
INVESTIGATING NEOLIBERAL VALUES IN EFL TEXTBOOKS IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

There has been a wide acknowledgment that textbooks are a common medium of classroom instruction. Simultaneously, a growing body of research have found that ELT textbooks have promoted certain ideology, namely neoliberalism. This study concerns the endorsement of neoliberalism and how it is embedded in both locally-developed and internationally-published ELT textbooks used in Indonesia. Using content analysis, the finding reveals that all the chosen textbooks contain the neoliberal mentality. The mandatory local textbook focuses on how to promote competition, while the local private textbook highlights material wealth and competition. On the other hand, the imported global textbook endorses human capital agenda. In other words, each textbook endorses different neoliberal values. The findings in this study imply the need for critical reading before the textbooks are prescribed to be used especially when the potential readers of the textbooks have different cultural values and learning objectives than those of commonly reproduced neoliberal values in imported ELT textbooks as previous studies found.

Keywords: neoliberalism; ELT textbook; language and ideology; content analysis; power in discourse

Abstrak

Tidak dapat dipungkiri bahwa buku sebagai bahan ajar telah menjadi media paling populer dalam kegiatan ajar-mengajar di kelas. Penelitian sebelumnya juga menemukan bahwa buku ajar bahasa Inggris telah menjadi media untuk menyebarkan ideologi, salah satunya yaitu neoliberalisme. Oleh karena itu, studi ini bertujuan untuk meneliti adanya ideologi neoliberalisme dan bagaimana ideologi tersebut direpresentasikan dalam buku ajar bahasa Inggris baik yang diproduksi secara lokal maupun impor. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan konten analisis, studi ini menemukan bahwa dalam buku bahan ajar bahasa Inggris, terdapat nilai-nilai ideologi neoliberalisme. Buku bahan ajar wajib nasional berfokus pada glorifikasi kompetisi. Sedangkan buku bahan ajar domestik yang lain mementingkan kekayaan materi dan kompetisi. Di sisi lain, buku bahan ajar bahasa Inggris impor lebih menonjolkan human capital sebagai nilai neoliberalismenya. Melihat temuan tersebut, diperlukan critical reading sebelum suatu buku direkomendasikan untuk dijadikan bahan ajar terutama ketika target pengguna buku tersebut memiliki budaya dan juga nilai-nilai ideologi yang berbeda dari ideologi yang, menurut penelitian sebelumnya, kerap kali direproduksi dalam buku ajar bahasa Inggris, yaitu neoliberalisme.

Kata kunci: neoliberalisme; buku bahan ajar bahasa Inggris; bahasa dan ideologi; analisis konten; analisis diskursus

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Introduction

To a large extent, textbooks often lead classroom activities as they are the common medium of classroom instruction. In addition, to helping teachers deliver materials, textbooks, including ELT textbooks, are also identified as common sites for the social reproduction and distribution of dominant ideologies (Babaii & Sheikhi, 2018). While its primary purpose is to achieve specific skills offered by the course, it has been considered a recurrent medium of ideology expansion. This is possible because the contents of textbooks can be heavily impacted by the producer of socio-cultural and political context (Copley, 2018). Consequently, every textbook carries ideology, principles, and views that may be unfamiliar to learners in diverse circumstances (Cantoni et al., 2017; Mirhosseini, 2018).

Recently, a growing body of critical research on ELT textbooks has discovered neoliberal ideology in English language teaching (Babaii & Sheikhi, 2018; Bori, 2020a, 2020b; Copley, 2018; Daghigh & Rahim, 2020; Xiong & Yuan, 2018). Therefore, Daghigh & Rahim (2020) and Xiong & Yuan (2018) have encouraged further studies on how neoliberalism is legitimized in other world contexts. Further, Babaii & Sheikhi (2018) and Bori (2020b) suggested teachers to be aware of how neoliberalism shapes students' perspectives.

In the context of education, neoliberalism endorses several market values into English textbooks to realize the strategy as an ideology. The study of Xiong and Yuan (2018), for instance, mentions that one of the implications of neoliberalism on education is that school is increasingly more concerned with the production of human capital serving the needs of industries. Furthermore, Babaii and Sheikhi (2018) find three neoliberal values: consumerism, branding, and individualism. Similarly, Daghigh and Rahim (2020) discover material wealth, fame, and celebrity as other neoliberal beliefs that are found in ELT textbook. All these previous studies found that neoliberalism has shifted collective belief which benefits market development.

The aforementioned previous studies on neoliberal ideology in English language teaching focus more on the types of neoliberal values but do not look into the power relationships. Hence, choosing appropriate material is crucial, and teachers must be aware of both the cultural issues and ideologies in the textbook. As has been argued by Harwood (2014), it is necessary to pay attention not only to the content but also to the production or the power relationship. Textbooks as discourse are a product of language material and social events (Littlejohn, 2012), which can influence how textbooks' content and power relationship are shaped.

According to Fairclough (2001), publishers are commonly powerful groups that can shape power relationships. The relation of power in written discourse is "the producers have sole producing rights and can therefore determine what is included and excluded, how events are represented, and even the subject positions of their audiences" (Fairclough, 2001). More specifically, there are three constraints that powerful groups experienced over non-powerful ones within discourse: "content," "relation," and "subject" (Fairclough, 2001). These three constraints can result in structural effects they are 'knowledge and beliefs,' 'social relationship, and 'social identities,' all correspond to each of the three constraints, respectively (Fairclough, 2001). Local and international authors and publishers can have different perspectives since social, economic, and political contexts can influence the discourses constructed by the authors and publishers.

In summary, referring to the importance of textbooks as a common medium of instruction and concerns about neoliberal values in English Language Teaching (ELT), the current study investigates the merits of imported and local ELT textbooks used in Indonesian classrooms in terms of the occurrence and manifestations of neoliberal values. This research examines the Ministry of Education and Culture's official students' mandatory book, a local publisher, and an

imported English textbook. In other words, this study seeks to identify neoliberal values and power relationships presented in local and imported ELT textbooks.

Method

Design of the Study

This study employs qualitative content analysis as the design of the study. It allows further analysis on each content that endorses neoliberal values.

Subject of the Study

The subject of this study consists of three types of textbooks. The first one is the book officially developed by the Ministry of education and culture entitled "Think Globally Act Locally" (revised in 2018-2019, referred to as TGAL). The second one is an imported ELT textbook titled "Beyond" (referred to as BEY) A2+ version, a student book published by Macmillan. The last is a local book published by a private publisher entitled "Bright An English" (referred to as BAE). The choice is based on the textbooks teachers currently use as their teaching material, while the teachers themselves were randomly selected. This study focuses only on textbooks targeted for 9th-grade junior high school level to assure corpus homogeneity in terms of audience.

Analysis

It is vital first to explain the unit analysis of the study, which is not limited to only sentences or paragraphs but also figures and pictures. The keywords that indicate neoliberalism's principal values (Table 1) are used to detect neoliberalism within the textbooks. In this case, coding is a vital process in achieving successful content analysis research (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), and therefore is also used in this study.

Table 1. Neoliberalism's Principal Values

Characteristics	Key feature
Social inequality	Everyone has an equal chance to yield success only if they work hard enough for that to happen. The only inequality that can happen is when affirmative action happened. People are urged to have something extraordinary, something that makes them stand out to win the competition
Competition	People have full rights to compete to have the best person as a winner. Competition is beneficial for it can bring the best version of people A belief that individual skills, talent, strength, and ability define their success Anyone can achieve any goal if they work hard enough to make it come true.
Personal wherewithal or individualism	A person's success in life is determined more by his or her personal efforts than by society Usually articulated through the story of successful popular subject such as celebrity When it comes to challenges like discrimination, individuals just have to be tough enough to overcome them
Government interference	They believe that government interference only gets in the way of individual freedom and meritocratic principles
Consumerism	It covers the consumer and consumerism practices such as the consumer-related situation The development of a movement to protect consumer interests
Branding	A brand is a group of countless signs that acts as a foremost medium that apprehends and converts social interaction and communication to economic value

Characteristics	Key feature
	Brand as an identity or mark of social class and popular culture It encourages the idea that a good customer will not just buy any products except those that “big names” have made. Happiness, success, or status are tend to be associated with material wealth.
Material wealth	Describing someone’ luxurious life, reference to luxurious belongings or recreation, reference to fancy job or business, highly profitable business or highly paid job as well as the extraordinary amount of money that such people who hold the job or runs the business can make
Celebrity	Celebrity is a product of neoliberalism as their success is represented as the result of work hard and personal struggle thus spreading the common sense of individualism and social equality.

Further, the procedure for investigating neoliberalism values refers to the process suggested by Mayring (2014) as can be seen in Figure 1.

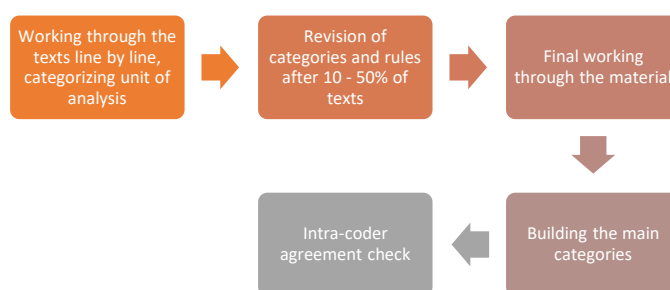


Figure 1. Data Analysis Procedure

Results and Discussion

Results

Neoliberalism Values in the Textbooks

The following part presents neoliberal values discovered in the chosen textbooks based on the key topics of competition, consumerism, material wealth, individuality, and celebrity. Furthermore, because the study employs direct content analysis, another topic, which we refer to as developing human capital, was discovered. It is worth noting that this theme has been alluded to under various names in a number of earlier research with varying degrees of constraint. To avoid misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the current issue, producing human capital is thought to be an acceptable label for the theme.

Consumerism

The three textbooks make numerous references to consumerism. In terms of frequency, however, TGAL, as well as BAE, have more occurrences than BEY. Table 2 depicts this presentation. This is because, as stated in the unit's learning aim, students are encouraged to learn how to be responsible and knowledgeable customers. They are encouraged to learn how to read a product label, how to arrange an advertisement, and how to comprehend one.

BAE (Zaida, 2018) has some references to consumer culture. They even specify one unit where the aim is written as follows: “In our daily life, we buy and consume various products such as food, drink, and medicine. In order to ensure the products we consume are safe and healthy, we have to check and understand the product’s label” (Zaida, 2018, p. 27). Under neoliberalism,

consumers should have the ability to buy products, stand for their rights as consumers, and communicate what they need and what they do not. This unit here is an example, where students are urged to learn what it takes to be a good consumer, e.g., understanding the product's label. Still from the same textbook (Zaida, 2018, p. 141), they also dedicate one unit where the purpose is to explain a fact that buying products and services are common daily activities to fulfill our needs. To obtain information of these products and services, we usually take a look at their advertisements.” Not only are they being taught how to read advertisements, but they are also urged to learn to make one. “Design effective spoken and written advertisements” (Zaida, 2018, p. 141) was written as part of this unit’s learning objective.

Table 2. Consumerism in Textbook

Theme	Private Local	Mandatory Local	Imported
Abundance of goods and services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DVD rent (p. 18) • Bookstore (p. 23 & p. 144) • Cinemas (p. 24) • Shop (p. 74) • Canteen (p. 74 & p. 87) • Online shop (p. 61) • Taxi (p. 78) • Theater (p. 86) • Hotel (p. 114 & p. 176) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cookies (p. 12) • <i>Bakso</i> (p. 30) • Instant noodle (p. 33) • Cola (p. 33) • Translator (p. 200) • Canteen (p. 84) • Handicraft's material (p. 124) • Fried bananas (p. 192) • <i>Sambal uleg</i> (p. 193) • Course lesson (p. 198) • Antique cupboard (p. 200) • Books (p. 200) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coffee shop (p. 27) • Hotel (p. 28) • Shop (p. 28) • Café (p. 29) • Application (p. 30) • Food (p. 49) • Drink (p. 49)
Promotion of goods and service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discount (p. 145) • Half price (p. 149) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discounts (p. 198) • 1-month free (p. 198) • Good price (p. 200) 	
To be a consent buyer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How to understand product label (Zaida, 2018, p. 27) (Wachidah et al., 2018, p. 33) • How to understand advertisement (Zaida, 2018, p. 141) (Campbell et al., n.d., p. 66) (Wachidah et al., 2018, p. 191) 		
Highlighting products' benefits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stylish (p. 181) • Strong (p. 181) • Long-lasting (p. 181) • Qualified (p. 168) • Fun tutors (p. 168) • Cozy atmosphere (p. 168) • Help my vocabulary (p. 77) • Time-saving (p. 78) • Can take shots in bright sunlight (p. 79) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experienced teachers (p. 198) • Friendly teachers (p. 200) • Newly polished (p. 200) • Near market and bus terminal (p. 200) • Air-conditioned classrooms (p. 198) • Professional trainers (p. 198) • Highly recommended by all teachers (p. 197) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Train your brain (p. 66) • Money-back guarantee (p. 73) • Personal trainer (p. 73) • Give tips and helps you make better choice (p. 30)

The textbooks also oftenly highlight product’s benefits. Commonly, they are found in the form of advertisements or friends’ recommendations. In BAE (Zaida, 2018) however, they also include the psychological benefits like “fun tutors” (p. 168) or even “cozy atmosphere” (p. 168) of taking a private course. On the other hand, BEY has this monologue that said (Campbell et al., n.d., p. 28):

“It’s Sunday and we’re getting ready to go home. I really like staying in a hotel. Someone makes your bed for you and does the cleaning too.”

This shopping convinience promotes the consumer culture. In addition, there is an emphasis on consumerism as valuable. “Naturally, a market-led discourse needs to advocate consumerism and raise its status among other social values” (Babaii & Sheikhi, 2018). Additionally, BAE (Zaida, 2018, p. 86) also include a sentence that said:

“I finished my homework so I can go shopping now.”

This sentence generates the idea that shopping is rewarding. BEY also has similar sentence, consumerism is also seen as a reward or a way to cheer someone. It said (Campbell et al., n.d., p. 29).

“Dad is shopping at the moment. He’s sad because Barcelona football club did not play here this week.”

Competition

Like consumerism, reference to competition is frequently found in both local textbooks. The said competition refers to educational one in TGALs. On the other hand, BAE also mentions competition in sports. BEY contains competition but more minor occurrences than the other two. Competition in BEY usually refers to sports, occupational, and entertainment. From the analysis, six subthemes emerged: competition participation, only chosen ones get to join the competition, competitive behavior, benefits of competition, winning competition, as well as a reference to internationally recognized competitions. This finding can be seen in Table 3.

To neoliberal society, competition is seen as part of human nature, fair and beneficial (Bay-Cheng et al., 2015). Otherwise, people can not achieve the best version of themselves. Consequently, competition is vital that its absence is considered an urge to be produced. As such, every individual should have certain qualities to compete with their rivals (Babaii & Sheikhi, 2018), something that can make them stand out to win. This goes the same in the context of education too.

Both TGAL and BAE started with a unit that specified itself into congratulating people on their joy and achievement and wishing people good luck on their competition. It was written that the purpose of learning this is to build a good relationship with others. Concerning the topic learners read, Block and Gray (2014) stated “quite apart from any methodological approach to language teaching and learning, at the heart of the ELT textbook is a regime of representation, a way of constructing the world that suggests what it means to be a speaker of English in the world.” Having said that, these textbooks suggested that to become an English speaker, you should be able to congratulate people’ success and wish them prayers on their way to reach achievements. Examples of these can be seen in Table 3.

Not only are there so many references to taking part in competitions, but students are also depicted to have spirit in winning one. The display of this behavior will then validate the importance of competition and how it can benefit the participants. The references towards this behavior are depicted as a positive trait and are desirable. For example, in BAE, “let’s beat the opponent’s boat,” (Zaida, 2018, p. 93) there is a sense of hope and persistency. Also, the second data, which stated that “the athlete was very disappointed at losing the game,” (Zaida, 2018) validates how losing is unfavorable, and it is normal to be disappointed at that. In the last exert too where a student stated, “Susan sings the best among the participant,” (Zaida, 2018, p. 131) display solidarity and support. Overall, competition in BAE is displayed as a positive and beneficial activity.

The next subtheme is the reference of competition benefit: getting attention as well as the mention of prizes. The textbooks always try to depict competition as either something natural or beneficial. In imported books, they do not glorify competition, but instead, they see it as something that everyone should naturally have experienced. For instance, there is this self-introduction where she said (Campbell et al., n.d., p. 80),

“I recently competed in a competition for dress design in Vancouver. My dress came second.”

This self-introduction monologue might did not support the idea that competition is an extraordinary thing. Instead, it is portrayed as something so usual, something anyone should have had already.

On contrary, in local textbooks competitions are described as something outstanding. It is something that can only be experienced by those who have talent and skills. It can be seen from the way only some students got invited. Also, the way these students deserve congratulations and wishes are enough to say that competition is in fact, beneficial and desirable. In BAE textbook it is even mentioned that winning a competition can make their parents proud and so on (Zaida,

2018, p. 80). Similarly, the BEY textbook often mention the benefit of competition especially for getting certain amount of money or contribute to charity and even get something entertaining in return (Campbell et al., n.d., p. 69). In short, due to its benefits, it is natural for anyone to mention that they won one or two competitions before.

Table 3. Competition in the Textbooks

Private Local	Mandatory Local	Impoted	Private Local	Mandatory Local	Private Local
Competition participation			Only chosen ones get to join competition		Competitive behaviour
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •I'm going to join audition (p. 2) •I joined the school drawing competition tomorrow (p. 58) •Have you ever joined an English competition? (p. 74) •Rani took a writing competition last week (p. 7) •Bima is going to compete in a singing contest (p. 7) •I heard you pass the first round of storytelling contest (p. 3) •Andy, your classmate, is going to China as the representative of the school in the math competition. (p. 9) •what if we do a wall magazine competition this year? (p. 12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Prepare your best for the competition, will you? I hope you win the first prize, too. Good luck! (p. 2) •I'm sure you will win the school's story telling competition (p. 3) •I hope you will be the winner of the school's competition, too. (p. 3) •I hope you win the first prize in school's competition. (p. 3) •I will take part in a bike race to celebrate the Independence Day (p. 8) •Amazing! You run like a panther. I'm sure you will win the race (p. 11) •Beni (...) hopes that she win the national crafts competition (p. 13) •I took part in solo singer competition (p. 104) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •bee beard competition (p. 37) •Last year he won a wild life photography competition (p. 52) •I recently competed in a competition for dress design in Vancouver (p. 80) •The school chose Paulo's idea for the sport competition (p. 119) •I haven't done my homework. I'm really sorry but we had an important basketball game yesterday (p. 83) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •She gave me the brochure and asked me to join (drawing competition) (p. 58) •He asked me to join the speech competition tomorrow (p. 58) 	<p>"Lina, because you are the winner of the story-telling competition in this class, you will represent this class for the story-telling competition of our school next month" (p. 2)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Let's beat the opponent's boat (p. 93) • The athlete was very disappointed as losing the competition (p. 93) • Susan sings best among the participants (p. 131)

Private Local	Mandatory Local	Impoted	Private Local	Mandatory Local	Impoted	Private Local
Competition benefit			Mention of winning competition			Reference to internationally recognized competitions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Getting attention (p. 80) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special prize for the winners (p. 197) • Getting attention (p. 2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They'll give 20 pounds to charity (p. 69) • All the winners got a ticket for the Olympics (p. 106) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lisa wins the marathos in school sport competition (p. 9) • Congratulations for being the winner (p. 7) • I got third position on this year's singing contest for junior high school students (p. 6) • congratulations on being the winner in the storytelling competition (p. 4) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The winner of the story-telling competition in this class is Lina. Congratulations, Lina! (p. 2) • Congratulation on being the champion of the class, Lina! (p. 3) • Congratulations, Lina! It's your dream to be the winner of school's story-telling competition, isn't it? (p. 4) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oh no, I really wanted to win this one ... uh, congratulations! (p. 105) • The winner was from Kenya (p. 106) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • X-factor audition (p. 4) • Who wants to be a millionaire (p. 25)

Material wealth

There are three subthemes of material wealth from all chosen textbooks: money, consumptive desire, and reference to luxurious belongings and recreation. BAE has the most frequent connection towards this specific theme. It can be seen from Table 4. First of all, BAE mentioned the connection towards ways of earning money, such as running an online business or giving lessons. Here is how it was written in the textbook (Zaida, 2018, p. 18):

My sister gave English lessons in order to earn some pin money

This sentence does not only show an alternative way to earn money but also the benefits of learning the English language, which is framed by neoliberalism as a necessary skill to get a job or gain money. As Bori (2020b) puts it, "The most evident neoliberal effect in ELT is the extended conception of the language purely as a job skill or as a tool for economic success." In addition, the way that "to earn some pin money" is considered as a benefit is neoliberalism in its sense. To

neoliberalism, all dimensions of human life are cast in terms of a market rationality (Bay-Cheng et al., 2015). Gaining material wealth will always be portrayed as valueable and even glorify this view as an undebatable opinion. After all, ideology has the power to legitimate its perspective as the only way of living in any given discourse (Talbot, 2019). Hence, textbooks can be seen not only as mediating tools of subject knowledge but also as organs for the ideological reproduction and legitimation of ‘particular constructions of reality’ (John. Gray, 2010; Xu, 2019). Thus, the description of neoliberal society might sound almost familiar and almost impossible to be separated from daily life.

Table 4. Material wealth in the textbook

Subtheme	Private Local	Mandatory Local	Imported
Money	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> My sister gave English lessons in order to earn some pin money (p. 18) Open an online shop (p. 61) They took the bus to save their money (p. 18) Saving money to go somewhere (p. 21) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What have you done to get the money for the needy? (p. 118) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A friend asked you for some money two weeks ago but he/she has not returned it yet (p. 91) I think it's important to collect money for kids who need help (p. 100)
Consumptive desire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I wish I had enough money to buy a new bike (p. 22) I still want more but I don't have any money left (p. 70) I finished my homework so I can go shopping now (p. 86) I can't make up my mind which bag I should choose. I like both of them (p. 94) 		
Reference to luxurious belongings and recreation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Camera (p. 113) Hotel room (p. 113) Mobile phone (p. 114) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hotel with great pool (p. 41)

Individualism

The chosen textbooks seem to agree on one thing: skills and hard work are everything you need to achieve success. This finding can be seen in Table 5.

Table 5. Individualism in the Chosen Textbooks

BAE	TGAL	BEY
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Talent (p. 6) Hard work escalates your chance to achieve success (p. 7, p. 9, p. 170) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Meritocracy (p. 129) Hard work escalates your chance to achieve success (p. 4) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Skills (p. 60, p. 81) Hard work escalates your chance to achieve success (P. 59, p. 62, p. 75, p. 79, p. 107)

In regards to individualism found in the chosen textbooks, each of the textbooks has their own subtheme as in Table 5. The first subtheme emerged from BAE is the reference towards talents. In individualism, everyone should cast their talents for everyone is born the same. Validating people' ability as their talent is seen as a kind praises. It is almost as if giving praises about people' ability is more salient or at least make them more likable in terms of having a good relationship. The creation of this common sense is generated through small normalization like the ones found in the textbook, “What a beautiful painting! You have a talent to be a painter” (Zaida, 2018, p. 6). The glorification of having certain talent is burdensome in so many cases, yet nobody seems to argue a way out. So much so that finding this type of praise in a learning material sounds normal and harmless.

Another subtheme is the believe that by working hard, you can achieve what you want. Having said that, as a consequence when things did not turn as expected, it will be regarded as personal fault for not working as hard as those who succeed. Usually the context of this view is in terms of material wealth such as getting a job or high income even getting certain status from a profession. While the reason to failures may be various and while many people might knew this all along, when it comes to blaming, failures always turn to be a personal matter rather than many other contributing factors like poverty, social background, rural or urban area, access to education, the quality of life, power, and so many others. Achieving success is not about who works hardest yet it is still a common statement to be found. Like this one from the textbook (Zaida, 2018, p. 7):

“I wish you luck. I know you can do it because you have studied hard.”

Although it takes more than working hard, it is still seen as the plot-changing vital factor.

While individualism found from TGAL, two subtheme were emerged. First of all meritocracy seems to be the reason why social inequality is still hidden under the carpet. Neoliberalism sees social equality from the perspective of meritocracy. “Meritocracy, in contemporary parlance, refers to the idea that whatever our social position at birth, society ought to facilitate the means for ‘talent’ to ‘rise to the top’” (Littler, 2013). To begin with, the logic of meritocracy assumes that ‘talent’ or ‘intelligence’ is inborn from birth: it depends, in other words, on an essentialised conception of intellect and aptitude. Given that amount of privilege, the direction to achieve accomplishment depends on the owner of the said wherewithal. Hence, it can change in numerous directions. The keyword of equality lies in the “inherent.” Therefore, regardless where you live or your social background and identity, you have the same amount of opportunity to yield achievement. In the textbook (Wachidah et al., 2018, p. 129), it was written:

Being an orphan and poor does not mean that there is nothing you cannot care for
yourself and for others

They can validate their struggle and ask students to be nice to each other, especially to those who are less fortunate but they decided the exact opposite idea to propose. Invalidating their struggle would not make their effort turn to be easier.

Another subtheme from the textbook is the reference towards hard work. In neoliberal society, everything is seen through the lense of the market including individuals. Everyone is given an invisible of expectation that they should be responsible for their achievement. Success is reachable for anyone so long they work hard enough to get it. This is similar to what local mandatory textbook (Wachidah et al., 2018, p. 4) written:

A: Congratulations, Lina! It’s your dream to be the winner of the school’s storytelling competition, isn’t it?

Lina: Yes, it’s my dream. And I have practiced every day for the last two months with my dad.

A: Sure, you have to work hard for your dreams. Good luck!

Hard work is seen as an important aspect that will enhance the possibility of getting achievement.

Celebrity

Celebrity is only referred by imported and private local textbook. in BEY, the celebrity here refers to influential people who accomplished an outstanding achievement. On the other hand, the private local textbook mention celebrity in terms of singers.

BAE mentioned the entrepreneurship of celebrity. It is written as follows; “The company is owned by a famous celebrity.” (Zaida, 2018, p. 114). This example entails the benefit of having

popularity. Popularity gives specific power. Not only are people willing to give you their time but seemingly also their validation. This power can make entrepreneurship easier because people already know your brand. In addition, with particular personality branding, this company can earn early benefits such as trust. In the market world, where supply and demand are the beginning of every transaction, trust is necessary. Competition in the market is high that anyone can buy from everyone. Thus, branding is essential to make them stand out. A famous brand can usually gain more customers because branding guarantees quality and status. This is why brands' advertisements can profit from hiring celebrities and influencers. Not only do they have enough audience, but also they indirectly put approval of those brands and thus gain trust from the said audience. Neoliberalism sees everyone as both consumers and entrepreneurs. Representing celebrities using their fame to run a company sounds, again, assuring due assurance and approval.

Human capital

Although this specific subtheme does not emerge from previous studies, the data for this is easily found, especially in BEY. BAE also mentions the producing human capital agenda. Out of the other five neoliberalism themes, BEY heavily emphasized occupational and commercial topics. The subtheme found in BEY is as follow: entrepreneur (p. 80, p. 81), school as human capital producer (p. 62, p. 69, p. 75), benefit of job (p. 63), profession's job description (p. 76, p. 78, p. 79, p. 85), job-searching (p. 85), understanding job advertisement (p. 96). On the other hand, BAE has one theme: entrepreneur (p. 152).

The topic of entrepreneurs serves the same aim as in previous studies, to tell the tale of how they achieve their current situation and how desirable their latest circumstance is, usually because of the amount of material wealth they have. Not only do they include several stories of the successful entrepreneur, but also the way becoming one is portrayed as desirable. In addition, becoming an entrepreneur knows no age. Anyone at any age can be an entrepreneur so long they have what it takes to become one. The identified contributing factors are talent and skill, hard work, and passion. The following is one of the examples (Campbell et al., n.d., p. 81):

“Many teenagers have designed apps but Thoman Suarez from California has become one of the world’s youngest app developers – age 12. Thomas has developed two successful apps and he’s started an app club at school too. With his help, other kids have made their own apps. As Thomas has said, it’s hard to get help with this. Mant parents have been to sports classes or have played a musical instrument. But most parents haven’t written apps.”

This paragraph validates several ideas. Firstly, no age boundary is known in terms of getting successful. Second, even without the support of parents, a young boy only as old as twelve can achieve his goal in making apps. Lastly, by achieving your goal, it is easier for people to trust you. You will gain more friends and be trustworthy to run a school club.

The next subtheme is school as a human capital producer. It is almost as surprising as it sounds to know that students are depicted to think that by going to school or universities, they will be able to get a job. As if the purpose of education is so once they graduate, they can become a human capitalist worker. It was written as follows (Campbell et al., n.d., p. 69),

If you don’t go to unversity, you won’t get a job

This statement is somewhat manipulative on its own. While some jobs require a particular degree graduate, that does not mean that by going to university, they will consequently learn how to become an employee. Another example is (Campbell et al., n.d., p. 62):

I hope you pass the exam so you can get a job

This naive wish is as innocent as it sounds. Passing an exam has nothing to do with getting a job. However, these examples are evidence that the work of normalization did not require physical strength or force. Sometimes it is as shallow as writing it on learning materials.

The third subtheme is the description of job responsibility. Still from BEY, it ranges from hairdresser (p. 79) to as random as an animal trainer (p. 78). Students are being introduced to create not only jobs but also dangerous ones (p. 78). They are even urged to know which profession belongs to which work and which profession should do certain things (p. 76). They also explain what it takes to pursue these careers like special training, its risk, as well as time management like working hours (p. 79). It is written in an interview as follow:

- Ella: Do you have to work long hours?
 Mim: Yes, I work 10-12 hours on some days. But I don't have to work every day.
 Ella: What training a pilot do?
 Mim: Well, a pilot has to take flying lessons, of course.
 Ella: Do you have to take an exam before you got the job?
 Mum: Yes, we do have lots of exams before we could become pilots.

The last subtheme from BEY is an understanding job advertisement. Previously in BAE, students were urged to learn how to make product advertisements and how to understand them. Thus, the subtheme is included in consumerism. However, this one, students are not trying to make or read a product advertisement but a job advertisement. The data is in the form of multiple questions. What students need to do is to find the condition of which the job offer as in advertisement. The following is how it was written in the textbook (Campbell et al., n.d., p. 96).

READ

1 Look at each sign. What does it say? Choose the correct summary A, B or C.

PART-TIME DRIVER
 needed for local company. You don't have to be experienced, but you must be 16 or over.

What are the conditions of the job offer?

- A You must have experience.
- B You need qualifications.
- C You have to be older than 15.

Figure 2. Job Advertisement in BEY

It is important to note that despite having the reason presumably be underage, the topic of job in this textbook is actually pretty large in comparison with the rest of the textbooks. This finding is however similar to previous studies which found that BEYs have more of the content of neoliberalism than those of the locals (Bori, 2020a; Daghigh & Rahim, 2020; Xiong & Yuan, 2018). Despite that, many school staffs, teachers and even student itself prefer to use imported one (Bori, 2020b).

Discussion

From the analysis, it is found that in TGAL and BAE textbook, the reference towards neoliberal beliefs can be found in its conversation and practices. It is to mention that in Indonesia, according to the regulation of the Minister of Education and Culture Republic of Indonesia number 8 year 2016, only selected textbook that has been proven by the ministry can be used as teaching material. It entails that these textbooks have gone through many tests to ensure its appropriateness. However, neoliberal value seems to be overlooked. On the other hand, in BEY, ideas of neoliberal is discovered in both the practices, conversation as well as stories or tales. Indeed, ELT publishers consider that individualism, consumerism, and stories of successful

entrepreneurs are ‘the kind of lifestyle students might aspire to and which [. . .] would motivate them in their language learning’ (Block et al., 2012). It validates that as an ideology, neoliberalism works under common sense production making its every idea as natural part of life (Xu, 2019).

In addition, it is found that out of the three textbooks, the TGAL textbook has the least neoliberal beliefs. This finding is in line with previous studies that stated the neoliberal beliefs within local textbook, even though found, is less than what is available in the import textbook (Daghigh & Rahim, 2020). Even so, the themes of neoliberal values, namely competition, consumerism, material wealth, as well as individualism, are found. Especially under the topic of competition and consumerism, this textbook has many references towards its entity. Glorification of competition seems to be the salient part of the textbook, for they dedicated one unit that only talks about participation in a competition and how to express congratulation and joy towards people who won the competition. Similarly, they have another specified unit that solely focuses on the advertisement and the product’s label. Canale (2020) asserted that textbook is not only showing but also telling in a sense that it communicates with its reader. They can show what benefits the targeted audience can get from something like, in this case, competition and advertisement. Not only that, the textbook also tells students that these specific examples are desirable. Hence, common sense on what competition and advertisement act in our life is built. Dardot and Laval (2013) also mention that neoliberal beliefs do not necessarily need to be a norm to exercise its power. It simply because everybody reproduces the neoliberal rationality in a way that this power ends up being inside each of us.

In addition, in terms of the variety of ideas as well as the emerging subthemes, the BAE textbook has more appearances in comparison to the other two textbooks. The neoliberal value in this textbook has a similar result to the TGAL textbook. Not only because both of the textbooks served the local necessity, but both of the textbooks also should follow the direction of national curricula. Even so, in terms of the variety of subthemes as well as the amount of occurrences in the overall frequency, this textbook has various references towards neoliberal value. For example, in advertisements, students are not only being seen as mere consumers but also entrepreneurs. They are taught how to produce an advertisement based on advertisement’s important part. Xu (2019) implied that ideology has sought to eliminate the very category of value in the ethical sense’ by representing certain forces as neutral. In neoliberalism this translates to market forces. It is under this normalization thus, the availability of consumerism is seen as an appropriate teaching material. There should have been a deeper discussion on what language learner must learn. Language is a mean of communication. In ideologically-conscious language education, in addition to using language communicatively, language learners, in the very process of learning, need to find the space to think about what to communicate (Mirhosseini, 2018).

Surprisingly, the BEY textbook has the least frequency of the themes than what previous studies have identified. Instead, the BEY textbook is dominated generally similar to what previous study found on BEY ELT textbook (Babaii & Sheikhi, 2018; Bori, 2020a; Daghigh & Rahim, 2020). There is a reasonable explanation for this occurrence. The textbook mentioned that it consisted of language subskills, life skills for teenagers, bespoke videos, inspiring topics, strong multi-media offering written by an award-winning author team. As such, this textbook refers to various topics that focus on the content of producing human capital. This can be seen from the monologue or biography of successful teenagers with various levels of achievement ranging from the school level to international and the first youngest level. The stories and biography promote the idea that success has no age boundary, achievable by any age, does not have any relation to parents’ support or anyone else’s permission. The BEY textbook is concerned with highlighting the story of successful people and considers this as aspirational for the students. It is reasonable to conclude such an assumption as the textbook itself described the content in such away.

Altogether, the finding calls for a deeper discussion on what language learners, yes, not only English, should communicate while learning it. This paper aspires to be a valuable source for education professionals to become aware of the neoliberal nature of language textbooks and to take measures to challenge in the classroom the growing neoliberal common sense in language teaching and learning. However, it is also vital to mention that this research is in no way boycotting or banning certain textbooks or any ELT materials as well as its content under the name of preventing linguistic imperialism and internationalization of neoliberalism. Our major concern is with the dominant discourse in selected textbooks that supports the producing human capital agenda, normalizing linguistic imperialism, glorifying competition as well as underestimating the discourse impact on its consumers. Call for awareness is not only for the consumers, e.g., teachers and students, but also textbook developers, the government, the researchers as well as society in general.

Conclusion

It was discovered that all three textbooks contain neoliberal values. However, each of the textbooks chosen has a corresponding specific concentration. In the two local textbooks, neoliberalism emphasizes competition and consumerism. It is also worth noting that the competition is in the educational setting, not the commercial or occupational. BEY, on the other hand, highlighted the objective of human capital production.

With this knowledge, textbook users should be trained with critical thinking skills in order to filter the information in the textbooks. While textbooks are one of the most important social reality representation agents, they are also motivated by a different incentive known as ideology. As a result, the represented notion will most likely be picked to suit a certain goal.

The call for awareness is directed not only at consumers but also at the government. Because competition was a prominent aspect in TGAL, this message has to be re-evaluated. Given that the goal of learning is to improve interpersonal communication skills by celebrating and expressing wishes, achievement is not the only cause. Furthermore, for textbook developers, expressing conflict and how to overcome it, for example, how to reconcile an undesirable emotion or reality, may benefit students more than sheltering them from this aspect of daily life. In terms of competition, for example, all of the textbooks solely mention gaining success and ignore the potential of losing. Students have the right to learn how to communicate when unpleasant occurrences occur. An attempt to raise awareness and guidelines in choosing the right material is needed in selecting materials that are suitable for Indonesia contexts so teachers can make an informed decisions.

Power relation in discourses can shift the society including cultural identity and values. Cultural identity is a national identity taken from value-based, unity mental system like a software in people's mind (Tileaga, 2011). That explains why teaching materials can act as a major role in socio-cultural and economic agenda (Daghigh & Rahim, 2020). Future study is needed to explain how ideologies are attached in textbooks, for example, seen from its power relations.

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