views of linguistic imperialism' seem unhelpful here" (p. 13). Furthermore, for Haji-Othman et al. (2019), "it would be wrong to claim that English has directly caused or contributed to the reduced role of Brunei's minority languages in the linguistic ecosystem" (p. 322). Instead, English should be seen as one part of the complex linguistic diversity in Brunei.

Back in 2003, Jones (pp. 124-125) asserted that:

> South East Asia is undergoing something of a language revolution - developing forms of bilingualism that include both English and the national languages… National languages and cultures are still being promoted, but increasingly with the acknowledgement that a country's development involves access to and involvement in global markets, and such involvement is improved by use of a common language, most usually English... Development of the role of language and national aspirations continues to be fascinating process in Southeast Asia in general and in

> Brunei in particular. This is an unfolding story and one that still has a long run ahead of it.

That "unfolding story" includes the evolution of bilingual education policies in Brunei.

Bilingual education in Brunei

For a good indication of the value placed on English language education by policymakers in Brunei, we can turn to Gardiner, Boye, Salleh, and Yusof (2018, p. 2), echoing Kirkpatrick (2010), when they propose that "the bilingual education policy in Brunei is probably the most successful of all the ASEAN member states". With this in mind, it would be helpful to examine how this policy has evolved over time.

An extensive library search revealed that there is very little published literature on education, language use, or on student experience in Brunei, when compared to the wealth of similar research on bilingual education in nearby Singapore or Malaysia. Indeed, in 2011, Barry lamented the "paucity of research" (p. 203) around the bilingual educational context in Brunei, although this does seem to be improving somewhat over time, particularly with the work of researchers at the University of Brunei Darussalam (UBD), established as a bilingual institution in 1985 (Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 2016c), and the more recent focus in Brunei "on providing English language training to other [ASEAN] member countries" (Gardiner et al., 2018, p. 3), led by UBD in collaboration with the Bruneian Government.

The most recent United Nations Human Development Index (United Nations Development Programme, 2019) rates Brunei in its "very high" category, ranking it 43rd overall in the world, and indicating high educational achievement ratings as one of several contributing factors (Booth, 2019). This is especially noteworthy when we consider that there was no formal education system in Brunei until after the Second World War (Haji-Othman et al., 2019; Jones, 2016b), during which time the country had been under Japanese occupation. Mainstream government schooling was introduced in the 1950s, using Standard Malay as the medium of instruction (Haji-Othman et al., 2019), but, for most Bruneians, formal education did not begin until the 1960s (Jones, 2016b). Shortly after Brunei gained independence in 1984, bilingual education or the *sistem dwibahasa* (literally 'two languages system') was introduced (Barry, 2011), aiming to "[ensure] the sovereignty of the Malay language, while at the same time recognising the importance of the English language" (Sammons et al., 2014, p. 15). From 1985 onwards, a national curriculum, set by the Ministry of Education, was adopted by all primary and secondary schools (Haji-Othman et al., 2019). Initially, children

were taught in Standard Malay at pre-school level and in their first three years of primary education, with English then taking over as the medium of instruction in many subjects (Martin, 1996), specifically Mathematics, Science, Geography, and English Language (with History also taught in English up until 1995, when it reverted to a Malay-medium subject) (Haji-Othman et al., 2019).

While its intentions were positive, the *sistem dwibahasa* "was found to be divisive, privileging those students who had a sound grasp of English from their home and family background" (Haji-Othman et al., 2019, p. 317). As O'Hara-Davies (2011) stresses, "the situation was further exacerbated by the fact that the use of Standard Malay as a medium of instruction itself constituted a second language" (p. 295). In addition, many were concerned that English was being used to teach core subjects, while Malay was used to teach less 'concrete' subjects, such as Art and Craft, Physical Education, and Civics (Haji-Othman et al., 2019). The intention was that, "Malay would be the language of the heart, maintaining the moral fibre of the society, while English would be the pragmatic language of science and technology" (Deterding & Sharbawi, 2013, p. 15), but, again, there were concerns over an educational divide (an apprehension which continues today (Ishamina & Deterding, 2017; Jones, 2016a) and the perceived value being accorded to some subjects over others.

In January 2009, the Bruneian Ministry of Education introduced a new 'National Education System for the 21st Century', *Sistem Pendidikan Negara Abad ke-21*, or SPN21 as it is commonly called (Ministry of Education, Brunei Darussalam, 2018; Sharbawi & Jaidin, 2020), aiming to "better prepare pupils for life in the 21st century" (Jones, 2012, p.184):

> The SPN21 curriculum is designed to provide learners with broad, balanced, relevant and differentiated learning experiences and takes into account each learner's needs whilst making provision for progression and continuity. It is intended to be more responsive to changes in the society and the economy, and will lead learners towards lifelong learning. (Ministry of Education, Brunei Darussalam, 2013, p. 42).

This new system is much more student-centred (Ishamina & Deterding, 2017; Jones, 2016a), and places a greater emphasis on English "as an employment and further education enabler, reflecting its role as a key competency" (Sammons et al., 2014, p. 15). Mathematics and Science are now taught in English from the first year of primary education, alongside English language lessons, with Social Studies, Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), Music, and Drama also taught in English at primary level (Haji-Othman et al., 2019). Consequently, "more

English is being used in Brunei schools at an earlier age than ever before" (Jones, 2012, p. 184). Haji-Othman et al. (2019) outline that, at secondary level, students continue to study Malay language, Malay Islamic Monarchy, Islamic religious knowledge, and Physical Education through the Malay medium, with Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, Business, and Technology all taught in English, and ICT, Commerce, Music, and Art taught in either language. As students move through secondary school, they can choose elective subjects taught in Malay and others taught in English. Indeed, "if students so desire, they can avoid all the Malay-medium electives altogether, thus completing an English-dominant secondary education" (Haji-Othman et al., 2019, p. 319). Overall, through its introduction of SPN21, "Brunei has moved in the same direction as those nations who subscribe to the 'earlier is better' argument for second-language acquisition in formal education" (Haji-Othman et al., 2019, p. 319), and this would appear to be paying dividends, with Sammons et al. (2014, p. 19) highlighting that some teachers have reported increased English language proficiency in students starting secondary school.

For a student perspective on the bilingual education system, O'Hara-Davies (2010) investigated students' attitudes to English, and the role it plays in their education and in Bruneian society in general. She reports that only one out of the 60 participating sixth-form students claimed to dislike the system, feeling that it "compromised his achievement in other areas" (p. 112). O'Hara-Davies goes on to say that "participants were keenly aware of the need for English in their lives, linking it with enhanced career prospects, modernity, and inclusion at a global level. One of those interviewed used the expression 'English is gold'" (p. 114). In secondary education, then, the available research would suggest that learners are very positive about the bilingual system.

In terms of tertiary education in Brunei, English is the main language of instruction at UBD (International Association of Universities, 2019), with two British universities (specifically University College, Cardiff, and the University of Leeds) overseeing English-medium programme development (Ishamina & Deterding, 2017). Together with Malay, English is also used at the Brunei University of Technology (International Association of Universities, 2020). At the Universiti Islam Sultan Sharif Ali (UNISSA), English is taught, but only as a second language, given that programmes are taught primarily in Malay and Arabic (Haji-Othman & Wood, 2016). Elsewhere, other post-secondary technical and vocational programmes are available in both English and Malay through the collective Institute of Brunei Technical Education network (IBTE) (Institute of Brunei Technical Education, 2020), with seven campuses across the country.

At around the same time as the introduction of SPN21 in early 2009, there were two other significant developments in education policy in Brunei. The first of these was the University of Brunei Darussalam raising its standards across the teacher-training programme for its locally trained English teachers (Gardiner et al., 2018). The second development was the Bruneian Government's decision, through the Ministry of Education, requiring student teachers to study at postgraduate level (by enrolling in a Postgraduate Certificate in Education, a Master's in Teaching, a Master's in Education, or a PhD programme), rather than enrolling in various undergraduate options (Certificate in Education, Diploma in Education, or Bachelor's degree in Education), previously offered by the Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Education (Ishamina & Deterding, 2017; Mundia, 2012). Mundia (2012), while challenging the speed at which this change in policy was implemented, as well as questioning the lack of research into teacher effectiveness in the Bruneian context, acknowledges that the government's intentions were good and in the nation's best interests:

> The two main reasons given by the government for this change were that, (1) in general, teachers lacked adequate knowledge of the subject matter for the school subjects they teach, and (2) that the country wanted to improve the overall quality of education in the nation by raising the qualifications of teachers. (p. 326)

A further development, in 2011, saw UBD introduce its 'GenNEXT curriculum' (Tan, Shahrill, Ali, Daud, & Naing, 2016; Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 2016b), "to provide local students with international exposure" (Tibok & Hiew, 2019, p. 7) through compulsory engagement in various programmes during their third year of study, including student exchanges, internships, and/or community programmes (Tibok & Hiew, 2019). In addition, the Bruneian Government provides various scholarship opportunities for citizens to study overseas (Tibok & Hiew, 2019).

Also on the rise in Brunei is offshore or 'transnational' education; in other words, "the provision of academic courses to students who are physically situated overseas" (Seah & Edwards, 2006, p. 297) from the awarding institution. Tynan and James (2013) explain that this may include collaborative arrangements, such as franchise programmes and joint degrees offered by more than one institution, and non-collaborative opportunities such as branch campuses. Examples include UBD's joint Bachelor of Engineering programme with Zhejiang University in China (Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 2016a), joint postgraduate programmes offered with Korea University (Faculty of Science, 2015), and a variety of joint initiatives with Stevens Institute of Technology in the United States (Stevens Institute

of Technology, 2019). While transnational programmes may have their advantages, offshore education has been criticised for "eroding national cultural identities and leading to cultural homogenisation, most often in the form of Westernisation" (Knight, 2014, p. 55). The implications of using materials designed by Western educators for learners in non-Western countries are the subject of various research (e.g. Doherty & Singh, 2005; Gulati, 2008; Shilkofski & Shields, 2016; Wright, Dhanarajan, & Reju, 2009). Luke and Dooley (2011, p. 857) suggest, perhaps controversially, that "the international spread of English via Western curriculum and language teaching methods is a form of "linguistic imperialism" (Phillipson, 1992)". Cousin (2011), on the other hand, while agreeing that there is a need for sensitivity, does challenge "issues of imperial power and hegemonic grip" (p. 585) and calls for educators "to look with a fresh lens at what it takes to produce an internationalised curriculum" (p. 592). In their research into the professional practice of teachers across more than 30 countries, focusing on how these teachers conceptualise global citizenship, Harshman and Augustine (2013) report that one teacher in Brunei recognised that "it remains the responsibility of educators…to be aware that much of our academic knowledge and news reflects a Western perspective and is limited by inbuilt cultural assumptions" (p. 457). In addition, as Hamdan (2017) highlights, educators

> must… no longer view themselves as local education providers merely to secure the goals of national interests, but rather as global education providers tapping into both local and overseas job markets. Rather than competing with several local or regional universities, [institutions] must now compete on a global scale. (p. 76)

It would be interesting, then, to research the extent to which tertiary curricula (including those for vocational and technical programmes) are internationalised in the Bruneian context.

Alongside particular concerns over tertiary curricula, there are also questions about the quality of higher education in Brunei in general (Hamdan, 2017; Metussin, 2017): "Despite efforts by the government to make education accessible to all, access to quality education remains a major concern" (Alani, Yaqoub, & Hamdan, 2015, p. 232). Overall, though, as Sammons et al. (2014, p. 12) summarise, "One significant course of action appears unchanged…: the Bruneian government's long-standing and firm commitment to its bilingual education policy since its launch in 1985".

For such a small nation, it could perhaps be said that Brunei is making economically 'smart' choices in its approach to English language use. While precise statistics on the number of English-speakers worldwide

are elusive and ever changing, "there has never been a language so widely spread or spoken by so many people as English" (Crystal, 2012, p. 189); it "has become the standard for international communication" (Labassi, 2008, p. 409). The decisions of the Bruneian government may well be about "power and purse" (Baker, 2011, p. 54), while, on the one hand, "charting out a national identity that is racially, linguistically and religiously exclusive from British residential powers" (Ho, 2019, p. 151), it is also strengthening the country's position on the world stage by maintaining strong ties with its Western allies. One illustration of this is the rise in the number of UBD's partner universities, increasing over a ten-year period from 70 to 112, with partners across more than 30 nations and six continents (Tan et al., 2016). Haji-Othman (2012) portrays Malay and English as two duelling Aunts, with "English, the more distant but eminently 'useful Auntie', …being learned for the instrumental purposes of competing internationally" (p. 188). In Bruneian education policy:

> Crucially, English was not only perceived as a necessity for going abroad, but as another strong language that would help Brunei as an outward-looking country to develop and move forward. In the political sphere, the English language was conceptualised as a powerful 'instrument of learning', which is crucial for the country's ability to overcome its strong dependence on gas and oil production and achieve the move towards a knowledge-based economy. (Sammons et al., 2014, p. 15)

Education certainly has an important role in sustaining national prosperity, developing a country's workforce, and generating economic growth (Abdullah & Osman, 2010). In addition, there is widespread agreement (Haji-Othman et al., 2019; Ishamina & Deterding, 2017; Ministry of Education, Brunei Darussalam, 2013; Sammons et al., 2014) that, given the use of English as a global language, its bilingual education policy can only be beneficial for Brunei's young people.

Educational divides in Brunei

For many Bruneian students enrolled in tertiary education, their spoken English is typically at a very high, almost native-speaker level (Ishamina & Deterding, 2017; McLellan et al., 2016; Svalberg, 1998), yet their written English is neither as accurate nor as developed as that of their international counterparts from, for example, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, or India. It is unfortunate that solid evidence of comparative levels of proficiency is so difficult to find (Bolton, 2008; 2016), and an extensive

library search still reveals little, if any, research comparing English proficiency (spoken or written) across similar nations.

As several authors (for example, Deterding & Sharbawi, 2013; Ho, 2016; Ishamina & Deterding, 2017) highlight, there is no guarantee that classroom practice in the use of English is consistent within and across different schools or institutions "even when English is specified as the medium of instruction" (Gardiner & Deterding, 2017, p. 283). In a kind of vicious circle, this may also both contribute to *and* be one consequence of the substantial educational divide in Brunei:

> Those who attend private schools tend to end up with good English…, but pupils who go to one of the less fashionable schools often struggle, especially with English, and the overwhelming majority of these students fail to pass English 'O' level. (Deterding & Sharbawi, 2013, pp. 19-20)

The continuing use of assessments designed for native speakers of English, such as Cambridge O-level and A-level examinations, could also be challenged and perhaps considered out-of-date (Gardiner & Deterding, 2019; Nicol, 2005; O'Hara-Davies, 2010), particularly if educators wish to prepare their learners for work in the 21st century, when the use of English as a lingua franca may be more appropriate (Fang, 2016; Tomlinson, 2010). After all, as Kirkpatrick (2002) underlines, "Only a relatively small number are learning English in order to develop an understanding of any 'Anglo' culture" (p. 222). Alongside a comprehensive analysis both of O-level results in Brunei and of initiatives implemented to improve these results, Sammons et al. (2014) report that the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE) in English as a Second Language was introduced in 1999 for *some* students as an alternative to the O-level, "but was removed in 2003 and subsequently reintroduced in 2010" (p. 11). The rationale for this kind of 'chopping and changing' is unclear, and a more stable commitment to assessment choices could only be beneficial for all involved.

In terms of educational assessment, an additional divide may exist in the treatment of students whose first language is English when compared with those for whom it is (at least) a second language. As Barry (2011) summarises, native speakers of English "are endowed with cultural capital that provides them with a wealth of privileges – employability, status and prestige, access, and education. In many Asian countries, a native speakers' [sic.] English proficiency translates as an individual's accumulated competence" (p. 211). This is particularly relevant given the increase in international students travelling to Brunei to study at UBD (Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 2016b).

Some researchers (e.g., Angélil-Carter, 2014; Ferguson, 2007; Lillis & Curry, 2010; Starfield, 2002) have found that the written work of native and non-native speakers is often assessed differently, albeit perhaps subconsciously, by markers who perceive a native speaker's ability to manipulate language and structure as an indication of greater understanding of the subject content, while second language speakers are often seen as relying too heavily on recognised authorities in the subject area. Starfield (2002) explains that, if this type of 'patchwork plagiarism' does occur, that it may be "a survival strategy rather than a conscious effort to deceive" (p. 126). Furthermore, it is worth noting that, for some cultures, using the exact words of a published author, for instance, is seen as a sign of the utmost respect, rather than a case of academic theft, and that plagiarism is considered a very Western concept (Adiningrum & Kutieleh, 2011; Bloch, 2007; Flowerdew & Li, 2007; Pennycook, 1996). In the multicultural context of tertiary programmes in Brunei (or similar settings), clear guidelines and expectations would help students understand how to cite the work of others in their own academic writing and presentations. Questions of plagiarism aside, though, Starfield goes on to propose that "Students…who speak and write the legitimate language have a greater likelihood of becoming successful; their writing appears to be subjected to a lesser degree of scrutiny" (2002, p. 138). This echoes Bourdieu's much-cited work (1991) around inequality and power imbalances in language use, with language a mechanism of power (whether applied consciously or subconsciously), and not just a means of communication. Moore (2000) asserts that, for Bourdieu, "the language used in the curriculum and by educationalists [gives] an advantage to those learners who were brought up in a culture where such language was in everyday use" (cited in Aubrey & Riley, 2016, p. 53). In other words, students with English as a first language are likely to have more positive outcomes than those for whom it is a second or third language (as in the Bruneian context, for instance), regardless of their understanding of the subject matter in question. This leads us to consider the student experience in more detail.

The student experience of bilingual education in Brunei

Linked to challenges around the educational divide in Brunei and to choices around curriculum and assessment design is the importance of the student experience in the bilingual context. The term 'student experience' encompasses all aspects of an individual's enrolment in a particular course or programme (Crossing, 2018), including, for instance, the application process, communications, staff and student culture, departmental and/or institutional facilities, course design, teaching approaches and materials,

learning support, assessment methods, and community and/or industry engagement. This holistic experience of learners could be explored at every level of education, but, for the purposes of this article, the author has focused on post-secondary education in particular. "Understanding the reputation of universities, often expressed in terms of students' expectations, experiences, and satisfaction, is imperative" (Hamdan, 2017, p. 76). Again, however, there is very little published research on the student experience in Brunei, and this is a definite gap in the literature.

In bilingual and multi-cultural contexts generally, including at many institutions of higher education, students, educators, and other stakeholders may have very different expectations around what they consider 'best practice'. For instance, student and tutor understanding of what exactly is required to produce a 'successful' piece of work might differ (Lea & Street, 1998; Starfield, 2004). Is it enough for teaching staff to provide instructions and marking guides, for example, for each assignment and/or assessment? Similarly, it may well be that students and stakeholders, possibly from different countries and cultures, have different ideas about how much information and support should be available to learners, so that they might succeed in their studies. The extent to which an undergraduate or postgraduate student is expected to be independent in their work, for example, or to apply their thinking to contexts beyond Brunei itself may be unclear. A review of different aspects of the student experience at Brunei's tertiary institutions could be beneficial for staff in various roles, including learning designers, programme managers, teaching staff, marketing teams, and student support staff right across those same institutions, with a view to developing their strategies and improving outcomes for all.

A handful of literature is available on elements of the student experience, or on factors potentially influencing the student experience. Ebil et al. (2017), for instance, report on the annual Graduate Employment Survey conducted by the Research and Development Division of the Institute of Brunei Technical Education, "to find out students' opinions on the programmes learnt, the quality of teaching-learning, the relevance of their industrial attachment, and their employment status after graduation" (p. 3). Their research, however, focuses on improvements to the content and uptake of the survey tool, rather than on the findings themselves. Hamdan (2017) sought staff views on transformational initiatives implemented at UBD, bemoaning the "dearth of information about how [the] Brunei higher education sector responds to the challenges of globalisation including the needs of revolutionising education systems and providing more real-world training and experience with high-tech tools" (p. 76). Hamdan acknowledges that the perceptions of students at UBD, as well as those of external stakeholders, would be valuable, but sets these aside for future research.

Obiwulu, Yunus, Ibrahim, and Zuruzi (2019) investigate and compare the experiences and perceptions of creativity of students in higher education with those of employees of small and medium-sized enterprises, all in Brunei, while Haji-Othman and Wood (2016), besides commenting on "the paucity of research" (p. 80), focus on English language teachers' perceptions of learner autonomy in the tertiary context in Brunei, concluding, as one might expect, that learner autonomy is "a useful quality" (p. 93) in second language learners, and is required of university students more generally.

Relating specifically to the bilingual context in Brunei, Haji-Othman et al. (2014) explore codeswitching (alternating between languages or language varieties in conversation) in Bruneian and Malaysian universities, and found that student perceptions of lecturers who were non-native speakers of English were mainly positive:

> The students, it would seem, feel encouraged to [codeswitch] because they share the same [first language] as the teacher, or they are fully aware of the fact that they and their teachers are 'cultural natives'- with shared views of how and to what extent [codeswitching] can be used in the Bruneian classroom. (p. 155)

Ho (2016) inquires into student attitudes towards the different varieties of English used by lecturers at UBD, as well as student perceptions of the professional qualities of their native and non-native English-speaking lecturers. Ultimately, Ho calls for "more extensive research on the topic, considering the fact that there is an increasingly large number of non-native English speaker teachers and lecturers in the language classrooms, and particularly in [English as a Second Language] contexts" (p. 117). Again, while this is certainly valuable research, it does not capture the complexity of the student experience.

Although not investigating the student experience directly, Alani et al. (2015) report on student views of the overall quality of education offered at UBD, but do not mention the bilingual (if not multilingual) context at all, which is somewhat puzzling. Metussin (2017) examines the gender gap in academic achievement at a tertiary level in Brunei, and elements of their findings (such as teaching methods, class size, and school facilities and environment) reflect the student experience, alongside factors such as study habits and strategies, and family and social life. Students and teachers potentially coming from "different cultural backgrounds" is mentioned (p. 38), but was not the primary focus of Metussin's study, and bilingual education again is not explicitly mentioned. Similarly, Rajak et al. (2018), examining students' opinions on the accessibility and benefits of e-learning in higher education institutes in Brunei, and Hoh, Khattak, and Li (2018),

exploring student and employer satisfaction with higher education available in Brunei, fail to report on any language-related aspects of the student experience. It would be interesting to know whether tertiary educators and learners take the bilingual context for granted in some way, which could potentially explain its absence from these research findings.

Opportunities for further research

Several authors of literature reviewed here (including Barry, 2011; Bolton, 2016; Haji-Othman & Wood, 2016; Hamdan, 2017; and Mundia, 2012) comment on the occasionally significant lack of research available in different fields. Further research is certainly needed in many areas relevant to Brunei (and potentially to other bilingual or multilingual populations and/or settings). These include linguistic diversity and the maintenance of indigenous ethnic minority languages, the evolution and adoption of different varieties of English (including comparative levels of proficiency), and bilingual education policies and practice. Additional research around multiple aspects of education would also be beneficial, including tertiary education in general in Brunei and, more specifically, university and vocational programmes delivered through the English-language medium, including the extent to which curricula are internationalised in the Bruneian context. Furthermore, capturing the student voice would contribute to the existing knowledge and literature, for instance, by investigating whether Bruneian students consider their English language level to be sufficient to undertake an undergraduate and/or postgraduate programme, for example, and asking about their perceptions of their own proficiency in English, in relation to other non-Bruneian students in their course(s). In addition, as already stated, there is a significant gap in the literature around the student experience in Brunei, and there are multiple opportunities for diverse research projects in this area.

Closing remarks

The purpose of this review was to explore and bring together the literature on the status of the English language in Brunei, particularly relating to education policy and practice. It offers insights into different aspects of learning and teaching in the Bruneian context, including planning, assessment, and the wider student experience, which may also apply in similar bilingual or multilingual contexts.

      This review has found that Brunei is a country of considerable diversity, with multiple ethnolinguistic groups contributing to its culture.

Although there are concerns over the impact of English on the Malay language and on the indigenous languages of Brunei, and apprehension around an ongoing educational divide, the majority of the literature suggests that most people are very positive about its use across the nation, both in education and in everyday life in general. Positive steps are being taken to revive and maintain interest in the ethnic minority languages, with proponents understanding the wider implications for the country's heritage.

While the government has been consistent with its bilingual education policy for more than 35 years, it is clear that policy has nevertheless evolved at all levels (from primary through to tertiary), with a shift towards learner-centred teaching, and a focus on preparing students for success in work and/or further study, as well as closer attention being paid to teacher training and to international partnerships in education.

The nation of Brunei, its linguistic diversity, and its bilingual education system are rich with research possibilities, both at different levels of education, and from different viewpoints. This paper has drawn attention to just some aspects of the use, policy, and status of the English language in Brunei, and has identified potential areas of interest for current and future researchers in these areas.

The author

Claire Goode is a Principal Lecturer in the Learning and Teaching Development team at Otago Polytechnic in Dunedin, New Zealand. She has over twenty years' experience in education, teaching in multiple contexts and in different countries, predominantly in multicultural settings in which the learners have been non-native speakers of English. She taught on the Royal Brunei Armed Forces Command and Staff Course between 2010 and 2015, and it was this experience that sparked an interest in conducting research in this context.

References

Abdullah, M., & Osman, K. (2010). 21st century inventive thinking skills among primary students in Malaysia and Brunei. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *9*, 1646—1651. https://doi: 10.1016/j.sbspro.2010.12.380

Adiningrum, T. S, & Kutieleh, S. (2011). How different are we? Understanding and managing plagiarism between east and west. *Journal of Academic Language and Learning*, *5*(2), A88—A98. Retrieved   from http://journal.aall.org.au/index.php/jall/article/viewFile/159/111.

Alani, F., Yaqoub, Y., & Hamdan, M. (2015). Service quality in higher education: A case study of Universiti Brunei Darussalam. *International Education Studies*, *8*(4), 231—245. https://doi: 10.5539/ies.v8n4p231

Angélil-Carter, S. (2014). *Stolen language? Plagiarism in writing* (2nd ed.). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

ASEAN Secretariat. (2013). ASEAN SG: English is indispensable to ASEAN community. Retrieved from https://asean.org/asean-sg-english-is-indispensable-to-asean-community/

Aubrey, K., & Riley, A. (2016). *Understanding and using educational theories*. London, UK: Sage.

Baker, C. (2011). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (5th ed.). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Barry, C. (2011). English language teaching in Brunei: A view through a critical lens. *RELC Journal*, *42*(2), 203—220. https://doi: 10.1177/0033688211401255

BBC. (2019). Brunei country profile. Retrieved from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-12990058.

Berns, M. (2010). *Concise encyclopedia of applied linguistics*. Oxford, UK: Elsevier.

Bloch, J. (2007). Plagiarism across cultures: Is there a difference? *Indonesian Journal of English Language Teaching*, *3*(2), 1—13. Retrieved from http://ojs.atmajaya.ac.id/index.php/ijelt/article/view/133

Bolton, K. (2008). English in Asia, Asian Englishes, and the issue of proficiency. *English Today*, *24*(2), 3—12. https://doi: 10.1017/S026607840800014X

Bolton, K. (2016). Linguistic outsourcing and native-like performance in international call centres: An overview. In K. Hyltenstam (Ed.), Advanced proficiency and exceptional ability in second languages (pp. 185—213). Berlin, Germany: Walter de Gruyter.

Booth, A. (2019). *Living standards in southeast Asia: Changes over the long twentieth century, 1900—2015*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power* (G. Raymond & M. Adamson, Trans., J. B. Thompson, Ed.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Central Intelligence Agency. (n.d.) The world factbook: Brunei. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/bx.html

Chin, G. V. S. (2007). Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei Darussalam: A comparative study of literary developments in English. *Asian*

Englishes, *10*(2), 8—28. https://doi:
10.1080/13488678.2007.10801210

Cousin, G. (2011). Rethinking the concept of 'western'. *Higher Education Research & Development*, *30*(5), 585—594. https://doi: 10.1080/07294360.2011.598449

Crossing, S. (2018, February 15). The student experience: How can universities meet student demands? Retrieved from https://www.studiosity.com/blog/the-student-experience-how-can-universities-meet-student-demands

Crystal, D. (2012). *English as a global language* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (2014). *Language death*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

David, M. K., Cavallaro, F., & Coluzzi, P. (2009). Language policies: Impact on language maintenance and teaching: Focus on Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines. *The Linguistics Journal*, Special Edition, 155—191. Retrieved from https://www.linguistics-journal.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/September-2009.pdf

Deterding, D. (2014). The evolution of Brunei English: How it is contributing to the development of English in the world. In S. Buschfeld, T. Hoffmann, M. Huber, & A. Kautzsch (Eds.), *The Evolution of Englishes: The dynamic model and beyond* (pp. 420—433). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Deterding, D., & Sharbawi, S. (2013). *Brunei English: A new variety in a multilingual society*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Doherty, C., & Singh, P. (2005). How the west is done: Simulating western pedagogy in a curriculum for Asian international students. In P. Ninnes & M. Hellstén (Eds.), *Internationalizing higher education: Critical explorations of pedagogy and policy* (pp. 53—73). The Netherlands: Springer.

Ebil, S., Othman, N., Nor, H. N. H. M., Ahmad, M. H., Mujah, O., & Keh, C. W. (2017). Brunei TVET transformation: The development of the Institute of Brunei Technical Education's two key surveys. *TVET@ Asia: The Online Journal for Technical and Vocational Education and Training in Asia*, *8*, 1—15. Retrieved from http://www.tvet-online.asia/issue8/ebil_etal_tvet8.pdf

Faculty of Science, Universiti Brunei Darussalam. (2015). Postgraduate dual-degree programme. Retrieved from http://fos.ubd.edu.bn/postgrad_dualprog.html

Fang, F. (2016). 'Mind your local accent': Does accent training resonate to college students' English use? *Englishes in Practice*, *3*(1), 1—28. https://doi: 10.1515/eip-2016-0001

Ferguson, G. (2007). The global spread of English, scientific communication and ESP: Questions of equity, access and domain loss. *Ibérica*, *13*, 7—38. Retrieved from http://www.aelfe.org/documents/02%20ferguson.pdf

Flowerdew, J., & Li, Y. (2007). Plagiarism and second language writing in an electronic age. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *27*, 161—183. https://doi: 10.1017/S0267190508070086

Gardiner, I. A., Boye, S., Salleh, S. M., & Yusof, N. (2018). English teacher preparation in Brunei Darussalam: An overview of the Master of Teaching programme from multiple perspectives. In S. Zein & R. Stroupe (Eds.), *English language teacher preparation in Asia: Policy, research and practice* (pp. 129—149). London, UK: Routledge.

Gardiner, I. A., & Deterding, D. (2017). English medium education in a university in Brunei Darussalam: Code-switching and intelligibility. In B. Fenton-Smith, P. Humphreys, & I. Walkinshaw (Eds.), *English medium instruction in higher education in Asia-Pacific: From policy to pedagogy* (pp. 281—298). Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

Gardiner, I. A., & Deterding, D. (2019). Language selection and assessment in Brunei Darussalam. In F. Fang & H. P. Widodo (Eds.), *Critical perspectives on global Englishes in Asia: Language policy, curriculum, pedagogy and assessment* (pp. 45—63). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Gulati, S. (2008). Technology-enhanced learning in developing nations: A review. *International Review of Research in Open and Distance Learning*, *9*(1), 1—16. Retrieved from http://www.irrodl.org/index.php/irrodl/article/view/477/1011

Haji-Othman, N. A. (2012). It's not always English: 'Duelling aunties' in Brunei Darussalam. In V. Rapatahana & P. Bunce (Eds.), *English Language as Hydra: Its Impacts on Non-English Language Cultures* (pp. 175—190). Multilingual Matters.

Haji-Othman, N. A., & McLellan, J. (2014). English in Brunei. *World Englishes*, *33*(4), 486—497. https://doi: 10.1111/weng.12109

Haji-Othman, N. A., McLellan, J., & Jones, G. M. (2019). Language policy and practice in Brunei Darussalam. In A. Kirkpatrick & A. J. Liddicoat (Eds.), *The Routledge international handbook of language education policy in Asia* (pp. 314—325). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Haji-Othman, N. A., & Wood, K. (2016). Perceptions of learner autonomy in English language education in Brunei Darussalam. In R. Barnard & J. Li (Eds.), *Language learner autonomy: Teachers' beliefs and*

practices in Asian contexts (pp. 79—95). Phnom Penh, Cambodia: IDP Education.

Haji-Othman, N. A., Yaakub, H. Z. H., Ghani, D. L. P. P. A., Sulaiman, H. S. H., Hitam, S. H., Abdullah, A. N., & Heng, C. S. (2014). Codeswitching in universities in Brunei Darussalam and Malaysia. In R. Barnard & J. McLellan (Eds.), *Codeswitching in university English-medium classes: Asian perspectives* (pp. 144—162). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Hamdan, M. (2017). Transformational change in Brunei higher education: A case study of Universiti Brunei Darussalam. *Higher Education Research*, *2*(3), 76—85. https://doi: 10.11648/j.her.20170203.11

Harshman, J. R., & Augustine, T. A. (2013). Fostering global citizenship education for teachers through online research. *The Educational Forum*, *77*(4), 450—463. https://doi: 10.1080/00131725.2013.822040

Ho, D. G. (2016). The attitudes of university students towards their native and non-native English speaking lecturers in Brunei. In *The use and status of language in Brunei Darussalam: A kingdom of unexpected linguistic diversity* (pp. 97—123). Singapore: Springer.

Ho, H. (2019). Women doing Malayness in Brunei Darussalam. *Southeast Asian Review of English*, *56*(2), 147—165. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/337951211_Women_Doing_Malayness_in_Brunei_Darussalam

Hoh, C. S., Khattak, S. I., & Li, H. (2018). Student learning satisfaction and employer satisfaction congruence: Evidence from Brunei Darussalam. *Advances in Economics, Business and Management Research*, *54*, 353—360. https://doi: 10.2991/msmi-18.2018.62

Institute of Brunei Technical Education. (2020). IBTE: eProspectus. Retrieved from https://ibte.edu.bn/tvecas/prospectus/

International Association of Universities (Ed.). (2019). Brunei Darussalam. In *International handbook of universities 2019* (pp. 759—762). Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

International Association of Universities. (2020). World higher education database. Retrieved from https://www.whed.net/home.php

Ishamina, A., & Deterding, D. (2017). English medium education in a university in Brunei Darussalam: Code-switching and intelligibility. In B. Fenton-Smith, P. Humphreys, & I. Walkinshaw (Eds.), *English medium instruction in higher education in Asia-Pacific* (pp. 281—298). Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

James, C. (1996). Mother tongue use in bilingual/bidialectal educations: Implications for Bruneian Dwibahasa. *Journal of Multilingual and*

Multicultural Development, *17*(2), 248—257. https://doi: 10.1080/01434639608666277

Jones, G. M. (2003). Accepting bilingualism as a language policy: An unfolding southeast Asian story. In J-M. Dewaele, A. Housen, & W. Li (Eds.), *Bilingualism: Beyond basic principles* (pp. 112—127). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Jones, G. M. (2012). Language planning in its historical context in Brunei Darussalam. In E-L. Low & A. Hashim (Eds.), *English in southeast Asia: Features, policy and language in use* (pp.175—188). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Jones, M. C. (2015). *Policy and planning for endangered languages*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Jones, G. M. (2016a). Changing patterns of education in Brunei: How past plans have shaped future trends. In N. A. Haji-Othman, J. McLellan, & D. Deterding (Eds.), *The use and status of language in Brunei Darussalam: A kingdom of unexpected linguistic diversity* (pp. 267—278). Singapore: Springer.

Jones, G. M. (2016b). Policy and practice in the use of English in Brunei primary school classes. *World Englishes*, *35*(4), 509—518. https://doi: 10.1111/weng.12222

Kachru, B. B. (1985). Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk & H. G. Widdowson (Eds.), *English in the world: Teaching and learning the language and literatures* (pp. 11—30). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kachru, B. B. (Ed.). (1992). *The other tongue: English across cultures* (2nd ed.). Champaign. IL: University of Illinois Press.

Kirkpatrick, A. (2002). ASEAN and Asian cultures and models: Implications for the ELT curriculum and for teacher selection. In A. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), *Englishes in Asia: Communication, identity, power and education* (pp. 213—224). Melbourne, Australia: Language Australia.

Kirkpatrick, A. (2010). *English as a lingua franca in ASEAN: A multilingual model*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Knight, J. (2014). Three generations of cross-border higher education: New developments, issues and challenges. In B. Streitwieser (Ed.), *Internationalisation of higher education and global mobility* (pp. 43—58). Oxford: Symposium Books.

Kon, J. (2013, October 25). Call to add ethnic languages as optional subject in schools. *Borneo Bulletin*. Retrieved from http://www.brudirect.com/national/national/national- local/9428-call-to-add-ethnic-languages-as-optional-subject-in-schools

Labassi, T. (2008). On responsible uses of English: English for emancipation, correction and academic purposes. *Changing English*, *15*(4), 407—414. https://doi: 10.1080/13586840802493050

Language Centre, Universiti Brunei Darussalam. (n.d.). Borneo Languages. Retrieved from http://lc.ubd.edu.bn/outline_modules_pdf/borneo_outlines.html

Lea, M. R., & Street, B. V. (1998). Student writing in higher education: An academic literacies approach. *Studies in Higher Education*, *23*(2), 157—172. https://doi: 10.1080/03075079812331380364

Lillis, T. M., & Curry, M. J. (2010). *Academic writing in a global context: The politics and practice of publishing in English*. Oxford, UK: Routledge.

Lim, L. (2017, August 6). Speaking in tongues: Why ASEAN members stick to English. *South China Morning Post*. Retrieved from https://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/article/2105289/speaking-tongues-why-asean-members-stick-english

Low, E. L., & Ao, R. (2018). The spread of English in ASEAN: Policies and issues. *RELC Journal*, *49*(2), 131—148. https://doi: 10.1177/0033688218782513

Luke, A., & Dooley, K. T. (2011). Critical literacy and second language learning. In E. Hinkel (Ed.), *Handbook of research in second language teaching and learning: Volume 2* (pp. 856—867). Oxford, UK: Routledge.

Martin, P. W. (1992). An overview of linguistic research in Brunei Darussalam. In Dato Seri Laila Jasa Awang Haji Abu Bakar bin Haji Apong (Ed.), *Sumbangsih UBD: Esei-esei mengenai negara Brunei Darussalam [Essays on Brunei Darussalam]* (pp. 106—117). Bandar Seri Begawan: Brunei Darussalam: Universiti Brunei Darussalam.

Martin, P. W. (1995). Whither the indigenous languages of Brunei Darussalam? *Oceanic Linguistics*, *34*(1), 27—43. https://doi: 10.2307/3623110

Martin, P. W. (1996). Code-switching in the primary classroom: One response to the planned and the unplanned language environment in Brunei. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *17*(2), 128—144. https://doi: 10.1080/01434639608666265

Martin, P. W. (1999). Close encounters of a bilingual kind: Interactional practices in the primary classroom in Brunei. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *19*(2), 127—140. https://doi: 10.1016/S0738-0593(98)00057-1

Martin, P. W. (2002). One language, one race, one nation? The changing language ecology of Brunei Darussalam. In M. K. David (Ed.), *Methodological and analytical issues in language maintenance and language shift studies* (pp. 175—193). Frankfurt: Lang.

McLellan, J., Haji-Othman, N. A., & Deterding, D. (2016). The language situation in Brunei Darussalam. In N. A. Haji-Othman, J. McLellan, & D. Deterding (Eds.), *The use and status of language in Brunei Darussalam: A kingdom of unexpected linguistic diversity* (pp. 9—16). Singapore: Springer.

Metussin, H. (2017). Gender gap in academic achievement in Brunei tertiary education: Qualitative perspective. *European Journal of Social Sciences Education and Research*, *4*(2), 28—41. Retrieved from http://journals.euser.org/files/articles/ejser_jan_apr_17_nr_2/Halim aturradiah.pdf

Ministry of Education, Brunei Darussalam. (2013). *The national education system for the 21st century: SPN21*. Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam: Ministry of Education, Brunei Darussalam. Retrieved from http://www.moe.gov.bn/spn21dl/SPN21%20ENG%20(2013)%20COMPLETE.pdf

Ministry of Education, Brunei Darussalam. (2018). National education system for the 21st century (SPN21). Retrieved from http://www.moe.gov.bn/Pages/spn21.aspx

Moore, A. (2000). *Teaching and learning: Pedagogy, curriculum and culture*. London, UK: Routledge.

Mundia, L. (2012). Policy changes in Brunei teacher education: Implications for the selection of trainee teachers. *The Educational Forum*, *76*(3), 326—342. https://doi: 10.1080/00131725.2012.682489

Nicol, M. F. (2005). Some problems experienced by Bruneian students with the Cambridge O level English language reading comprehension paper. *Southeast Asia: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, *5*, 47—70. Retrieved from http://fass.ubd.edu.bn/SEA/vol5/SEA-v5-nicol.pdf

Noorashid, M. N., & McLellan, J. H. (2018). Teaching and learning an ethnic minority language at university level: The case of Dusun in Brunei. *GEMA Online Journal of Language Studies*, *18*(1), 217—233. https://doi: 10.17576/gema-2018-1801-13

Nothofer, B. (1991). The languages of Brunei Darussalam. In H. Steinhauer (Ed.), *Papers in Austronesian Linguistics* No. 1 (Pacific Linguistics: Series A 81), 151—176. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.

Obiwulu, S. U., Yunus, E. M., Ibrahim, F., & Zuruzi, A. S. (2019). Sustaining innovation: Creativity among employees of small and

medium-sized enterprises and students in higher education institutions in Brunei Darussalam. *Journal of Open Innovation: Technology, Market, and Complexity*, *5*(2), 25—39. https://doi: 10.3390/joitmc5020025

O'Hara-Davies, B. (2010). The paradox of English. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *31*(2), 107—118. https://doi: 10.1080/01434630903398111

O'Hara-Davies, B. (2011). English only? Inda kali eh! (Not likely!) Changing the paradigm. *The Asian EFL Journal*, *13*(4), 288—299. Retrieved from https://www.asian-efl-journal.com/main-journals/english-only-inda-kali-eh-not-likely-%e2%80%93-changing-the-paradigm/

Pennycook, A. (1996). Borrowing others' words: Text, ownership, memory, and plagiarism. *TESOL Quarterly*, *30*(2), 201—230. https://doi: 10.2307/3588141

Poedjosoedarmo, G. (2004). English in Brunei Darussalam: Portrait of a vital language with an elusive role. *RELC Journal*, *35*(3), 359—370. https://doi: 10.1177/0033688205052148

Rajak, A. N. H. A., Bakar, Dk. N. N. P. A., Lajim, N. D. A., Kamarulzaman, N. H. S. H., Karim, S. N. F. H., & Almunawar, M. N. (2018). E-learning services acceptance in higher educational institutes: A case study in Brunei. *Education and Information Technologies*, *23*(6), 2341—2361. https://doi: 10.1007/s10639-018-9720-8

Ramly, H. R. H., Othman, N. A. H., & McLellan, J. (2002). Englishization and nativization processes in the context of Brunei Darussalam: Evidence for and against. In A. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), *Englishes in Asia: Communication, identity, power and education* (pp. 95—112). Melbourne, Australia: Language Australia.

Richards, J. C., & Schmidt, R. (2002). *Longman dictionary of language teaching and applied linguistics* (3rd ed.). Harlow, UK: Pearson Education.

Sammons, P., Davis, S., Bakkum, L., Hessel, G., & Walter, C. (2014). *Bilingual education in Brunei: The evolution of the Brunei approach to bilingual education and the role of CfBT in promoting educational change*. Reading, UK: CfBT Education Trust. Retrieved from https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED546822.pdf

Seah, W. T., & Edwards, J. (2006). Flying in, flying out: Offshore teaching in higher education. *Australian Journal of Education*, *50*(3), 297—311. https://doi: 10.1177/000494410605000306

Sercombe, P. (2014). Brunei Darussalam: Issues of language, identity and education. In P. Sercombe & R. Tupas (Eds.), *Language, education*

and nation-building: Assimilation and shift in southeast Asia (pp. 22—44). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sharbawi, S., & Jaidin, J. H. (2020). Brunei's SPN21 English language-in-education policy: A macro-to-micro evaluation. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *21*(2), 175—201. https://doi: 10.1080/14664208.2019.1657267

Shilkofski, N., & Shields, R. Y. (2016). Adapting to a US medical curriculum in Malaysia: A qualitative study on cultural dissonance in international education. *Cureus*, *8*(8), e739. https://doi: 10.7759/cureus.739

Starfield, S. (2002). "I'm a second-language English speaker": Negotiating writer identity and authority in Sociology one. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, *1*(2), 121—140. https://doi: 10.1207/S15327701JLIE0102_02

Starfield, S. (2004). Word power: Negotiating success in a first-year Sociology essay. In L. Ravelli & R. A. Ellis (Eds.), *Analyzing academic writing: Contextualized frameworks* (pp. 66—83). London: Continuum.

Stevens Institute of Technology. (2019). External bridges. Retrieved from https://www.stevens.edu/about-stevens/strategic-plan/annual-reports/year-5-report/external-bridges

Svalberg, A. M.-L. (1998). Nativization in Brunei English: Deviation vs. standard. *World Englishes*, *17*(3), 325—344. https://doi: 10.1111/1467-971X.00107

Tan, A., Shahrill, M., Ali, D. K., Daud, S., & Naing, L. (2016). *Embracing globalisation and ensuring relevance in providing quality education*. 2016 International Conference on Education (ICOED), Jakarta, Indonesia. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Masitah_Shahrill/publication/313350509_Embracing_Globalisation_and_Ensuring_Relevance_in_Providing_Quality_Education/links/589704aa92851c8bb67d98eb/Embracing-Globalisation-and-Ensuring-Relevance-in-Providing-Quality-Education.pdf

Tibok, R. P., & Hiew, W. (2019). Higher education institutions and systems, Brunei Darussalam. In J. C. Shin & P. Teixeira (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of international higher education systems and institutions*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/329825859_Higher_Education_Institutions_and_Systems_Brunei_Darussalam

Tomlinson, B. (2010). Which test of English and why? In A. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of world Englishes* (pp. 599—616). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Tynan, B., & James, R. (2013, January 14). Distance education regulatory frameworks: Readiness for openness in southwest Pacific/southeast Asia region nations. *Open Praxis*, *5*(1), 91—97. Retrieved from https://www.learntechlib.org/p/130648/

United Nations Development Programme. (2019). *Human development report 2019: Beyond income, beyond averages, beyond today: Inequalities in human development in the 21st century.* New York: United Nations Development Programme. Retrieved from http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr2019.pdf

Universiti Brunei Darussalam. (2016a). Faculty of integrated technologies. Retrieved from https://ubd.edu.bn/academic-faculties/faculty-of-integrated-technologies.html

Universiti Brunei Darussalam. (2016b). Global education. Retrieved from http://www.ubd.edu.bn/about/ubd-global/global-education.html

Universiti Brunei Darussalam. (2016c). Organisation. Retrieved from https://ubd.edu.bn/about/organisation/

Wright, C. R., Dhanarajan, G., & Reju, S. A. (2009). Recurring issues encountered by distance educators in developing and emerging nations. *International Review of Research in Open and Distance Learning*, *10*(1), 1—25. Retrieved from http://www.irrodl.org/index.php/irrodl/article/view/608/1181