A Critical Look into the Language Ideologies of Filipino ESL Teachers in Korean-run ESL Centers in the Philippines

Rowell de Guia

Department of Languages, College of Arts and Sciences, Bataan Peninsula State University, City of Balanga 2100, Bataan, Philippines

Corresponding Author e-mail: rgdeguia@bpsu.edu.ph

Abstract

This study delves into the language ideologies of Filipino teachers of English as a second language (ESL) who work at an ESL center for Korean students in the Philippines. Using a critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework, the research examines the teachers' written accounts of their work experiences to uncover their core beliefs about English language proficiency. A key goal of the study is to identify the political and economic interests that shape their ideologies. The data analysis was structured around CDA's three-dimensional approach: description, interpretation, and explanation. The description phase focused on the linguistic features of the teachers' written accounts, identifying the specific language choices that pointed to their underlying ideologies. The interpretation phase critically examined the broader social, political, and economic contexts of the teachers' workplace to understand how these realities influenced their experiences and shaped their beliefs. Finally, the explanation phase explored how these ideologies reflect and reinforce existing practices and power dynamics within the field of ESL teaching. The findings of this study revealed three dominant language ideologies held by the teachers: grammar supremacy, non-native linguistic flexibility and autonomy, and language as economic and social capital. These ideologies are not isolated but are a direct result of the political forces present in Korean society, as well as the socio-economic conditions both within and outside the Philippines, and significantly influence the ESL teachers' instructional orientation, self-valuation, their valuation of English language skills, and social positioning. Thus, the study recommends academic institutions and ESL centers around the world to actively counter inequalities in ESL teaching by formally recognizing and valuing the linguistic and cultural capital that non-native English-speaking teachers bring to the classroom.

Keywords: Language ideologies; ESL teachers; Critical discourse analysis

INTRODUCTION

In contemporary English language teaching (ELT), approximately 80% of the teaching force globally is non-native English speakers (NNESs) (Moussu, 2018a Canagarajah, 2005). This demographic shift, driven by the global expansion of English, necessitates a re-evaluation of established hierarchies, particularly those defined by the inner, outer, and expanding circles (Kachru, 1985). As NNSs increasingly outnumber native speakers, scholars like Astillero (2023) argue that the power of English is no longer contingent on its user's origin but rather on its strategic deployment within specific social, cultural, political, and economic contexts. This perspective aligns with calls to abandon the "native/non-native" dichotomy, refocus on the renegotiation of language ideologies (Kubota, 2012), and empower professionals from the global periphery (Kumaravadivelu,

2006). Despite the inherent challenges for ELT communities, the demand for non-native English-speaking teachers (NNESTs), particularly for Filipinos, is on the rise in countries such as Japan, China, Vietnam, Indonesia, and South Korea (Bautista, 2020).

The Philippines is a prominent English-speaking nation globally, renowned for its cost-effective yet high-quality English as a second language (ESL) programs for international students (Cabigon, 2015). The country has recently experienced a significant influx of English learners from South Korea and China. Beyond the affordability of these programs, foreign students are drawn to the Philippines by the esteemed reputation of Filipino teachers, who are widely recognized for their excellent English proficiency (Jung and Choe, 2024). This proficiency, as Ozaki (2021) suggests, is largely attributable to the widespread use of English in both the country's educational system and its daily life.

The professional context of Filipino ESL teachers can be analyzed through two competing frameworks. On one hand, it may be viewed as a case of "discounted nativeness" (Panaligan and Curran, 2022), where the high English proficiency of Filipino NNESTs is exploited and their professional skills are economically devalued. On the other hand, their situation can be seen as a manifestation of "English as a global language" (Crystal, 2012), where they assert ownership of the language, leveraging it to create opportunities and agency within their professional environments. These contrasting perspectives underscore the intricate nature of ESL teaching in the Philippines, a phenomenon shaped by a complex interplay of economic, political, and ideological forces.

To explore these complexities within the discourses of "discounted nativeness" and "English as a global language," this study employs critical discourse analysis of written accounts from Filipino ESL teachers at a Korean-run language center. The multifaceted nature of the teachers' context makes uncovering their language ideologies (Silverstein, 1979; Woolard, 2020) a nuanced process, as their perspectives are influenced by client demands, employer standards, and institutional policies. While a substantial amount of research critically analyzes the dominant "native speakerism" ideology and examines its discriminatory effects on NNESTs' work conditions, there is a need to provide nuanced ethnography-inspired studies focusing on the teachers themselves.

Intricacies of language ideologies

Any group in society has beliefs about language linked to its people's preferences and interests. Following Silverstein (1979), language ideologies can be seen as beliefs, feelings, and conceptions that shape how language is structured and used in the social world. The structures and the use of languages are "morally and politically loaded" (Woolard, 2020), thus, language ideologies can be viewed as beliefs about language itself encoded in language. The sociocultural experiences and the political and economic forces surrounding the speakers serve as contexts that undergird how their views about language are rationalized. So, for Kroskrity (2019), language ideologies index the political and economic interests of individual speakers and groups.

One of the widely recognized language ideologies is "standard language ideology" (Piller, 2015), which refers to the belief that the variety of language used by the most powerful group in society is superior to other varieties. In effect, those who can speak such a language variety are endowed with the privileges of the powerful group, while those who cannot remain deprived. When the (de-)valuation of linguistic varieties is accepted by the dominant and dominated groups, social inequality is legitimized. Meanwhile, language ideologies drawing from neoliberal perspectives have taken shape due to national and global interests. English is seen as a tool to ensure a sufficient labor supply, international collaborations, and the cross-border flow of knowledge. This belief puts English at the core of international competitiveness, making it a global language, and gives rise to the teaching

of English as a second language. In turn, teaching ESL is entangled in ideological conflicts not only in the classroom but also in the neoliberal world.

Language ideologies are complex and always changing due to their social dimensions (Datta, 2023), operating alongside education, class, gender, and nationality. For example, NNESTs qualify in many schools and universities because of their education, training, and professional experience. They are at an advantage in terms of cross-cultural communication skills, first-hand experience in language learning, and understanding ESL learners. For these reasons, they are valued and respected in many academic institutions around the world. However, in some contexts, based on ESL student perceptions, NNESTs are evaluated as inferior to NESTs who have no pedagogical training and experience (Moussu, 2018b). This highlights the bias ESL learners have against non-native English speakers as an effect of "native-speakerism" (Holliday, 2018). Furthermore, through an interview with NNESTs hired in secondary schools in Hong Kong, Ma (2012) determined that NNESTs themselves recognize their inferiority to their NESTs counterparts in terms of linguistic strength. This reflects the idealization of the native speaker as having linguistic authority and relates to "unequal Englishes" in the workplace (Tupas and Salonga, 2016) and in education (Saqueton, 2024). Both of these studies on NNESTs ascertain that language ideologies are beliefs about language that influence social inequality. In these cases, language ideologies permeate the minds and actions of people in the academe.

Critical discourse analysis of NNESTs' language ideologies

Rogers (2004) outlined the common approaches in critical discourse analysis in education: less textually oriented and textually oriented. The analytical procedures of the first depend on the intentions of the critical analysis and give priority to the context in which the discourse emerges, including the historical, political, and economic situations. The textually oriented approach gives equal attention to language and social theories and is usually associated with Fairclough's (1995) analytic procedures: description, interpretation, and explanation of discursive relations and social practices at the local, institutional, and societal domains of analysis. However, Roger (2004) emphasized that there are no exact formulas for conducting CDA and suggested any approach suitable to the research questions as long as it encompasses the principles of CDA.

Over the past decades, the field of ESL teaching and learning has employed critical discourse analysis to study the relations between the English language and society. Kim (2020) unveiled various forms of discrimination and inequality among international university students in the US based on their cultural and linguistic differences, which manifested in their linguistic ideologies in an ESL classroom context. Apparently, the negative attitudes toward certain international students stem from their lack of proficiency in English and cultural characteristics. In an earlier study, Olivo (2003) observed that ESL classrooms were conventional spaces of conformity and assimilation where international students' English abilities and cultural characteristics were treated as deficiencies in relation to American linguistic and cultural norms. Language ideologies of native-speakerism, of course, do not exempt NNESTs. Subtirelu (2017) analyzed the language ideologies of US students through their evaluation of their Asian teachers and found that they viewed their NNESTs as incomprehensible Others.

Exploring language ideologies within the complexes of social, political, and economic forces is an indispensable research agenda in the evolving field of ESL teaching and the experiences of NNESTs. A critical analysis of language ideologies contributes to understanding the social dimensions of language and confronts language-based social inequalities. Applying critical discourse analysis (CDA) to ESL teachers' language ideologies made explicit through their narratives reveals the various social realities

surrounding their experiences and views about English, which have an inevitable impact on their self-valuation, social positioning, and professional practices.

Appropriating Cranny-Francis et al.'s (2003) description of discourse, this study views NNESTs narratives as a way of talking about social issues or practices, which is the same as a way of thinking about them. Thus, discourse such as narratives opens valid points of examination of their ideologies about language. As the discourses of NNESTs legitimize and naturalize their beliefs about the English language, a critical analysis of these discourses makes explicit the values, power relations, and interests perpetuated in them. Describing their narratives using CDA not only uncovers the individual language ideologies of NNESTs but also offers insights into the language ideologies controlling the grand narratives in the field of ESL teaching.

A significant gap in the body of literature on language ideologies of NNESTs lies in the in-depth exploration of the teachers' own complex, shifting, and contextualized English language ideologies and the underlying forces that shape their ideologies. Therefore, this study aims to describe: (1) the dominant ideologies held by Filipino teachers regarding English and their own linguistic abilities; and (2) the underlying political and economic interests that inform these ideologies. By critically examining these language ideologies, this paper seeks to illuminate their effects on teachers' self-perception, social standing, and pedagogical decisions.

RESEARCH METHOD
Research Design

This qualitative research employs a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach to systematically examine the verbal accounts of ESL teachers. The choice of a qualitative design is essential for exploring the complex, subjective experiences of the participants, providing rich, contextualized data that cannot be captured through quantitative methods. CDA, as a specific methodological framework, is particularly well-suited for this purpose as it moves beyond simply describing what is said to instead investigate how language is used to construct meaning, reflect power relations, and shape social realities. By applying CDA, this study aims to uncover the underlying ideologies, social norms, and institutional influences embedded in the verbal accounts of ESL teachers. This research approach underscores the importance of individual lived experiences as entry points for understanding world views (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000). Thus, CDA is a particularly valuable approach in coming to understand the assumptions and beliefs held by individuals in a social sphere. In this study, the ESL teachers' written accounts serve as the discourse that embodies the ideologies of individuals involved in ESL teaching and learning.

Participants and Data Collection

Filipino ESL teachers at an English learning center for Korean students were asked to answer a series of questions designed to elicit narratives of their experiences teaching ESL to Korean students, how they use English in the classroom and their general workplace, and to explicate their views about their English language abilities. Questions were used as prompts to aid the participants in telling stories with ease and clarity.

The targeted participants were between 21-40 years old as this was the age bracket of ESL teachers who had 0-10 years of teaching experience, which was necessary to generate insights into their English language ideologies. Prior to the participation of the ESL teachers in this research, they were requested to fill out a consent form. Out of 20 Filipino ESL teachers at the center who fit the selection criteria, 17 gave their consent to participate in the study and responded (and were assigned the codes T1 to T17 for anonymity). One of the limitations of the study was the distance between the researcher and the participants. So, the responses of the ESL teachers were written and submitted online. The drawback of a written interview is the difficulty of asking additional questions for clarification and elaboration of responses. While it was part of the plan to ask follow-

up questions to the teachers, when necessary, their responses were sufficient and clear. Thus, no follow-up interview was conducted.

Textual responses with 9,571 words were collected using Google Forms and transferred to Microsoft Excel, where they were coded, categorized, and analyzed. Both top-down and ground-up coding were used in this study. The first round of coding was done after reading through the teachers' narratives. Repeating words and phrases in the narratives was manually highlighted. Then, the words and phrases were grouped in the second round of coding to reflect the participants' shared realities and the power dynamics that are linguistically represented in the narratives. Each group was assigned a category name. The narratives were read through again to find more excerpts that fit the categories. Finally, themes were formed based on the overall message of the words, phrases, and excerpts drawn from the narratives. These themes were in the form of phrases that reflected specific language ideologies. After writing down the first draft of the critical discourse analysis, the results were shown to the teachers, who expressed their interest and availability in validating the findings through an online meeting. Their comments about the findings confirmed the accuracy of the analysis.

Frameworks and Procedures of Analysis

Language ideologies, including "standard language ideology," "native-speakerism," and neoliberal language ideologies discussed above, were used as conceptual lenses for analyzing the ESL teachers' narratives. Specific themes related to language ideologies were formulated to prepare the groundwork for CDA. The three-dimensional approach in CDA, briefly presented previously, such as description, interpretation, and explanation, was employed to uncover the various social, political, and economic situations that shaped the ESL teachers' language ideologies.

These three dimensions constitute the structure of the presentation and analysis of data. The first dimension, description, involves detailed linguistic analysis of the text, such as vocabulary and grammar. The focus of this dimension is the characteristics of the text that may reveal underlying ideologies. This is reflected in the previous section, where the first and second rounds of coding are explained. The second dimension, interpretation, examines the contexts of the text and explores the meanings that can be drawn considering the historical, social, political, and economic situations surrounding it. The explanation dimension links the text to the ongoing social realities by examining how the text reflects and contributes to existing social practices and power relations. Both the second and third dimensions of CDA were done through a comprehensive review of literature and studies on the social and economic realities operating in the world of ESL teaching and learning in Korea and the Philippines.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A critical discourse analysis of the ESL teachers' narratives led to the attainment of the aims of this study: to describe (1) the dominant ideologies of Filipino teachers about English and their English abilities and (2) the political and economic interests that inform these language ideologies. The discussion below indicates responses from specific teachers with codes T1 to T17.

Dominant language ideologies of Filipino ESL teachers

The language ideologies of the teachers are embodied in their narratives. Highlighted in the ESL teachers' discourse is their knowledge of grammar, English communication strategies, and language teaching-learning orientation. Three dominant language ideologies emerged from these narratives: grammar supremacy, linguistic flexibility and autonomy, and language as social and economic capital. These language ideologies also reflect the empowering effects of the English language on the teachers' self-valuation, being seen as "knowledge-sufficient" in terms of grammar, as "successful

bilingual" in the non-native English-speaking space, and as English-proficient professionals with more career advantages and opportunities for growth. This self-perception is a direct result of their ability to navigate and succeed within a globalized linguistic landscape, solidifying their professional confidence. The ideologies they hold demonstrate a clear link between linguistic skills and personal empowerment in a competitive job market.

Grammar Supremacy

ESL teachers described their role at the center as facilitators of language learning and evaluators of learners' progress. Specifically, their core function as ESL teachers is "to help/helping students". They help improve their English skills (T1), help them become strong in writing, speaking, and reading in the English language (T3), help[ing] develop their English language skills (T6), help [students who are] nonnative speakers develop confidence in communicating/speaking English (T11), and help [students who are] nonnative English speakers build their skills in listening, speaking, reading and writing (T16).

Within the space the ESL teachers shared with their Korean students, they viewed themselves as NNESTs who were more capable and stronger in terms of English language abilities compared to their non-native English-speaking students (NNESs). An essential skill or knowledge that they possessed, as the teachers iterated, was that they "know English grammar and pronunciation" (T1), have "knowledge of grammar" (T9), have "a solid understanding of grammar [and] pronunciation" (T10), and have "strong [English] language proficiency" (T6 and T16). These responses underscore the significance of "grammar" proficiency in the cognition of ESL teachers about their language abilities. This is particularly significant for them as it serves as a foundation to establish their position in relation to their students. Particularly, T12 said that:

> *"…The specific skills and knowledge I find most useful in performing my core functions as an ESL teacher are my expertise in grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, and accent, which make students trust my teaching abilities…"*

A hierarchical structure is embedded in the teacher-student relationship, which corresponds with Foucault's (1980) concept of power/knowledge. Teachers' authority legitimizes their power to control the interactions within the classroom and to set the target knowledge to be acquired by the students. In the context of ESL teaching, both involve decision-making based on the ideologies of the teachers, the school administration, and the larger community it is in.

The part of the ESL teachers' narrative presented above uncovers the power relations between the teachers and their Korean students: NNETs helping knowledge-deficient NNESs. In this sense, the ESL teachers occupy the authoritative position as knowledge-sufficient counterparts of the learners. It also emphasizes the value the teachers attribute to a specific knowledge, one they have the tendency to promote in the classroom, that is, English grammar.

Recent studies, such as those of Nasution (2025) and Chi (2025), have emphasized the authority of teachers in language teaching classrooms. Particularly, Youwen's (2018) study indicated that the authority of teachers in controlling classroom discourse, that is, the teaching-learning activities and contents, was primarily derived from the curriculum designed to address specific social demands. Thus, the Filipino ESL teachers' ideologies are also an embodiment of the dominant social interests, including that of the Korean administrators, the Korean students, and the ideologies about English in Korean society. English academies in Korea, which are called Hagwon/s, manifest the desirability of academic competitiveness in its culture. Parents and students take learning English grammar and vocabulary very seriously for good grades and high test scores because

English education in Korea is designed around standardized tests (Namkung, 2019). For this matter, it can be ascertained that the ESL teachers' language ideologies are hinged on the supremacy of standard English (grammar), the dominant discourse of native speaker authority, and the "ideology of correctness"(Milroy, 2001). Ultimately, as Rubdy (2015) asserted, the ideologies and discourses surrounding English compel the continued reliance of Outer Circle communities on Inner Circle canons and norms.

Non-native linguistic flexibility and autonomy

The classroom and workplace are spaces where ESL teachers see themselves exhibiting linguistic flexibility and autonomy on their own terms. They shift their communication style according to their assessment of the listeners' English proficiency level. They described their word choices as "simpler/simplified" (T1, T2, T4, T6, T9, T10, and T17) and their manner of speaking as "slow" (T1, T4, T6, T9, and T10) when talking to their students, while they use more "formal" (T1, T2 and T4) and "complex/technical" (T4 and T10) language with their colleagues or with English proficient students. The language ideology behind changing their English communication style is explained in T1's narrative:

> *"…I do adjust my English communication style at work. For example, I use simpler words and speak more slowly when talking to students so they can understand better. With colleagues or superiors, I switch to a more formal and professional tone to keep it appropriate. I do this to make sure my message is clear for whoever I'm talking to..."*

Cancino & Nuñez (2023) and Li (2023) have explored cross-cultural communication in ESL classrooms. These studies relate the teachers' strategic communication style with intercultural sensitivity and competence. The account above also reflects the same findings. The ESL teachers' deliberate switch in communication style in their workplace reflects their micro-level understanding and application of cross-cultural communication (Modiano, 1999), demonstrating not only their flexibility but also autonomy in using English. Pennycook (2006) commented that language use is centrally an agentive act. It involves continuous reconstruction rather than just reproduction of semiotic acts. Thus, the way ESL teachers use English in their workplace indexes a re-negotiation of ideologies and identities, allowing for a conceptualization of English with an anti-normative paradigm (Kubota, 2012). As such, the language ideologies of the ESL teachers align with the notion of non-native linguistic flexibility and autonomy. This language ideology also creates an identity for ESL teachers that serves as an alternative to NNESTs versus NESTs. The ESL teachers construct a professional identity of a "successful bilingual" (Prodromou, 2006) with "translingual competence" (Canagarajah, 2013) or pragmatic competence evident in their strategies for communication and negotiation.

This language ideology puts NNESTs ahead of NESTs. Medgyes (1999) asserted that NNESTs could anticipate possible language learning challenges based on their experiences. Coskun (2013) also argued that they could empathize with the students' learning difficulties due to their shared perspectives. In this sense, the Filipino ESL teachers not only have an advantage in connecting with Korean students by adopting linguistic flexibility but also serve as language learning role models. T14 narrated an experience about this:

> *"…A former Korean student wrote a comment comparing me and his American teacher. He said unlike his American teacher my expressions were clearer and my pronunciation was suitable to his ears. Maybe he meant that my pronunciation was more intelligible. He said I could speak correct sentences just like an American but he preferred my way of speaking. I believe my English communication skills give me an advantage in teaching Korean students because I can explain things clearly and adjust my language to*

make it easier for them to understand. I can make our class more engaging, and adaptable to their learning styles..."

T14 also emphasized how cross-cultural communication skills gave ESL teachers like them an upper hand compared to NESTs:

"…I can see myself in my students sometimes. To my mind, this was what their American teachers did not understand about Korean students. It's not just because I had a hard time mastering English when I was their age. It's because right now, I'm also trying to learn Korean. So, we are in the same situation[...] What I do to make English less stressful for them is that I focus on cultural understanding, using examples they can relate to […] Building strong rapport through open and empathetic communication allows me to create a positive and motivating space for learning. These skills enable me to connect with my students and provide meaningful English learning experiences..."

This experience can be linked to Choe's (2016) and Stewart's (2020) observation that, while NNESTs experienced status struggles in many academic contexts, there are inherent advantages to being non-native speakers. Some studies have shown that NNESTs have tackled their non-native status by using it to their advantage. In Korea, according to a study by Im (2022), foreign teachers favored being labeled as NNESTs to separate them from NESTs and local Korean NNESTs. It was a deliberate social positioning to earn the perception that they belonged to the community with the command and intuition for strategic use of the English language.

Language as economic and social capital

The ESL teachers' views about and experiences with English are anchored in its economic and social benefits. They believe that the orientation of English learning is for "occupational" (T7 and T13) use and "professional" (T1, T2, T4, T9, and T16) purposes. This view is influenced by their employer's standards because of the fact that the ESL learning center designs its programs around this view. This suggests that the ESL teachers' language ideologies are consequential to the ideologies of their employers. So, aside from aiming to develop English proficiency in the students, their goal is to produce capable future professionals. They are confident that teaching ESL skills to their Korean students is a means of producing supply for the global demand for a competent workforce. Like other ESL teachers, T7 explicitly used the term English for occupational purposes (EOP) in narrating the focus of ESL teaching at the English learning center:

"…We teach EOP. It stands for English for Occupational Purposes. This refers to the teaching of English that is specifically tailored to meet the language needs of students in their professional or occupational fields[…] Of course, aside from grammar and vocabulary, we teach English communication skills that will be useful in their work, as it is the most effective way to communicate with diverse, international clients and colleagues. Having English proficiency is an edge. We want them to be successful in their careers after graduation…"

The ESL teachers' language ideologies not only manifest in the orientation of ESL teaching but also in how they value their English skills in their personal and professional lives. In narrating how they see their future, they specifically mentioned how their English abilities would matter in staying in their current occupation and in venturing into other endeavors. They talked about "improving" (T2, T3, T5, T7, T9, T10, T11, and T12) their English skills for career advantage, not only in the field of ESL teaching but also in other industries. In their narratives, English communication skills were equated with "opportunities" (T2, T3, T5, T7, and T10) and "growth" (T7 and T9). The ideology of language as economic and social capital is embodied T7's narrative:

"Yes, I am still seeking to improve my English communication skills because, in spite of working in this thriving profession and the positive working environment I am experiencing here in [name of the ESL

center], I know more doors will open because of my proficiency in English. In this regard, ESL (English as a Second Language) provides me with the opportunity to grow and the advantage over others…"

In T11's narrative, this ideology is expressed in a rather certain plan:

"…even if I am already an ESL teacher, I want to continue improving my English proficiency for personal and professional growth since I am planning to take my Master's degree soon and plan to work overseas. So, improving my English communication skills will be most helpful in achieving these goals in the near future."

The view of English as a social and economic capital takes shape within the ongoing realities surrounding Filipino working professionals. English proficiency is always one of the requirements to qualify for a number of white-collar jobs because many industries in the Philippines are English-based. Studies about language in the workplace revealed that Filipinos use English in meetings, writing company documents, conversations with colleagues, emailing, and negotiating with business partners (Nakahara, 2008). The Philippines also has the largest number of call center agents in the world (Bajaj, 2011), thus, business process outsourcing (BPO) contributes greatly to the country's economy(Schmidt, 2021). Of course, another English-based industry in the country is ESL teaching. Filipino teachers are preferred by online ESL companies in China (Yao, 2019 cited in Ozaki (2022). ESL schools owned and managed by foreigners continue to grow in the Philippines (Ozaki, 2016 cited in (Ozaki 2022). Filipino teachers are also in-demand outside the country for being able to either teach in English or teach English. For these reasons, proficiency in English remains to be a necessity for Filipinos to gain social and economic advantage. Thus, legitimizing the discourse that English proficiency equates with opportunities and growth.

Political and economic interests shaping the ESL teachers' language ideologies

Surrounding the Filipino ESL teachers' language ideologies are the political forces in Korean society and the economic conditions in and outside the Philippines. In terms of political interests, the expectations of Korean society about the students' academic and English language competence are reflected in the Filipino ESL teachers' and the center's teaching orientation or instructional decision-making (i.e., focus on grammar and English for occupational and professional purposes). The ESL teachers' language ideologies are also aligned with the Korean students' targets and motivations for learning (i.e., test-based and grammar-based) as dictated by the Korean education system. In terms of economic interests, the Filipino ESL teachers believe that having the ability to use English proficiently brings professional and economic success. This language ideology stems from the growing English-based industries that hire Filipinos for their English communication skills. As a result, they take advantage of these opportunities by aligning their personal and professional goals with their English language abilities.

CONCLUSION

This study has demonstrated that the language ideologies of Filipino ESL teachers fundamentally shape their professional experiences and their valuation of English language skills. By applying a critical lens to the teachers' narratives, this research revealed how these ideologies directly influence their instructional orientation, self-valuation, and social positioning. The specific ideologies identified, such as grammar supremacy, linguistic flexibility, and autonomy, and language as social and economic capital, underscore the complex reality that views about language are deeply intertwined with the social, political, and economic dimensions of human life. Consequently, these ideas

constitute the dominant ideologies ESL teachers have about English and language abilities.

The findings offer crucial insights into the underlying political and economic factors that influence teacher cognition and ideologies, not just for the participants of this study but for the broader field of English language teaching. The study's alignment with the notion that dominant societal and global economic discourses are powerful mediators of linguistic affairs contributes to a more nuanced understanding of ELT contexts. Finally, this research affirms the need to recognize language not merely as a tool for communication but as a dynamic force that reflects and reinforces existing power structures and socio-economic conditions.

RECOMMENDATION

Academic institutions and language centers should actively counter the "discounted nativeness" paradigm by formally recognizing and valuing the linguistic and cultural capital that NNESTs bring to the classroom. This can be achieved through mentorship programs that pair NNESTs with experienced colleagues, fostering a community of practice where their unique insights are celebrated. Furthermore, institutions should provide a platform for NNESTs to share their language acquisition journeys and effective communication strategies, positioning them as expert models rather than deficient speakers. This approach not only boosts teacher morale and professional identity but also offers students a more realistic and globally relevant model of English language use.

In addition, professional development programs should be redesigned to move beyond purely pedagogical skills and address the socio-economic and political dimensions of language teaching. Training sessions could incorporate critical discourse analysis to help teachers deconstruct their own language ideologies and understand how these beliefs are shaped by institutional policies and client expectations. Workshops on "language as social and economic capital" could equip NNESTs with the tools to leverage their linguistic flexibility and bicultural competence for career advancement and greater professional autonomy, enabling them to overcome and challenge oppressive structures within the ELT industry.

Future research should expand on the findings of this study by employing longitudinal and multi-sited methodologies. A comparative study across different ESL contexts could provide a broader understanding of how institutional policies and client demographics influence teacher ideologies. Additionally, research could utilize a mixed-methods approach, combining narrative analysis with quantitative data on teacher salaries, job satisfaction, and career trajectories. This would provide a more comprehensive picture of the economic and social realities facing NNESTs, and how their language ideologies intersect with material conditions to shape their professional lives and career opportunities.

REFERENCES

Astillero, S. F. (2023). Korean students in the Philippines: Their perceptions of native and non-native English-speaking teachers in ELT classroom. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Publication (IJMRAP)*, *6*(6), 335–340.

Bautista, A. C. (2020). Filipino English teachers overseas: A case study of the Filipino English teachers' language ideology. *DLSU Research Congress 2020*.

Cabigon, M. (2015). *State of English in the Philippines: Should we be concerned?* . British Council Philippines.

Canagarajah, A. S. (2005). *Reclaiming the local in language policy and practice*. Lawrence: Erlbaum.

Canagarajah, A. S. (2013). *Translanguaging practice: Global Englishes and cosmopolitan relations*. Routledge.

Cancino, M., & Nuñez, I. (2023). EFL teachers' perceptions towards multicultural classrooms: The role of intercultural sensitivity in developing intercultural communicative competence. *REFLections*, *30*(3), 620–646.

Chi, V. T. K. (2025). Power dynamics in classroom communication: A case study of primary school teachers in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. *International Journal of Applied Research in Social Sciences*, *7*(6), 449–462.

Choe, H. (2016). Identity formation of Filipino ESL teachers teaching Korean students in the Philippines: How negative and positive identities shape ELT in the Outer Circle. *English Today*, *32*(1), 5–11.

Clandinin, D. J. & C. F. M. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research.* . Jossey-Bass.

Coskun, A. (2013). Native speakers as teachers in Turkey: Non-native pre-service English teachers' reactions to a nation-wide project. *The Qualitative Report*, *18*(29).

Cranny-Francis, A. , W. W. , S. P. , K. J. (2003). *Gender studies*. Springer.

Crystal, D. (2012). *English as a global language*. Cambridge.

Datta, K. (2023). Linguistic anthropology: Language ideologies and their implications. *Anthropology*, *11*(02).

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Longman.

Im, J. (2022). *Discursive construction of Filipina English teachers' identities in Korea.* .

Jung, C. and C. H. (2024). Professional identity of Filipino English teachers teaching international students in a global city in the Philippines. *English Teaching*, *79*(2), 3–31.

Kachru, B. (1985). Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: English language in the outer circle. In R. ; W. H. Quirk (Ed.), *English in the world: Teaching and learning the language and literature* (pp. 11–36). Cambridge.

Kim, J. S. (2020). A critical discourse analysis of language ideologies in ESL class and international students' critical language awareness. *Korean Journal of English Language and Linguistics*, *20*, 801–828.

Kimaravadivelu, B. (2006). Dangerous liaison, globalization, empire and TESOL. In J. Edge (Ed.), *Relocating TESOL in an age of empire* (pp. 1–26). Palgrave Macmillan.

Kroskrity, P. V. (2019). Language ideologies: Emergence, elaboration, and application. In N. Bonvillain (Ed.), *Handbook of Linguistic Anthropology* (pp. 95–108). Routledge.

Kubota, R. (2012). The politics of EIL: Toward border-crossing communication in and beyond English. In A. Matsuda & P. Freidrich (Ed.), *Principles and practices of teaching English as an international language* (pp. 55–69). Multilingual Matters.

Li, N. (2023). Cross-cultural communication in English interpretation teaching of higher education: Challenges and strategies. *Journal of Effective Teaching Methods*, *1*(4), 20–27.

Ma, L. P. F. (2012). Strengths and weaknesses of NESTs and NNESTs: Perceptions of NNESTs in Hong Kong. *Linguistics and Education*, *23*(1), 1–15.

Medgyes, P. (1999). *The non-native teacher*. Swan Communication.

Milroy, J. (2001). Language ideologies and the consequences of standardization. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *5*(4), 530–555.

Modiano, M. (1999). International English in the global village. *English Today*, *15*(2), 22–28.

Moussu, L. (2018a). Shortcomings of NESTs and NNESTs. In J. I. Liontas, M. Delli Carpini, G. Kessler, & S. J. Nero (Eds.), *The TESOL Encyclopedia of English Language Teaching* (pp. 1–6). John Wiley & Sons.

Moussu, L. (2018b). *Strengths of NESTs and NNESTs*. Wiley Online Library.

Nakahara, K. (2008). Importance of English proficiency in business: Situations in Japan and in the Philippines. *Kanto Gakuin Daigaku Keizaigakkai Kenkyuu Ronsyuu Keizaikei*, *234*, 41–59.

Namkung, M. (2019). Korean English language education: My experience learning English. *Humanising Language Teaching*, *21*(6).

Nasution, Y. I. S. (2025). The power of pedagogy: Teacher language authority in EFL. *Didaktika: Jurnal Kependidikan*, *14*(03), 5789–5802.

Olivo, W. (2003). "Quit talking and learn English!": Conflicting language ideologies in an ESL classroom. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *34*(1), 50–71.

Ozaki, S. (2021). Filipino teachers of English and native English teachers: Learners' perceptions. *International Journal of Second and Foreign Language Education*, *1*(1), 10–16.

Ozaki, S. (2022). The impact of English on the economic development of the Philippines. *Southeast Asian Research Journal of Arts, Language and Literature*, *4*(1), 20–25.

Panaligan, J. H. and C. N. M. (2022). "We are cheaper, so they hire us": Discounted nativeness in online English teaching. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *26*(2), 246–264.

Piller, I. (2015). Language ideologies. In C. I. & T. S. K. Tracey (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of language and social interaction* (pp. 1–10). John Wiley and Sons.

Prodromou, L. (2006). Defining the successful bilingual speaker of English. In R. Rubdy & M. Saraceni (Ed.), *English in the world: Global rules, global roles* (pp. 51–70). Continuum.

Roger, R. (2004). *An introduction to critical discourse analysis in education*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Rubdy, R. (2015). Unequal Englishes, the native speaker, and decolonization in TESOL. In R. Tupas (Ed.), *Unequal Englishes: The politics of Englishes today* (pp. 42–58). Palgrave Macmillan.

Saqueton, G. (2024). *Decolonizing language-in-education policies: Unequal Englishes and multilingual dynamics in postcolonial contexts*. The International Association for Political Science Students.

Schmidt, K. (2021). *The Philippines: Emerging from a sea of language learning destinations*.

Silverstein, M. (1979). Language structure and linguistic ideology. In W. H. & C. H. P. Clyne (Ed.), *The elements* (pp. 193–248). Chicago Linguistic Society.

Subtirelu, N. C. (2017). Students' orientations to communication across linguistic difference with international teaching assistants at an internal university in the United States. *Multilingua*, *36*(3), 247–280.

Tupas, R. and S. A. (2016). Unequal Englishes in the Philippines. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *20*(3), 367–381.

Woolard, K. A. (2020). *Language ideology*. Wiley Online Library.

Youwen, Z. (2018). Critical discourse analysis of language teacher's instructional decisions. *International Journal of Educational Technology and Learning*, *2*(2), 59–64.