"I have to teach the 'English' English": Native-speakerism ideology among the English teachers

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ABSTRACT
Native-speakerism is a crucial issue to discuss in ELT, especially related to the different ideological views on World Englishes and 'standard' English. Differences in ideology about English and its variations have an impact on the English teaching implementation. Many studies have examined discrimination practices driven by native-speakerism ideology in educational contexts such as in the preference of English teacher recruitment which prefers teachers who are considered as native speakers. Although studies have discussed native-speakerism ideology, not many studies have discussed native-speakerism ideology from the perspective of English teachers in Indonesia. This study, therefore, aims to find out how widespread this ideology is among English teachers of a private school in metropolitan Jakarta. It seeks to explore the dimensions of native-speakerism in the various aspects of the English teaching profession. This study is an interview-based research with seven participants. Data collection was done by conducting individual interviews for 30-40 minutes which then were analyzed descriptively to identify the recurring themes. The results showed that there were traces of native speakerism ideology among the English teachers in Permata schools that views English from a purist perspective towards the language and its culture. This purist perspective is reflected from how they defined native-speakers of English and depicted the ownership of English, language learning and teaching beliefs, and their teaching practices.

Keywords: English language teaching, globalization, language ideology, native-speakerism

INTRODUCTION
The spread of English and its development is an interesting but controversial topic for debate. The debate is among monocentric versus pluricentric view on English, which then impacts on the use of the term (standard) English versus (world) Englishes (Bolton, 2004). Quirk (1985) stated that the development of this type of variation in English is an attempt to weaken the belief in English. (Quirk, 1990) believed that standard English is the best model of English, therefore, he encouraged teachers to stick to the general rules of English and teach based on native norms and native-like English.

Standard English is considered the ideal model and is in line with educational goals so that it has standardized rules and assessments that serve as benchmarks for assessing other varieties (McKay, 2010). (Leimgruber, 2013) considered that Quirk strived to ensure that English is isolated based on the common denominator and is not affected by the development of other languages.

Kachru (as cited in Kilickaya, 2009), however, considered Quirk's view of norms and registers is no longer relevant to the sociolinguistic reality since English already used in various outer-circle countries (see Figure 1). Kachru also pointed out

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that the variety of English does not interfere or does not reduce the clarity of differences in the use of English. Kachru and Smith (1985) explained that English is a symbol of a variety of functions and formal languages and international acculturation so that English belongs to anyone who uses it as a first, second, or foreign language in standard or localized form. The concept of world Englishes acknowledges Englishes outside the inner circle countries as valid as standard English along with each sociocultural context that follows (Tahmasbi et al., 2019). Regarding Quirk's (1990) recommendation for teachers to stick to native norms, Kachru (2003) argued that teachers cannot always relate learning to native norms because resources may be lacking. Moreover, Kachru (2003) emphasized that teachers should be guided by local norms since the function of English is for intranational and international use related to their multi-linguistic, sociolinguistic, and sociocultural contexts.

World Englishes

Bolton (2004) divided three definitions of world Englishes. The first is that the term world Englishes is considered as an umbrella that houses various approaches and descriptions that differ from English across the globe. Second, narrowly, world Englishes refers to new English findings in various countries in the Caribbean and West African and East African societies. Finally, world Englishes is seen more broadly as an approach to learning English throughout the world.

Kachru (2009) put forward the concept of world Englishes which emphasizes language pluralism and cultural reincarnation. Pluralism meant by Kachru is a shift of language identity from Judeo-Christian and Western identities of the English language to various other identities such as African, African-American, Asian, and to the entire world English community. World Englishes, which believe that English belongs to everyone, has a way of use and social meaning or context that tends to differ from one another (Li, 2019). Furthermore, Kachru (2009) explained that the identity of world Englishes pluralism is divided into two, namely *madhayama* (medium) and *mantra* (message), where English users around the world are mediums, while messages represent various identities and contexts across cultures, and represent a variety of conversations. Kachru developed the concentric circle model to illustrate the expansion of the use of English in the world, as in Figure 1.

Figure 1
Kachru Three Circle (Kachru, 1998)
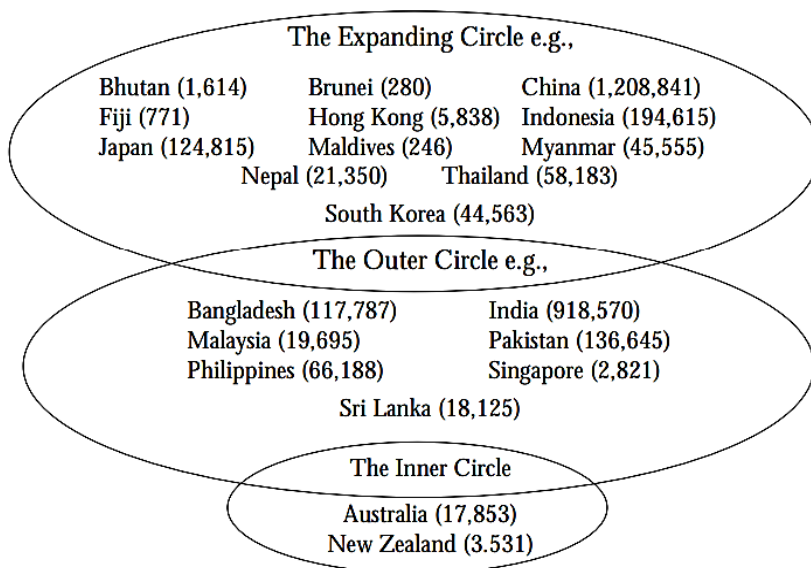
In the development of views of English, (Crystal, 2003) put forward his belief that the development of English throughout the world has shown that English is no longer exclusively owned by and used in the inner-circle countries community. Rushdi cited in Crystal (2003) stated that the largest English-speaking countries such as the USA are only 20% when compared to the rest of the world, and the number of occupations which use English as a second language is higher than L1, so he considers English to be owned by the global community. Based on his observation of the development of English, Crystal (2008) increased his predictions of English speakers in the world to nearly 2 billion people or about a third of the world's population. Furthermore, Crystal (2003) put forward a new idea about "World Standard Spoken English" (WSSE), where everyone must leave his dialect and use phrases that are generally accepted when

communicating with people outside his country, for example in various international meetings.

Differences in ideology about English and its variations also have an impact on the implementation of teaching English. The teachers are affected in determining the ideology that is adopted, which will be undoubtedly reflected in the teaching practice. This topic is essential because the ideology of a teacher will also determine the expectations and learning outcomes, which are very likely to be absorbed and imitated by the students. Not infrequently, this difference in views on native-speakerism breeds various forms of discrimination, one of which is in the field of English Language Teaching (ELT).

Native-speakerism

Holliday (2006) defined native-speakerism as an ideology that is embedded in the practice of teaching English, which believes that native speakers represent the western culture that gave birth to English and its ideal teaching. This ideal English teaching is reflected in the selection and use of materials for learning, such as teaching methods and book texts imported from the West (Holliday, 2005). Furthermore, Holliday (2006) also viewed native-speakerism as a "regime of truth" which is determined by the interests of stakeholders attached to the teaching of English throughout the world.

Phillipson put forward the idea of linguistic imperialism in English Language Teaching (as cited in Holliday, 2014). He stated that the concept of native speakers is explicitly considered superior by American and British aid agencies in the 1960s to succeed their goals in spreading English as a global product. Furthermore, Phillipson (as cited in Lowe & Pinner, 2016), explained that the existing form of linguistic imperialism is the west's efforts to control developing countries, especially in terms of formulating native speaker fallacy where English is ideally taught monolingually and that the ideal English teacher is native speakers.

The ideology of native-speakerism develops widely in societies based on cultural orientation (Kubota & Lin, 2006) and not on linguistic techniques (Holliday, 2014). Native English speakers teachers (NEST) are misinterpreted as ideal teachers because they fulfill what is expected of western culture. Conversely, teachers who are labelled as non-native English speaker teachers (NNEST) are deemed lack western cultural attributes (Holliday, 2014). Labels are given to teachers as non-native speakers have an impact on the existence of cultural views and distrust, the inability to teach English in the context of western culture. Moreover, native-speakerism also raises what is called cultural disbelief, namely the issue of distrust or doubt to non-native speakers that they can bring meaningful contributions to the teaching of English (Holliday, 2005) .

The native-speakerism ideology contributes to skin color racism, where teachers who are considered native speakers are identified with white skin color. On the contrary, non-white-English speakers who are born in the inner-circle countries are still categorized as non-native speakers (Holliday, 2014). Furthermore, native-speakerism also alludes to a person's worthiness based on identity characteristics such as race, where only white and western-style people can be considered as the real native speakers (Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013; Kubota & Lin, 2006; Liu, 1999 as cited in Lowe & Kiczkowiak, 2016).

Another form of native-speakerism is discrimination at work, starting from the recruitment process until the treatment in the workplace. Doan (2016) found that Indonesia, Thailand, and Vietnam prefer to hire English teachers from inner-circle countries rather than their own teachers. On the other hand, if they found difficulties in hiring teachers from inner-circle countries, they prefer to hire one from the Philippine. Another case of discrimination regarding recruitment is found in Thailand; that is, even in a condition where hiring NNEST is way cheaper, NEST will still be the first choice if resources are available (Comprendio & Savski, 2019). Furthermore, Fang (2018) found that local English teachers were treated differently and considered less useful than English teachers who were considered native speakers.

Studies on native speakerism ideology (Holliday, 2005; Medgyes, 2001; Phillipson, 1992; Rudolph, 2019) have described and studied the forms of this ideology implementation that include:

1. Establish that the ideal English language teaching is to monopolize monolingual teaching which originates from western culture
2. Establish that the ideal English instructor must be from a western country
3. Stipulates that ideal English teaching methods and learning resources must be imported from Western countries
4. The existence of linguistic imperialism in which there is an NS superiority over those considered NNS
5. The existence of cultural distrust of NNS where they are considered unable to teach in the western context and unable to make meaningful contributions
6. The existence of identity discrimination such as race, where the original native speaker should be a white person
7. The existence of discrimination in employment such as in the recruitment process and treatment when working where NS is more desirable or prioritized in recruitment and giving lower incentives to NNS

Many studies have examined the existence of discrimination due to native-speakerism ideology in various educational implementation practices such as in the preference of English teacher selection which prefers teachers who are considered native speakers, such as in Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam (Comprendio & Savski, 2019; Doan, 2016; Fang, 2018). Specifically in Indonesia, there have been many studies discussing native-speakerism ideology from the perspective of Indonesian students such as research conducted by Adara, (2019), Alghazo and Zidan (2019), Setiawan (2006), and Silalahi (2019). Previous research has shown that students are exposed to the ideology of native-speakerism where they tend to favor teachers who are considered native or come from certain countries compared to local Indonesian English teachers regarding pronunciation, cultural knowledge and effective teaching skills. (Adara, 2019; Alghazo & Zidan, 2019). However, not many studies have discussed the native-speakerism ideology from the perspective of English teachers in Indonesia and its implications for teaching. This topic is important in order to provide an overview of how the direction and practice of English learning is held in the Indonesian context, considering that the teacher is one of the facilitators in learning. Therefore, this study aims to analyze language understanding and language ideology in English teachers in Permata (pseudonym) schools, West Jakarta, and their implications in teaching English through questions:

1. How do the English Teachers in Permata School understand the idea of native-speakerism?
2. How is this ideology reflected in their beliefs of teaching and learning English?

METHOD
Design
This research was conducted within a qualitative framework that is interview-based research. This small-scale interview-based research was carried out by gathering views from research participants on a topic that is studied based on experience by listening and getting an understanding of their stories (Greenfield et al., 2007; Seidman, 2006). This method was chosen because it is suitable for research purposes to explore directly and experiences of respondents related to their views (Dörnyei, 2007). The study was conducted at the Permata (a pseudonym) school in West Jakarta in November 2019. Permata School is a private school with a national curriculum where the students dominantly are from the middle to the high of social-economic status, with the majority of students are Chinese descent.

Participants
Participants were 7 English teachers, consisting of three high school teachers and four junior high school teachers. The participants were chosen by purposive sampling technique, where the researcher had determined in advance the location of the study and the type of participants to be studied (Etikan et al., 2016). Pseudonyms are used to maintain the confidentiality of the identity of the source. Selected participants have several different characteristics. Mona is a high school English teacher who also holds a position as head of the English language teaching department at school for junior and senior high school levels. She was chosen to be a research as a teacher and policymaker in the department she led. Susan was chosen because she taught English to junior high school students and had overseas study experience in the UK and the USA but did not have an English education background. She was chosen to be a participant so that she could provide insights that might be influenced by her study experience. Robb was the former vice principal in Permata Junior high school (until 2018), so he is expected to give his view on the position as teacher and policymaker. Whereas the other participants have an educational background in English and already have more than a decade of teaching experience to give their views on their teaching. The participants' demographic information Data sources can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1
Participants' Demographic Information

Teachers	Education	Experience	Sex	Background Information
Mona	BA in English Education	13 years	female	Head of the department of English teacher in Permata Senior high school
Timo	BA in English Education	15 years	Male	English teacher in Permata Senior high school
Susan	BA in Math (USA) & MA in Management (UK)	1 year	Female	English teacher in Permata Junior high school
Lita	BA in English Education	20 years	Female	English teacher in Permata Junior high school
Rose	BA in English Education	14 years	Female	English teacher in Permata Senior high school
Robb	BA in Computer & English Education	14 years	Male	1. Former Vice principle of Permata Junior high school 2. English teacher in Permata Junior high school
Yosi	BA in Accounting, currently pursuing MA in TESOL	10 years	Female	English teacher in Permata Junior high school

Procedure

Data collection was done by conducting interviews individually that lasted for 30-40 minutes. The type of interviewed employed was semi structured interview to guide the respondents to the topic of the research but still provide the opportunity to develop the question based on the respondent's answers (Dörnyei, 2007). The interviews were conducted a mixture of English and Bahasa Indonesia. The interviews data obtained were transcribed, translated into English, and analyzed based on recurring themes. The data obtained were then analyzed descriptively, where this study used data from interview conversations that were cited as original as possible to answer the research questions (Suwendra, 2018). The interview questions inquire the motivation and expectations as English teachers, the importance of English for themselves and for students, the English skills that students must possess and how to teach it. Respondents were also asked about the model of good English, classroom language policy and how they interact with student in English, and challenges of communicating in English with students, as well as how to overcome these challenges.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

"Everything is in English": Teachers' view on the status of English

Most teachers view English as an important language to acquire since it is considered as an international language. The teachers believe that English is a language that has a global appeal since it is used globally in various countries in the world (Crystal, 2003). This view can be represented by Mona's, and Robb's remark below.

> Excerpt 1
> ***Everything is in English****. Everything, from instructions language [on the internet] ...Students are exposed to the **internet, new technology, every day and there are English words for everything*** [Mona-11/11/19]
>
> *I mean, today is the global era,* ***all information in the world is in English*** *because it's the international language.* ***English is a must skill so that they can keep up with the world****.* [Robb-11/11/19]

Mona insisted that English can be found anywhere across the globe and that English is now a part of students' reality whenever they are surfing the internet. Mona's statement can also be interpreted as treating English as the language of technology and the internet. Robb specifically addresses the idea of English as the medium to access to global information (Rudolph, 2019). English is positioned as the language of wider use and functions that the acquisition of this language is urgent.

English is also viewed as the language of professions. Some teachers see that learning English is important because it is a language that will support their students' professional life and career. These teachers believe that by having good English skills, students will have broader and more diverse career opportunities. This belief similarly echoes Pandey and Pandey's (2014) study in which having good communication skills in English is seen as having an impact on better employment opportunities. In this case, English can also be viewed as the language of prosperity. Teacher participants exemplify these professional opportunities in English as follows.

> Excerpt 2
> *[English] it's very important because some resources are in English. Also, in terms of career, there are more opportunities.* [Timo-11/11/19]
>
> ***Most of the students want to pursue further study abroad****. ... So, they have to* ***be able to acquire English here and now so that when they study there, they can use and develop their English****, perhaps with the appropriate accents of the target country.* [Lita-11/11/19]

Lita develops the discussion to the idea that English is also the language of education and global knowledge. This view is also supported by other respondent such as Susan. Lita also explained that English will help students realize their wishes in terms of continuing to study abroad. This is in line with the findings of Haidar and Fang (2019) study that the purpose of learning English in schools is for further study, career opportunities and international exchange. Therefore, many schools provide English lessons with the aim that students are able to take English exams to continue their studies (Coleman, 2010). However, even though teachers see English as global knowledge, they do not relate it to the important heuristics of English pluralism which has become a global language (Schmitz, 2014).

The participants further emphasize that English is a necessary skill in this global era. Timo further expands the discussion that opportunity on having job. Hence, he views that those who acquire English should consider it a privilege to have access to more global information and to make use of that opportunity to grow and expand themselves in the global arena. English is seen as one of the requirements to get a "white collar job" (Coleman, 2010; Haidar, 2018).

"I prefer Native English speaker's model": Native-speakerism ideology in teachers' accounts

While discussing the status of English, teachers also shared their view on the English model, NESTs and NNESTs, and language and culture pedagogy. Most of the participants are in the opinion that the best English model to be taught to their students is, what they called with "standard English". Although there

is no unanimous agreement among the teachers on what standard English is, most participants refer the idea to English which originates from a country with English as the first language, or what (Kachru, 1998) terms as, the inner-circle countries. The followings are several teachers' accounts on their understanding of Standard English.

Excerpt 3
…the right model is standard English, not [English] that has been adopted by certain countries…it's called Englishes, like Indonesian English, Singlish… So, [Englishes of the] Western culture. Since I'm an English teacher, I have to teach the "English" English, either American English or British English, even Australian English …because they are "the reference". [Mona-11/11/19]

…That's why whenever I had any student's acquaintances who are native speakers [of English], I ask them to come to class. ...so that students get English exposure. We also have ITC teachers who are from Nepal, Philippines, Kenya, so students get their English exposure. They need to learn about them too. ...but, I prefer Native Speakers English [model]. [Yosi-11/11/19]

In Excerpt 3, Mona and Yosi believe that there is one model as the standard model for other Englishes. Other English varieties are considered not the "pure" form of English. This is consistent with a study conducted by McArthur (2001) who discussed how world Englishes are seen as impure English and are "broken" English. This view arises because world Englishes do not refer to standard English norms which in turn weakens English (Quirk, 1985). Mona's view of the inadequacy of Englishes to be taught in the classroom is a topic of debate between Kachru (1991) dan Quirk (1990) where Kachru considers that teachers must adhere to local norms because the function of English is for intranational and international use related to multi-linguistic contexts, sociolinguistics, and their sociocultural.

Standard English, to Mona, is English that has been codified in a dictionary as the main linguistic reference. This view is in accordance with the opinion of Schmitz (2014) in his study which explained how the inner circle state group is seen as the owner of English on the basis of blood line and place of birth so that they are referred to as standard English.

The teachers believe that teaching the so-called Standard English would avoid students from any communication problems and provide them easier access to "international" opportunities. However, in their accounts, teachers also show awareness of the concept of World Englishes such as Singlish, Chinglish, and Philippines English. This categorization is mostly referred to as phonological variation of Englishes, particularly, in terms of accents as clearly shown in Yosi's and Mona's

accounts. Yosi even invited teacher students from countries outside the inner circle to be able to share about their variations in English. This means that in terms of ideological preference, although the teachers recruited at Permata School tend to follow native-speakers' English model, there is also room for awareness of the need for students to know other English varieties.

Teachers' purist view on the English language also corresponds to the way they define "Native English Speakers" (NES) as those who originally come from the inner-circle countries and who use English as their L1. Referring to the Kachru's concentric circle, countries included in the inner circle are Canada, USA, UK, Australia, and New Zealand. (Bhatt, 2001; Kachru, 2003). Several teachers specifically separate speakers of English of the outer-circle countries from the inner circle ones to emphasize the idea of "pure" English origin as reflected in Lita's accounts.

Excerpt 4
Native speakers are those who use English as their daily language. Not those who have their native language and then use English as their second language, like India or Singapore. [Lita-11/11/19]

The teachers further extend their opinion on the role of NESTs and NNESTs in the teaching of English. In terms of teaching, most teachers point out a division of tasks between NESTs and NNESTs. NESTs are seen as more expert in pronunciation and speaking-listening skills, while non-native speaker teachers are more expert on reading, writing, and grammar. This view is consistent with Tatar and Yildiz (2010) that NNESTs have a good ability to teach grammar. Meanwhile, the NESTs were seen to be much better at teaching speaking including pronunciation (Alghazo & Zidan, 2019). One teacher states that she was not confident in pronunciation and compared herself with native speaker teachers whom she believed were better in pronunciation. This view is in fact contrary to the view of Ellis (2012) who explained that NESTs often use a special register called "foreigner talk" which causes EFL learners to have difficulty understanding speech.

Excerpt 5
To have native English speakers teachers is also good. Since we, the local teachers, frankly to say, we excel most in grammar, right? But for pronunciation, I did not even feel confident about it up to this day. [Yosi-11/11/19]

The overall participants' view is consistent with Medgyes' (2001) findings that NNEST "are usually preoccupied with accuracy, the formal features of English, the nuts and bolts of grammar, the printed word, and formal registers" (p. 434).

NEST is described as speaking better English, and focus on oral skills and fluency when teaching.

Interestingly, when asked about what qualifications should English teachers have, most teachers do not put the issue of nativeness as an essential matter. They agree that a minimum qualification of holding a BA degree in teaching English is a must. Robb who was a former Vice principle of Permata Junior high school also explains how the school has a very systematic and professional recruitment process in which the applicants will have to go through document validation, job interview, and micro-teaching activity. He further elaborates on what basic skills (of an English teacher) that he would observe during the process of recruitment.

Excerpt 6
*Well, they [applicants] need to, at least, **graduated from an English Teaching Department,** and must have correct pronunciation ...and spelling. Well, grammar inaccuracy in English is tolerable. ...I mean, **even the native English speaking teachers, from my experience, sometimes their grammar is inaccurate too.*** [Robb-11/11/19]

*So, **teachers who know the standard international English**, not Indonesian English. So, they need to refer to the international monolingual English dictionary. ... I mean there are a lot of English tests like TOEFL, IELTS that are written by native English speakers, so this is the standard English.* [Mona-11/11/19]

English teachers are expected to be fluent users of instructional English, especially in terms of their spoken ability in using English. This can be seen from Robb's and Mona's accounts that were driven by their beliefs that teachers need to be a model of English users in the classroom. Therefore, the need to conform to the standard English (which they believe to be the norm that is being used internationally) is a necessity for the students' future English use. Mona emphasizes the idea of grounding the recruitment on Standardized English tests (e.g. TOEFL & IELTS) to serve this purpose. This view is in line with Quirk's (1990) conception of Standard English which is positioned as the ideal model. The inner-circle countries are also positioned as the norm-providing-center with standardized rules and assessments that serve as benchmarks for assessing other English varieties. Quirk's view encourages teachers to stick to the general rules of English and teach based on native norms and native-like English (Leimgruber, 2013; McKay, 2010)

In line with this idea of Standard English as English of the inner-circle countries, teachers hold the belief that teaching the English language implies the teaching of, what they refer to as, "English western" culture. The teachers are of the opinion that language cannot be separated from their culture. Since most of their students plan to study in the western (inner-circle) countries, learning the English

Western cultures will benefit the students in interacting with speakers from these countries. Teaching the linguistic conventions of these countries is a form of respecting the local culture and acquiring a "survival" skill while adapting to live there. This belief in language and culture is expressed by Rose.

Excerpt 7
When you wanna go to one country, you have to know the culture first – the dos and don'ts. *...It's more to respecting the [local] culture. ...I'm not saying that teachers have to introduce the American cultures, but more to introduce the way of life. ...**So, to me it's an entity: when we teach the language, we also teach its culture**.* [Rose-11/11-19]

Knowing the target language culture and acquiring the register as performing politeness is in line with Bourdieu's (1991) concept of linguistic and cultural capital. Linguistic and cultural capitals are symbolic capital. Connolly (1998) states that symbolic capital is "a range of scarce goods and resources which lie at the heart of social relations" (cited in Fang, 2011, p. 252).English, in this sense, is positioned (and given a symbolic value) as the language of opportunities, access to globalization, and worldwide language. Therefore, those who learned, acquired, and be fluent in this language (and culture) "have access to better life chances" (Morrison & Lui, 2000, p. 473).

"You learn one language to learn another": Teachers' view on students' English needs

English in the national curriculum is still taught as a foreign language (Kemendikbud, 2013, 2014). The allocation of credit hours for English subject is limited to only 2 hours/week. Therefore, creating an English-speaking environment in the classroom, allocating extra English learning time, and setting a higher standard than those set in the national curriculum are considered a necessary measure by the school. Almost all participants have the same focus on teaching English: communicative competence (both spoken and written), content knowledge, register, and critical thinking. The teachers are of the view that students need to master the ability to communicate in English in accordance with their environment. This perception is in line with the explanation of Negoescu et al. (2019) in which communicative competence includes the linguistics system used by students in understanding and using the appropriate target language in an authentic environment. The teachers at Permata School expect students to be able to communicate according to their needs in their respective fields, especially in academics, such as academic writing and presentations and communicate with professors. This ability is included in 3 communication competencies, namely the grammatical principle, knowledge of communication in social contexts, and

collaboration of speech with communication functions related to discourse (Bagarić & Djigunović, 2007).

Excerpt 8
…they also must have good presentation skills. They will have to do a lot of projects for sure, do a group presentation for their lecturer, professor, and others. Secondly, the most important thing is writing skills…. [Yosi-11/11/19]

… They need to acquire more than just the writing skill, but also critical and analytical thinking. …In terms of writing, they need to be able to use the contextual language of writing. …I mean, in speaking, it's easier for users to communicate with the counterpart but not in writing. Writing language needs to be well structured. [Susan-11/11/19]

To the participants, teaching English does not merely focus on the acquisition of linguistic knowledge but also other competencies such as strategic, sociolinguistic, and discourse competencies (Hymes, 1972). According to Hymes (2001) and Saville-Troike (2003), communicative competence involves sociocultural knowledge so that speakers are able to understand and use different speech forms. As can be seen from the teachers' accounts, teachers believe that the teaching of English should be complementary to the acquisition of the students' academic knowledge. Therefore, they emphasize the teaching of various texts and their contexts of use, audience, and discourse community. The aim is that students can use English according to their specific (academic and/or professional) use and communicative contexts. This view has an impact on the teachers' belief on how to teach English in use. Most teachers believe that English must be taught by way of practice on an ongoing basis. The practice is done by applying monolingual English language rules throughout the hours of English lessons. This kind of practice is believed to give birth to habits and consistency that are useful in developing communicative competence.

When asked about what kind of textbooks they prefer to use to support their teaching, teachers claim that the school has a particular preference for textbooks to use. Permata schools always use books imported from abroad, despite the fact that the local publishers also produce English textbooks. When asked about their personal preference for textbooks, teachers comply with the school's policy to prefer using imported books for several reasons. One factor that influences the teachers' preference is the historical background of the schools that is a private school and used to hire curriculum coordinators from the US and have been using internationally published (American) textbooks since then on. As a private school, Permata School has the freedom to determine the learning sources and materials. By adopting various imported sources and materials,

the school believes that students' learning needs will be fulfilled at an advanced level. This is in accordance with Rini (2014) who explained that imported learning resources published by credible publishers will provide better learning exposure and be able to connect students with formal international occasions. This teaching material selection practice seems to be passed on to the current teachers that is still being maintained by the school which reflects the past native-speakerism legacy (Holliday, 2005).

Excerpt 9
…I mean topics [in the locally published textbooks] tend to introduce local content only compared to the international content in the internationally published textbooks. Moreover, they also have different [English] competence standards compared to the local ones. [Rob-11/11/19]

So, our previous curriculum coordinators were all Americans. So, they were the ones who referred us to all textbooks being used here. We use American books. Since the basic English competence standard of our national curriculum is too narrow, so we cannot use the local textbooks with our students [whose English is more advanced]. …then, there were also grammatical errors [in the locally published textbook]. [Yosi-11/11/19]

To these teachers, locally published English textbooks are considered to be less accommodating with the schools' global orientation. The local textbooks tend to focus on the local context which the students are already familiar with and offer very basic competence standards that the students at Permata schools have already learned since their kindergarten level. This view is in line with Cicilia's (2017), Qodriani and Kardiansyah's (2018) study that found that local English books present too many local cultural contexts so that they do not introduce much of the target cultural context. Meanwhile, the teachers at Permata School want students to be exposed to the target culture to support study abroad. In addition, Yulia (2013) also found that local English books developed by the Ministry of Education (curriculum 1994) were very limited in providing themes for the types of text needed by students. Moreover, Yulia (2013) explained that from the results of her research, students were found to learn the most from textbooks. The teachers believe that the level of English learning at Permata School is higher than the standard of the government. The views of the English teachers at Permata School are in line with the findings of research conducted by Arvianto and Faridi (2016) showing that the English books developed by the Ministry of Education and Culture in the 2013 curriculum only cover three stages of Bloom's taxonomy, namely remembering, understanding and evaluation. In addition, Arvianto and Faridi (2016) added that the types of learning activities presented in local English books are still oriented towards low order thinking.

Looking at the teachers' responses, it can be seen that their varied beliefs and perspective on the status of English, language learning and teaching, and English competence are influenced by their understanding of what globalization provides for their students today and in the near future. Their observation on the role of English today influences the way they view how English should be taught and what English competencies needs to be achieved by their students. Despite their awareness that their students may encounter other English varieties, all participants agree that students have to learn and acquire Standard English as the principal model. The teachers view that since Standard English is used in formal settings, this model will definitely benefit the students' future career.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the study, it can be concluded that there are still traces of native-speakerism ideology in the way teachers' perceived English and English Language Teaching. Firstly, despite the fact that English is positioned as the language of globalization, professional opportunities, and technology, teachers still refer to the teaching of the "English" English, or the inner-circle countries' English varieties (most significantly British and American English). The two inner-circle English varieties are considered as the Standard English model, or what Mona refers to as the "English" English. This belief is later reinforced in their accounts on defining NES, the teaching of English culture, and the use of internationally published English textbooks.

Secondly, similar to their idealization of the English model, the teachers also believe that the teaching of English linguistic knowledge should include the teaching of English cultures. The teaching of English culture, here, means to teach the inner-circle countries culture. The inner-circle countries are believed to be more representative of English culture and are considered more original (Holliday, 2006, 2014). This confirms Kubota and Lin's (2006) arguments that the ideology of native speakerism develops widely in societies based on cultural orientation. Consistent with this Anglo monocentric perspective, teachers also define NES as those who originally come from the (western) inner-circle countries. Therefore, NESTs who come from the inner-circle countries understand English culture better than NNESTs, as if there is a single uniform English variety and culture.

Thirdly, related to the conceptualization of NES, the teachers point out the distribution of teaching tasks based on the teachers' perceptions of NEST and NNEST teaching competencies. NESTs are often described as having a better accent and therefore, perceived as better at teaching pronunciation, speaking, and listening. NNESTs are described as more suitable for teaching grammar and writing. These descriptions of teaching tasks echo confirms Medgyes' (2001) findings that also reveal the division of teaching tasks between the two categories of English teachers.

Lastly, the implication of native speakerism ideology in learning can also be seen in the selection of textbooks. Teachers comply with the school's preference for using imported textbooks published by international (most preferably the USA) publishers. Internationally published textbook provides international contents or topics of discussion, English [Western] culture, and higher English standard for their students. This type of textbook is seen as able to accommodate students' English needs to study abroad. Therefore, the teaching of English needs to be conducted in a monolingual English classroom. The teachers believe that by conditioning students to use English all the time, students can acquire it naturally. From the teachers' accounts, it can be seen that native-speakerism ideology is still quite prevalent among the teachers.

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