

English as Escape Capital: A Critical Discourse Analysis of English Proficiency in the #KaburAjaDulu Movement on X

Pebrina Nurwahyuningsih¹, Rahmatillah²

¹Department of Management, Wira Bhakti University, Indonesia

²Department of Computer Informatics, Politeknik LP3I Makassar, Indonesia

*Correspondence: febrina@wirabhaktimakassar.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This study examines how English proficiency is discussed in the #KaburAjaDulu movement on X in Indonesia. Using Critical Discourse Analysis, the study examines 30 public tweets selected through the X Advanced Search feature with the keyword combinations #KaburAjaDulu and bahasa Inggris, English, IELTS, and TOEFL, filtered to top tweets from 2025 to 2026. Data analysis used Van Dijk's three-dimensional model, namely text structure, socio-cognitive representations, and social context. The results show that English is seen as escape capital, meaning it is viewed less as a means of communication and more as a tool for escaping perceived problems in Indonesia. Three main patterns appear, namely English as a requirement for moving abroad, as an investment in a hoped-for future identity, and as a resource that is not equally available across social classes. The study also identifies contrasting perspectives that emphasize the structural barriers and unequal opportunities faced by many individuals. These results suggest that EFL education in Indonesia should focus more on critical language awareness, as social media shapes learners' perceptions of the value of English.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Published June 18th 2026



Check for updates

KEYWORDS

Escape Capital, #KaburAjaDulu, Critical Discourse Analysis, English Proficiency, Social Media, Indonesia.

ARTICLE LICENCE

© 2026 Universitas Hasanuddin Under the license CC BY-SA 4.0



1. Introduction

In the context of globalization, English serves a pivotal role in enabling access to education, employment, and diverse opportunities at the international level. English is increasingly regarded not only as a universal medium of communication but also as a symbol that can broaden or shape individuals' prospects for higher education, more competitive employment, and additional opportunities abroad. Bourdieu (1991) explains that language can act as linguistic capital. When society values someone's language skills, those skills can be exchanged for benefits like social recognition or better positions at work and in the community.

People often learn English because of social expectations and the chance for better education and jobs. Norton (2013) explains that learning a language is tied to building identity and investing in a future people hope for (imagined futures). The ideas of investment and imagined communities show that language learning is a way to join more valued groups, access new opportunities, and shape new identities. So, motivation to learn English is not just about language skills but also about aiming for a better social standing in the future (Said et al., 2021; Andini et al., 2026; Rahman & Weda, 2018).

Park (2011) demonstrates that English has become an essential requirement for job seekers in South Korea, where proficiency in English is critical for obtaining white-collar employment. Park and Wee (2013) further argue that, globally, English now functions not only as a tool for communication but also as a medium of exchange, with varying levels of linguistic proficiency determining individuals' ability to participate in international contexts contend that English is also used as a means to overcome economic barriers and improve socioeconomic status. In the Indonesian context, Ali et al. (2023) contend that English is also used as a means to overcome economic barriers and improve socioeconomic status. In the Indonesian context, Muslim et al. (2022) observe that the internationalization of higher education through the use of English intensifies existing inequalities. Proficiency in English thus determines access to global opportunities and contributes to social stratification (Prihandoko et al., 2019; Anggawirya et al., 2021; Anggriyani et al., 2026).

Social media has changed how people talk about education, jobs, and opportunities worldwide. For example, the X platform is now a place where users share their identities, dreams, and ideas about the future. These online conversations often show how people feel about their own countries' education and job prospects, and they also reveal hopes for better lives elsewhere.

In Indonesia, the hashtag #KaburAjaDulu has become popular on social media platforms like X since early 2025. Many young Indonesians use it to express their wish to find better opportunities to study, work, or live abroad. The hashtag reflects frustration among the younger generation about issues such as high unemployment, rising living costs, and economic and social uncertainty (Koswara & Herlina, 2025; Ritonga et al., 2024; Prihandoko et al., 2022). Irhamdhika et al. (2025) also note that this trend is a critique of the government's transparency and public communication. While both studies analyze the social, political, and communicative aspects of #KaburAjaDulu, they do not explore how English-language skills are perceived in this context. It means that English is not just a tool for communication on social media but also a way to 'escape' from conditions perceived as unfair. This could affect why people in Indonesia want to learn English, especially if their motivation is to leave the country. X is also a major platform where Indonesian students and the public are exposed to informal English, but its role in shaping language beliefs through #KaburAjaDulu has not yet been studied.

1.1 English as Linguistic Capital

Language is not just a way to communicate; it also acts as social capital with real value in society. Bourdieu (1991) explains that language can be understood as linguistic capital, a resource that brings symbolic or material benefits to those who possess it. The value of a language depends on more than just its features. It is also shaped by its place in the social structure and the power relations around it.

Bourdieu (1986) describes three main types of capital that shape how society works, namely economic, cultural, and social capital. Economic capital includes things that can be converted into money or assets, such as property or cash, and can be used to gain other types of capital. Cultural capital comes in three types: embodied (knowledge and skills), objectified (cultural items like books or art), and institutionalized (official recognition such as diplomas or degrees). Family background and education often influence who has cultural capital, which can lead to social inequality. Social capital is based on the relationships and connections a person has, such as group memberships or family ties. This type of capital offers support, trust, and access to shared resources. Bourdieu points out that understanding all these forms of capital, not just economic ones, is key to explaining how society works. These types of capital can be exchanged for one another, but doing so takes time and effort and may involve some loss.

Today, English is often seen as a valuable language because it opens doors to education, jobs, and chances to move internationally. People who speak English well usually have more opportunities than those who do not. This shows how language can be a symbol of power and can strengthen a person's social position. In this way, English acts as a form of linguistic capital with high value worldwide.

English also holds significant value as linguistic capital in Indonesia. Aprianti (2024) explains that English is regarded as an elite language associated with prestige and social status. Being proficient in English gives people access to education, jobs, and other global opportunities. As a result, English skills often set individuals apart and help them compete for opportunities worldwide. Globalization has strengthened English's role as a language with high economic value, making people more competitive in the international job market.

However, not everyone has the same access to this linguistic capital. Muslim et al. (2022) found that using English in higher education can open doors to global opportunities but can also exacerbate existing inequalities. Universities with stronger English resources benefit more from international partnerships, publications, and reputation, while those with fewer resources are left behind. This shows that English is not just a neutral linguistic skill but a form of capital that is unevenly distributed. As a result, people's and institutions' ability to benefit from global opportunities through English depends on their place in the wider social structure. It is also in line with Ali et al. (2023) who found that English is often seen as a type of *human capital that can* improve the quality of life and provide access to better economic opportunities. In this context, being skilled in English is considered an important investment in success and upward mobility in society.

In this study, the idea of linguistic capital helps explain why English is a major theme in the #KaburAjaDulu conversation. Many people on social media link English skills to getting scholarships, international jobs, or the chance to move abroad. Because of this, English is seen as a kind of capital that can lead to a better life.

While linguistic capital shows that English has social and economic value, it does not fully explain why people choose to spend time, effort, and resources learning the language. According to Norton (2013), language learning is closely

tied to investment, as learners often have a vision of the identity and future they hope to achieve through language skills. This gives language a special value within society. Norton also introduces the ideas of imagined communities and imagined identities. Learners often picture themselves as part of a community they have not yet joined but hope to join in the future. For English learners in the #KaburAjaDulu context, this imagined community might be the international academic world or the global workforce. This is in line with Nghia (2020), which shows that people's investment in language learning is strongly shaped by the future identity they imagine for themselves. People are more likely to invest in identities they believe will offer better social status and opportunities. In Indonesia, Ismail (2022) found that students learn English because they see it as a way to get better jobs and careers in the future. This shows that English has long played a role in how young people in Indonesia think about moving up in society. Thus, learning a language is not just about gaining skills, but also about working toward a better future.

The #KaburAjaDulu trend shows how this process happens online. Many conversations about English, IELTS, TOEFL, overseas scholarships, *working holiday visas*, and international jobs highlight that English is often seen as a way to reach an imagined future. Here, knowing English is not just about language skills but also stands for a future identity linked to global mobility.

The dominance of English across various sectors of life is inseparable from neoliberalism, in which education and the English language are seen as means of competing in the global job market and gaining economic advantages. Delavan et al. (2017) show that today's language education is shaped by what they call *the Globalized Human Capital discourse*. It means that, language is valued mainly for its economic benefits, such as better job prospects and the ability to meet international market demands. As a result, language is often seen as an asset that can lead to material rewards and greater social mobility.

This finding is also in line with Ali et al. (2023) which shows that English is often seen as the key to personal growth and economic progress. In this view, learning English is considered an important investment for anyone seeking better opportunities in the global economy. This way of thinking can make English seem like a universal answer to many social and economic challenges. In the #KaburAjaDulu context, the same idea appears when English skills are linked to working abroad, earning more money, or getting an international education. English then becomes a sign of readiness for the global market and of moving beyond local limitations. So, English is seen not just as a way to communicate, but also as a valuable tool for social mobility.

Drawing on the theory of *linguistic capital* (Bourdieu, 1986), the ideas of *investment* and *imagined futures* (Norton, 2013), and research on English as *human capital* (Ali et al., 2023; Delavan et al., 2017), this study looks at how English is seen as a form of linguistic capital that can help people access better education, jobs, and life opportunities than those in Indonesia. While linguistic capital usually explains how language helps people improve their position in their own society, the idea of *escape capital* focuses on how English can help people imagine and seek better opportunities elsewhere. In the #KaburAjaDulu discussion, English is not just a communication skill but an investment believed to open doors to scholarships abroad, international jobs, migration, and a brighter future. This study views the #KaburAjaDulu conversation as a space where diverse ideas about English are generated, discussed, and shared. In this way, English acts not only as a global language but also as an 'escape capital' that links the hopes of Indonesian youth to their English skills.

2. Methodology

This study employed a qualitative approach, using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), to examine how English-language proficiency is constructed in the #KaburAjaDulu discourse on the X platform. This study is grounded in the concepts of *linguistic capital* (Bourdieu, 1991), *investment* and *imagined futures* (Norton, 2013), as well as research on English as *human capital* (Ali et al., 2023) to understand how English is represented as a capital that can open access to education, employment, and other opportunities globally. The research data consists of posts (tweets) published on the X platform during the 2025–2026 period. Data collection was conducted using *purposive sampling* by selecting approximately 30 tweets with high engagement levels via the Advanced Search feature. The selected tweets must contain the hashtag combination of #KaburAjaDulu and keywords such as *English*, *Bahasa Inggris*, *IELTS*, or *TOEFL*.

This study analysed only the text or captions in tweets. The data was examined using Van Dijk (1993)'s Critical Discourse Analysis framework, which examines the connections among text, social cognition, and social context. The analysis aimed to see how English is portrayed in the #KaburAjaDulu conversation. The results were then interpreted using the ideas of *linguistic capital* (Bourdieu, 1991), *investment* (Norton, 2013), and *human capital* (Ali et al., 2023) to explain how English is constructed as *escape capital* in Indonesian digital discourse.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Findings

Based on data collected through tweet screenshots on X, 30 tweets relevant to the research topic were collected from 2025 to 2026. Three main themes appeared in these tweets, namely English as a basic requirement for mobility, as an investment in future identity, and as a form of capital with unequal access. These results show that in the #KaburAjaDulu discussion, English is seen not only as a means of communication but also as a gateway to education, jobs, and global mobility. This idea aligns with Bourdieu (1991)'s concept of linguistic capital, which holds that a language's value depends on the social and economic benefits people can gain from using it. The next five tweets illustrate these three themes.

Data 1



Tweet 1: English as a minimum requirement for a career abroad

This tweet shows that English is seen as the minimum requirement for anyone who wants to work abroad. The phrase *"paling minimal harus bisa bahasa inggris"* (at the very least, you must be able to speak English) suggests that English skills are considered basic for international opportunities. This idea is often treated as common sense and rarely questioned in discussions. The tweet's last sentence, *"Kalo mau sejahtera di Indo skill wajib adalah pintar ngejilat,"* (If you want to prosper in Indonesia, the essential skill is knowing how to ingratiate), stands out. It indicates that English is seen as a better, more valuable means of achieving success. In this context, English is not just seen as economic capital, but also a symbol of moral without having to ingratiate oneself with others. These two sentences illustrate two different situations in which knowing English is seen as a key factor in accessing global opportunities. People who speak English well are thought to have a better chance of improving their future than those who do not.

Data 2



Tweet 2: English, IELTS, as expensive linguistic capital

This tweet rarely becomes attention in the #KaburAjaDulu discourse. To acquire the linguistic capital to escape abroad, it requires economic capital first. The use of concrete numbers such as "3 juta" (3 million rupiah) and "6 juta" (6 million rupiah) is a numbers-game strategy (Van Dijk, 1993) to make structural barriers feel real rather than merely perceived. Furthermore, the phrase "susah kali" (it's really tough) shows that the costs are not just a personal issue, but something many people recognize. This indicates that the English certification system, such as IELTS, is not made for everyone. In this context, English is valued, but access to it is treated as a privilege rather than a right.

Data 3



Tweet 3: English as a Future Identity

This tweet shows the identity dimension in the corpus. The phrase "dipersiapkan oleh Allah SWT" (prepared by Allah SWT) suggests that English proficiency is not learned, but destined, guiding the speaker toward a global community. It means that linguistic capital is viewed not as a means of attaining that identity, but as proof that it already exists to prepare the speaker's future.

Data 4



Tweet 4: English as an investment in collective learning

The escape capital discourse is not just a topic of conversation on X, but it is also leading to real action, such as people sharing learning materials together. The phrase implies that to achieve English proficiency, people need to access opportunities associated with the movement, such as an important resource shared on a social media platform. Many bookmarks suggest that thousands of users are saving these materials because they plan to learn in the future. The phrase “*biar bisa ikutan*” (*so we can join in*) assumes that people who lack the skills may access opportunities and resources before joining the movement. The use of “*mari kita*” (*let us*) helps create a sense of togetherness and an open community, but it also supports the idea that people can join to learn English together. The large number of bookmarks shows that thousands of users are investing in this escape capital, a learning commitment created and shared directly on the X platform without assistance from formal institution.

Data 5



Tweet 5: English is a Privilege

This tweet is the only one in the corpus that directly questions the common belief that English is an open path for everyone. By listing the things that are needed for #KaburAjaDulu, such as “*IELTS yang mahal*” (*expensive IELTS*), “*LoA*,” “*visa*,” and “*jaminan tabungan*” (*savings guarantee*),” the speaker highlights the real financial barriers behind the advantages #KaburAjaDulu narrative. This tweet takes a different view from the main narrative in the #KaburAjaDulu discourse. Many posts say that finding work or moving abroad is all about personal effort and skill, but this tweet points out that not everyone has the same chances. It explains that factors such as economic background, access to education, and social privilege also affect whether someone can “escape” or not.

3.2 Discussion

Looking at those five tweets, English in the #KaburAjaDulu conversation serves three main roles. First, it serves as a minimum requirement for moving abroad, where, without English, people see escape as impossible (Doan & Hamid, 2021; Van Dijk, 1993). Second, English is seen as an investment in a future identity, not just a skill but a sign of an ideal identity (Lee et al., 2024; Liu et al., 2024; Norton, 2013). Platform X helps spread this idea by sharing popular learning content and aspirational messages. Third, English is a form of capital that not everyone can access. Costs such as IELTS fees and visa processing mean that English as escape capital is easier for those who are already privileged (Bourdieu, 1986; Mirhosseini et al., 2025; Phyak & Sah, 2024). These findings show that the #KaburAjaDulu discussion in X is about more than just migration or working abroad. It also reveals how people see English as an important tool for reaching global opportunities. These findings should be viewed in the wider context of research on language, mobility, and social inequality.

English is a minimum requirement for moving abroad. Describing English as a non-negotiable minimum in Tweet 1 is in line with Doan and Hamid (2021), who found that English acts as a gatekeeper in Vietnam’s job market, and that people without it are automatically excluded from high-paying jobs at multinational companies. In Indonesia, Lie et al. (2024) observed a similar pattern. The idea of English-based meritocracy increases inequality because not everyone has the same chance to learn English well. Teachers in their study viewed English as a valuable skill that could benefit students’ education and careers. However, teachers in schools with lower socioeconomic status admitted that access to learning English was not equal. Thus, English is not just a skill, but also a capital, and its value depends on who has access to educational resources. This is why saying that “*at the very least, you must be able to speak English*” is not just a practical

preference. It is also an ideological statement that unintentionally excludes those who lack access to a better-quality English education.

The difference between escaping with English and prospering in Indonesia by ingratiation in Tweet 1 suggests that English is seen as a better, more valuable way to achieve success. This aligns with Smith (2022), who argues that language skills are often linked to effort, competence, and personal achievement. Still, this view often overlooks that not everyone has the same opportunity to learn and master English. In this context, English is seen not just as a skill that can help with education and jobs, but also as a symbol of a better life or a symbol of moral without having to ingratiate oneself with others. People who speak English are often shown as able to overcome the limits they face in Indonesia, while those who do not have that skill are seen as having fewer chances to do so.

English is seen as an investment in a future identity. Tweets 3 and 4 show that people see English not just as a skill, but as a way to reach their better future. According to Norton (2013)'s framework, these tweets reflect an imagined identity, which the speaker sees herself as part of a global community she has not yet joined but is already prepared to enter. Liu et al. (2024) found a similar pattern in their research, noting that imagining a future self-fluent in English motivated digital language learning. The phrase "*dipersiapkan oleh Allah SWT*" (*prepared by Allah SWT*) reflects the belief that having English skills is part of preparing for the future. People learn languages because they imagine the identities and opportunities they want. So, learning a language is not only about better communication but also about gaining access to education, jobs, and a better life in a globalized world.

Tweet 4 takes this idea further by looking at its impact. KhosraviNik (2017) states that digital platforms are more than just places to talk, but they are also spaces where users create and share resources. Selvi (2025) called this edutainment, which turns linguistic capital into a commodity. It means that on social media, English is often promoted through content that combines educational and entertainment elements. In this process, English proficiency is portrayed as an asset that can yield various benefits, such as job opportunities, scholarships, or the chance to move abroad. This portrayal is further reinforced because content that promises mobility and success tends to gain significant attention and engagement from social media users. Furthermore, Lee and Lee (2021) found that informal digital exposure to English increases motivation and the Ideal L2 identity, but it also widens the gap between those who use digital resources and those who do not. Although learning materials seem open to everyone, they often reinforce inequality because those who benefit most are already motivated and have prior exposure.

English is a resource that not everyone can access equally. Tweets 2 and 5 highlight the key issue that English as an escape capital is not for everyone. Mirhosseini et al. (2025) found that the IELTS is not just expensive but also brings emotional and political challenges. This kind of test makes Western standards the primary basis for language skills. Schissel (2024) adds that tests like the IELTS continue linguistic colonialism by using English as the standard. In Indonesia, the IDR 2-3 million IELTS fee is a real obstacle for many young people who want to leave. It is in line with Bourdieu (1986) that access to valuable forms of capital often requires prior access to other forms of capital, creating a cycle that favors those who are already better off financially. Tweet 5 deepens this finding by showing the reality that English is a privilege. Van Dijk (1993)'s framework called this tweet a counter-discourse. It illustrates that those with the privilege can escape, while those left behind by structural barriers, not by choice, are impossible to escape. Phyak and Sah (2024) describe this as epistemic injustice, when English is seen as the main gateway, people without access to it are often blamed for not trying hard enough, rather than facing unfair systems. Kubota and Takeda (2021) found something similar in Japan, where even skilled English speakers do not always gain social mobility because class, race, and national origin still matter. These tweets point out that escape capital is not available to everyone, and dismissing of those who cannot leave ignores the real structural inequalities they face.

Based on these findings, in the #KaburAjaDulu conversation, English is not just a way to communicate or join a community, but also a means of escaping unfair conditions in Indonesia. Still, it is debated. Some voices remind us that escaping requires privileges that not everyone has.

4. Conclusion

This study explores how English language skills are presented as escape capital in the #KaburAjaDulu discussions on the platform X. The findings show that English is seen not only as a communication tool but also as a means of escaping domestic situations considered unfair. Three main patterns appeared, namely English as a basic requirement for moving abroad, as a symbol of a hoped-for future identity, and as a resource that is not equally accessible because certification costs, such as IELTS, create real barriers for people from lower social classes. Platform X helped spread this idea through

viral posts and learning materials, but the study also found contrasting perspectives that emphasize the structural barriers and unequal opportunities faced by many individuals.

These findings matter for English language education in Indonesia. Since many young people are motivated to learn English because online discussions present it as a way to leave Indonesia, EFL teachers should help students develop critical language awareness. This way, students can look beyond just getting IELTS scores and escaping, instead learn to question the ideas behind learning a language. This study examined only a small dataset from a single platform, so more research is needed to better understand how English-language beliefs are formed and challenged in Indonesia's digital world.

References

- Ali, M. M., Hamid, M. O., & Hardy, I. (2023). Construction of English language skills as human capital and ELT as development aid in Bangladesh. *Globalizations*, 20(7), 1163-1179.
- Andini, C., Youngsun, K., Sunnuraini, S., & Warouw, D. S. (2026). Developing a Chunk-Based Learning Model to Improve Korean Speaking Skills for Beginner Learners. *International Journal of L2CT*, 1(2), 156-172.
- Anggawirya, A. M., Prihandoko, L. A., & Rahman, F. (2021, December). Teacher's role on teaching English during pandemic in a blended classroom. In *International Jointed Conference on Social Science (ICSS 2021)* (pp. 458-463). Atlantis Press.
- Anggriyani, D., Abidin, A., Rahman, F., & Sahib, H. (2026). Sociocultural influences on tertiary EFL students' oral proficiency: A case study from the English department at Mulawarman University. *Scientific Culture*, 12(2.1), 6590-6603.
- Aprianti, D. (2024). English: the elite language for the elites. *IRecall Journal*, 2(01), 47-65.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). Greenwood Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Harvard university press.
- Delavan, M. G., Valdez, V. E., & Freire, J. A. (2017). Language as whose resource?: When global economics usurp the local equity potentials of dual language education. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, 11(2), 86-100.
- Doan, L. D., & Hamid, M. O. (2021). Economics of English: Examining the demand for English proficiency in the Vietnamese job market. *RELC journal*, 52(3), 618-634.
- Irhamdhika, G., El Hidayah, N. I., Ariska, Y., Ningtyas, D. A., & Sari, A. (2025). Krisis kepercayaan publik: Fenomena# KaburAjaDulu dan peran humas pemerintah dalam merespons cancel culture. *Jurnal Public Relations (J-PR)*, 6(1), 7-15.
- Ismail, I. (2022). Motivational orientation towards learning English: The case of Indonesian undergraduate students at University Utara Malaysia (UUM). *Journal of English Language Teaching and Literature*, 5(2), 184-192.
- KhosraviNik, M. (2017). Social media critical discourse studies (SM-CDS). In *The Routledge handbook of critical discourse studies* (pp. 582-596). Routledge.
- Koswara, A., & Herlina, L. (2025). # KaburAjaDulu: Analisis Fenomena Media Sosial sebagai Ekspresi Kekecewaan Masyarakat terhadap Kondisi Ekonomi, Sosial, dan Keadilan di Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Politik Dan Studi Sosial Terapan*, 4(1), 96-107.
- Kubota, R., & Takeda, Y. (2021). Language-in-education policies in Japan versus transnational workers' voices: Two faces of neoliberal communication competence. *TESOL quarterly*, 55(2), 458-485.
- Lee, J. S., Chen, J., & Draijati, N. A. (2024). Informal digital learning of English and perceptions of using EIL materials:

- Attitude toward varieties of English as a mediator. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 45(5), 1762-1777.
- Lee, J. S., & Lee, K. (2021). The role of informal digital learning of English and L2 motivational self system in foreign language enjoyment. *British Journal of Educational Technology*, 52(1), 358-373.
- Lie, A., Chau, M. H., Jacobs, G. M., Zhu, C., & Winarlim, H. S. (2024). Exploring the role of English in meritocracy in multilingual Indonesia: teacher beliefs, language use, and Global Englishes. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 45(10), 4200-4217.
- Liu, G., Zhang, Y., & Zhang, R. (2024). Bridging imagination and informal digital learning of English: A mixed-method investigation. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 45(10), 4533-4553.
- Mirhosseini, S.-A., Janfada, M., & Iranmanesh, L. (2025). The pain, the pedagogy, and the politics of IELTS: a critical autobiographical inquiry. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 22(1), 43-63.
- Muslim, A. B., Suherdi, D., & Imperiani, E. D. (2022). Linguistic hegemony in global recognition: English-mediated internationalisation at Indonesian higher education institutions. *Policy Futures in Education*, 20(7), 796-811.
- Nghia, N. X. (2020). Imagined Community, Imagine Identity, and Investment in Language Learning: An Auto Ethnographical Account. *VNU Journal of Foreign Studies*, 36(3). <https://doi.org/10.25073/2525-2445/vnufs.4560>
- Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation*. Multilingual matters.
- Park, J. S.-Y. (2011). The promise of English: Linguistic capital and the neoliberal worker in the South Korean job market. *International journal of bilingual education and bilingualism*, 14(4), 443-455.
- Park, J. S.-Y., & Wee, L. (2013). *Markets of English: Linguistic capital and language policy in a globalizing world*. Routledge.
- Phyak, P., & Sah, P. K. (2024). Epistemic injustice and neoliberal imaginations in English as a medium of instruction (EMI) policy. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 15(4), 1321-1343.
- Prihandoko, L. A., Tembang, Y., Marpaung, D. N., & Rahman, F. (2019, October). English language competence for tourism sector in supporting socio-economic development in Merauke: A Survey Study. In *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* (Vol. 343, No. 1, p. 012170). IOP Publishing.
- Prihandoko, L. A., Al Ahmad, A. S. M., & Rahman, F. (2022). Revitalizing Hospitality, Managerial, and English for Tourism Purposes Skills: Community Partnership Program for Hotel Employees in Merauke Regency. *ABDIMAS: Jurnal Pengabdian Masyarakat*, 5(2), 2524-2531.
- Rahman, F., & Weda, S. (2018). Students' perceptions in appreciating English literary works through critical comment: A case study at Hasanuddin University and Universitas Negeri Makassar. *Asian EFL Journal*, 20(3), 149-172.
- Ritonga, N., Zuhairya, N., Fitrah, G. A., Rahman, F., Nanda, M. F. D., & Ismahani, S. (2024). The impact of syntax-semantics awareness on English writing proficiency in undergraduate students. *Journal on Teacher Education*, 6(2), 43-51.
- Said, M. M., Rita, F., Weda, S., & Rahman, F. (2021). English language performance development through extracurricular activities at Faculty of Teacher Training and Education Tadulako University Palu. *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology*.
- Schissel, J. L. (2024). Decolonizing English language testing. *TESOL Journal*, 15(4), e832.
- Selvi, A. F. (2025). Teachers as influencers and personal brands on Instagram: Double-tapping language ideologies in the attention economy. *Applied Linguistics*, amaf039.
- Smith, M. D. (2022). Social reproduction as language policy: The neoliberal co-option of English in global Japan.

Educational Policy, 36(7), 1652-1678.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 249-283.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002006>