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Teachers as Ethnographers: Narrative Study of Inquiry of Indonesian Teachers Assigned to Teach in Remote Areas

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Abstract: The research explores the narrative inquiry of Indonesian teachers who are assigned to teach in remote areas. The research was conducted from 2019 until 2020. The teachers, in this case, are considered ethnographers because they try to recognize and enter remote island areas that have not been recognized. During this time, in the education context, narrative inquiry is more focused on teacher identity, teaching, curriculum, assessment, and counseling. In terms of narrative inquiry, the teacher as an ethnographer is very interesting to be studied, because it can provide ethnographic insight into the teacher's perspective. The research used qualitative methods supported by ethnographic studies and involved 21 participants. Data analysis techniques used were the stages of identification, classification, reduction, and verification. The interview used was unstructured. The results show that the teacher as an ethnographer learned the local language in the early stage. The second stage is understanding the cultural situation of the local community. The third stage is the contribution of the teacher to the local community in the education context.

Keywords: *Teacher, ethnography, narrative inquiry, remote area.*

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Introduction

Narrative research is current popular research in the qualitative field and widely used to examine the teaching context (Bell, 2010; Butler-Kisber, 2018; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Clandinin et al., 2006; Creswell, 2012; Huttunen et al., 2012). As research that has "stories in order to understand people, cultures, and societies" (Wolgemuth & Agosto, 2019, p. 1), the narrative is more popular because it is open, has many genres, and is reflective (Lemley & Mitchell, 2012; Kim, 2016) so that researchers are more interested in it.

Previous research on narrative teaching contexts appears in categories: curriculum (Connelly, 2011; Milner, 2007), teacher identity (Beijaard, 2019; Johnson & Dabney, 2018; Nguyen, 2019; Yazan, 2019), learning (Olson & Stoehr, 2019; Chiong et al., 2017), language learning (Rafzar, 2012; Chen, 2019), literary learning (Fishbane, 2020), counseling learning (Kerl, 2002), and assessment (Xu & Liu, 2012). Among the studies on narrative inquiry, no one has discussed the teacher aspects as an ethnographer. Research on the teachers as ethnographers is interesting to be studied with the following rationalization.

First, teachers are not only motivators, role models, psychologists (Ahmadi, 2019a; 2020), counselors, learners (Conway & Bulgren, 2016), leaders (Urbanski & Nickolaou, 1997), mediators, but become ethnologists who 'voice out' identity, society situations, or social context. Through teachers as ethnographers, the community can understand the 'voice' that emerges from a teacher that is empirical, reflective, and interpretative. Especially, the 'voice' of a teacher from a remote island.

Second, research on teachers so far has been focused more on the teachers in the city or urban areas, for example, the research conducted by Cavallo et al. (2005); Marco-Bujosa et al. (2020); Rivera (2010); Skeie et al. (2010) which are about teaching in urban schools, not in remote island schools. In fact, there are still many things that have not been revealed in remote schools, including how to adapt to society, students, and the surrounding environment. Indonesia as an archipelago country has 17000 remote islands. That is what underlies the government assigning the teachers from urban areas to the remote areas so that Indonesia has equality in education.

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Related to this phenomenon, the problem formulation in this study, namely (1) how the portrait of the teacher as an ethnographer in remote areas is; (2) what the portrait of the teacher as an ethnographer in remote areas is; and (3) how the portrait of the teacher as an ethnographer with the contribution in the field of education to the local community is. The research is focused on the narrative inquiry approach by using the life story genre of teachers assigned to teach in remote areas.

Literature Review

Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquiry was popularized by Connelly and Clandinin (1990) as part of a qualitative study categorized in interdisciplinary science (Clandinin, 2016) because it can be used in various disciplines, especially in the social, cultural, political, educational, and gender fields. Narrative inquiry is a research as well as an approach that constructs interpretatively-reflective about a life story, retells life story, and revives a person's life story in a community context (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Related to narrative inquiry, Bamberg (2012, p. 202) terms it as a "small story approach" as a simple story, but has a deep contribution to science. In line with that, Lindsay and Schwind (2016) gives an important point that narrative inquiry is not only about the quality of research but also the quality of the inquirer's experience.

As an approach, narrative inquiry aims to dismantle "relational complexities and nuances of individuals and settings in varied contexts" (Macintyre et al., 2018). Therefore, researchers must be able to capture holistically the narratives of individuals/participants (Hickson, 2016) so that the obtained stories produce a deep scientific reflectivity.

For the validity of the research data, researchers conducted triangulation. Therefore, "scientific evidence, facts, and data should be examined as part of a narrative" (Schlaufer, 2016, p.2). In addition, researchers also discussed the results of research with colleagues who had expertise in anthropology and ethnography. It was meant to make the research met intersubjective standards theoretically, methodologically, and analytically. Thus, the scientific level of this narrative inquiry research can be accounted for ontologically, epistemologically, and axiologically.

Ethnography and Ethnographer

Historically, ethnography is part of sociology and anthropology studies (Bornstein, 2014; Carsten, 2018; Reed, 2017). Philosophically, ethnographic studies prioritize natural approaches, interviews, and reveals the socio-cultural context of society (Martyn, 2018). In scientific development, ethnography stands alone and is included in the ethnology study section. According to Gerard (2010, p.570), "ethnography as engaged listening". Therefore, an ethnographer must have good listening skills. In addition, ethnographers must have the ability of interpretive reflexivity that can "show how we come up with the patterns we call meaningful, or cultural." (Lichterman, 2016, p.43). In the higher stage, an ethnographer is not only demanded to have interpretive reflexivity, Berry (2011) suggested that an ethnographer must have quality, honest, and fair storytelling ability in describing an individual context or community context. Thus, an ethnographer will be avoided from the perspective of subjectivity in describing a phenomenon that exists in a particular society.

An ethnographer must be able to understand the etic and emic of the culture in a society. In this case, the formulation of etic and emic refers to the thought of Pike (1967) which is widely used by ethnographers in understanding the environmental context of 'inside' and from 'outside'. Understanding the etic and emic, according to Chen (2010) is very necessary to avoid conflicts with the local community when ethnographers enter the area. For this reason, ethnographers must be able to balance etic and emic when using them in certain societies.

This research is very important for teachers, especially teachers who are assigned to a new place with a new cultural situation. Through ethnographic studies, a teacher can recognize, understand, and adapt to new places, new communities, and new students. That way, teachers can more easily interact with the local community. In addition, teachers also find it easier to provide learning material to students because they already recognize and understand their culture.

Method

This research used a narrative inquiry approach that engages qualitative data exposure (Ahmadi, 2019b; Ahmadi et al, 2019; Creswell, 2009; Creswell & Poth, 2018; Robards & Lincoln, 2017), used stories as data (Clandinin, 2016; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Clandinin et al., 2014), and used ethnographic perspective. In an ethnographic study, this research emphasized reflection and interpretation (Adjepong, 2019; Friberg, 2019). The description of the data in this research referred to the model used by Jorgensen (2009) which used the "thick description" raised by Rayle (1949) and popularized by Geertz (1973) in anthropological-ethnographic studies. Through thick description, researchers not only described the narrative experiences of individuals/ participants but were also related to the context that occurred. Thus, the descriptions became more in-depth, holistic, and interpretative. The research was focused on an ethnographic study conducted from 2019 until 2020.

Data analysis techniques in this study used the views of Miles & Huberman (2009) which used four stages of flow, namely (1) identifying data in the form of oral data relating to interviews from informants, written data derived from the experience of individual informants during a teaching in remote areas, and observations related to the participant's story. At this stage, researchers identified data relevant to the context of narrative inquiry; (2) classifying data, at this stage, the researcher classified important data that would be used in data analysis; (3) reducing data, at this stage, the researchers looked closely at the needed and important data, while less important data was not used; and (4) data verification, at this stage, the researchers rechecked the data that had been reduced. The check was done so that the data used was truly 'selected' and suitable for use. At this stage, the researcher conducted an interpretation stage (Miyaji & Fukui, 2020; Bobrytska et al., 2020), as a final stage of data analysis. The researcher carried out the interpretation process heuristically and hermeneutically. Heuristically, the researcher interpreted the data textually. Hermeneutically, the researcher interpreted the data in deep and was associated with cultural context.

The interview technique used in this study was unstructured interviews. In this case, unstructured interviews were conducted to obtain data about the lives of individuals and also the lives of local people in situations that were familiar with the participants. In the case of interviewing, researchers as interviewers had to be able to have good interviewing skills in order to produce good quality data. The quality of the interview results was not related to the interpersonal-familial closeness between researchers and participants (Weinreb et al. 2018). Nevertheless, closeness in terms of familiarity was very important so that the participants felt comfortable and safe when they were interviewed by the researchers. Referring to the view of Spradley (2016a, 2016b) that researchers conducted interviews in an amiable and friendly way. Through closeness and intimacy, the researchers could gain more data from the participants.

Participants

In this research, 21 participants who were categorized teachers as ethnographers, 11 women, and 10 men who met the criteria. The selection of participants in this research referred to Spardley's (2016a, p.46) view that good participants were those who had "(1) thorough enculturation; (2) current involvement; (3) an unfamiliar culture scene; (4) adequate time; and (5) nonanalytic".

Table 1 Participant's

No.	Name	Gender	Age	Teaching Area	Teaching Duration
1.	Mas	Man	25	Papua	1 year
2.	Ad	Man	23	Papua	1 year
3.	Rh	Man	23	Papua	1 year
4.	Ach.	Man	60	Raas island	30 years
5.	Ah	Man	24	Raas island	1 year
6.	Fth	Man	55	Raas island	25 years
7.	Ar	Man	24	Sumba	1 year
8.	Am	Man	24	Banyak island	1 year
9.	Ami	Woman	23	Dawelor island	1 year
10.	If	Woman	23	Dawelor island	1 year
11.	Nr	Man	45	Sapudi island	20 years
12.	MA	Man	52	Madura island	14 years
13.	Adt	Man	60	Raas island	29 years
14.	Pt	Woman	27	Bawean island	7 years
15.	Mt	Woman	30	Bawean island	5 years
16.	Sr	Woman	31	Bawean island	7 years
17.	Nv	Woman	30	Bawean island	5 years
18.	An	Woman	27	Madura island	2 years
19.	Aa	Woman	24	Bawean island	2 years
20.	Ps	Woman	22	Bawean island	2 years
21.	Rn	Woman	22	Bawean island	2 years

The criteria raised by Spradley (2016a, 2016b) were not absolute parameters for getting participants. However, these criteria were a minimum standard of a participant. In addition, in this context, the participant criteria were teaching in a remote area and empirically living in that remote area. There was an obstacle in analyzing the data, especially in the interview process. In this case, not all the informants could be interviewed optimally. To overcome, the researcher used written data (in the form of book) which was related to the experiences of the teachers in remote areas. Triangulation data was used to keep the validity of the data. The researcher discussed the results of the research with experts in ethnography.

For data reliability, researchers refer to Baumgarten's (2012) view regarding internal and external realities. In relation to internal reliability, the researcher triangulates the instrument and triangulates the data to make it valid. In relation

to external reliability, to avoid bias in research results, researchers conducted member-checking and consulted with ethnographic experts.

Findings and Results

Initial Phase: Recognizing Communities, Learning, and Teaching in Remote Areas

The initial stage was the introduction phase for teachers who were just entering new territory. They had to adapt to new places that were unfamiliar to them. Not only that, the new place was very different from city life. The most obvious difference between life in cities and remote areas is transportation and communication. In remote areas, transportation and communication facilities are very difficult to find. The following are the responses of participants when they first entered the remote area.

Table 2 Teachers' Response

The teacher's response when it first came to remote areas	Teacher's response
Very happy with the new place	66%
Feel so- so with the new places	14.2%
Shocked with the new place	9.5%
Feel challenged with the new place	14%
Not happy with the new place	0%

As new people in new places, 14% of participants revealed that they did not like the new place because (1) in the new place, there was no one they know; (2) they had to adapt to a new society and culture; (3) new places had very difficult access to transportation and communication so that they (teachers) felt uncomfortable; and (4) they had difficulty with native language. 9.50% of participants thought that being a remote area teacher was a challenge. They felt that the new place giving new challenges. The more uncomfortable the place the more challenging the situation for them. The participants who considered normal amounted to 14.20%. They considered that the new place was ordinary and not scary or not a challenge. The highest percentage was participants who felt very happy when they became teachers in remote areas, which was 66%. They assumed that being a teacher in a new place was a pleasure or a form of recreation to a place they had never visited.

As a newly arrived teacher (a newcomer), they had to learn about the culture of the local community. This was done so that they could recognize, understand and interact with the local community. If they were unable to adapt and interact with the local community, the community would also be difficult to accept them (Yarrow, et al, 1999). In Indonesia, the official national language is Indonesian. However, when someone is in a certain place, they will use the local language.

One of the participants, Ach (60 years old). He is a teacher assigned to Raas island, a small island in Madura. When he first came to the island, he used Indonesian to communicate. However, while living on the island he learned Madurese (local language) to communicate with the local community. The following strategy was carried out so that he could get to know and be familiar with the local community. First, to understand Madurese, he got along a lot with the local community. The first step he did was to learn the language because without learning the language of the local people, he knew nothing about them. He tried to talk, discuss, and ask questions related to the Madurese. The easiest way was using the Indonesian first. Next, he asked local people the simple Madurese.

P : *Sir, in Madurese, how do I say 'I want to buy fish'?*

N : *That, Sir, you can say, 'engko' terro melle jhuko (I want to buy a fish)*

P : *And what about, 'eating and drinking'?*

N : *'ngakan ben ngenom,' (eat and drink).*

(P: participant N: Native)

The strategy used by the participant in obtaining language was the ethnographer's strategy when learning the language. Initially, he went to a resident's house, got acquainted, and had a discussion. This was done with an unstructured interview model. As such, the local community did not feel being interviewed concerning the use and understanding of language. They discussed daily life warmly. The participant told the life of the people in Java and the local community told the life on the Raas island. When successfully getting the input from the local community, an ethnographer must be able to translate it into his language. This is justified by Werner (2003) that an ethnographer must be able to become a reliable translator. An ethnographer must be able to translate the native language into his language, but the translation of subjective contexts should not be raised. Therefore, the translation of the native language must be based on an objective translation.

On the first day of teaching, the participants were introduced to the Principal of Karopoh Elementary School. The school had six classes and six rooms. The number of teachers was the same as the number of classes. At the beginning of the teaching, the participant had difficulty in teaching because most students only mastered the mother tongue. They did not understand Indonesian (national language). One teacher for one class. Thus, there were six teachers at that time. The school on a remote island is different from the school in the city. The differences are as follows.

The first difference is in terms of students. On average, children who attend remote island schools do not wear shoes. They wear sandals. In fact, some students go to school barefoot. The reason is, they do not have money to buy shoes. The students wear any clothes they have whether it is uniform or other clothes. In fact, there is a free uniform program from the government for the students. In terms of school hours, in the city, the school usually starts at 07.00, but, on the remote island, the school starts at 08.00 because, in the morning, the children are still helping parents to fetch water or to sell things in the market. In terms of numbers, there are only about 4 to 6 students per class.

The second is in terms of the school physical. Many of the school buildings have been damaged because the building is old. In addition, the condition of Raas island which has salty water tends to make the building easily got damage. In addition, the development fund from the government is still very low. So far, the development fund from the government is only given once a year and this is considered inadequate for school operational costs. Access to the island is also a problem for the school building development because building goods are from Java, so the price will be doubled or more.

The third is in terms of the student's competence. The children at the school on average still have learning difficulty because Raas island is a remote island that has no electricity. Thus, at night, they have learning difficulty because there is no optimal lighting. It is different from schools in Java where the lighting is optimal because there is electricity. In Raas island, they use lighting that comes from small fires fueled by oil. Of course, the fire cannot illuminate the room optimally so that it makes students less interested in learning. When compared to the children in the city, their understanding of the learning material is much different. The following are the result of interviews with students when the researcher joined the class and participated in giving learning material for six graders.

R : *What does the postman bring?*

S : *A bicycle.*

(R : Researcher S : Student)

The excerpt from the dialogue shows that the sixth-grade student was wrong in answering the question from the researcher. Nearly the whole class replied that the postman carried a bicycle. In fact, the correct answer is the postman carrying the letters. Incidentally, in the textbook read by the students, there was a picture of a postman carrying a bicycle. This is indeed understandable because the children did not know what a postman is at all so they answered simply according to the picture in the textbook. In fact, there was a text in the book explaining that a postman is a person whose job is delivering letters.

The fourth is the academic facilities. In this case, academic facilities are books for supporting the learning. Remote schools find it is difficult to get supporting books because there is no standard bookstore on the island. Indeed, some books are given free by the government. However, there are only a few books. The books are only the main book, not the supporting books so that children are not updated in terms of current knowledge. Books that are obtained free from the government are also rarely used because the numbers are limited so that the books are sometimes only being stored in school cabinets. In fact, only a few books can strengthen children's literacy. On the other hand, children's interest in reading and learning in school on a remote island is very low.

The low interest in learning in children in remote areas schools is caused by several factors (1) lack of inner interest because the children usually after completing elementary school, they will work to fish in the sea or go to the city; (2) motivation from parents is also not strong enough because on average parents encourage their children to earn money to support family life. This can be seen when the fishing season, the children do not go to school but help their parents to fish in the sea; (3) the environment is not very supportive because most children in remote areas when they are already in the last grade of elementary school, they will have been prepared for early marriage so that they (girls) are less motivated because they will be married in early age; and (4) from the government, it is still not optimal in promoting learning, for example, providing scholarships or awards for children who have achievements at school.

The initial stage of entering the island was the initial stage for the participant to learn. He learned as much as possible about the language and the cultural situation there. This was done so that he was able to understand the language of the indigenous people with the hope that there would be no misunderstanding when speaking with the local community. Understanding the cultural situation was also very important so that he knew the ethics of indigenous people with the hope that he would not violate the rules in society.

There was also a participant named MAS (25 years old). The participant was assigned to remote areas of Papua, Eastern Indonesia. People in Papua speak the local language (Papuan). When he came to the new place, he did not learn Papuan. In his opinion, learning the Papuan takes a long time. The following are the results of the interview with the participant.

Researcher : *What was your strategy when you came to Papua?*

Participant : *I tried to understand the Papuan people. I didn't learn Papuan because it took a long time. I introduced Indonesian to them (Papuan people).*

The participant did not learn Papuan because learning the language of Papua is very difficult for him and takes a long time to learn it. Therefore, he used Indonesian when communicating with the local community. The disadvantage was that not all people in Papua understand Indonesian. Likewise with IM (24 years old) who was assigned to teach in remote areas of Papua. He also did not learn the language of Papua because for him learning Papuan was very difficult. Based on the results of interviews and documentary data related to the strategy of learning the local language where the teachers teach, the following data are obtained.

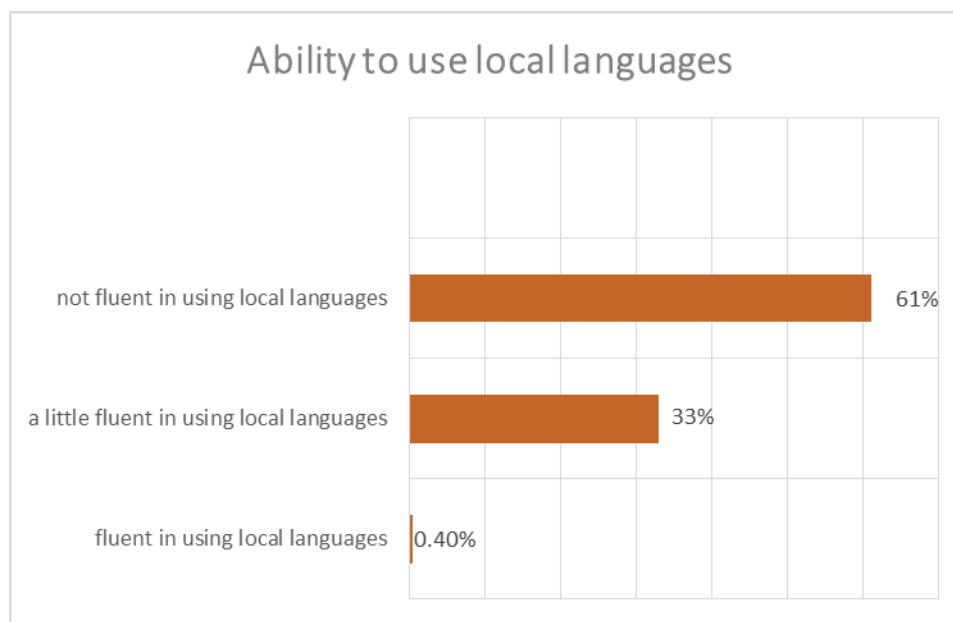


Figure 1. Ability to use Local Language

Teachers who teach in remote areas try to learn the local language so they can understand the communication of the local community. Based on the table, the following data are obtained. First, 61% of teachers are not fluent in using local languages, even though they learn about it. Only general vocabulary is understood by them. Second, 33% of teachers have little understanding of the local language of the community. The ability to understand the language is obtained when they conduct informal discussions with school students and the local community. Third, 0.4% of teachers are fluent in using local languages. The teachers learn the local language intensely so they can communicate well.

Second Stage: Understanding the Cultural Situation of Indigenous People

Participants who are teachers as ethnographers have to understand the cultural situation of indigenous people. They also try to recognize, understand, learn, and adapt to the culture of indigenous people. It is done so that they can become part of the local community. The cultural situation of the indigenous people is explained as follows.

The first is the traditional toilet. After a few months of getting acquainted, learning languages, the next was to understand and adapt to the culture of indigenous people. Not all of Raas people have toilets. Therefore, to poop, one must go to the garden and poop in the garden. Initially, the participants felt uncomfortable with it. However, he had to adapt to that culture. In the garden, there was a 'toilet' (a kind of traditional toilet created by digging up to 1 meter deep with 50 centimeters of radius [resembling a well] and at the top, there was a small hole to poop).

The second is public baths. For bathing purposes, on Raas island, well is still very rare. At that time, there were only 1 or 2 wells in one village. The lack of well is due to the salty water in the well, so there is only a little water for drinking (Ahmadi, 2006). Like traditional community life, they use wells for drinking, bathing and washing. Thus, only 2 wells were vital to the community. Therefore, to take water in the well, they had to queue. At first, the participant felt uncomfortable when fetching water in the well and waiting in line. However, over time, he did have to adapt to it so that he was accustomed to waiting in line to get water.

The third is eating corn rice. The people of Raas Island like the other Madurese, consume corn rice as daily food. Corn rice is rice derived from rice and mixed with ground corn. The corn rice has high carbohydrates so that someone who eats rice will quickly feel full. The participant had no choice but to consume corn rice every day. Even so, sometimes he also ate rice.

Fourth, in Papua, the teacher tried to get to know the culture of the local community, for example, the tradition of burning fish or animals using stone material and is known as *bakar batu* (burn stone). The *bakar batu* tradition is carried out when there is a party.

Teachers in the View of Local Communities

Being a teacher is fun, especially on the islands. The local community highly appreciate and respect the teachers. In the view of the community of Raas island, the teacher is included as respected people besides the Koran teacher (spiritualist). The first position is the spiritualist and the second is the teacher. They highly respect the teacher because the teacher is considered to provide knowledge to the community. Teachers are 'unsung heroes' because they teach knowledge restlessly.

The attitude of respect for the teacher is not only shown by parents to the teacher. Children at school also respect their teacher. Therefore, they are ready to do whatever the teacher tells them to do. The participant described a scene when he was in front of the house and at that time he was talking with his friends.

P : Back then often, children or parents who passed by the front of my house riding bicycles, when they found out there was me (the teacher), they got off the bicycle and said their greetings, "I'm sorry, Sir," while bowing their shoulders as a tribute.

R : How did you feel at that time? What response did you come up with?

P : At first I didn't know. I just smiled and was confused about why they suddenly got off the bicycle and said something to me. Then, I asked my friends. Apparently, the intention is to respect a teacher.

Once, when I was walking to the market, there was someone who was just behind me. He did not speed up the road at all, even though I was ordinary. Apparently, he did not want to walk in front of me because I was a teacher.

The appreciation and respect for the teacher were so great that the teacher there was very honorable. Whatever the teacher words were considered good and right. In the harvest time, they gave part of the harvest to the teacher. They wanted to express their gratitude by giving a portion of the harvest to the teacher. The yields that were usually given to teachers were young corn, cassava, watermelon, papaya and garbs. The harvest was very abundant so that almost parents gave it to the teacher so that the teacher got an abundant stock of the crop.

Moreover, parents left everything to the teacher. Once, there was a naughty student. The participant (as a teacher) reprimanded him until the student reported to the parents. However, it turned out, his parents came to his house not to scold the participant for being mean, but to bring fruits and apologized if their child was wrong. In addition, they also said that if their child was wrong, they asked the teacher not to hesitate to give lessons to their child.

In the Papua region, teachers who were assigned to these places are highly respected by the community. Parents, children and adolescents respect teachers very much. They assume that the teachers are hero because they provide knowledge to the community.

Stage Three: Teacher Contribution as an Educator in Remote Areas

As teachers in remote areas, their obligation is to teach. When in remote areas, the participant contributed as follows.

First, teaching students in remote areas according to conditions in the region. In remote areas, the material received by the students is very minimal, unlike in urban schools. Therefore, most of the abilities of students in remote schools are lower than the abilities of students in urban schools. One of the interviews of the participant shows as follows.

R : What strategies did you use to teach the material? Did you teach the same material given to students in the city?

P : No. I taught a material that suitable for their competencies. In the terms of competencies, students in remote areas were far beyond the competencies of students in the city.

R : So, what did you do when you know that their competencies were far beyond the average students in the city?

P : I gave them enrichment materials. I came to their house. Through meeting and having a discussion with their parents, I was able to recognize, understand and adapt to the local culture, so it eased me to communicate with students and society. In terms of the learning material, I could not expect much as long as they could get and learn the learning material, it was enough for me.

In line with the view of Brown (1995), Sealander *et. al* (2001), education received by school children in remote areas is indeed limited. Therefore, school work is very minimal. That is what causes students to get less knowledge that is more directed to an independent assignment.

Second, teaching material in accordance with the context of the local community. Thus, the material taught to students is material adapted to the area. For example, schools that are close to the beach will be given material related to the beach so students become more receptive to the material. Students who lived in the mountain are given material related to the mountains so that they are more receptive because it is close to their lives.

The provision of learning material that is lacking in schools can be provided by applying private learning. In remote areas, teachers provide voluntary private learning because most children who go to school are children of the ordinary class. They are not children from urban schools that have a lot of money to go to school. Lunn (1997) pointed out the phenomenon that the challenges of teachers in remote areas are a matter of incentives. They teach extra, but financially they don't get much. Therefore, teachers must be able to become volunteers for children's education in remote areas.

Third, in providing learning materials, the teacher does not require a lot of homework from the students. This is due to the number of children who attend school on the island who work to help parents when they finish school. Children who live in coastal areas sometimes do not go to school during the fishing season. They prefer to go fishing in the sea with their parents.

Discussion

Related to findings and results, teachers in remote areas of Indonesia have the following challenges. Therefore, as teachers in remote areas, they are not only equipped with knowledge in terms of teaching, but also cultural understanding, physical strength, and good communication strategies so that they can adapt to the local community. If they are not able to adapt well to the community, the teacher will find it difficult to become a teacher who is sincerely accepted by the local community.

Teachers in remote areas of Indonesia have the following challenges. First, the local language situation (teachers assigned in remote areas) is different from the local language of the local community. This is very susceptible to have misunderstanding in communication. Therefore, the teacher must be able to understand the local language, at least being able to understand passively. For this reason, a teacher (Beijaard (2018) needs to learn culture and technology, Sachs & Logan (1993) that supports understanding of culture and language. In relation to understanding teachers in remote areas, this study is in line with Pansiri's (2011), Martinez *et. al* (2001) view that understanding the teacher needs culture and language to prevent miscommunication with the local community.

Second, not all people appreciate the arrival of teachers from urban areas. Local people sometimes assume that the arrival of teachers from urban areas is to colonize remote areas. This is evidenced by the number of teachers from urban areas who teach in remote areas. There are more teachers come from urban areas than native from the remote areas. In fact, the local community does not know that teachers who come from urban areas to teach in remote areas are making a sacrifice.

Third, teachers in remote areas are sometimes considered smarter than native teachers in those regions. It causes academic jealousy among teachers. Because of this, disputes sometimes occur between migrant teachers and native teachers. In addition, this is due to the fear of a new culture that will defeat the traditional culture contained in the local community. For this reason, as a teacher who is in a remote area, he is not allowed to impose a new culture which is considered to defeat the culture of the local community (Brasche, & Harrington, 2012). If the teacher wants to learn the local culture, this is better because it doesn't overpower the local culture.

Fourth, access to remote areas in Indonesia is still very difficult. For example, it takes four hours to get to Raas island by the wooden ship. To reach Papua it takes a day by using a passenger plane and a small plane (which only contains six people). To reach Maluku, it takes a day by ship. Thus, it takes a long time to reach these remote areas.

Fifth, novice teachers who have just been assigned to remote areas sometimes do not have sufficient competence. Novice teachers are not proficient (Stone, 1990; Luft, 1992) when compared to professional teachers. That is due to the number of teaching hours that are still low and also the quality of teaching which is still minimal. Different from Stone and Lutf, the results of this research show that at the beginning of the year, the teachers have not been professional in terms of teaching and understanding the culture. For this reason, training is needed for novice teachers so that they can become professional teachers.

Related to this explanation, the results of this study support the views of researchers about teachers in remote schools, for example Henderson & Putt (1993), Pansiri (2011), Jorgensen *et al.* (2010), in relation to understanding culture and language. Understanding of culture and language is very important for teachers who live in remote areas. In the context of technology, teachers in remote places must also be smart so that they are able to teach well, this is in line with the views of Sachs & Logan (1993), Quezada *et al.* (2020) that a remote teacher must understand technology in order to be optimal in teaching because so far the views of remote area communities are still weak in relation to education (Qiao & Lai, 2019). If an understanding of culture, language, and technology is mastered and applied by a teacher in a remote

area, they will easily adapt to the local community. If so, the teacher will find it easier to provide learning materials because the community accepts them wholeheartedly.

Conclusions

Based on the results of the presentation, it shows that teachers assigned to remote islands are ethnographers and indeed will become ethnographers. They become ethnographers because as teachers in an unknown area, they must understand the language and cultural situation of the local community. If not, they will not be accepted by the local community because they are considered strangers who will endanger the indigenous people.

Based on empirical experiences from 21 participants who became teachers as ethnographers, those show that they must have the ability of ethnographer. Therefore, the early stage is learning the local language of the community. When they have recognized, understood, studied, they will be able to use the local language. The next step is to understand the cultural situation of the local community so that there is no miscommunication with the local community. In the second stage, teachers are highly appreciated after the spiritualist. In the third stage, the teachers show their teaching contributions there. They teach students and adapt to the life of the local community. That way, it makes it easier for students to get learning material.

Suggestion

The suggestions that can be given in subsequent studies are research on teachers found in remote islands using psychological perspectives so that it can be reviewed how the psychological condition of the local community and also the psychological condition of new teachers in remote islands. In addition, further researchers can also examine in-depth how language acquisition is carried out by teachers who are learning local languages on a remote island. Future researchers can also conduct more in-depth studies in relation to teacher contributions in the archipelago if viewed from an educational or non-educative perspective.

Limitation

The limitations of this study are as follows. First, this research only focuses on one study, which is a narrative study in terms of the ethnographic context. Thus, the researcher has not yet taken to the field to examine directly the teaching and learning process carried out by teachers in remote areas. This is caused by the limited costs and time possessed by the researcher. Second, the researcher did not measure the balance of the number of informants, in relation to male and female informants. This is due to the lack of informants obtained by the researcher. Moreover, ethnography research needs a lot of time in order to get the optimum results, while in this research, the obstacle faced was the limited time in conducting the research.

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