

# Native Speakerism and Employment Discrimination in English Language Teaching

Albert Maganaka, McGill University, Canada

*Abstract: The terms 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker' are commonly used in English Language Teaching (ELT). Such terminologies create segregation and negatively affect the morale of some non-native English-speaking teachers (NNEST). Using the lens of Critical Race Theory, this paper investigates native speakerism (NS) through a review of literature, specifically on hiring practices or employment discrimination in ELT. It intends to contribute to the dismantling of such native and non-native speaker dichotomy and to establish a more impartial and equitable ELT profession. The terminologies in this literature review were selected through a keyword selection; namely, "native speakerism," "employment discrimination," and "hiring practices." Google Scholar and the online library of a large research university were employed to search for publications in a comprehensive list of databases, including JSTOR, English Teaching & Learning, and ERIC. Using thematic content analysis, articles were categorized into the following themes: Native Speaker Preference, Hiring Criteria, Salary, Advertisements, and Microaggressions. The analysis of 14 relevant articles shows that employment discrimination still prevails in the ELT profession. As studies on employment discrimination in the Canadian ELT industry are lacking, there is a dire need to conduct further research in this area and context.*

*Keywords: Native Speakerism, Employment Discrimination, Critical Race Theory, English Language Teaching*

## Introduction

English is the most widely spoken international language in the world. In 2022, there were around 1.5 billion people worldwide who spoke English either natively or as a second language (Statista Research Department, 2022). All its speakers, regardless of their 'nativeness', share the ownership of English (Widdowson, 1994). For instance, non-native speakers of English are estimated to outnumber their native speaker counterparts by three to one (Crystal, 2012). In the realm of English language teaching (ELT), non-native English-speaking Teachers (NNESTs) comprised 80% of the teaching force globally (Canagarajah, 2005).

Notably, a pervasive and deeply rooted bias against NNESTs has been documented. This prejudice, together with the discourses that support and normalize it, has been described as the ideology of native speakerism (NS). NS is a term coined and described by Holliday (2005), which is used to refer to a widespread ideology in the ELT profession whereby those perceived as 'native speakers' of English are considered to be better language models and to embody a superior Western teaching methodology than those perceived as 'non-native speakers' (Lowe & Kiczkowiak, 2016). Non-native speakers are viewed as both linguistically and instructionally inferior, second-class citizens to their native speaking colleagues (Curtis & Romney, 2006), and are systematically stripped of cultural value as out-group members. (Holliday, 2005). This ideology extends far beyond the scope of language proficiency or teaching ability and impacts many aspects of school practices and policy, ranging from employment procedures to the model of English to be presented in class, among others (Lim & Park, 2022). Holliday (2005) notes that the use of 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker' in inverted commas indicates that the terms are subjective, ideological and value laden.

In addition, NS has attracted an increasing amount of research, including edited volume publications by Houghton and Rivers (2013b) and Swan, Aboshiha and Holliday (2015). The bulk of these research efforts has been directed at analyzing students' attitudes to 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers (Kiczkowiak, 2018). However, an important proportion of it has been carried out either in Asia (Cheung & Braine, 2007; Chun, 2014; Todd & Pojanapunya, 2008; Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2014); Europe (Kiczkowiak, 2019; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Patek, 2005); the Middle East (Al-Omrani, 2008; Alseweed, 2012; Elyas & Alghofaili, 2019); and in the United States (Liang, 2002; Mahboob, 2004; Moussu, 2002). To my knowledge, only two related studies have been conducted in Canada: Amin's (1997) article on race and the identity of the nonnative English as a Second Language (ESL) teacher and Ramjattan's (2015) more recent study on the everyday employment discrimination in Toronto's private language schools, respectively.

Given the lack of literature on this important topic in the Canadian context, this secondary data analysis may engender other researchers to explore the topic more. Some possible research directions include hiring practices, students' perception of their native and non-native English-speaking teachers, teacher-teacher/peer

perception, and parents' teacher preferences. In foregrounding the importance of this literature, this review aims to catalyze equality and the emancipation of English as an international language. As Jenkins (2017) noted, raising awareness across the profession is paramount, perhaps by conducting more empirical studies into discriminatory hiring practices to ascertain its prevalence. Doing so will almost certainly highlight that it is a salient issue, and will promote awareness of it.

In light of this, the findings of this review could benefit NESTs and NNESTs in considering their strengths and weaknesses. They could also motivate prospective multilingual students or teachers to teach ESL. As well, the results have important implications for recruitment practices, particularly for school administrators, who do not yet hire, or hire very few NNESTs. It may persuade them to invest in NNESTs who are emerging human resources in ELT.

## **Theoretical Framework**

This paper is built upon Critical Race Theory (CRT), which analyzes systemic racism and its impact on American laws and institutions (Crenshaw et al., 1995). CRT is an intellectual and social movement and loosely organized framework of legal analysis based on the premise that race is not a natural, biologically grounded feature of physically distinct subgroups of human beings but a socially constructed (culturally invented) category that is used to oppress and exploit people of colour (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2022). Crenshaw, who coined the term "CRT", notes that CRT is not a noun, but a verb:

It cannot be confined to a static and narrow definition but is considered to be an evolving and malleable practice. It critiques how the social construction of race and institutionalized racism perpetuate a racial caste system that relegates people of color to the bottom tiers. CRT also recognizes that race intersects with other identities, including sexuality, gender identity, and others (George, 2021).

Largely developed in the context of the United States, critical race theorists hold that racism is inherent in the law and legal institutions insofar as they function to create and maintain social, economic, and political inequalities between whites and nonwhites, especially African Americans. Critical Race Theory was first developed by legal scholars in the 1970s and '80s following the Civil Rights Movement. It was, in part, a response to the notion that society and institutions were 'colorblind'. CRT holds that racism was not and has never been eradicated from laws, policies, or institutions, and is still woven into the fabric of their existence (Legal Defend Fund, 2022).

Educationally, CRT examines a range of educational issues as informed and impacted by race and racism. Gloria Ladson-Billings and William F. Tate IV introduced CRT to education in 1995 and was followed shortly thereafter by important contributions from Daniel G. Solórzano and Laurence Parker (Dixson & Lynn, 2013). According to Ladson-Billings and Tate (2016), social inequity in general, and school inequity in particular, is based on three central propositions: 1) Race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the United States; 2) U.S. society is based on property rights; and 3) the intersection of race and property creates an analytic tool through which we can understand social (and, consequently, school) inequity.

In English Language Teaching, issues related to non-native English speakers (e.g., use of their native language in the workplace, schools, and government offices; discrimination based on nonstandard accents) create great concern, especially to immigrant populations, and thus constitute another area of inquiry within CRT (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Hence, CRT can be applied to our understanding of educational inequity (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

## **Researcher Positionality**

While CRT guides the theoretical approach to this literature review, my researcher positionality also influences the discussion of the findings. I approach this project as a male Ph.D. student, a language learner, a language assessor, and a language educator/instructor for newcomers to Canada. I bring my experience of

my cultural heritage and my professional development to my work. My understanding of native speakerism is emergent from literature reading, individual experiences, life stories of others, and discussions with my colleagues from various social and cultural backgrounds. As a non-native English teacher, who has taught English in an outer-circle country (the Philippines) and in an inner-circle country (Canada), native speakerism is a topic and experience very close to my heart. I bring my own cultural heritage experience and my professional development to my work. My different identities add more possibilities to analyze native speakerism from diverse perspectives. In fact, my proposed dissertation is on this topic. Through this paper, I simultaneously positioned myself as an insider and outsider; striving, in the latter, to consider various corporate perspectives in exploring employment discrimination in English Language Teaching. I acknowledge my privilege in accessing resources, and I remain mindful of my own biases, and recognize how these may shape my research.

## **Methodological Approach**

This literature review investigates the current state of research and synthesizes knowledge of scholarly debates around native speakerism. In doing so, it follows the notion that a literature review is not merely a deliberation of the viewpoints of different authors but should, as Boote and Beile (2005) note, “also examine critically the research methods used to better understand whether the claims are warranted.” (p. 4). With this in mind, the findings of this review were arrived at through the following steps.

First, the key words “native speakerism”, “employment discrimination”, and “hiring practices” were searched systematically on Google Scholar and three academic databases: JTOR, English Teaching & Learning, and ERIC. From the resulting articles, 14 studies were selected and analyzed to determine the employment discrimination and hiring practices of recruiting agencies or employers in the ELT industry across the globe. Of the 14 studies, six were published in 2021, two each in 2020, 2019, and 2015, and one each in 2022 and 2014, respectively. They were selected based on date and geographical scope. Using thematic content analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), these articles were categorized into the following themes: Native Speaker Preference, Hiring Criteria, Salary, Advertisements, and Microaggressions. Notably, employers who outrightly prefer a native-speaking English teacher are categorized into the native speaker preference theme.

## **Findings: Employment Discrimination in Hiring Practices**

The findings of this review indicate employment discrimination in the ELT job market based in native speakerism. While discrimination, in any form, is “universally condemned ... obscured behind certain terminology, it continues to get a pass in English language teaching” (Jenkins, 2017). This means that, despite growing criticisms of native-speakerism in English Language Teaching, the ‘native speaker’ concept is still used in the recruitment of teachers, as shown in the proceeding studies.

### ***Native Speaker Preference***

The first major theme found across the international studies selected for this review was that of native speaker preference. In Indonesia, Harsanti and Manara (2021) explored the dimensions of native speakerism in a private school in metropolitan Jakarta. Individual interviews with seven NS participants were conducted and descriptively analyzed to identify the recurring themes. Results showed that there were traces of NS 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 (i.e., as citizens of centre-based English-speaking countries or inner-circle countries whose first language is English) and depicted the ownership of English (e.g., as belonging to native speakers), language learning and teaching beliefs (i.e., students should learn and acquire Standard English as the principal model), and their teaching practices (e.g., influenced by the notion of globalization that benefits their students).

Gathering data from forty countries worldwide, Kiczkowiak (2020) investigated recruiters’ attitudes towards hiring native and non-native speakers or the factors which might influence their potential preference for native speakers. Mixed methods were used: an online questionnaire completed by 150 recruiters, followed

by semi-structured interviews with 21 recruiters. Results showed that, while teaching experience, qualifications, and performance in the interview were important for over 90% of respondents, almost half still considered the 'native speaker' criterion as important. This may be due to concerns about the proficiency of 'non-native speakers' and the reaction from clients.

Addressing the absence of 'native-speakerism'-related studies in English language teacher recruitment in South America, McKenzie's (2020) recent study investigated the extent to which online postings for English language teachers in Colombia expressed a preference for native-English-speaking teachers (NESTs) and how this discrimination intersects with other inequitable hiring practices. Content analysis on job ads across two prominent Facebook groups for English language teachers in Colombia was conducted. Discrimination was evident in nearly half of the 95 job ads analysed in the form of: age, gender, nationality, English variety, professional training location, and 'nativeness'. The study concluded that such discrimination has several dimensions, with those further from the colonial 'centre' facing greater degrees of discrimination. The mutually reinforcing constructs of coloniality and native-speakerism help account for the persistence of such discrimination, which is also reflected in the Colombian governments' linguistic policies (Gomez-Sara, 2017).

In the Chinese context, Liu (2021) explored the views of four EFL program administrators of a university located in central China about the hiring and workplace situations of English teachers hired from abroad. She found that the administrators as a whole buy into the conventional pro-nativeness ideology with regard to hiring English teachers, though one of them displayed critical awareness to some extent. The four administrators, except one, failed to see the academic apartheid (Hall, 1998) for those foreign English teachers, namely, foreign teachers are asked to teach spoken English only, and excluded from academic activities of local Chinese EFL teachers. Her findings suggested the continuity and tenacity of native speakerism among most ELT administrators, in addition to critical awareness on the part of one administrator. Moreover, this study proposed that native speakerism should be seen as an ideology that works against both NESTs and NNESTs, though the former clearly enjoy more privileges.

In Turkey, Tatar (2019) looked at the employment criteria used by school administrators and their views on the strengths and weaknesses of local and expatriate teachers. This study aimed to provide a perspective on the issue from an English as a foreign language (EFL) context. Questionnaires collected from administrators of 94 private primary and high schools in Istanbul were analyzed. Although being a native speaker of English ranked seventh out of the eight criteria, the presence of expatriate teachers in a school was considered significant. In addition, participants from schools that employed both expatriate and local teachers attributed more importance to the native-speakerism criterion. Finally, administrators perceived local teachers to be more knowledgeable in teaching methods, whereas expatriate teachers were viewed as better in language use.

Together, these findings confirm native speaker preferences among teachers, recruiters, and administrators in diverse international contexts.

### ***Hiring Criteria***

The second major theme of this literature review was found to be native speakerism in hiring criteria. In Saudi Arabia, Alenazi (2014) studied NNESTs' employability by 1) evaluating the criteria used in hiring processes, 2) investigating whether the status of applicants as NESTs/NNESTs affects their employment opportunities, and 3) investigating whether less qualified NESTs are preferred over more qualified NNESTs. 56 Saudi recruiters were surveyed, using a mixed methods approach which included a listening task, a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews. Results revealed that academic qualifications, teaching experience, native English speaker status (NES), nationality, and accents of the applicants were the hiring criteria. However, the participants' actual hiring practices revealed that being a native speaker superseded qualifications in importance. Results showed that recruiters assigned more importance to the NES criterion, followed by nationality and accent. Further, many programme administrators were found to have either directly or indirectly expressed a preference to employ NESTs, even if they were less qualified than NNESTs.

In another study of the Saudi Arabian context, Alshammari (2021) looked at how job advertisements for recruiting English teachers in the Saudi Preparatory Year Programs promote bias and inequity. Based on an analysis of 25 job advertisements targeting overseas applicants, the article reported three kinds of selection criteria: professional, demographic, and personal qualities. Although these criteria included a wide range of requirements, "speakerhood status", a euphemism for native speaker status, was identified as the primary qualification in most of the advertisements. The author argued that discrimination based on speakerhood status and country of origin is practised in the recruitment of teachers of English as a foreign language, and the TESOL community needs to problematize the discourses of native speakerism that create unequal status among English language teachers.

Moving to East and Southeast Asia (China, Taiwan, South Korea, Thailand, Vietnam, and Japan), Domingo (2021) documented native speakerism's pervasiveness in Private Online Language Education (POLE), following a nonexperimental quantitative research design. This study utilized content analysis in examining the biographical hiring criteria and teacher visuals found in the recruitment websites of 31 private online English schools operating in Asia. Domingo's data revealed that schools require proficiency, nationality, residence, and the native-speaker criterion from applicants. Based on these factors, the various online schools were categorized as either native-speaker exclusive, native/non-native-speaker inclusive, and non-native-speaker exclusive. In the websites analyzed, the most common depiction of an 'ideal' teacher is White and American. This study concluded that native-speakerism is prevalent in POLE, but that non-native English teachers' awareness of the concept and acquisition of excellent linguistic skills can contribute to making them highly competitive in the POLE market. Relative to this, a training program for non-native teachers was designed to benefit higher education, teachers, and online schools.

The findings on hiring criteria exemplify the impact of native speakerism on teachers' livelihoods, including their potential salaries: the next major theme of this review.

### ***Salary***

Studies dealing with the theme of salary included Leonard's (2019) study of four EFL teachers from Vietnam and China, which found that the presence of NS in participants' institutions exerted power to reinforce the ideal of NS teachers - often using their presence as a marketing tool- and to restrict the agency of the NNS teachers. Learners felt that only NS teachers had instinctive, innate knowledge of English, yet they preferred the clearer explanations of the NNS teachers. One participant reported that he felt marginalised and treated unfairly after discovering that his NS colleagues in a Vietnamese school earned three times as much as him despite the fact that he did the same job equally well.

In a similar study conducted in Poland, Paciorkowski (2021) revealed that native speakerism prevails, but is manifested in complex and subtle ways. Findings indicated a wage gap between international and Polish teachers of English, as well as a discrepancy between the level of education required of the two groups, with native speakers often being employed without necessary qualifications.

When Huttayavilaiphan (2021) studied comparable employment practices in Thailand, she noted that many Thai institutions and recruitment agencies often hire native teachers and offer them higher salary rates than Thai teachers, even though many NESTs do not hold any English teaching certificates. This issue could be connected to the inequitable and double-standard hiring policy as well as prejudice and discrimination. As for Thai students, she confirmed that the NS ideology can affect Thai students' learning, causing difficulties especially when their NESTs' teaching practices, high expectations, and the NES-based materials used in classrooms (by either NESTs or NNESTs) are irrelevant and unsupportive of their learning characteristics and culture. Also, it was perceived that when Thai students have long been exposed to the NESs' standard, they can lack, or even have negative attitudes towards, varieties of English including their own.

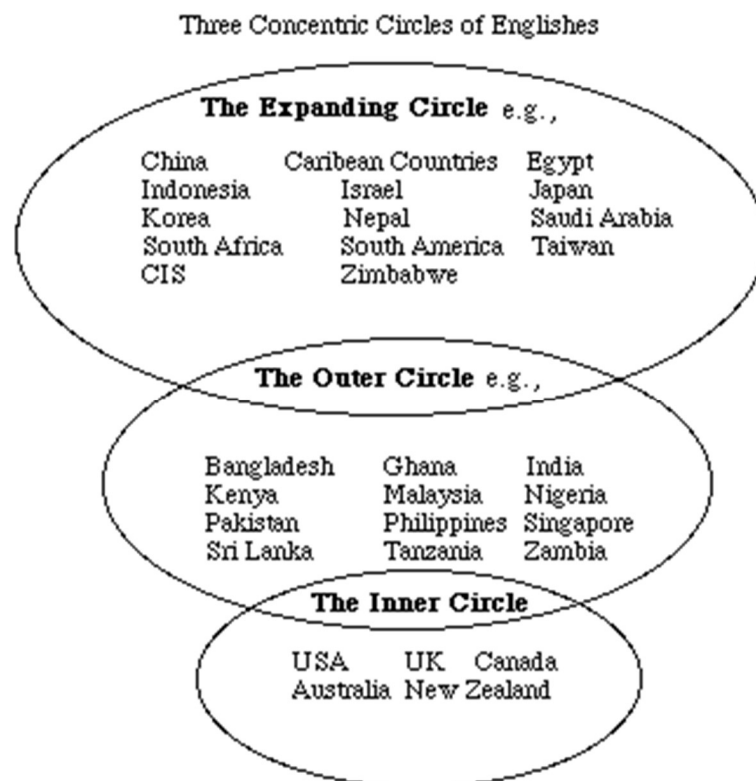
These findings indicate that the salaries of NEST and NNEST may be tied to engrained learner perceptions and expectations, a factor that continues to inform both native speakerism and racism in hiring advertisements.

*Advertisements*

Investigating English teacher hiring advertisements in the Asian context, Rucker & Ives (2015) reported findings from a critical discourse analysis of textual and visual features in 59 websites recruiting for specific language schools located in China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand. They found that the ideal candidate is depicted as a young, White, enthusiastic native speaker of English from inner-circle countries such as Canada, England, Australia, or the United States (see figure 1). The job sites underscored the opportunities to make money, travel, and experience adventure in ‘exotic’ cultures, rather than focusing on the jobs per se. As an aside, Kachru (1985) described the spread of English in terms of three concentric circles: the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle. These circles represent “the type of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages” (Kachru, 1985, p. 12).

**Figure 1**

*Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles of English (Kachru, 1985)*



In the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Daoud & Kasztalska (2022) evaluated the impact of native speakerism on ELT hiring practices through 53 online job advertisements, using Legitimation Code Theory to understand what characteristics, knowledge, and skills are discursively legitimized in the advertisements. Findings showed that the ‘native speaker’ construct is indeed used as a model against which ELT applicants in the UAE are benchmarked. These authors concluded that, because native speakerism reflects a knower code orientation, which downplays specialized knowledge and skills, employers should place more emphasis on teachers’ language proficiency and relevant professional knowledge and skills.

The characteristics found in these advertisements reflect the same racist ideologies that underlie microaggressions against NNS, a final theme of this review.

### *Microaggressions*

In Canada, there is scarce literature examining the intersection of language and racial discrimination in the ELT industry and, particularly, how this discrimination is articulated towards teachers. One notable study is the article “Lacking the Right Aesthetic: Everyday Employment Discrimination in Toronto Private Language Schools”, in which Ramjattan (2015) investigated the types of microaggressions that affect several non-white teachers who cannot perform “aesthetic labour” in private language schools in Toronto, Canada. He found that the teachers were told that they lacked the right aesthetic through microaggressions involving employers being confused about their names, questioning their language backgrounds, and citing customer preferences.

While there is a developing literature on language-based microaggressions outside of the ELT context (e.g., Sohal, 2022; Srinivasan, 2019), the findings of this review suggest the need for further exploration of this theme in the context of native speakerism and discriminatory hiring practices.

### **Discussion**

The findings of this literature review validate Holliday’s (2006) comment that native-speakerism is present in “many different areas of professional life, from employment policy to the presentation of language” and can be understood as “a pervasive ideology within ELT, characterized by the belief that ‘native-speaker’ teachers represent a ‘Western culture’ from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology” (p. 385). Indeed, the literature review findings resonate with the aims among CRT scholars in education, which seek to reveal the inextricable relationship between educational inequity and race (Dixson and Lynn, 2012). They also resonate with the main tenets of critical race theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 1993), advancing the argument that racism is so enmeshed in society that it seems ordinary and goes unchallenged (Delgado, 2000).

The issue of employment discrimination has been around for many years. While its eradication is gradual, ongoing efforts have been initiated, as Lowe (2020) explains:

It would not be true to say that discrimination against ‘non-native speaker’ teachers has stopped; however, it is certainly the case that this discrimination has been widely acknowledged and challenged, both in the professional and academic literature (see Aneja 2016; Aslan & Thompson 2016; Kumaravadivelu, 2016; Selvi, 2014) and through advocacy groups such as the NNEST caucus in the TESOL organisation (Kamhi-Stein, 2016).

Addressing the issue of employment inequality should involve major organizations within the ELT profession. For instance, TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) International Association, the largest international ELT organization that advances professional expertise in English language teaching to speakers of other languages in multilingual contexts worldwide through professional learning, research, standards, and advocacy, strongly opposes discrimination against nonnative English speakers in the field of English language teaching. Rather than native speaker status, English language proficiency, teaching experience, and professionalism should be assessed as hiring criteria. While all English language educators should be proficient in English, English language proficiency should be viewed as only one criterion in evaluating a teacher’s professionalism. Further, teaching skills, teaching experience, and professional preparation should be given as much weight as language proficiency.

Additionally, the Legal Defense Fund (2022) argues that Critical Race Theory should be embraced as a framework to develop laws and policies that can dismantle structural inequities and systemic racism. With this in mind, recruiters should implement an equal opportunities policy. They may remove references to ‘native speakers’ from their advertisements, or put premium weight on academic qualifications taken from the non-native applicant’s local learning institution, teaching, and training regardless of the nativeness of the teacher-applicant. Multiple strategies can be used to “prevent or reduce the likelihood of discrimination, including establishing clear policies and holding employees accountable, diversity training programs, and maintaining nondiscriminatory selection and compensation systems” (Anderson & King, 2015).

As studies on employment discrimination in the Canadian ELT industry are lacking, there is a dire need to conduct further research in this area and context. I personally intend to investigate the subject in the national context of Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC), a free language training program for eligible adult learners funded by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). The overarching objective of my proposed study is to determine whether – and, if so, to what extent – LINC education in Canada is affected by native speakerism by exploring the attitudes of three groups of LINC stakeholders: students, teachers, and program administrators.

Finally, in Houghton and Rivers' (2013b) edited collection of essays "Native-speakerism in Japan: Intergroup dynamics in foreign language education", they seek to redefine the term 'native speakerism' to mean discrimination against both 'native speakers' and 'non-native speakers.' According to this redefinition, native-speakerism is "prejudice, stereotyping, and/or discrimination, typically by or against foreign language teachers, on the basis of either being or not being perceived and categorized as a native speaker of a particular language" (Houghton & Rivers, 2013a, p. 14). In this light, it is worth investigating if NESTs also experience employment discrimination in the ELT industry. It would be fruitful to also investigate this in inner circle countries. Aside from language, further inquiries might note "how other intersecting identity markers affect the employment prospects of nonwhite instructors" (Ramjattan, 2015). Ramjattan (2015) notes that, "by doing these studies, it will ensure that all qualified English language teachers are given respect in Canada and elsewhere" (p. 702).

## Conclusion

Evidently, the above literature review portrays both hiring prejudices and employment discrimination in the vista of ELT around the globe. These are manifested, in part, through the native speaker preference, as shown in the studies of Harsanti and Manara (2021), Kiczkowiak (2020), McKenzie (2020), Liu (2021), and Tatar (2019). In employment processes, hiring criteria prioritized accent, English variety, nationality, and native-speaker criteria, as evident in Alenazi's (2014), Alshammari's (2021), and Domingo's (2021) studies. *Vis-à-vis* salary, there appears to be a significant disparity between NEST and NNEST, wherein the former earn more compared to the latter, as shown by Leonard (2019), Paciorkowski (2021), and Huttayavilaiphan (2021). Clearly, the job advertisements depicted in the studies of Alshammari (2021), Daoud & Kasztalska (2022), and Rucket & Ives (2015) showed strategies meant to attract non-racialized native speakers. The demoralizing microaggressions committed against NNS teachers in Ramjattan's study corroborate with Lowe's (2020) argument that "the consequences of native-speakerism can be seen to produce numerous detrimental effects on the professional lives of English language teachers, and on the field of ELT as a whole." Teachers who do not fall into the ideologically-constructed 'native speaker' category may begin to form negative self-images (Lowe, 2020). Lowe further confirms the significance of the above findings, explaining that:

discrimination faced by 'non-native speakers' in the ELT profession is in part constructed and reinforced through advertising practices, which prominently focus on 'native speakers' and portray the West as the target culture of English students. The effect of all of this is that 'non-native speakers' gain a negative view of their own language use and classroom ability.

Overall, the findings of this literature review confirm that discriminatory hiring practices still prevail in the ELT industry, suggesting that "issues of privilege and marginalization are embedded within the profession, in ways that many involved in the field may not recognize" (Lowe, 2020). The preferential hiring of 'native speakers' over 'non-native speakers' for English language teaching positions has begun to be recognized by some organizations, such as TESOL International Association (2006), which issued a statement that "non-native English-speaking educators have found themselves often implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, discriminated against in hiring practices or in receiving working assignments in the field of teaching ESL or EFL." (p. 1) This represents an important step in recognizing discriminatory hiring practices. However, more needs to be done to address the adverse impact of these practices on NNESTs, as depicted in the findings of this review.



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### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

**Albert Maganaka** is pursuing a Ph.D. in Educational Studies at McGill University in Montreal, Canada. He completed his M.Ed. in TESL at the University of British Columbia. As a Canadian Language Benchmark assessor at Catholic Social Services in Edmonton, Alberta, he helps newcomers integrate and settle in Canada. He is also a former Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) instructor. He can be contacted at [albert.maganaka@mail.mcgill.ca](mailto:albert.maganaka@mail.mcgill.ca).