

Native-Speakerism in a Locally Developed Indonesian EFL Textbook: A Critical Discourse Study

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Abstract

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The objective of the study is to examine to what extent native-speakerism is embedded in an EFL textbook for senior high school students in Indonesia. Native-speakerism is an ideology that legitimates native speakers as superior models of English. The textbook was developed by local English teachers and supervised and published by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture ([Widiati et al., 2017](#)). The study focuses on analyzing critical elements in the passages in the textbooks. Eighteen passages were analyzed qualitatively using a set of guideline questions developed from [Fairclough \(2001\)](#) three dimensions of discourse analysis. The findings show that native-speakerism is the second major ideology after Indonesia-center. It is embedded in four passages. Three passages contain native-speakerism that can be recognized on the sentence level. Another passage, disguised as Indonesia-center, transfers native-speakerism implicitly as it cannot be identified on the sentence level. The findings are presented descriptively with excerpts from the passages followed by an illustrated scenario for each excerpt. Suggestions on how to lessen native-speakerism transfer are presented in conclusion.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, EFL textbook, ideology, native-speakerism

INTRODUCTION

In the last decade, ELT experts have been concerned about inequality in ELT through the spread of ideologies benefitting center countries and marginalizing periphery countries. Center and periphery terms are first used by [Kachru \(1986\)](#) to refer to the economically advanced communities of the West and less-developed non-Western communities ([Canagarajah, 1999a](#); [Phillipson, 1992](#)) used the terms to refer to the West communities in which English is the first language and the non-West communities in which English is used as the second or foreign language. This article will often mention these center and peripheral countries' terms to signify dominating western and dominated non-western communities.

Some ideologies of English, namely imperialism, linguistic imperialism, cultural imperialism, colonialism, orientalism, linguicism, native-speakerism, and others, have been deeply observed and found to exist in ELT global ([Canagarajah, 1999a](#); [Fitzgibbon, 2013](#); [Holliday, 2005](#); [Kabel, 2009](#); [Phillipson, 1992](#); [Said, 1978, 1994](#)). Not only by native speakers that make English an industry but the aforementioned ideologies also can be spread by the local authorities creating the policies with or without being aware of them since the ideologies are naturalized ([Canagarajah, 1999b](#); [Fairclough, 2001](#); [Holliday & Aboshiha, 2009](#); [Tollefson, 2007](#)). Otherwise stated, local authorities might unintentionally spread the ideologies because they exist for generations and have been followed without being questioned.

The ideology in ELT that the researcher focuses on is native-speakerism, which is foregrounded in most components, including ELT textbooks as the commonly used materials in the ELT classrooms. In most countries, global commercial ELT textbooks are preferable to locally developed ELT textbooks ([Fitzgibbon, 2013](#); [Hashemenezhad, 2015](#); [Litz, 2005](#); [Melliti, 2013](#); [Naji Meidani & Pishghadam, 2012](#)). Since the textbooks are produced to be used globally, the contents are sometimes not suitable for local values and context. The values presented in the textbooks are mostly those of western countries, which are associated with native speakers ([Canagarajah, 1999b](#); [Holliday, 2005, 2015](#); [Kumaravadivelu, 2012](#); [Pennycook, 2017](#); [Phillipson, 1992](#)). Thus, the textbooks are not neutral and indicate the existence of native-speakerism.

In Indonesia, unlike most periphery countries, the government has been developing and producing textbooks for all subjects, including English, to be used for free. The textbooks are developed by local English teachers under the supervision and selection of The Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture and are based on the latest curriculum revised ([Kurikulum 2013, 2013](#)). Even though the textbooks are developed by non-native, local English teachers, it does not guarantee that the textbooks are free from native-speakerism since ideologies, as stated before, are customized ([Canagarajah, 1999a](#); [Fairclough, 2001](#); [Phillipson, 1992](#); [Tollefson, 2007](#)) that local English teachers might not be aware that they follow native-speakerism. Therefore, this study concerns native-speakerism embedded in an EFL textbook for students of Grade X (the first grade of senior high school in Indonesia), published by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. The research question addressed in this study is "to what extent is native speakerism embedded in the EFL textbook for Grade X students in Indonesia?"

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The present study is based on the theory of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and critical applied linguistics (CALx), which are embedded in critical theory. Critical theory judges

domination as a problem ([Fuchs, 2015](#)). Hence, it concerns the inequality of power in society. Emerged from critical theory, CALx comes from the belief that a critical view in applied linguistics is absent from ([Pennycook, 2017](#)). CALx concerns issues that applied linguistics does not consider, such as identity, sexuality, ethics, desire, access, and difference related to the issues of dominance and inequality field ([Pennycook, 2001](#)). In the same climate, CDA is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias. It aims to critically investigate social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, and legitimized by language use or in discourse ([Fairclough, 2001](#); [Van Dijk, 1998](#)). Those theories mentioned are used as the theoretical framework in this study since the study focuses on critically analyzing written discourse in form of passages.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Defining ideology

Ideology is briefly defined by [Van Dijk \(2011\)](#) as the fundamental beliefs of a group and its members. In line with [Eagleton \(1993\)](#), [Van Dijk \(2011\)](#) defines ideology as a body of meanings and values of a particular social group encoding certain interests relevant to social power that is unifying, action-oriented, rationalizing, legitimating, universalizing, and naturalizing. In other words, ideology is the ideas of a particular social group that has certain interests, and the ideas are related to social power, which is naturalized.

The existence of ideology as a tool to legitimize certain actions done in a particular group is closely related to power since ideology and power are interrelated ([Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991](#); [Fairclough, 2001](#); [Van Dijk, 1998](#)). The ownership of dominant power can be referred to as hegemony. [Gramsci \(1971\)](#) states that hegemony is the dominance of power owned by a social group over others. Hegemony works by convincing the other social groups to follow the beliefs, values, and norms of a manipulative system, in which the power is not in the forms of threats and force; rather, it depends on voluntarism and participation ([Gramsci, 1971](#)). Thus, it leads to the presence of a dominant ideology ([Lull, 2003](#)). Dominant ideology can be defined as the ideas, beliefs, values, and norms brought by the hegemony of a group and followed by other groups in the society ([Gramsci, 1971](#)). The dominant ideology is created by manipulating information by the ruling class. It appears normal for the exploited groups as it is inherited from the past and is engaged in society uncritically ([Eagleton, 1993](#)). The hegemony group is capable of making dominant ideology followed by other less powerful groups. The realization and presence of hegemony and the dominant ideology of native-speakerism in the ELT context are discussed in the following section.

Native-speakerism in English Language Teaching

Native-speakerism is defined by [Holliday \(2005, 2015\)](#) as an ideology that perceives native speakers as the best models of English as they characterize western cultures, which give them rights upon English and the methodology. This ideology originated from linguistic imperialism, which is defined by [Phillipson \(1992\)](#) as “the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstruction of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages” (p. 47). In defining linguistic imperialism, [Phillipson \(1992\)](#) mentions five tenets: the monolingual fallacy, the native-speaker fallacy, the early-start fallacy, the maximum-exposure fallacy, and the subtractive fallacy. Hence, native-speakerism is derived from the native-speaker fallacy.

[Phillipson \(1992\)](#) argues there is a fallacy that the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker. It legitimates the ownership of English to speakers from dominating center countries. This fallacy was started in the 1960s when English was spread as a global product by the US and the UK [Holliday\(2006\)](#), which are the hegemony groups of English. In addition, [Canagarajah \(1999a\)](#) claims that the native-speaker fallacy is linguistically derived from Noam Chomsky's linguistic concept that native speakers are the experts on their language. Thus, they are superior, ideal informants with authority over the language and can make grammatical judgments. This native speaker fallacy highlights the phenomenon that native speakers have been purposely and commercially portrayed as superior models in ELT.

The superiority of native speakers established in native-speakerism is not only in the perspective of language, that English spoken by native speakers are undeniably accurate, but also in their cultures, norms, and attitudes. Native-speakerism concerns the cultures and norms of native English speakers (NES) [\(Holliday, 2006\)](#). Thus, it highlights those dominating center countries where NES are from. Attitudes and lifestyles of NES are also in the spotlight of native-speakerism [\(Holliday, 2006\)](#). It is apparent that native-speakerism emphasizes native speakers and everything that fertilizes their superiority. Their language, cultures, norms, and attitudes are crowned a higher position than those of non-native English speakers (NNES) from periphery countries. The previously conducted studies show that NES teachers are more favored compared to the NNES despite the educational background [\(Jenks, 2019; Methitham, 2012; Ren, 2018\)](#). Ironically, periphery countries are unaware that native-speakerism has been implanted through ELT.

Native-speakerism is embedded in all aspects of ELT, including textbooks [\(Hutchinson & Tootill, 1994\)](#) as the most used teaching materials. The choice of ELT textbooks is one of the indications of native-speakerism in ELT. In many periphery countries, commercial ELT textbooks from the center are mostly prioritized [\(Fitzgibbon, 2013; Litz, 2005; Melliti, 2013\)](#). The reason for prioritizing ELT textbooks from the center is because they are developed by NES, whose English is idealized [\(Gray, 2002; Litz, 2005\)](#), which signifies native-speakerism. The cultural content presented in those global ELT textbooks is also mainly about the cultures of NES from the center countries [\(Canagarajah, 1999b; Kumaravadivelu, 2012; Pennycook, 2017\)](#). Publishers might try to include the cultures of periphery countries, but the percentage of those of center countries is bigger [\(Fitzgibbon, 2013; Gray, 2002; Melliti, 2013\)](#).

Furthermore, the depictions of periphery countries are commonly negative, along with the positive representations of the center countries [\(Canagarajah, 1999b; Holliday, 2005\)](#). A study conducted by [Zhang et al., \(2021\)](#) found that global ELT textbooks in China implicitly represent US/UK-centred ideology, while other mentioned non-native countries are subjected to orientalism. In the same line, [Melliti \(2013\)](#) and [Fitzgibbon \(2013\)](#) also point out that global ELT used in periphery countries is not locally suitable since they mostly represent the cultures of the center. In addition, [Kirana & Methitham \(2019b, 2019a\)](#) argue that the center countries are represented in the textbooks in the dimension of persons and products, where NES and their cultures are explicitly and implicitly introduced. The above-stated studies indicate native-speakerism, where NES and their cultures are put in the spotlight and perceived as ideal.

RESEARCH METHOD

The study applies Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze the textbook. The present critical discourse study (CDS) aims to analyze an EFL textbook using [Fairclough \(2001\)](#) three dimensions of discourse analysis, which consist of description (text analysis), interpretation

(processing analysis), and explanation (social analysis). A set of guideline questions is developed based on the three dimensions of discourse analysis. The guideline questions used are adapted from [Fitzgibbon \(2013\)](#) template, which observes the use of pronouns, wording, metaphors, semantic relations, genre, and the representation of ethos, values, and cultures in the passages. The guideline questions are used to detect the indications of ideologies that will be analyzed further beyond the sentence level.

The subject of the study is the passages from the EFL textbook for Grade X entitled “Bahasa Inggris: SMA/MA-SMK/MAK Kelas X.” The textbook is written by Utami Widiati, Furaidah, and Zuliati Rohmah, under the supervision of Indonesian Menteri of Education and Culture and published by Pusat Kurikulum dan Perbukuan Kemdikbud publisher. The textbook consists of eighteen chapters and contains eighteen passages.

The researchers went through three reading steps to analyze the passages in conducting the analysis. The first step was general reading, where the main ideas of the passages were observed. This step aims at understanding the general ideas of the passages without judgment. The second step is specific reading in which the passages were re-read using the guideline questions, and interesting points from the passages were grasped and highlighted. In this step, suspicious words, phrases, and sentences indicating certain ideologies were marked for deeper analysis. The third step is critical reading by coding and analyzing the marked words, phrases, and sentences. In analyzing the highlighted points, the motives behind the word choices are questioned. The analysis also involved teacher and student discourse in which the researchers positioned themselves as EFL teachers and EFL students that use the textbook to study English in Indonesia. By looking at the text from three different perspectives, the process of how the passages will be carried on in the EFL classroom and how they transfer ideologies can be well illustrated.

Since the study is qualitative in nature, it is challenging to unfold hidden ideologies that lie behind seemingly neutral passages. As ideologies are mostly implicitly stated, careful and critical analyses are required to recognize the tendency foregrounded. The methodology applied enables the researchers to reveal both ideologies explicitly represented in the text and the ones implicitly inserted in passages that appear neutral.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

There are eighteen passages distributed in eighteen units in the textbook. Five minor ideologies are represented in one passage for each; Islamism in an email from a student from Malaysia, hard work in a passage about a bankrupt young man, US-centrism in a passage about Niagara Fall, UK-centrism in a passage about Stonehenge, and neutral in an announcement which does not have any tendency behind the message. Asia-centrism is presented in two passages which are about a K-Pop concert in Singapore and Japanese folklore. Seven of the passages promote Indonesia-centrism, which aims to transfer Indonesian local cultures, values, and ideas and construct students’ nationalism. Indonesia-centrism is the major ideology that is explicitly transferred throughout the textbook. The discussion focuses on the ideology of native-speakerism. Native-speakerism appears as the second majority delivered through four passages, three of which are explicitly stated on the textual level, while one is implicitly conveyed without explicitly stated in the passage. The detail of the ideologies found can be seen in the following table.

Table 1. Ideologies in the EFL textbook for Grade X students

Ideology	Title	Chapter	Page
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Indonesia-centrism	My Best Friend	5	58
	Cuban Rondo	6	78
	Meeting My Idol	10	3-4
	Didi's Diary	11	14-15
	B.J. Habibie	12	27-28
	Cut Nyak Dhien	13	37-38
	The Legend of Malin Kundang	15	64
Native-speakerism	An email from Hannah	1	4
	Tanjung Putting National Park	6	70
	Interview with the Wright Brothers	16	76-77
	Strong Wind	17	89-91
Asia-centrism	Cancellation of JYJ Concert in Singapore	9	105
	Issumboshi	14	49-51
Islamism	A letter from Saidah	1	5
Hard work	Congratulations!	4	46
US-centrism	Visiting Niagara Falls	7	84-85
UK-centrism	The Secret of Stonehenge	8	95-96
Neutral	McMaster Mini-Med School	9	106

Two passages are chosen to represent the existence of native-speakerism found in the textbook. One passage represents native-speakerism that is explicitly stated on the textual level, another one represents native-speakerism that is implicitly transferred and cannot be identified on the textual level.

In presenting the findings and discussion, the researchers organize this part by providing excerpts from the passages that indicate native-speakerism. After each excerpt, an illustrated scenario of how students in Indonesia will react to and be affected by the passage is presented. The illustrated scenario is based on the researcher's experience as an EFL student and an EFL teacher in Indonesia. The main character of the scenario is Gita, a first-grade student at a senior high school in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Yogyakarta was chosen because the researcher was a student and a teacher in that province and the ELT conditions can be well depicted. The discussion of each native-speakerism phenomenon that occurred is provided after the scenario. This organization is arranged to enable the readers to read the passages, see how they will influence the students, and see what tendencies lie behind them.

The first passage discussed is an e-mail from Hannah – from Minnesota - to Alia – from Indonesia. The passage is reading material in the first chapter of the textbook. There is one opening sentence, four paragraphs in the body, and one closing paragraph. Three excerpts from three paragraphs in the body that signify native-speakerism are presented.

The following is an excerpt from the first paragraph.

I know your name from my friend, Caroline. She told me that you sent her an email telling her that you would like to have more pen pals from the US. I'd like to be your E-pal. You sound really cool! ([Widiati et al., 2017](#)).

Ringing bell sound was echoing when students were walking back to their classrooms after the afternoon break. The time showed a quarter past twelve, a perfect time for a nap. Yet, Gita still needed to keep her eyes open for the last class of the day, English. Miss Wena entered the class right five minutes after the bell rang. She is an active and talkative, thirty-year-old English teacher who can drive students' attention to the English subject, so afternoon class is not a big deal for her. After

greeting the students and telling them the lesson objective, she asked them to open the English textbook and gave them time to read one passage by themselves before they discuss it later.

Gita opened the book and started reading the text asked. It was an email from Hannah, a girl from Minnesota, to Alia, an Indonesian, Gita guessed by the name. She started reading the text, sentence by sentence with concern while Rani, her desk mate started murmuring sentences from the text "I know your name from my friend, Caroline. She told me that you sent her an email telling her that you would like to have more pen pals from the US". Gita was startled when Rani suddenly whispered, "Hey, do you want to have many pen pals from the US like Alia?" She nodded immediately and continue reading the text silently, but her mind wandered thinking about how good it is to have many pen pals from the US. She only can practice communicating in English at school, during English class. Often, the students speak in Bahasa Indonesia or Javanese, instead of English, when Miss Wena asks them in English. Therefore, her only partner talking in English is Miss Wena. "If I have pen pals from the US, I can improve my English by talking to them. Also, their English is good, not like us who speaks English in Javanese accent" Gita whispered back to Rani, who chuckled immediately.

The passage implies that students in Indonesia, like Gita in the illustrated scenario, can improve their English by communicating with only native speakers, which supports the idea of native-speakerism. Like other periphery countries, Indonesian people believe that communicating with native speakers or living in the native speakers' communities will accelerate English communicative competence ([Chun, 2014](#); [Wu & Ke, 2009](#)). This belief has lasted for generations and is somehow normal for Indonesian people. The fact is that recent studies reveal that both NES and NNES have their strengths in improving students' English ([Árva & Medgyes, 2000](#); [Benke & Medgyes, 2005](#); [Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2014](#)). A study conducted by [Walkinshaw & Oanh \(2014\)](#) shows that NES is superior in terms of pronunciation and cultural knowledge, while NNES are dominant in grammar since they learn the language explicitly.

If the Indonesian government perceives English as an international language, as stated in the curriculum (The Ministry of Education and Culture, 2013), a successful or advanced NNES from dominated periphery countries can be chosen as a model. By choosing NNES, the definition of English as an international language can be generated into practice. Students can examine how English is used as a means of international communication by addressing their own cultures and identities. [Boecher \(2005\)](#) and [Braine \(2012\)](#) claim that successful or advanced NNES offer promising communication in a way that they can understand the grammatical obstacles that L2 learners face because they have been going through the same difficulties before eventually mastering English. It is also argued that NNES can help facilitate the process of SLA much better [Canagarajah \(1999a\)](#) since they have successfully mastered other languages before learning the second language, in this context English. They can understand what students want to express even though the sentences contain grammatical errors. The same way of understanding might not be found in NES because they do not go through the same learning path. How they acquire English as their first language is different from how students learn English as their second language ([Lightbown & Spanda, 2013](#)). Thus, as [Cook \(2005\)](#) and [Braine \(2012\)](#) argued, providing NNES as a model would not cause any harm and rather offer advantages.

The following excerpt is from the third paragraph of the passage. In the scenario that follows, the legitimacy of NES is identified and discussed. It supports the native-speakerism in the previous scenario in a way that it reinforces the belief that NES is the genuine owners and speakers of English. The scenario also specifies native-speakerism from a cultural perspective.

At school, I have many Hmong friends who were not fully fluent in English.

Their family moved here from Asia. I enjoy talking to them about our different cultures. ([Widiati et al., 2017](#))

“At school, I have many Hmong friends who were not fully fluent in English. Their family moved here from Asia. I enjoy talking to them about our different cultures.” Gita read the next sentences silently. She could not agree more with what Hannah said. Hannah’s Hmong friends were not fluent in English because they are not native speakers, not like Hannah, that was what Gita thought. It is difficult for non-native speakers to speak fluently in English because it is not their language. While for native speakers, English is the language that they have been using and familiar with since they were born. Gita then thought about the people who move to America to get a better life since America is the land of freedom and liberty where people can get equal chances for lives as long as they work hard, that is what she learned from movies. Gita imagined how good it is if she can study or work in America in the future. Her parents must be very proud of her.

The way that the passage refers to Hmong as influent English speakers explicitly triggers Gita’s idea that NNES cannot reach English proficiency as NES do. It reinforces the belief that NES is fluent and competent in English, while NNES are influent and incompetent in English. This, again, leads to native-speakerism in a way that NES is declared as the legitimate speakers of English while NNES are illegitimate in English ([Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991](#); [Holliday, 2006](#); [Phillipson, 1992](#)). NES are perceived as authentic speakers of English by birth ([Holliday \(2015\)](#) because they were born and raised in the English-speaking communities of center countries. Consequently, other speakers from periphery countries are accused of not being excellent in English because they do not have that ‘birthright.’ This kind of perception might demotivate students because they think NNES can’t speak as fluently and as naturally as NES, and that there is nothing they can do about it because they are not born as NES. Those thoughts are not correct. There are possibilities for NNES to reach native-like or native-near proficiency, as argued by [Phillipson \(1992\)](#) and [Cook \(1999\)](#), which infer those English competencies are not a birthright and can be achieved by whoever, despite their nationalities and race.

Other than NES legitimacy, the description of Hmong friends whose family migrated from Asia indicates native-speakerism from a cultural aspect. There have been stereotypical images of western and non-western countries spread through English movies, storybooks, songs, and even ELT textbooks. Western countries are portrayed as a symbol of modernity, liberty, prosperity, and civilization, while non-western countries get the opposite association of those western countries ([Canagarajah, 1999a](#); [Said, 1978, 1994](#)). By stating that Hmong families moved to America from Asia, the text provokes the students to find out the main reason why the family migrated from Asia to America. Supported by the images and labels attached to Asia and America, the text strengthens those fallacies described previously: Asia is less developed and less civilized than America. The discussion of native-speakerism from a cultural aspect is expanded more in the following scene after the excerpt from the fourth paragraph of the passage.

I haven’t got much interest in fashion, although we have ‘Mall of America,’ the biggest mall in Minnesota. We can reach the mall very easily. A commuter train runs every 15 minutes; buses also come from different directions. We can also drive to the mall. It’s much faster than going there by train or bus ([Widiati et al., 2017](#)).

Gita read the next paragraph about Mall of America, the biggest mall in Minnesota. “We can reach the mall very easily. A commuter train runs every 15 minutes; buses also come from different directions. We can also drive to the mall. It is much faster than going there by train or by bus.” Gita thought about her life in Yogyakarta. There are some malls there since Yogyakarta is one of the big

cities in Indonesia, but they are surely not as big as Mall of America, which Hannah said is the biggest mall in Minnesota. Hannah's life in America looks very pleasant, civilized, and efficient compared to Gita's life in Yogyakarta. She began to think about how it feels taking a commuter train that she never experiences before. In Indonesia, commuter trains are only available in Jakarta. There are only commuter buses in some big cities, while small cities do not have them. And driving cars? Gita looked around to see her classmates and count how many of them have cars. Less than fifteen out of forty students have at least one car in the family. Most people travel by motorcycles in Indonesia, while cars are owned by rich families. Some of Gita's friends even go to school by bikes or by commuter buses. Comparing her life to Hannah's life in America makes Gita feel inferior.

After inferring that America is economically better than Asia and that Hannah's Hmong friend's family migrated to America, the passage shows a clearer picture of how developed and efficient Hannah's life in America is. This kind of portrayal of western countries, which [Canagarajah \(1999b\)](#) said is "rose-tinted, but not entirely false" (p. 12), is very commonly inserted in ELT. Western countries are framed by media and perceived by periphery countries as economically more developed and civilized than periphery countries. What is presented in the textbooks is all about the good sides of western countries, while the existed bad sides remain unrevealed ([Canagarajah, 1999a](#)). On the opposite, periphery countries are exposed to the bad sides and criticized that they should learn from the center countries. The good sides of periphery countries are not frequently discussed. These imbalanced imageries between the center and periphery countries are what often depicted in ELT textbooks might make the students either motivated to be a part of it by learning English or demotivated because they feel inferior to their own condition. These communities are referred to as 'imagined communities, which is the community created while ones create new perspectives of the world and their place in it ([Kanno & Norton, 2003](#); [Wenger, 1998](#)). The term imagined communities could be seen in two ways: by learners' imagination from their motivation and by media exposing or projecting communities for people to believe ([Cortez, 2008](#)). In the excerpt above, the imagined community falls in the second category, as the passage explicitly exposes it.

This kind of imagined community, which shows only the positive side of western countries, is irrelevant to learners' actual conditions in the periphery countries. Teachers might argue that this can motivate students to learn English. Still, they forget that students might also feel marginalized and demotivated by indirectly comparing their living conditions with the dreamy western communities offered in the books ([Canagarajah, 1999b](#)). In most cases, imagined communities are commonly found in global ELT textbooks imported from dominating countries to periphery countries ([Canagarajah, 1999b](#); [Kumaravadivelu, 2012](#); [Phillipson, 1992](#)). However, in this case, the passage was written for the pedagogical purpose by local teachers. Ironically, local English teachers become the agents that spread linguistic and cultural imperialism to the students, probably without even realizing it since it has been followed for generations, it is seen as natural.

The second passage represents native-speakerism that is implicitly promoted. The four-paragraph passage entitled Tanjung Puting National Park is about an ecotourism destination in Indonesia, a rehabilitation place for orang utan¹ and proboscis monkeys. In general, the passage looks neutral and Indonesia-centrism-like. It describes how impressive and special this ecotourism is since orang utan and proboscis monkeys are Indonesian endemics yet endangered animals. However, behind the description of the place, which seems to promote

¹ The correct spelling is 'orangutan'. The researchers use 'orang utan' as written in the textbook to avoid confusion.

Indonesian tourism objects, native-speakerism is embedded. The following is the excerpt from the second paragraph, which implies native-speakerism. After the excerpt, an illustrated scenario is presented.

To see orang utan, we should go to [Camp Leakey](#). Camp Leakey is located in the heart of Tanjung Puting National Park. This is a rehabilitation place for ex-captive orang utans and a preservation site. This camp was established by Birute Galdikas, an important scientist who has studied orang utan since 1971 (Widiati et al., 2017).

Gita was concentrated on reading a text about Tanjung Puting National Park as Miss Wena gave time for the students to read the passage individually before discussing it together. Gita's eyes skim the sentences, word by word. Jump from one adjective to another: famous, impressive, incredible, interesting, special, amazing. As a Javanese that has never been to Kalimantan before, her mind was imagining the natural beauty of the national park while reading the passage. She knows about Kalimantan only from the television, the internet, and textbooks since it costs much money to travel from Java to Kalimantan. The passage also reminds her of the news she sometimes watches on TV about how orang utans are endangered since the forests, as orang utans' habitat, in Kalimantan starts to get less, just like what happened in Java. Unfortunately, locals seem not to care about this problem.

She kept reading and got to the second paragraph that mentions one name that established the rehabilitation place: Birute Galdikas. "Finally! Someone that cares about orang utans!", "who is he?", "is he from Kalimantan?", in her mind Gita questioned that heroic figure who really cares about orang utans, among millions of people that neglect or even endanger orang utans' lives. "Miss Wenna?" Gita raised her hand in hesitation and shot the question as she saw Miss Wenna nodded her head, "Birute Galdikas. Who is he?". Miss Wenna smiled, feeling satisfied that her student was curious about the name as she was. She is a well-prepared teacher that always makes sure she has enough knowledge to answer the students' questions. "It's she, not he. She is a Lithuanian-Canadian conservationist who is recognized as a leading authority of orang utans. Her campaigns are not only about primate conservation, but also rainforest preservation." Miss Wenna explained enthusiastically to the students.

Gita, listened to Miss Wenna's explanation, felt her stomach sick and her heart hurt. She got disappointed that Birute Galdikas is not an Indonesian. She remembers the news she got from the TV that westerners are more active in nature preservations rather than the locals do. "Where are the Indonesians? Are we that ignorance?" Gita asked herself, saddened by her thoughts.

Undoubtedly, native speakers from the center countries are always put on the front line of media. Since the era of great discoveries and inventions, the center countries have received prominent recognition and credit ([Canagarajah, 2002](#)). The number of discoveries and inventions credited to the center countries are countless, from the discovery of America by Columbus to the invention of the airplane by the Wright brothers. However, only a few people know that the first one who discovered America was a group of Chinese seventy years before Columbus claimed his discovery ([Menzies, 2003](#)). Similarly, the airplane was initially invented by Abbas ibn Firnas, a Muslim scientist who invented the flying machine and flew with it in the 9th century ([Ganchy, 2009](#); [Jamsari et al., 2013](#)). These two examples represent numerous figures from the periphery countries whose knowledge, efforts, and roles are marginalized and eclipsed by the center countries.

It is always believed that the center countries are the leading figures of discoveries, knowledge, inventions, and movements. Behind those achievements, contributions from the periphery countries are unrevealed and uncredited. In his book, *A Geopolitics of Academic Writing*, [Canagarajah \(2002\)](#) reveals how we are bombarded by media framing the center

countries as the pioneer, the founder, the inventor, and the caretaker of international interests. He gives an example of headline news in the New York Times about a fossil discovery in China by an 'international team' of palaeontologists, consisting of four Americans and one Germany. The news emphasized as if the finding was made recently by the team and blew up the theory they made. While the Chinese farmer's name who first found the fossil was not stated, the Chinese universities' theory that first learned the fossils was debunked. It shows how media-framing brings us to an assumption and belief that people from the center countries are more capable than those from the periphery countries, whose roles are unexposed.

In line with [Canagarajah \(2002\)](#), [Pennycook \(2002\)](#) mentions a statement of Isaac Headland, a professor at the Peking Imperial University. The statement, published in *A Cyclopaedia of Education* in 1911, claimed that the Chinese had never made any inventions. They only invented simple, practical appliances such as the compass, gunpowder, and printing ([Pennycook, 2002](#)). As the statement was published in a cyclopedia, it undeniably generates influential thoughts to whoever read such a judgemental perspective. It deliberately reveals how knowledge and inventions from periphery countries have been marginalized and seen as less important compared to those of the center countries.

In the same light as the previously mentioned eclipse phenomena, the eclipse also happens in the passage entitled Tanjung Puting National Park. The developer and publisher of the textbook might argue that the text aims to introduce Indonesian tourism objects and build students' nationalities. However, by mentioning that the rehabilitation camp was established by Birute Galdikas, without mentioning the roles of locals in helping her, students, like Gita, who read the passage, will assume that NESs contribute to Indonesian nature conservations and preservations more than the Indonesians do. In fact, local media in Indonesia constantly criticize Indonesians for the damages that occurred in nature, including the endangered orang utan ([Hadrian, 2017](#); [Nasarudin, 2017](#); [Sianipar, 2018](#)), and putting NESs who come to Indonesia as volunteers in the spotlight ([Gustan, 2010](#); [Permana, 2016](#); [Wulandari, 2016](#)) which is one form of native-speakerism. The native-speakerism in the passage could be lessened by mentioning not only Birute Galdikas but also the role of locals in building the camp. Birute Galdikas indeed is the one who has the idea of establishing the camp. Still, she did not build the camp all by herself. As [American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals \(2019\)](#) in *International Orangutan Foundation*, the locals helped Galdikas by giving her and her team food and supplies to live. They also work together with the local forestry department in developing the camp. The passage also could mention Pak Bohap, a native Kalimantan whom Galdikas has married to for the last 39 years and has been assisting Galdikas in maintaining the camp. By saying the efforts locals made in building the camp, the roles of locals are acknowledged and not eclipsed by native speakers. Thus, native-speakerism transfer could be lessened.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper discusses the ideology of native-speakerism found in the EFL textbook for Grade X students at senior high school in Indonesia. The textbook was developed by local teachers and published by the Ministry of Education and Culture. A set of guideline questions developed from [Fairclough \(2001\)](#) dimensions of CDA was applied to analyze the passages in the textbook. Although Indonesia-centrism was found to be the major ideology embedded in the textbook, native-speakerism falls into the second major ideology.

Native-speakerism was found in four out of eighteen passages. It was found explicitly on the sentence level in three passages: an e-mail from a US pen pal, an interview script with the

Wright Brothers, and western folklore. In these passages, the sentences emphasize the superiority of native speakers and their cultures. Another passage about Tanjung Puting National Park transfers native-speakerism implicitly as the ideology cannot be identified from the sentence level. After a careful analysis, native-speakerism is found in the passage that appears as Indonesia-centrism. The native-speakerism emerged because of eclipsing locals' roles in establishing and preserving the rehabilitation.

In conclusion, although the Indonesian government has attempted to emphasize Indonesia-centrism, they probably were not aware that native-speakerism is foregrounded. Native-speakerism transfer can be lessened by 1) providing Indonesian cultures or other cultures from periphery countries in line with the cultures of the center countries; 2) providing the roles of Indonesians and other important figures from the periphery countries so that they are not marginalized. By giving equal importance to Indonesia, the periphery, and the center countries, the harm of native-speakerism could be prevented.

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