

NESTs Versus NNESTs Politics: From the Perspective of English-major Students in China

LIU Jun-shuan

Pingdingshan University, Pingdingshan, Henan, China

This article reports on the findings of a study that explores the mentality of Chinese English-major students on the politics of native English speaker teachers (NESTs) versus nonnative English speaker teachers (NNESTs) through a questionnaire survey of 95 undergraduate English majoring in English at a Chinese university. Data analysis reveals that the vast majority of the participants viewed Inner Circle NESTs as being linguistically more competent in English than Outer Circle English teachers and local Chinese English teachers (LCETs), deemed it natural to prioritize Inner Circle NESTs in the hiring of foreign English teachers and considered it reasonable to offer higher payment to NESTs. Although Inner Circle NESTs are also deemed pedagogically more capable than the other two categories of English teachers, this positioning is less salient than that concerning the linguistic competence that NESTs and NNESTs are assumed to possess. All these findings suggests the continuity of native speakerism in China. Nevertheless, that many students maintained a neutral stance on the superiority of NESTs over LCETs in adopting diverse teaching methods and learner-centered principle as well on the intelligibility of Inner Circle NESTs versus Outer Circle English teachers deserves further exploration.

Keywords: perceptions, professional qualification, hiring foreign English teachers, inequality in payment

Introduction

In the past few decades, a plethora of scholarship in applied linguistics has been engaged with the nativeness versus nonnativeness politics, unearthing the sociopolitical myth of the native speaker (NS) construct (Aneja, 2016; Doerr, 2009) and exposing the specter of colonialism and its attendant NS supremacy in English language teaching (ELT) (Kumaravadivelu, 2016; Pennycook, 1998). Inspired and accompanied by these critical studies, Nonnative English Speaker Teachers (NNESTs) Movement (Braine, 2010), was launched in the late 1990s, aiming to set up an ELT world in which all teachers of English are equal irrespective of their first language (L1) backgrounds.

Notwithstanding these scholarly and institutional efforts, the chauvinistic ideology in support of NESTs as the best English language teachers, i.e., native-speakerism (Holliday, 2005) or the NS fallacy (Phillipson, 1992) continues to serve as the “bedrock of transnational ELT” (Leung, 2005, p. 128), sustaining native-speakerhood as “a basic currency not only for labeling teachers but also for judging them” (Holliday, 2013, p. 18). For instance,

LIU Jun-shuan, Ph.D., Department of English, School of Foreign Languages, Pingdingshan University, Pingdingshan, China, 467000.

in the hiring of foreign English language teachers, preference or prioritization is still granted to native speakers (NSs) of English, particularly the Caucasians from Inner Circle countries (Mahboob & Golden, 2013; Ruecker & Ives, 2015) for reasons claimed that students prefer to learn English from NESTs (Jenks, 2019; Rivers & Ross, 2013). In doing so, it reproduces endlessly the traditional hierarchical relationship not only between NESTs and NNESTs, but also among NESTs from different ethnic, racial and national backgrounds (Canagarajah, 1999). This relationship is further consolidated through the conventional inequality in remuneration paid and workload allocated to ELT practitioners in reference to their L1, racial and national backgrounds (e.g., Methitham, 2012; Ramjattan, 2019). The endorsement for NESTs is also observable from a finding shared by a great number of studies on the attitudes of EFL students toward NESTs and NNESTs (e.g., Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Ma, 2012; Sung, 2014), namely, NESTs are perceived as being linguaculturally more competent in English than NNESTs. It seems that the native-speakerist teacher hiring practice and pro-nativeness treatment to English language teachers at workplaces cater to students' need or demand. However, few studies to date has explored directly the perceptions of students on teacher hiring practices and workplace inequalities between NESTs and NNESTs (Liu & Li, 2019). It is also noted that the majority of the students in those attitudinal studies regarded NNESTs as being pedagogically more competent than their NS counterparts, a finding that corroborates the arguments of Medgyes (1992), but contradicts the findings of Liu and Li (2019), most of whose non-English-major students claimed that NESTs are superior to NNESTs in pedagogical capability. This mixed finding and the research gap make it necessary to investigate further students' viewpoints on the qualifications of and inequalities between NESTs and NNESTs.

Worthy of further attention is the academic backgrounds of the participants of those attitudinal studies. When the studies were conducted, the participants were mostly students of either primary or secondary education, or non-English-major undergraduate students in EFL contexts, where the EFL programs or courses as a rule accentuate the "four skills" or the four icons in ELT, i.e., listening, speaking, reading and writing (Holliday, 2005, p. 42). Although EFL programs for English majors in Expanding Circle countries also worship the four icons and expect students to achieve NS or NS-like competence in English, they also offer theoretical courses, such as those on sociolinguistics, which may help students develop critical language awareness or gain insight into the globalization of English. Moreover, English-major students usually have more contact with foreign teachers of English than students at other education levels and in other disciplinary fields. It is hence arguable that English-major students may be more critical about NESTs versus NNESTs politics. It follows that studies on English-major students would be much of interest and necessity. Setting off from this hypothesis, the aforementioned mixed findings and gaps of previous attitudinal studies, and the pro-nativeness tradition and current immense size of EFL education in China, this study, though small in scale, intends to investigate the perceptions of Chinese English-major students on NESTs and NNESTs in order to help display the status quo of native-speakerism in China's ELT. Specific research questions include:

- (1) How do Chinese English-major students evaluate NESTs and NNESTs, particularly local Chinese English teachers (LCETs) in respect of professional qualification?
- (2) What types of foreign teacher of English do they expect their universities to hire and how do they perceive the predominant favor for Inner Circle NESTs in teacher hiring practices?
- (3) In what way do they view the conventional inequality in payment between NESTs and LCETs?

Method

Data for this study were collected through a questionnaire survey administered to 95 undergraduate students majoring in English at a Chinese university in the winter of 2018. According to recent annual national university rankings, this university can be said to fall into the second tier universities in China. The students were sampled in line with purposive sampling principle in order to achieve maximum variation of the participants (Maxwell, 2013), though convenient and snowball sampling strategies (Bryman, 2012) were also adopted in order to ensure access to target participants. In specific, the 95 participants are all Chinese, including 45 second-year, 36 third-year and 24 fourth-year students. First-year students were excluded based on the assumption that they may not have strong awareness of the political issues in ELT, as they have not been offered theoretical courses, such as those on sociolinguistics that help foster criticality.

The final version of the questionnaire was completed after two rounds of pilot study. It consists of three sections. The first section includes 10 five-point Likert scale statements, intended to explore the views of students on the professional qualifications of NESTs and NNESTs. Of the 10 statements, Items 1-5 aim to elicit students' perceptions on the linguistic competence of NESTs and NNESTs in English; Items 6-10 are targeted at finding out students' viewpoints on the pedagogical capabilities of these two groups of teachers. The second section is made up of three open-ended questions. The first one is aimed at locating the type(s) of foreign English teachers that students expected their university to hire; the second is designed to investigate their cognizance of the discrimination against Outer Circle English teachers in teacher hiring practices; the third is to explore their awareness of the inequality in payment between NESTs and LCETs. The final section comprises six items, aiming to collect the demographic information on student participants.

Out of the 95 questionnaire returned, 93 were found valid. Prior to dissecting the quantitative data, the internal consistency test for the 10 Likert scale statements and for the two multi-item scales was conducted with SPSS 22.0. The Cronbach's Alpha coefficient for the 10 items reaches 0.710. The alpha values for the two multi-item scales amount to 0.695 (Items 1-5) and 0.736 (Items 6-10) respectively. All these statistical figures are above 0.6, suggesting the reliability of the data (see Dörnyei, 2007). In analyzing the data of each scale, the mean, percentage and frequency were calculated to assess the overall attitudinal tendency. Attention was also attached to the statistical values of individual items within each scale in order to determine their contributions to the overall attitudinal tendency. Following the descriptive analysis of each scale, a Paired Samples t-test was conducted to explore the mean difference of these two multi-item scales.

In reference to research questions and the traditional self versus other ideology in ELT, I divided into broad thematic groups the qualitative data, i.e., written answers of the 93 students to the three open-ended questions; those classified were then categorized into sub-thematic cohorts, which were further assorted into smaller thematic clusters. During this process, I searched for the high-frequency words or phrases that either support or counter native-speakerism. Interpretations were checked with the participants when it is necessary. It is noted that the analysis moved back and forth between the texts and their situational, institutional and socio-historical contexts surrounding EFL education in China. In analyzing the texts, I exerted myself to maintain a neutral stance as had been done during the pilot studies, attempting to minimize the interference of my priori ideological convictions about native-speakerism on my interpretation of the data.

Findings

Viewpoints on the Professional Qualifications of NESTs and NNESTs

According to the statistics presented in Table 1, the vast majority of the students upheld Inner Circle NESTs as being more competent in English than Outer Circle English teachers and LCETs. This is evident from the mean for the whole question cluster (3.71 ± 0.499). The pro-nativeness positioning is also apparent in percentile distribution. Overall, 68.8% of the participants expressed “agreement” and “strong agreement” on the statements in support of NESTs. However, no one expressed “strong disagreement” and only 8.2% chose “disagreement” on these statements. Worthy of attention is that more students perceived English spoken by Inner Circle NESTs as being more standard (Item 1), authentic (Item 2) and creative (Item 5) than the students who granted prestige to NS pronunciation (Items 3-4). As regards the difference in pronunciation between NESTs and Outer Circle English teachers (Item 3), 49.4% of the students granted honor to NESTs. However, 39.8% chose the “Not sure” answer. It seems that many students are unable to distinguish accurately Inner Circle English and Outer Circle English in pronunciation (see Scales, et. al., 2006).

Table 1

Students' Attitudes Toward the Linguistic Competence of NESTs versus NNESTs in English

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree	Mean	SD
Item 1 Compared with that of most Outer Circle English teachers, the English of Inner Circle NESTs is more standard.	0.0%	4.3%	20.4%	66.7%	8.6%	3.80	0.652
Item 2 Compared with that of most LCETs, the English of Inner Circle NESTs is more authentic.	0.0%	7.5%	14.0%	68.8%	9.7%	3.81	0.711
Item 3 Compared with most Outer Circle English teachers, Inner Circle NESTs have clearer pronunciation.	0.0%	10.8%	39.8%	41.9%	7.5%	3.46	0.788
Item 4 Compared with that of most LCETs, the pronunciation of Inner Circle NESTs is more accurate.	0.0%	11.8%	25.8%	54.8%	7.5%	3.58	0.798
Item 5 Compared with most LCETs, Inner Circle NESTs express concepts in a more creative manner.	0.0%	6.5%	15.1%	61.3%	17.2%	3.87	0.758
Total	0.0%	8.2%	23.1%	58.7%	10.1%	3.71	0.499

Notes: LCET = local Chinese English teachers; N = 93; SD = standard deviation

Data presented in Table 2 suggest that NESTs from Inner Circle countries are considered superior to NNESTs in respect of pedagogical capability, as is evident from the mean for the whole question cluster (3.45 ± 0.879) as well as the total percentage (53.6%) for the students in support of NESTs. Notably, 74.2% of the students maintained that NESTs pay more attention to interacting with students (Item 8) and 62.4% thought that NESTs emphasize stimulating students' learning enthusiasm (Item 9). With regard to adopting instructional methods (Item 6), placing students in the center (Item 7) and cultivating students' autonomy in learning (Item 10), less than half of the students, however, granted support to NESTs and more than 30% chose the “Not sure”

answer. This may be result of the enthusiastic call of education management of different levels in China for classroom instruction to be shifted from the teacher-centered approach to the student-centered. Albeit this, no student expressed “strong disagreement” on the superiority of NESTs to LCETs in pedagogical capability.

Table 2

Students' Attitudes Toward the Pedagogical Capability of NESTs Versus NNESTs

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Agree	Strongly agree	Mean	SD
Item 6 Compared with most LCETs, Inner Circle NESTs adopt diverse instructional methods.	0.0%	26.9%	31.2%	35.5%	6.5%	3.22	0.919
Item 7 Compared with most LCETs, Inner Circle NESTs lay more emphasis on making students the center of instruction.	0.0%	14.0%	38.7%	36.6%	10.8%	3.44	0.866
Item 8 Compared with most LCETs, Inner Circle NESTs attach more attention to interaction with students in classroom teaching.	0.0%	11.8%	14.0%	62.4%	11.8%	3.74	0.820
Item 9 Compared with most LCETs, Inner Circle NESTs attach more attention to stimulating students' learning enthusiasm during classroom instruction.	0.0%	16.1%	21.5%	52.7%	9.7%	3.56	0.878
Item 10 Compared with most LCETs, Inner Circle NESTs attach more attention to cultivating students' learning autonomy during classroom instruction.	0.0%	22.6%	35.5%	33.3%	8.6%	3.28	0.913
Total	0.0%	18.3%	28.2%	44.1%	9.5%	3.45	0.879

Notes: LCET = local Chinese English teachers; N = 93; SD = standard deviation

The difference in average mean between the responses to these two multi-item scales seems to show that students granted more support to NESTs in linguistic competence than in pedagogical capability. This is confirmed by the results of the Paired Samples t-test reported in Table 3 ($t(92) = 3.492$, $p < 0.05$), but the difference is not great ($d = 0.4$).

Table 3

Paired Samples T-test of Students' Attitudes Toward NESTs and NNESTs in Respect of English Competence and Pedagogical Capability

	Mean	SD	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	d
Paired 1 A - B	.260	.719	3.492	92	.001	0.4

Note: A = attitudes on English competence; B = attitudes on pedagogical capability; df = degree of freedom; d = Cohen's d

Perceptions on Hiring Foreign Teachers of English

The conventional pro-nativeness ideology has been found prevalent among the student participants of this study. Out of the 93 students, 92.5% (86) stated explicitly that they expected their university to hire foreign English teachers from Inner Circle countries, inter alia, Britain and/or America. As with the findings of many

other studies (e.g., Liu & Li, 2019), most of them argued that Inner Circle English is more standard and reflective of Anglo-American culture than any other English varieties and it is therefore conducive for students' acquiring NS or NS-like English and its related culture to learn English from NESTs. This stance can be exemplified from the following excerpt.

I think our university should hire NESTs from Britain and America, as they have more advantages in respect of pronunciation, vocabulary usage and expressive flexibility [than NNESTs] and this is conducive for students to acquire authentic English and real foreign culture. (Student-17)

Despite the predominant preference for Inner Circle NESTs, 87 (93.5%) of the 93 students made no distinction in respect of the ethnical and racial backgrounds of those teachers, contending that these criteria are of no significance in recruiting foreign teachers of English. This goes against the racist teacher recruitment advertisements prevailing across ELT in East Asian countries (see Braine, 2010; Ruecker & Ives, 2015). It seems that English-major students in China are more open-minded than their non-English-major counterparts, most of which students in Liu (2020) have been found to buy into the Whiteness as property ideology (Harris, 1983, as cited in Ruecker & Ives, 2015). In the meantime, a vast proportion (95%) of the participants proposed that prospective teachers should hold academic degrees of certain levels and have teaching experiences, corroborating the findings of He & Miller (2011) but forming a sharp contrast to the conventional unconditional favor for Inner Circle NESTs in the hiring of foreign English teachers in China (see Liu & Li, 2019).

The prioritization of Inner Circle NESTs in teacher hiring practice entails the denigration of the linguistic and pedagogical competence of and thus discrimination against English language teachers from Outer Circle countries. However, a vast majority of the students (96%) seemed unaware of this discrimination. They claimed that Inner Circle NESTs are linguistically more competent than Outer Circle English speakers, who are considered unsuitable for teaching English. For them, the favor of NESTs in teacher hiring practices is natural, neutral and ideologically free. As Student-53 put it,

I don't think this is a kind of discrimination. The profession of teachers is special. As a teacher, you must be responsible for students and should help students to the utmost. We prefer Inner Circle NESTs because they speak Standard English and their pronunciation is more authentic and thus have more advantages in helping students than Outer Circle English teachers. This is not a representation of discrimination and this does not prevent Inner Circle English speakers from achieving success in other professions. (Student-53)

Observed from this excerpt, the conventional belief that Inner Circle NESTs are the ideal English teachers (Holliday, 2005) is full of vitality among students. It seems that those students are unaware of the indigenization of English and immune to its attendant World English scholarship (e.g., Kachru, 2005; Saraceni, 2010).

Positionality on Inequality in Payment between NESTs and LCETs

Conventionally, Inner Circle NESTs tend to be better paid than local English language teachers in Expanding Circle countries, forming an inequality in payment between these two groups of teachers (see Methitham, 2012). This is also true of NESTs and LCETs in China. However, 83 (89.2%) of the 93 student participants in this study contended that this entails no discrimination against LCETs.

In justifying this pro-nativeness stance, 72 (86.7%) of the 83 students resorted to the prevalent assumption on the linguistic superiority of NESTs. They argued that it is reasonable to offer higher salaries to NESTs as they

are able to provide standard and authentic English for students due to their birth and growing-up in Inner Circle countries. As Student-67 put it,

I think NESTs deserve better payment. They were born and grew up in English speaking countries, picking up standard and authentic English. We are English majors and need to learn authentic English and speak English like a native English speaker. Our [local English] teachers are Chinese and English is a foreign language for them. Their English is not authentic. In order to learn English well, we need NESTs. It is beneficial for us to learn English directly from native English speakers. (Student-67)

Another popular reason articulated by those students relates to the actual situation of hiring Inner Circle NESTs in China. As with the employment of foreign English teachers in other East and South East Asian countries, payment determines the presence of Inner Circle NESTs in China (see Jeon, 2020). In general, Inner Circle NESTs, particularly qualified NESTs tend to accept work offered by Chinese universities in economically prosperous cities, making it difficult for those located at small-sized cities to recruit qualified or even NESTs. In light of this situation, many students proposed higher payment for NESTs, arguing that this practice aligns with the principle of free market and can attract more NESTs to work in different areas of China. Underlying these arguments is an ideology that NESTs are a valuable asset and the presence of these teachers can assure the well-being and development of EFL programs in China. In the words of Student-81,

It is hard to recruit Inner Circle NESTs in many small cities in China due to the lower payment than big cities. NESTs should be offered higher salaries. This agrees with the supply and demand principle. I don't think our English teacher would complain about it, because NESTs can help not only students but also our English teachers. The presence of NESTs is good for the development of our English programs. (Student-81)

In addition, 25 of the 83 students who proposed higher payment for Inner Circle NESTs resorted to the principle of hospitality, a virtue conventionally honored in China to justify their stances. They contended that “NESTs as foreigners travel a long distance to China to help us improve English language education and should be paid more” (e.g., Student-36). Implied by this argument is a view that Inner Circle NESTs are more capable than LCETs and can contribute more to the well-being of EFL programs in China.

Discussion

Worthy of attention among the findings presented above is that the conventional monolithic view of language is adopted by most of the students as the rationale for their pro-nativeness stance, who seemed incognizant of the dynamic nature of language, particularly the accelerating tendency of English as a lingua franca in our current world (see Jenkins, 2015). In the meantime, it seems that they have not perceived the essence of authenticity, which is usually granted to Inner Circle English. In general, the construct of authenticity is adopted to describe the linguistic output assumed to possess the language features of a community or of a person whose linguistic self is cultivated in that community (Eckert, 2003, p. 392). In this logic, the authenticity of a language should be viewed in accordance with “the context of situation which is appropriate to the variety, its uses and users” (Kachru, 1983, p. 215). Since each English language variety, be it Inner Circle or Outer Circle, bears the socio-culture of the setting(s) where it operates, it should be considered authentic English. Albeit these arguments and the current globalization of the English language, the conventional voice on the “ownership of English” (Widdowson, 1994) still rings true to those students.

Further reflection on the findings reveals this pro-nativeness mentality aligns with the nation-state-language ideology (Anderson, 2006), the construct of native speaker (Chomsky, 1965), native speakerism (Holliday, 2005) and the positivism in ELT (Holliday & Aboshiha, 2009). In some sense, it can be regarded as the result of these theoretical and ideological constructs and their attendant practices in global ELT. Since native speakerism is context specific (Rivers & Ross, 2013), this mindset cannot shed the influence of the governmentality of ELT in China, where ELT management at different levels usually uphold Inner Circle English as the teaching/learning norm and where Inner Circle NESTs are as a rule promoted in the hiring of foreign English teachers (see Liu & Li, 2019). This is particularly true of the management of EFL programs for Chinese English-majors, who have always been expected to achieve NS competence in English. Following this line of thoughts, the pro-nativeness mentality of the students can be said to be a product of many factors, global and local.

Two mixed findings are revealed. One resides in that the participants granted more merits to NESTs in linguistic competence than in pedagogical capability. This may relate to the promotion of student-centered teaching in the past three decades by the education management at different levels in China. However, most of the participants maintained that NESTs paid more attention to student-teacher interaction in classroom teaching, though many chose the “not sure” answer in regard to the adoption of diverse teaching methods and student-centered strategies by NESTs and LCETs. To further testify this attitudinal difference, classroom observation is perhaps an effective method. Another interesting findings is that a certain proportion of the students chose the “Not sure” answer to the statement that the pronunciation of Inner Circle NESTs is more intelligible than that of Outer Circle English teachers. From this finding, it will be interesting to further explore how Chinese English learners perceive the differences between Inner Circle English and Outer Circle English.

Conclusion

As stated above, most of the participants are convinced that Inner Circle NESTs are linguistically and pedagogically more competent than Outer Circle English teachers and LCETs, should be prioritized in the hiring of foreign English teacher and deserve higher payment. All of these findings suggest students' unawareness of the NESTs versus NNESTs politics and by extension the continuity of native-speakerism in China's EFL education. Since the participants come from one university, future studies are suggested to recruit participants from more universities in China to testify or enrich the findings of this study. Intergroup comparison, i.e., attitudinal (dis)similarities on native speakerism between English-major students in different grades are also expected. In addition, it is worthwhile to further explore the “Not sure” answer that an unneglectable proportion of the students in this study chose to the statements that NESTs have a clearer English pronunciation than Outer Circle English teachers and are more capable than LCETs in adopting diverse teaching methods and following student-centered teaching approach.

References

- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Revised ed.). London: Verso.
- Aneja, G. A. (2016). Rethinking nativeness: Toward a dynamic paradigm of (non) native speaking. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 13(4), 351-379.

- Benke, E., & Medgyes, P. (2005). Differences in teaching behaviour between native and non-native speaker teachers: As seen by the learners. In E. Llurda (Ed.), *Non-native language teachers: Perceptions, challenges, and contributions to the profession* (pp. 195-215). New York: Springer.
- Braine, G. (2010). *Nonnative speaker English teachers: Research, pedagogy and professional growth*. New York: Routledge.
- Canagarajah, A. S. (1999). Interrogating the “native speaker fallacy”: Non-linguistic roots, non-pedagogical results. In G. Braine (Ed.), *Non-native educators in English language teaching* (pp. 77-92). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT press.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2007). *Research methods in applied linguistics: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methodologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Doerr, N. M. (2009). *The native speaker concept : Ethnographic investigations of native speaker effects*. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Eckert, P. (2003). Sociolinguistics and authenticity: An elephant in the room. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(3), 392-431.
- He, D., & Miller, L. (2011). English teacher preference: The case of China’s non-English-major students. *World Englishes*, 30(3), 428-443.
- Holliday, A. (2005). *The struggle to teach English as an international language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holliday, A. (2013). “Native Speaker” Teachers and cultural disbelief. In S. A. Houghton & D. J. Rivers (Eds.), *Native-speakerism in Japan: Intergroup dynamics in foreign language education* (pp. 17-26). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Holliday, A., & Aboshiha, P. (2009). The denial of ideology in perceptions of ‘Nonnative Speake’ teachers. *Tesol Quarterly*, 43(4), 669-689.
- Jenkins, J. (2015). Repositioning English and multilingualism in English as a Lingua Franca. *Englishes in Practice*, 2(3), 49-85.
- Jenks, C. (2019). English for sale: Using race to create value in the Korean ELT market. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 10(4), 517-538.
- Jeon, M. (2020). Native-English speaking teachers’ experiences in East-Asian language programs. *System*, 88, 1-11.
- Kachru, B. B. (1983). *The indianization of English: The English language in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kachru, B. B. (2005). *Asian Englishes: Beyond the canon*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Kumaravadivelu, B. (2016). The decolonial option in English teaching: Can the subaltern act? *Tesol Quarterly*, 50(1), 66-85.
- Leung, C. (2005). Convivial communication: Recontextualizing communicative competence. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 15(2), 119-144.
- Liu, J. (2020). The perceptions of Chinese ELT stakeholders on the employment of foreign English language teachers. *Journal of Literature and Art Studies*, 10(6), 478-485.
- Liu, J., & Li, S. (2019). *Native-speakerism in English language teaching: The current situation in China*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Ma, L. P. F. (2012). Advantages and disadvantages of native- and nonnative-English-speaking teachers: Student perceptions in Hong Kong. *Tesol Quarterly*, 46(2), 280-305.
- Mahboob, A., & Golden, R. (2013). Looking for native speakers of English: Discrimination in English language teaching job advertisements. *Voices in Asia*, 3(18), 21.
- Medgyes, P. (1992). Native or non-native: who's worth more? *ELT Journal*, 46(4), 340-349.
- Methitham, P. (2012). White prestige ideology and its effects on ELT employment in Thailand. *International Journal of the Humanities*, 9(4), 145-156.
- Pennycook, A. (1998). *English and the discourses of colonialism*. London: Routledge.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ramjattan, V. A. (2019). The white native speaker and inequality regimes in the private English language school. *Intercultural Education*, 30(2), 126-140.
- Rivers, D. J., & Ross, A. S. (2013). Idealized English teachers: The implicit influence of race in Japan. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 12(5), 321-339.
- Ruecker, T., & Ives, L. (2015). White native English speakers needed: The rhetorical construction of privilege in online teacher recruitment spaces. *Tesol Quarterly*, 49(4), 733-756.
- Saraceni, M. (2010). *The relocation of English: Shifting paradigms in a global era*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Scales, J., Wennerstrom, A., Richard, D., & Wu, S. H. (2006). Language learners’ perceptions of accent. *Tesol Quarterly*, 40(4), 715-738.
- Sung, C. C. M. (2014). An exploratory study of Hong Kong students’ perceptions of native and non-native English-speaking teachers in ELT. *Asian Englishes*, 16(1), 32-46.
- Widdowson, H. G. (1994). The ownership of English. *Tesol Quarterly*, 28(2), 377-389.