Local English teachers’ voices from a marginalized lens: Inequality practices and identity construction in the workplace

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ABSTRACT

This article reports on a narrative case study that showcases the local English teachers’ perceived inequality practices and identity construction in Indonesia’s micro-reality context of a private language school domain. Grounded in the social theory of power, privilege, and positional identities, three synchronous online interviews were conducted to explore the LETs voices about what it means to experience the equality of rights and obligations in the workplace. As a result, the study revealed four inequality issues: (1) dissatisfaction with the payroll system, (2) the representation of gender and race in promotional endorsement, (3) the call for decolonizing pedagogy in ELT materials and resources, and (4) perceived identity as legitimate and qualified English teachers. Regarding the workload capacity and role as professional English teachers, they recognized that they deserve equal treatment as their native counterparts. However, this type of discrimination will further widen the gap between LETs and NESTs dichotomy and impede the construction of language teacher identity. This study suggests exploring dedicated strategies to develop information literacy skills for school principals, parents, teachers, students, and policymakers. This study will also contribute to the growth of critically oriented literature and scholarship on teacher identity and critical anti-racist language teaching pedagogy.

This paper utilizes “Local English Teachers (LETs)” to depict NNEST in a micro-reality setting. They are not native English speakers but have teaching qualifications from local and international educational institutes. “local” is
used instead of NNEST for numerous reasons. First, it better portrays the milieu in which the instructors are locals. They are linked historically and culturally, making the local languages (e.g., Makassarese and Buginese) their mother tongues and hence community languages. Neither Indonesian nor English is the official language. Second, NNEST stands for non-native English-speaking teachers from countries including Indonesia, Thailand, Japan, and Korea. They may also utilize English as a foreign language and refer to their English instructors as “locals.” Third, NNEST is a colonizing term that may deepen the gap between NEST and LETs.

This article reflects on a narrative case study to analyze how three LETs contest the notion of native speakerism and ownership of English as a global lingua franca. (Jenkins, 2006, 2015). However, an increasing trend among students’ parents is that native speakers are excellent instructors. Some parents are wary about LET and wait until a native class is available before enrolling their kid. This kind of thinking is detrimental and threatens the survival of LETs, who deserve the same privileges as native instructors. The language authenticities of LET and NEST vary, such as exact enunciation, listening, and vocabulary knowledge. (Barratt & Kontra, 2000). Being a good English teacher does not have to be a native English speaker as long as they have the quality and qualifications for teaching the language (Mullock, 2003, 2010). However, both LET and NEST have benefits and drawbacks. For example, LETs are culturally aware, whereas NESTs are linguistically genuine. The LETs’ awareness of learning context and culture is rooted in their community membership (Mullock, 2010).

Given the value of insider information, the three LETs (Mery, Hendrik, and Ely) are well-positioned as social, contextual, and cultural insiders (all the names are pseudonyms). They are native Indonesian and regional languages speakers who can interact successfully with pupils. However, their school is pro-native English instructors, employing more NESTs than LETs. Is the tuition rate the same for native and local instructor classes? How qualified are your native speakers? What are the variations in workload between native and local teachers? How much do parents want their kids educated by native speakers? We see significant differences in LET and NEST practices. It is directly linked to the idea of marginalization, which highlights the disparity in the ELT profession. (Rudolph et al., 2015). On all promotional materials (websites, flyers, brochures, and booklets), NEST is explicitly portrayed as the key agency promoting native speakerism and recruiting new students.

Furthermore, the growing number of uncertified native and “native-like” English teachers teaching in private school sectors has impacted the quality of teaching and the process of SLA (Wong, 2009). The native English instructors are from native English-speaking nations (e.g., England, USA, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada). The “native-like” English instructors
physically resemble native English speakers. They usually originate from Europe (e.g., France, Netherlands, Austria, Germany, etc.). They came to non-English speaking nations to teach English.

The equity of rights, marginalization and NEST privilege are still debatable within the Global English (GE) territory and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) (Jenkins, 2006, 2015; Yazan & Rudolph, 2018). This article does not put a refutation of the origin and ownership of English from which the language is bound historically and morphologically (Widdowson, 1994). It is to raise a linguistic awareness that English has been widely used worldwide and secured within the socio-cultural, socio-political, and socio-economic life of the world citizens (Rudolph, 2018). Although Holliday (2015) called for establishing cultural belief in native-speakerism labelling, some prejudices of disadvantaged LETs remain in the workplace.

The notion of the equity of rights is not associated with the LETs’ claims upon the origin of the English language itself (Widdowson, 1994), but it is a call for the equity of rights in the ELT profession from being marginalized in all sectors of ELT practices (Bayyurt, 2018; Rudolph et al., 2015). These practices continue to evolve in most private English schools in Asia and the global context. For example, NESTs are still perceived as “significant others” in Taiwan, although they do not hold TEFL qualifications and get paid more than the local English teachers (Lin et al., 2018). They underlined the importance of recruiting qualified NESTs in spite of not having CELTA or TESOL qualifications.

The construction of language teacher positional identity is commonly associated with the language teachers’ understanding of what it means to be a professional teacher (Chen et al., 2018). The notion of being a legitimate language teacher is closely related to the LETs’ voices of their perceived belief, knowledge, and authoring space in orchestrating their power, position, and privilege (Holland et al., 1998; Widodo et al., 2020). The LETs identity-agency as professionals and legitimate language teachers also relates to renegotiating their original ideas, values, and expectations to understand and match their working environment (Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2018). However, the discrepancies between NEST and LET in the relatively non-native English-speaking countries have oppressed the existence of LET to find a place as a legitimate language teacher in the workplace (Ramjattan, 2019).

Medgyes (1992) urges for NEST and LET equality beyond their limitations and potentials. To achieve learning goals and objectives, he thinks that a great school should mediate, enable, and foster collaborative teaching and learning. Keeping this in mind, efforts might be made to bridge the gap between NEST and LETs. Consequently, schools can provide a safe and supportive learning environment for everybody. NEST and LET collaborate in teaching students genuine and varied types of English. They can thereby
integrate their strengths and minimize their weaknesses (Lee & Cho, 2015). However, fostering multiculturalism in language instruction is not simple. They must be able to communicate effectively and eager to collaborate. A NEST or LET has nothing to do with the nature of teaching English. In order to be an effective language teacher, they must have professional certifications (TESOL, CELTA, or a master’s degree).

It is difficult to overcome NEST superiority and LET “alienation” in ELT since many ELT policymakers and practitioners are unaware of GE and related ideas (Widodo et al., 2020). They underlined two developing themes: positionality (privilege and marginalization) and professional identity construction as legitimate English teachers (the space of authoring). As a result, the research found some compensation disparity while working overseas. They said that the pay scale did not discriminate between native and non-native speakers. They are also mindful of building their professional identity to oppose native-speakerism. Encouraging equal rights and obligations at work (research, academic publication, marketing) is a form of professionalism that should be developed for both LET and NEST. It is important to note that although both NEST and LET may teach English, they vary in how they contextualize ELT in diverse circumstances.

Elyas & Alghofaili (2019), for example, examined the LET-NEST gap and its influence on students’ English competence. Students’ English competence was unaffected by nativeness or background. Similarly, businesses should not hire NESTs over LETs because they believe NESTs are better teachers. Given the status of English as a global lingua franca, this research recommendation is in line with Fithriani’s work (2018), in which schools should examine recruiting practices by removing racism, white privilege, and native-speakerism from GE. As competent English instructors, LETs ought to be regarded equally with NESTs.

NEST and LET must comprehend the complexities of the link between privilege and marginalization in order to foster meaningful cooperation and develop flexible identities. One study examined how researchers and language educators from three different countries (Canada, Colombia, and Sri Lanka) constructed, perpetuated, and maintained fluid and multiple identities that intersect within their experiences of privilege and marginalization across multicultural contexts (Gagné et al., 2018). The research says that comprehending fluid and diverse identities might help people who desire to enter ELT without questioning instructors’ backgrounds and social position.

This paper challenges the notion of native speakerism from a marginalized perspective by three LETs. It is vital to advocate for humanizing English language teaching practice to increase positive awareness among ELT practitioners. So, the study’s questions were:
1. What are the inequality issues experienced by the LETs in the workplace?
2. How do LETs perceive and negotiate their identity (belief, knowledge, values, and authoring space) as legitimate language teachers?

**METHOD**

**Research setting and design**

This narrative case study was situated in Indonesia’s micro-reality context of a private English school domain. It aimed to explore and understand the LETs experiences on how they perceived the inequality practices and marginalization in the workplace. Also, it investigated how they negotiate their identity as legitimate language teachers. Grounded in the social theory of power, privilege, and positional identities (Holland et al., 1998), the study examined the LETs stories about being LETs amidst the NESTs dominance in a franchised English school setting. Teacher positional identity is often associated with gender, race, and social class, which refers to how a teacher’s position is socially constructed (Maher & Tetreault, 1994). The researchers asked the teachers to recount their perceived inequality practices and positional identity (privilege and marginalization) on building and negotiating their legitimacy as professional language teachers. This narrative technique was chosen because it allows the researchers to gain an in-depth understanding of individual lived experiences and also focus on a small number of participants.

On the other hand, the school selection criteria are two-fold: 1) it carries the concept of native speakerism ideology and employs a dominant proportion of native English teachers, and 2) it also recruits and employs LETs simultaneously. To date, it is the only school in the region that employs NNESTs more than LETs. It operates a global franchise of a world-known English school. Therefore, the school and the teachers must use mandatory textbooks and assessment rubrics. The school employs five native-English teachers from England, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, and three LETs (one male and two females). The teachers’ team is directed by an Australian CELTA holder acting as a manager for all academic matters. One LET holds a master’s degree in English education and teaching from an Indonesian state university. The rests two are MA and M.Ed in TESOL from two different overseas universities.

**Participants**

Three LETs (Mery, Hendrik, and Ely1) were recruited and agreed to participate in the study. They all work as LETs in a global franchised English school and have taught English to young learners (YL) and professionals for more than three years. Mery, a senior teacher with more than five years of
experience, is a LET who has primarily taught YL since her employment in the school. She also teaches TOEIC for professionals (e.g., banking executives, health practitioners, and business doers). Hendrik and Ely are LETs who spent several years studying for master’s degrees in overseas universities. They came back to Indonesia and decided to work for the school. They have adequate experience living in a native English-speaking country. Regarding the certification and other relevant qualifications for TESOL, the three LETs are academically qualified (All the names are pseudonyms).

Table 1. The LETs characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Monthly pay (range)</th>
<th>Years of teaching</th>
<th>Working hours</th>
<th>Teaching responsibilities</th>
<th>Qualification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mery</td>
<td>$ 197,50</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8 hours/day</td>
<td>YL, AL, PL, TOEIC,</td>
<td>BA in English Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hendrik</td>
<td>$ 169,29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8 hours/day</td>
<td>PL, TOEIC, TOEFL, IELTS</td>
<td>Master of Art, TESOL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ely</td>
<td>$ 169,29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8 hours/day</td>
<td>YL, AL, TOEIC, and TOEFL</td>
<td>Master of Education, TESOL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: YL: Young Learners, AL: Adult Learners, PL: Professional Learners

The researchers gained access to the participants by initially contacting them partially and requesting their willingness to participate in the online interview. Firstly, the researchers described the purpose of the study and explained how they would contribute to the research and the growth of language teacher identity development. Secondly, the researchers negotiated how and when the interview would be conducted. Finally, all the participants were invited to participate in the online discussion.

Data collection tool and procedure
The data collection was conducted entirely online due to the pandemic and social distancing policy. The researchers interviewed the three LETs separately to obtain an in-depth understanding from the participants about their experiences. A set of open-ended and follow-up questions were used to cultivate their stories in the interview. The researchers also use probes to stay focused on the purposes of the discussion. The investigations were designed based on the narrative frame method (Barkhuizen & Wette, 2008). Qualitative data were generated from online one-to-one interviews using a video conferencing platform (Zoom application) to eliminate contact with the interviewees (O’Connor & Madge, 2017). Before the interview, the researchers approached each participant partially to gain access, explained the purpose of the study, and negotiated how the interview would be conducted. By filling and signing the participant consent form, all three participants agreed and consented to participate in the study. The interviews were videotaped and
transcribed for analysis. In addition, note-taking during the interview was also conducted.

The researchers explored the teachers’ general viewpoints of working in a mixed-cultural teaching context as a means of investigating their professional experiences. The researchers also asked them to recount their stories from several standpoints: the payroll system, equality in promotional endorsement, the use of ELT materials and resources, and perceived identity as legitimate English teachers. The first construct is about their satisfaction with the payroll system that delineates their deserved payment compared to their native counterparts. The researchers then continued to explore the discriminatory practices in the promotional endorsement. It uncovered the LETs involvement and inclusion in promotional media. The researchers then asked them to narrate their views on textbooks or other learning materials and their relevance to the native-speakerism ideology. The last frame is about their perceived positional identity working in a marginalized context.

**Data analysis**

The teachers’ stories contained a large body of text data. The researchers initially conducted open coding because the interviews were open to any possibilities. It aimed to identify the emerging themes and patterns of the transcribed and coded data (Miles et al., 2014 p. 75). The researchers then classified the open codes to establish themes and understand a phenomenon. This process of grouping and categorization is called axial or analytical coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Based on Braun & Clarke (2006, 2013), the method of data analysis is as follows:

1. Getting familiar with the data by exporting the videotaped interview recording from the Zoom cloud database.
2. Watching the recordings repeatedly to identify the major themes.
3. Transcribing the recording into texts for data coding.
5. Categorizing the coded texts (axial coding).
6. Writing up

**FINDINGS**

Based on evidence from the LETs interviews, the collected stories uncover several inequality practices and their perceived and negotiated identity as legitimate English teachers. This section presents the thematic analysis results: the LETs’ dissatisfaction with the payroll system, the representation of gender and race in promotional endorsement, the call for decolonizing pedagogy in ELT materials and resources, and perceived identity as legitimate and qualified English teachers. Following the findings, the themes and patterns were discussed, compared, and contrasted with the relevant literature to
establish concepts and greater comprehension. The conclusion section briefly summarizes some essential issues and recommends further research and educational management policy.

Dissatisfaction with the payroll system
Based on the evidence collected from the interviews, the researchers sense a substantial degree of inequity in the payroll policy that oppressed the right of LETs to get the same treatment as NESTs. The following excerpts represent the LETs voices regarding the monthly pay rate earned during their career.

(Teacher 1)
I feel disappointed because the pay rate is differentiated by the hair and skin colour instead of professional teaching experiences and the teachers’ capacity to deliver quality teaching in the class. I think the take-home pay is meagre compared to the regional minimum wage and my native counterparts. I have several reasons why I should get good pay: number one is I have a degree and the qualification for TESOL; two, I don’t believe the premise that the ideal English teacher is a native speaker of English. Teaching is all about transferring knowledge from teachers to students, and it has nothing to do with whether you are a native or non-native English speaker. I would be happy if I got what I deserved. I mean no discrimination in the salary system. Regarding my future career, I will quit the job and try to find a new environment that respects professionalism. I think this practice is a humiliation to the profession and disrespects teachers’ professionalism.

(Teacher 2).
I feel hmm, yeah (mumbling), you know? Unhappy, dissatisfied, upset, and you name it because there is a vast salary gap between local and native teachers. The funny thing is that the workload doesn’t make a significant difference. I think the take-home pay is far less than I expected compared to my native counterparts. I have several reasons to get good pay: 1) I am diligent and disciplined, 2) I have the qualification to teach English although I am not a native speaker of English, 3) I think my students like the way I am treating them. I would be happy if I got a salary raise and the school eliminated the discrepancies among the teachers. Regarding my future career, I will continue my doctorate study and find a new place. I think this practice cannot continue to happen in the future, and the school is the critical solution to this.

(Teacher 3).
I feel pesky or unlucky; I don’t know, you define it because scaling the pay rate based on whether you are a white-blond or local-curly teacher is a racist ideology that disparages the LETs identity. Giving NESTs
high salaries and extra facilities has suppressed our existence as legitimate English teachers. *I think the take-home pay is low;* I mean not satisfying compared to my native counterparts. *I have several reasons to get good pay:* 1) I’ve worked there for more than three years, and I think I deserve a raise, 2) apart from teaching, I also help in other jobs outside of my main job, 3) sorry to say, I hold a master degree in TESOL, they only hold a CELTA certificate 4) I also have adequate pedagogical knowledge and teaching experiences. *I would be happy if* the school renewed my contract with a significant salary increase. *Regarding my future career, I will* work until the end of my contract and then decide whether or not to go because a friend has invited me to join him at another school with a better income. *I think this practice is not professional, and it is not too late to fix it.*

Informed by the excerpts above, all LETs experienced a practice of financial marginalization and discrimination regarding the take-home pay rate in which they were not treated fairly as their native counterparts. The words “disappointed, unhappy, upset, pesky, and unlucky” have pejorative connotations, signifying a genuine unwillingness to accept reality. They’re all concerned about the amount of money they make because it’s relatively low compared to what their native peers earned. When LETs and native teachers are paid differently, it can lead to resentment and a lack of cooperation in creating a pleasant working atmosphere. On top of that, they appeared to be trying to construct their identity as legitimate English teachers by assuming they possess superior credentials and experience to their native counterparts. They believe that with their skills and experience, they are entitled to adequate compensation and equal treatment as recognition for their efforts to eradicate racism in education. After reading about the hardships these people faced, they also stated their wish to relocate somewhere free of racism, prejudice, and discrimination.

**The representation of gender and race in promotional endorsement**

Another type of discrimination in practice is the imaging of NESTs in all printable and digital promotional tools. It represents the native-speakerism ideology in brochures, pamphlets, flyers, banners, and the school website. These types of written discourse consolidate the existence of the NESTs as powerful objects to boost business marketing. The exclusion of LETs in this context is evident as they are not legitimate and do not have any selling point to attract customers. One of the teachers told a story about his experience of witnessing workplace discrimination (the story was Indonesian and mediated to English).
I remember a moment when a parent with a little young boy came to register for the upcoming class. She asked a lady at the front office desk to explain the available program for her son. The lady enthusiastically started talking about a program, “English for Young Learners,” and offered an entry test to determine which level the boy should start. The mother continued to ask who would be the teacher of her son. The lady replied, we have two teachers here; we have native speakers from the UK, Australia, New Zealand, and “local” teachers. Your son would have a great time to practice his English directly with our native teachers, and I believed he would enjoy the class, the FO lady added. The mother then requested I want a native teacher for my son, not a local one. The FO lady replied again, of course, we would prioritize a native class for your son, but we also asked for your understanding if our native class is fully booked. Our local teachers are excellent and experienced. They also hold masters from Australian universities.

The above conversation discourse uncovers a practice of marginalization from a marketing standpoint. This evidence shows that the FO woman and parent dialogue triggered LETs’ identity deconstruction in the early stages. The parents’ stigma on the local teachers’ competency in ELT should be changed and reconstructed. The marketing practice’s dichotomization between NESTs and LETs should be revisited to build a space for the local teachers to grow and develop confidently.

The call for decolonizing pedagogy in ELT materials and resources

The curriculum and material development policy are centralized, top-down, and restricted for revision. We found a practice of colonization in pedagogy in all textbooks and modules. The colonization in pedagogy includes excluding culturally-based content materials and local teachers participating in curriculum revision and development. The role of NNESTs in curriculum development is crucial because they know the socio-cultural and socio-economic context of the students better than the NNESTs. It calls for re-centring the local teachers’ ways of knowing, being, and doing and giving them a space for navigating the glocal pedagogies.

I think the materials (textbooks, worksheets, etc.) are mandatory and centralized. We must use the books and worksheets provided by the school. In terms of material development, as I said, they are not context-based and revisable. We have two types of books; teachers’ and students’ books. Concerning material appropriateness, I think it was a bit difficult to familiarize the context in the textbooks with the students’
socio-cultural backgrounds. I had to teach both language and culture that my students and I were unfamiliar with.

(Teacher 2)

*I think the materials (textbooks, worksheets, etc.) are custom-tailored and created just for their own group. In other words, they are just for internal use and not for sale to the public. In terms of material development, you know, we were not involved in any way in the production or development of the educational materials contained in these publications, which means that we are merely users of them. Concerning material appropriateness, I think, frankly speaking, all the contents of these books contain pedagogical and foreign cultural values that are not relevant to the context and background of the students. However, further research is required to determine whether or not this has any advantages.*

Teachers 1 and 2 share similar accounts of their school’s learning contents and resources. Because the books are obligatory and specially designed, they claimed they had no jurisdiction to alter or revise their content. They also underline the instructional approach included in these publications. All of the material is based on western socio-cultural ideals, perpetuating the idea that colonization is practiced in pedagogy. In other words, TESOL does not mean teaching the English culture and adopting the western pedagogy but creating space for both teachers and students to make meaning in their learning. Mullock (2010) concluded that a good English teaching strategy is understanding the educational context and knowing who we teach. The LETs, as the insiders, are more familiar with the learning context and culture and those familiar with them, will glocalize the ELT pedagogy. The idea of glocalizing pedagogies in ELT entails the roles of the school management to open a space for the local teachers to construct their glocal identities.

**Perceived identity as legitimate and qualified English teachers**

The three LETs doubted the NESTs’ pedagogical knowledge, socio-cultural, and linguistic skills (see Ma, 2012). They had no idea about the socio-cultural and socio-economic background of the students. Regarding the pedagogical aspect of learning, teaching and speaking English are contextually different. For example, a native speaker of Chinese, Malay, Thai, and Indonesian might not teach the language even though they are native speakers of the languages. This language aspect can also occur for English, where native speakers must have the necessary skills to teach the language.

(Teacher 1)

*I believe I am a legitimate English teacher because I have been teaching English for many years. For example, I am experienced teaching English to young learners and familiar with the best approaches to*
children learning. Regarding pedagogical aspects of teaching, I consider myself a qualified language teacher because I meet all the qualifications required to teach the language. I also hold a bachelor’s and master’s degree in ELT and a TESOL certificate. English is an international language and a global lingua franca. I believe this statement because everyone can teach English as long as they have the qualifications and meet the requirement. It has nothing to do with whether you are a LET or a native speaker of English. I’m afraid I also have to disagree with the statement “Native speaker is an ideal language teacher” because I have doubts about the “foreign” teacher’s ability to teach English in the same way I have concerns about my own ability to teach Indonesian even though I am a native speaker of Indonesian. In my opinion, a professional English language teacher has TESOL qualifications and years of experience teaching English. He also has an excellent pedagogical understanding and approach to TEFL.

(Teacher 3)
I firmly believe that I am a legitimate and qualified English teacher because I have spent many years learning and teaching the language. I have also dedicated myself to this profession and devoted all my knowledge to this endeavor. Regarding pedagogical aspects of teaching, I consider myself qualified and professional because I hold a master of education in TESOL. English is an international language and a global lingua franca. I believe this statement because teaching English does not belong to English, American, Australian, or Canadian. It belongs to those who use, study, and teach the language. So, I disagree with the statement “Native speaker is an ideal language teacher” because teaching is not about one’s ability to use a language but one’s ability to help others speak the language. For example, I am a native speaker of Indonesian and can speak it fluently and accurately. Still, I can’t teach the language to other speakers because I am not qualified. I studied English at university, majoring in English language teaching, and then I continued my master’s degree in the same field. So, I have solid pedagogical knowledge and background to support my profession as an English teacher, although I am not a native speaker of English. In my opinion, a professional English language teacher holds the required qualifications and has adequate pedagogical experience in teaching the language.

Teacher 2 and 3 perceived their identity as legitimate and qualified English teachers. They believed that teaching English does not merely belong to the native speaker of English, but it belongs to everyone who has the TESOL or TEFL qualifications. According to them, native speakerism cannot be used
as the primary foundation for judging whether someone is competent and qualified to teach a particular language. Teaching mainly relates to pedagogical skills instead of language ability. A certificate of proficiency in language pedagogy may be obtained via formal or informal schooling. They take an analogy that their status as native speakers of Indonesian does not necessarily make them models of proper and qualified Indonesian teachers. Historically, they have never had formal education in the Indonesian language, so they lack pedagogical knowledge about teaching Indonesian to foreigners. It is the inverse proof that the ideology of native speakerism is a form of colonization in language education. Yet, they still believe they are legitimate English teachers and have fulfilled all the required elements to become an English teacher. In other words, teaching English should belong to NESTs and any LETs who meet the language qualifications.

**DISCUSSION**

The representation of gender, race, and social status in the workplace

Gender, race, and social status have always become a never-ending debate in ELT and EFL teacher identity construction. This section focuses on how race is seen as the primary trigger of injustice, inequality, and discrimination in the workplace. Race in the perspective of world Englishes is always associated with native speakerism (Holliday, 2015; Swan et al., 2015), the ownership of English (Widdowson, 1994), and the teaching of English as a global lingua franca (Jenkins, 2006, 2015). However, this issue has received insignificant visibility in TESOL research (Kubota & Lin, 2006). In a private language school domain, the race represents the superiority of native speakerism as language propaganda to boost the selling value and gain public trust. It will lead to social framing that native speakers of English are ideal teachers, skilled pedagogically, and very good at teaching. A private language school is a profit-oriented institution. All types of framing and propaganda will be carried out through promotional media to increase income and stabilize the cash flow and revenue. Unfortunately, things like this continue to happen around us without any significant change that we can do as teachers and educational practitioners.

One example of a study related to injustice occurring in the Canadian private English language schools is the marginalization experienced by ten non-white teachers who were maltreated and tended to experience microaggressions (Ramjattan, 2019). One of them is race and its intersections such as gender, class, sexuality, language, and social status (Pérez Huber & Solorzano, 2015). Two years earlier, Ramjattan (2017) also reported the racist nativist microaggressions experienced by ten racialized teachers in Toronto, Canada. He pointed out that racist nativism in ELT is a pervasive problem and potentially exacerbates the racist nativist sentiments. This study informs
that inequality in the ELT profession happens in non-native English-speaking countries and is also found in native English-speaking countries. What happened and was faced by non-white English teachers in Canada is a big mirror for all English teachers around the globe that racist nativism will always be around us as a challenge in constructing English language teacher identity.

The role of parents and school management
Parents and school managements are the key agents to fight against racist nativism in the private language school domain. Parents are the policymakers who have the authority over the education choices for their children. At the same time, the school management is the education service provider controlling all the available services. Akiyoshi (2010) explored the parents’ perspective on Japan’s common trend where most employers hired native-English speaking teachers. She found that parents mostly preferred qualified teachers to unqualified native speakers. The process of decolonizing pedagogy in language learning is closely associated with the parents’ mindset regarding racist nativism and English as a glocal language.

The role of parents in contesting the hegemony of white privilege in ELT is pivotal because it is the initial source where racist nativism can grow. Sung (2011) termed it the “native speaker fallacy,” where most parents still believe that native speakers are of better quality than local teachers. Therefore, educating the parents about the sociolinguistic reality encompassing English teaching and learning is necessary, especially with global Englishes and English as an international language. Atamturk et al. (2018) also found that the teachers’ characters and pedagogical skills are more critical than their NS/NNS status. These findings refute the hegemony of native speakerism in ELT and position the local English teachers as legitimate English teachers. The parents should stop widening the discrepancies between NEST and NNEST dichotomy. As the agent of change, the schools will need to revisit the recruitment process by standardizing the requirements for applicants without differentiating the skin colors, races, ethnicities, and nationalities. The quality of language learning is determined by the character and pedagogical skills of the teacher in achieving the learning goals and objectives. If the teachers are qualified and experienced, they will organize their teaching and learning activities effectively and efficiently.

The role of glocal pedagogy in building social equity
Glocal pedagogy can empower us to address natural and social equity and produce relevant information and practices in reframed worldwide citizenship training (Mannion, 2015). Therefore, contextualizing ELT pedagogies is urgent and should be acknowledged in the glocal context.
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(Zacharias & Manara, 2013). The NNESTs are in their best position to glocalize the ELT pedagogies because they are familiar with the socio-cultural and socio-economic contexts of the learners (Mullock, 2010). The empowerment of NNESTs identity as legitimate and qualified English teachers should be globally acknowledged towards the domination of native-speakerism ideology in most non-native English-speaking countries, particularly in universities, schools, and private sectors of education.

The discrimination in the ELT profession is neither triggered by the group of NESTs, nor NNESTs. We urge the school policymakers and the students’ parents to acknowledge the NNESTs as prestigious as the NESTs based on the professional qualifications and skills instead of looking at the teachers’ physical performance. This belief is dangerous and harmful to the process of L2 acquisition and glocal pedagogy. The gap in the payment system is perceived as deconstructive and should be revisited to build NNESTs confidence and identity as legitimate English teachers.

CONCLUSION
In conclusion, overcoming the marginalization in the ELT profession, particularly in the private language school sector, is three-fold; they are (1) negotiating the positionality of the LETs with the school policymakers to acknowledge the equal treatment for both NESTs and NNESTs, (2) growing the parents’ awareness and belief in NNESTs capacity as legitimate and qualified language teachers, and (3) providing a space for both NESTs and NNESTs to contextualize and glocalize the ELT pedagogies to meet the students’ needs and expectations. This article also calls for further research on actualizing rights equity within the profit-oriented language school context.

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