“That’s why I never learned English from Indonesian teachers”: Investigating Native-Speakerism in YouTube Video Comments

Vindi Kaldina¹ & I Nyoman Pasek Darmawan²

¹,² English Literature Department, Faculty of Sociology and Political Science Universitas Bangka Belitung

Corresponding Author: Vindi Kaldina. E-mail: vindi-kaldina@ubb.ac.id

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ABSTRACT
This study aims to examine the extent to which native-speakerism (NS) is embedded in the comments responding to a YouTube video entitled “Salah Kursus Bahasa Inggris? - Seleb English” by a YouTuber named Sacha Stevenson. The researchers believe that native-speakerism, an ideology that creates a power imbalance favoring native speakers of English over nonnative speakers of English, is present in the video, in which the content creator scrutinizes Indonesian people’s English accents. However, this paper focuses on the comments responding to the video, since they can show to what extent NS is adopted by EFL speakers/learners in Indonesia. The data was retrieved using YouTube Data API and Python programming language, sorted using Microsoft Excel, and categorized by applying three reading steps into four levels which spans from 0 (no indication of native speakerism) to 3 (strong indication of native speakerism). The findings are presented descriptively and analyzed within the theoretical framework on NS. The results suggest that NS is present in the observed comments on all four levels, which suggests how deeply embedded the NS ideology within the community of Indonesian English language learners and speakers. Suggestions on how to counter this ideology are presented in conclusion.

1.INTRODUCTION

Coined by Holliday (2006), native-speakerism (NS) refers to the belief that native speakers of English (NSE) are the ideal English teachers due to their cultural background. However, adopting NS can lead to negative attitudes and discrimination against non-native speakers (NNSE), hindering their education, job opportunities, and language proficiency (Lev-Ari & Keysar, 2010; Hanzlíková & Skarnitzl, 2017; Kaldina, 2018).

NS has detrimental effects on freedom of thought and expression, as it pressures individuals to conform to language and accent norms (Canagarajah, 2007). Additionally, it creates barriers for NNSE in education and employment, limiting diversity and creativity in language use and representation of different perspectives (Holliday, 2015; Houghton & Rivers, 2013; Jenkins, 2017; Rivers, 2016).

While social media platforms like YouTube offer a space for underprivileged individuals to express themselves, they can also perpetuate harmful ideologies like NS. The overwhelming amount of information on these platforms makes it challenging to filter through different perspectives. Some YouTube channels promote techniques to "sound like a native speaker," reinforcing the idea that fluent English should sound native-like.

For example, Canadian content creator Sacha Stevenson, known for her sketches and vlogs about Indonesia, has a popular YouTube channel where she critiques Indonesian
celebrities' English accents in her "Seleb English" series. However, these critiques often exhibit unconsciously native-speakerist evaluations by praising "native" accents and criticizing minor mispronunciations or stress errors.

In a specific video titled "SALAH Kursus Bahasa Inggris?," Stevenson criticizes the pronunciation and accents of NNSE featured in an online English course advertisement. This study focuses on the viewers and aims to explore their perception of the content and their language ideology. The researchers examine the comments section under this video to uncover the presence of native-speakerism (NS) in the viewers' comments. This study serves as an initial exploration of NS on social media, as limited research exists on its presence in YouTube comments.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 On Native-Speakerism

In English Language Teaching (ELT), native-speakerism (NS) has emerged as an ideology that idealizes native English speakers, particularly from Western countries, as the ultimate language models. This ideology, rooted in linguistic imperialism, perpetuates inequalities between English and other languages.

The native-speaker fallacy, highlighted by Phillipson (1992), promotes the belief that the most competent English teachers are native speakers of English (NSE). However, the definition of a native speaker is multifaceted, and being a native speaker does not guarantee the necessary linguistic expertise or teaching qualities. This fallacy reinforces the dominance of English by speakers from inner circle countries and favors NSE over non-native speaker counterparts from peripheral countries, irrespective of their educational background.

Originating from inner circle countries, it is perpetuated by communities in outer circle countries. Studies analyzing language teacher recruitment websites in Asia reveal a consistent pattern: the ideal English teacher candidate is depicted as a young, Caucasian native English speaker from inner-circle countries. These platforms prioritize highlighting financial prosperity, travel opportunities, and cultural immersion rather than emphasizing job details.

2.2 Accent and Native-Speakerism

Accents play a significant role in determining whether a person is perceived as a native or non-native English speaker. Studies in the western world (Episcopo, 2009; Hendriks et al., 2019; Santana-Williamson & Kelc, 2022) show a direct link between students' perception of native accents and their favorable evaluation of teacher qualities. In East and Southeast Asia, there is a prevailing belief that native speakers of English (NSE) serve as the ultimate language model, perpetuating the idea that English proficiency depends on sounding like a native speaker from inner circle countries (Braine, 2010; Kirkpatrick, 2010). This marginalizes other English accents, particularly those associated with outer circle countries.
2.3. The Power of social media and Native-Speakerism

The English Language Teaching (ELT) field has expanded to social media platforms, allowing teachers and enthusiasts worldwide to share their knowledge. Social media platforms have gained positive perceptions from English language learners and teachers due to their engaging nature (Albahlal, 2019; Alobaid, 2020). Content creators on social media, known as influencers, play a significant role in shaping English language learning perceptions. The relationship between influencers and their followers on social media is more reciprocal, with viewers influencing the type of content and videos that are created (Vingilis et al., 2018). However, influencers are responsible for producing beneficial and safe content, as their influence can perpetuate certain ideologies, such as NS, which reinforces the notion that NSE are the ideal language models.

Influencers have the potential to perpetuate hegemony and dominance of power by promoting certain beliefs and norms (Fairclough, 2001; Nye, 2002). The repeated views in a parasocial relationship between influencers and followers can create illusions of friendship and identification, leading followers to adopt the ideologies presented in the content (Chung & Cho, 2017). Consequently, the dissemination of NS ideology through social media can contribute to the marginalization of nonnative English speakers and perpetuation of linguistic biases. Influencers bear a moral responsibility to produce content that is beneficial and avoids reinforcing such biases.

3. METHODOLOGY

Scholars in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) assert that social and linguistic practices are interconnected, examining how language use establishes power dynamics within society (Fairclough, 1995). Communication reflects individuals' experiential, relational, and expressive ideals (Fairclough, 1992). YouTube comments, authored by individuals with emotions, intentions, and objectives, necessitate the use of CDA to explore the presence of native speakers (NS) within comments and their relationship with language, ideology, and power dynamics.

Data scraping from YouTube comments involved activating the YouTube Data API v3 to access information on a specific video (date, commenter's name, comment content, and number of likes). A program written in Python retrieved the data, resulting in a Microsoft Excel table with 4600 comments. To ensure analysis accuracy, comments with at least 50 likes were purposefully sampled, resulting in 80 comments. Irrelevant comments were excluded, leaving 69 comments for analysis.

The analysis focused on comments pertaining to or against NS. Three reading steps were conducted: general reading to understand the main ideas, specific reading to highlight curious words or phrases, and critical reading to code and analyze those highlights. Based on existing scholarly understanding of NS (Holiday, 2006; Kumaravadivelu, 2012), a rubric categorized comments into four levels: no indication (level 0), mild indication (level 1), medium indication (level 2), and strong indication (level 3) of NS.

Representative comments from each level were selected, categorized, and presented as numbered quotations, with translations provided as needed. Using their understanding of
the Indonesian language and culture, researchers translated and clarified comments for readability. Discussions focused on relevant categories and analyzed NS content using related theories from prior studies.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Sixty-eight comments were discovered to relate to the overarching theme of "NS." In Table 1, these comments were classified into four levels, with three comments classified as level 0, 25 as level 1, 15 as level 2, and 25 as level 3. The levels pertain to the extent to which the ideology exists in the comments and the severity of impact that it might have, which is from zero (none) to three (severe). Samples of each level are presented and discussed afterwards.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Number of Comments</th>
<th>Number of Likes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>Zero Indication of NS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mild Indication of NS</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15,157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Medium Indication of NS</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Severe Indication of NS</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total:68</td>
<td></td>
<td>Total: 27,196</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Level 0: Zero indication of NS**

Comments in level 0 are not only free from discrimination or bias towards NSE, but also acknowledge and value the cultural backgrounds of all English speakers, regardless of their accents, as they contribute to the diversity and richness of English as an international language. As exhibited in comments [1], [2], and [3], the Level 0 comments show an absence of NS as they prioritize the importance of language content and discourage excessive concern over accent and pronunciation.

**Samples of Level 0 comments: Zero Indication of NS**

[1] **Original comment:**

"IT’S ☺️OK ☺️TO ☺️SOUND ☺️ASIAN ☺️

Seriously, so many students worry about their accent and pronunciation. It’s really NOT the most important thing. Focus on reading, listening and watching as much English language stuff as possible and you will improve. Be patient and keep going!" (IG)
By saying that it is okay to sound Asian, comment [1] implies that sounding like a native English speaker does not contribute to the success of communication when both interlocutors use the same language intelligibly. In a similar vein, comments [2] and [3] shares a personal experience that encourages embracing one's own accent, celebrating the confidence displayed by multilingual individuals with diverse accents such as Korean, Mexican, or Indian.

The three comments reflect a positive and inclusive attitude towards NNSE, and are in line with the direction of recent studies that encourages embracing multilingual accents rather than just learning one standard accent (Kaur, 2014; Kopperoinen, 2011; Tergujeff, 2022). It is getting more and more impossible not to encounter a foreign accented English speaker in any country around the world, hence the need to acquire skills to understand English speeches that carry accents other than those recognized as the native accent, whose benefits have been suggested in the findings of Weber et al. (2011).

Although these comments show awareness of how intelligibility carries more importance than standardized pronunciation or accent, this does not apply to the majority of English language learners (ELLs) and multilingual English speakers (MES) in Indonesia, nor does it mean that a large percentage Indonesian ELLs and MESs are aware of the NS ideology, let alone its danger.
Level 1: Mild Indication of NS

Seemingly benign and friendly at first read, comments in category level 1 contain subtle hints of bias towards native speakers, such as assuming that they are the default or norm for English language use. These comments may sound harmless, such as thanking an NSE for correcting the accents and pronunciation of NNSE, or commenting that there is nothing wrong with a native speaker correcting a nonnative speaker’s English use, since it is their mother tongue.

Exhibited below are three sampled level 1 comments.

**Samples of Level 1 Comments: Mild Indication of NS**

[4] Original comment:
“Thank you for this public service.” (GMD)

[5] Original comment:
“Kontennya bermanfaat, meluruskan yang keliru dari para non Native Speakers. But, penonton harus bijak beneran nonton ini, karena kalau nggak bisa bikin baper para pembelajar yang serius belajar, mungkin bikin orang jadi takut belajar bahasa Inggris, karena takut salah, kalau salah biasanya dikoreksi sama ahlinya, tapi mereka nganggapnya dikritik, karena memang karakter orang kita itu agak baperan kalau di kritik, padahal demi kebaikan kedepan. Good luck guys.” (SK)

**Translation:**
“The content is beneficial as it corrects the non-native speakers’ misconceptions. However, the audience must exercise wisdom while watching it because if they are not careful, serious language learners might take it personally, which could ultimately make them afraid to learn English for fear of making mistakes. Usually, when they make mistakes, experts will provide corrections, but some individuals may perceive it as criticism due to our people’s sensitive nature when it comes to receiving feedback, even though it is for their own future benefit. Good luck, guys!” (SK)

[6] Original comment:
“This is a good content. Gak ada yang salah jika bahasa inggris iklan2 itu di benerin. Karena kita orang Indonesia, bukan orang Inggris or US jadi wajar kalo ada salah pengucapan atau grammar. Harusnya mereka berterima kasih sama sacha. Gw jd banyak belajar disini. Thanks sacha.” (SA)

**Translation:**
“This is good content. There’s nothing wrong with correcting the English speaking in those advertisements. Because we are Indonesians, not English or American people, it’s understandable that we do pronunciation or grammar mistakes. They (the people in the advertisements) should be grateful to Sacha. I’ve learned a lot here. Thanks, Sacha.” (SA)
Comment [4] was written by GMD, another famous American YouTuber living in Indonesia who specializes in teaching English to Indonesian ELLs. GMD has approximately 562 thousand subscribers. Teaching English in an interesting way, his channel has been viewed more than 14 million times by the time this research was conducted. By regarding Stevenson’s video as a public service, GMD implies that the video is beneficial to the viewers, suggesting that he shares the same view, namely, that the accent and pronunciation of native speakers serve as the standard for non-native speakers to aspire to. This may be an unwritten consensus in the ELT world that is believed by both native and non-native speakers alike, but affirmation from such admired native speaker hold a deeper and more dangerous influence on ELLs worldwide, particularly in EFL countries, because this is how linguistic hegemony operates and how the seed of NS ideology is planted, although sometimes unconsciously (Macedo et al., 2015).

Comment [5] contains recognition of the benefits of correcting English speaking in the English course advertisements while cautioning language learners to approach such corrections with wisdom, suggesting that some learners may perceive corrections as criticism, although the criticism is beneficial for their future. The indication of NS in this comment lies in the assumptions that (1) Stevenson’s act of correcting nonnative speakers’ accent is faultless and important for the benefit of both the people being corrected and for the ELLs viewing the video, and (2) that nonnative speaker’s fear of criticism is the only negative impact of the video. Similarly, comment [6] appreciates Stevenson’s content for its corrective nature, implying that as Indonesians, NNSE are expected to make pronunciation and grammar mistakes. Harmless at first glance, this sentiment implies the need for correction from a native speaker, revealing an indication of NS.

In order to promote effective communication between NSE and MES, instructors, particularly those who are nonnative speakers themselves, should prioritize setting realistic expectations for their students and refrain from misguidedly emphasizing the need for attaining a perfect native-like pronunciation (Drewelow & Theobald, 2007). By doing so, instructors can ensure that students are not misled into believing that pronunciation alone is the sole determinant of successful communication with native speakers. Instead, a focus on overall language proficiency and the ability to convey ideas clearly should be emphasized to facilitate meaningful interactions in English.

Level 2: Medium Indication of NS

Category level 2 not only includes comments which contain more overt instances of bias towards native speakers, such as assuming that they are the only valid or authoritative speakers of a language, but also comments which contain a more defensive tone and which maintain that those who do not agree with Stevenson are the ones in the wrong.

Samples of Level 2 Comments: Medium Indication of NS

[7] **Original comment:**
The thing is guys, u can't blame sacha on this video cuz she's real native. Her accent is literally from the hook [sic] (FN)

[8] **Original comment:**
"bisa ga ka sacha aja yg buka kursus :’”’”’”’”’" (T)
Translation:
“Can’t you be the one giving the English courses?” (smiling-while-crying-emoticon) (T)

[9] Original comment:
“TOLONG JANGAN HAPUS VIDEO INI!!! Video Ini lebih edukatif daripada ikutan online learning yg ada diiklan itu, juga bisa bikin gw ngakak... Btw itu skema iklanya mirip kayak iklan2 scaming. Makasih Sacha udah mereview iklan tersebut, harusnya iklan itu yg dihapus karena misleading. wkwkwkwk... :'V” (CZ)

Translation:
“PLEASE DO NOT DELETE THIS VIDEO! (Watching) this video is much more educationally beneficial than taking online English courses on those ads. Plus, this video makes me laugh out loud. By the way, those (online English courses) ads look like scams. Thank you, Sacha, for reviewing those ads. They are the ones that should be deleted (instead of this video) because they are misleading (the viewers).” (SFX: laughing) (CZ)

It is evident that comment [7] ascribes credibility to Sacha as a "real native" speaker, emphasizing the perceived authenticity of her accent. By asserting that Stevenson cannot be blamed because her accent originates from the source, this comment elevates native accents as superior. It implies that only native speakers possess the linguistic authority required to offer effective English courses. In a similar vein, comment [8] expresses a preference for learning from native speakers, implicitly deeming non-native English teachers as inferior. Comment [9] advocates for Stevenson’s video over online English courses featured in advertisements and implies that these courses are fraudulent. By devaluing NNSE as instructors and questioning the credibility of their courses, this comment perpetuates the notion that NNSE are much less qualified compared with their NSE counterparts. This comment also urges the preservation of Sacha’s video, asserting its educational superiority over online English courses in the ads, which should be deleted instead.

These positions assumed by the commenters aligns with the native-speaker fallacy, which, as claimed by Canagarajah (1999), can be traced back in Noam Chomsky’s concept that native speakers are considered experts on their language. The fallacy suggests that native speakers hold superior linguistic knowledge, serving as ideal informants and possessing authority over the language, including the ability to make grammatical judgments. Consequently, this comment elevates native accents as superior and implies that only native speakers possess the necessary linguistic authority to provide effective English courses. The fallacy has influenced perceptions of authenticity, credibility, and qualification in ELT, contributing to the marginalization of NNSE and their instructional offerings.

Level 3: Strong Indication of NS
Comments [10] through [14] in category level 3 contain explicit and harmful instances of bias towards native speakers, such as rejecting NNSE as language teachers and mocking or belittling non-native speakers for their English language use.

**Samples of Level 3 Comments: Strong Indication of NS**

[10] **Original comment:**
“That’s why I never learned English from Indonesian teachers. I can improve my listening and my speaking as well with native speaker.” (L)

[11] **Original comment:**
“That girl with ‘fake’ British accent reminds me of that guy on TikTok. He’s very proud of his ‘Harry Potter’ accent. I did ask my British friends and none of them actually speak like that. It’s very jarring.” (MA)

[12] **Original comment:**
“Idk, when i see the girl in red clothes i feel so awkward. Like, are you ok with that accent? Jaw-forcing-moves detected!” (JY)

**Translation:**
“I don’t know. When I see the girl in red clothes, I feel so awkward. (When I see the movement of her jaws and hear her accent,) I feel like saying to her, ‘are you okay?’ Jaw-forcing moves detected!” (JY)

[13] **Original comment:**
“KAMPUNG INGGRIS harus paham jika Doi TIDAK NATIVE SPEAKER. Kalau mau ajak Sacha jadi Brand Ambassador harusnya dengan CARA ELEGAN. Sh1t KAMPUNG INGGRIS ! Sacha spesialis English, wajar Sacha kritik masalah pronounce Kampung Inggris.” (DK)

**Translation:**
“(The people of) Kampung Inggris should understand that they are not native speakers (of English). If they wanted Sacha to become their brand ambassador, they should have done it elegantly! Kampung Inggris is **** (derogatory word). Sacha is the English expert, so it’s only natural that she criticizes [Kampung Inggris people’s] pronunciation.” (DK)

[14] **Original comment:**
“Sacha, i love your facial expressions on responding to that “queen english” girl (who sounds trying so hard). Hilarious. Aku ngakak. U are so funny yet sarcastic. That’s what I like about you. Akhirnya kamu bahas tentang ads ini, which is really annoying to me.” (TA)

**Translation:**
“Sacha, I love your facial expressions when responding to that “queen’s English” girl (who sounds like she is trying too hard). [It’s] Hilarious. I’m
laughing out loud. You are so funny yet sarcastic. That's what I like about you. You finally talk about these ads; they have been really annoying to me.” (TA)

Comment [10] may seem similar to comment [8], but the former is more severe in that it exhibits rejection against learning from NNSE by positing that listening and speaking skills can only be enhanced through interactions with NSE, suggesting that NNSE may be inadequate in this regard. The following sampled comments show that native speakerists not only criticize accents or pronunciations that deviate from the standards of NSE, but also those that attempt to imitate the inner circle variants and fail to do so. Comments [11] through [14] engage in this behavior with a mocking tone, going so far as to use derogatory language and applauding Stevenson’s sarcastic approach to commenting on the individuals in the advertisements. However, it has been proven that accent is not the number one factor in the success of communication, nor is it an indication of one’s fluency in a language. Thus, it is moot to say that learning accent is important for ELLs’ future.

Considering that the authors of comments [10] through [14] are Indonesians, their criticisms of fellow Indonesian NNSE can be categorized as self-criticism. Kumaravadivelu (2003) explains that within the context of linguistic imperialism, this type of behavior is referred to as self-marginalization. According to Kumaravadivelu in Holliday, et al. (2015), when native speakers discriminate those whose English does not align with the native varieties, it represents marginalization on the NSE’ part. However, when NNSE engage in the same practice of discriminating against and marginalizing other NNSE for not meeting the standards set by native speakers, it becomes a practice of self-marginalization. In essence, it means they position themselves as extensions of the colonizers’ influence, perpetuating colonization within their own community.

5. CONCLUSION

Research on native speakers (NS) in Indonesia is emerging, but awareness of this ideology remains limited, with discussions confined to small academic circles (Alghazo & Zidan, 2019; Harsanti & Manara, 2021; Irham, 2023; Kirana & Methitham, 2022; Rondonuwu et al., 2022; Sarie, 2018; Silalahi & Widianingtyas, 2022). This study focuses on NS through textual data from YouTube, where individual identity is less emphasized, and social affiliations play a significant role (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, Lorenzo-Dus, and Bou-Franch, 2013a; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, Bou-Franch, and Lorenzo-Dus, 2013b). YouTube interactions often lead to polarization and extreme opinions expressed with aggressive language and conflict (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2010).

The results reveal the pervasiveness and deep-rooted nature of NS in Indonesia’s non-native speaker English (NNSE) community. English’s status as an international language, used by approximately 13% of the global population, is crucial to understand (Ethnologue, 2022). The number of NNSE exceeds native speakers, with around 1 billion NNSE compared to 379 million native speakers. English has evolved into a language that belongs to all its
users due to its international status and extensive diversification influenced by other languages (Widdowson, 1994). Consequently, the notion of World Englishes has emerged, challenging the exclusivity of native English.

In light of the overwhelming number of multilingual English speakers (MES) and English's international status, native English speakers (NSE) should no longer insist on MES conforming to their norms (Llurda, 2004). Instead, NSE should strive to understand and appreciate MES. Discomfort alone is an insufficient excuse for NSE to critique or undermine MES accents. Just as non-native speakers adapt to NSE norms, NSE can also learn to adjust to the diverse range of World Englishes. Government initiatives should promote training programs targeting undergraduate attitudes and listening skills to foster understanding and appreciation for multilingual English accents (Rubin & Smith, 1990).

A movement is needed to promote the acceptance and use of international accents, allowing individuals to embrace their authentic identities and cultural heritage. Advocating for international accents boosts confidence and self-esteem while fostering appreciation for World Englishes among English learners worldwide. Plurilingualism, where speakers negotiate different varieties of English to convey meaning, should be embraced (Canagarajah, 2009). Government initiatives and the active involvement of influencers are essential to driving this movement forward.

Enhancing listening skills to different varieties of English goes beyond comprehension. It promotes awareness, mutual intelligibility, and respect among English speakers from diverse backgrounds (Weber et al., 2011). Content creators, considering the impact of social media, should cultivate an inclusive and diverse perspective on language learning, recognizing the value of both native and NNSE expertise. Their efforts can challenge the belief in native-speaker superiority, contributing to a fairer and empowering learning environment for English language learners.

Further research is encouraged to explore this topic comprehensively, covering a wider range of videos to gain a more comprehensive view of Indonesia's online language ideology. Raising awareness and marginalizing the ideology of native speakers in Indonesia is the desired outcome of future studies.

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