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Perceptions of Malaysian English Teachers Regarding the Importation
of Expatriate Native and Nonnative English-Speaking Teachers

Syringa Joanah Domingo Judd

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

Perceptions of Malaysian English Teachers Regarding the Importation of Expatriate Native and Nonnative English-Speaking Teachers

Syringa Joanah Domingo Judd
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Master of Arts

This study explored the impact of the importation of expatriate English teachers on the morale of the Malaysian English teachers and attempted to identify the perceptions of Malaysian English teachers, expatriate native English-speaking teachers (NESTs), and expatriate nonnative English-speaking teachers (nonNESTs) regarding the practices that are prevalent in Malaysia in areas such as hiring, remuneration, and benefits. An initial questionnaire was completed by the participants to ensure that they fit the target demographic profile. Then, a semi-structured interview was conducted as a follow-up to the participants' open-ended responses in the second part of the questionnaire. Completed questionnaires were gathered from ten participants, and two semi-structured interviews were conducted with an expatriate NEST and a Malaysian nonNEST respectively. Descriptive statistics were used to analyze responses to the seven-point Likert-scale statements. In addition, this study took a qualitative approach in analyzing the core themes of the responses in the semi-structured interview and the questionnaire. Examining individual survey items and interviews revealed that there is a large discrepancy in wages between NESTs and nonNESTs in Malaysia, and this contributes to the unhappiness and low morale of Malaysian English teachers. In addition, the presence of expatriate NESTs causes Malaysian nonNESTs to have low self-esteem as they compare themselves to their native counterparts. This study also revealed that participants felt that the importation of expatriate NESTs had no significant impact on improving the language proficiency of students. Owing to the perceived failure to deliver desired results, the majority of the participants agreed that hiring qualified and experienced English teachers (not on the basis of one's race or first language) is paramount in improving the language proficiency of Malaysian students. The analysis of the data collected resulted in recommendations for a more in-depth study of the impact of the importation of expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs to the morale of Malaysian nonNESTs and the improvement of the language proficiency of Malaysian students. Also, the contributing factors for the decline of the English proficiency of Malaysian students should be thoroughly evaluated so as to affect change.

Keywords: Expatriate, native teachers, nonnative teachers, self-ascription, inner-circle, outer circle, expanding circle, L1: first language; L2: second language; TESOL: teaching English to speakers of other languages; ELT: English language teaching; NESTs: native English-speaking teachers; nonNESTs: nonnative English-speaking teachers; MOE: Ministry of Education in Malaysia

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The ongoing action of both the Ministry of Education (MOE) and private educational institutions in Malaysia in hiring expatriate native/non-native English-speaking teachers (NESTs/nonNESTS) has garnered a formidable reaction from local Malaysian English teachers that is evident in published academic studies in English Language Teaching (ELT), the daily newspapers, and social media. Malaysia is a multilingual, multi-religious, multicultural, and multiracial country. Prominent are the Malays who speak Bahasa Malaysia; then the Chinese who constitute about a third of the population and who speak varied dialects such as Mandarin, Hokkien, Hakka, Cantonese, etc.; and about a tenth of the population are descendants of immigrants from India who speak Tamil. The country's racial diversity and its independence from British colonization present a myriad of opportunities as well as challenges in the teaching of English and its role in propelling the country toward its goal of extending the country's economic influence internationally.

Historical Background

Malaysia was part of the British Commonwealth from 1824 to 1957, and English was the official language of government, education, and business. Being highly proficient in the English language "meant being closer to the British colonials which brought privileges, esteem, and wealth" (Hanewald , 2016, p. 183). After the country became an independent member of the Commonwealth of Nations, Malaysia, despite its ethnic diversity, has come together as a nation to forge its national identity. Language became the country's nation-building tool; hence, the country has gone through intensive language policy changes that resulted in unforeseen challenges.

The Language Policy Change

ELT in Malaysia is unquestionably conflicted and multi-faceted. After the country's independence from Britain, linguistic nationalism and Islamization were fostered by the leaders of the country, which resulted in changes in the nation's language policy. Gradually, the country decided to adopt Bahasa Melayu as the lingua franca to symbolize unity and shun the English language as it represented the "shackles of British colonialism" (David & Govindasamy, 2005, pp. 126, 128). The government of Malaysia campaigned aggressively against the English language. This language policy change was supported by Chinese, Indian, and non-Malays not only to foster nationalism but also because "they were offered the acquisition of citizenship as part of the bargain, which was previously only available by birth" (Hanewald, 2016, p. 184). As postcolonial Malaysia tried to establish its government, "the ascendancy of Malay politics, language and culture had to be directed against the language that operated to convey social and economic power: English" (Pennycook, 1994, p.195).

Furthermore, the opposition to the English language was not only rationalized by Malaysia's desire to establish its national identity after British occupation but also by the desire to strengthen their religious conviction in Islam. As argued by Pennycook, "Muslim people often emerged after colonialism with a strong sense of religious and linguistic identity that was in vehement opposition to the language and religion of the colonizers, but they also emerged as the disenfranchised within their own country" (1994, p. 205), hence the calling of learning of English by the Ministry of Education in 1957 as a "necessary evil" (as cited in Hanewald, 2016, p. 184). The opposition to the English language not only posed a threat to the national identity and Islamization of Malaysia but also introduced "moral permissiveness and degradation" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 207). To the conservative Muslims, ELT came with

western ideas and notions that would subvert or corrupt the second language (L2) learners which was a direct threat to the country's deeply held religious beliefs.

The new government of Malaysia rallied the nation to institute Bahasa Melayu as the official language; besides an estimated 53 million Ringgit (about US\$13 million) funding, they enacted 1961 Education Act and National Language Act of 1963. The 1961 Education Act gave "compulsory status" to Bahasa Melayu "across primary, secondary, and tertiary education," and all students regardless of their ethnic background had to have a "satisfactory grade" to be awarded a public education certificate (Hanewald, 2016, p. 185). This legislation was followed by the enactment of the National Language Act of 1963, which made Bahasa Melayu the official language of government and business; eliminating the English language entirely.

Furthermore, the government set up Malay-based institutions that had "almost unlimited funding for Malay scholars, and preferential treatment for them in employment in the public sector" (David & Govindasamy, 2005, p. 129). The goal was to empower the Malays as they reclaimed their national identity and to establish that the English language was no longer the status quo—a representation of privilege, esteem, and wealth.

In spite of the fervent opposition to the English language and the change of medium of instruction from English to Malay during the postcolonial era, the English curriculum remained; the chair of the Ministry of Education in 1956, Tun Abdul Razak, "recommended the acceptance of English as 'necessary evil'" (Hanewald, 2016, p. 184). The English language was generally frowned upon and considered unpatriotic. However, because this "necessary evil" remained in the curriculum, the government and educational institutions continued to import many expatriate native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) to do teacher training or teach primary, secondary, or tertiary education. Expatriate NESTs are teachers from the *inner circle*, a term coined by Kachru (1996) in his three concentric circles model of

the spread of English to represent countries whose primary language is English such as, the UK, the USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (pp. 137-138).

In 1969, to foster unity, the government renamed Bahasa Melayu as *Bahasa Malaysia* (the language of Malaysia) to include the Chinese, Indian, and other ethnic minorities to foster unity. The renaming of the national language from Bahasa Melayu as *Bahasa Malaysia* was the result of a racial riot in Kuala Lumpur involving Chinese and Malays that resulted in about 200 deaths and 400 injuries. The government of Malaysia “renewed its determination to swiftly and strictly implement the national language policy to achieve social cohesion,” and this strict implementation was monitored very closely and followed through for three decades (Hanewald, 2016, p. 186). Despite the government's effort to unite the nation through strict enforcement of Bahasa Malaysia as the lingua franca in the government and school, this endeavor was not implemented in business and industry sectors because of the need to speak English to communicate in the global market. Admittedly, the language policy in Malaysia had gone through many tumultuous changes to support their national identity and Islamization on the one hand and also to acknowledge the importance of English in forging their future in a highly globalized economy.

The aftermath of the language policy change

The shift of instructional medium from English to Malay resulted in the decline of English language proficiency, in particular, among the Malay students who were "performing disappointingly in institutions of higher learning" so much that in 2002, 94% of Malay college graduates were unemployed because of their inability to meet the high level of English language proficiency required by most industries as reported by the Malaysian Prime Minister (David & Govindasamy, 2005, pp. 124, 133). The ministry of education recognized that this lack of English language proficiency was due in part to the fact that the Malay

college graduates in the early 2000s did not develop a strong English language foundation in their primary or secondary education.

As competency in the English language was essential to Malaysia's goal to be a globally competitive nation, the Malaysian government then decided to change its instructional medium from Malay to English so that Malay college graduates would be able to meet the English language proficiency level that employers required. In this regard, Pennycook stated:

[A]n irony for the Malaysian Government is that despite the need to oppose English in order to promote the national language, they have also had to promote the widespread teaching of English as the 'second most important language'... to participate in the world economy. (Pennycook, 1994, p. 200)

The government proposed programs to upgrade the proficiency and pedagogy of local Malaysian teachers through in-service training and increasing the number of not only expatriate NESTs from the *inner circle*, but also from the *outer* and *expanding circles* (expatriate nonNEST) to either do teacher training or teach in all levels: primary, secondary, and higher education. Kachru's three-circle model of the spread of English, which coined the terms *inner circle*, *outer circle*, and *expanding circle*, is "highly influential and contributed greatly to our understanding of the sociolinguistic realities of the spread of English" (Jenkins, 2009, p. 20). As mentioned earlier, the *inner circle* consists of countries whose primary language is English, such as the UK, Canada, the USA, and Australia; the *outer circle* represents countries whose second language is English such as India, the Philippines, and Singapore; and lastly, the *expanding circle* is represented by countries like China, Korea, Indonesia, Japan, and so forth (Kachru, 1996, pp. 137-138).

Besides boosting the numbers of expatriate NESTs and nonNESTs, the ministry of education also launched its *Native Speakers Project* in 2003, which recruited not only NESTs

who "coordinate[d] English language teaching-learning activities" but also high school-leavers from the U.K., who were in their "gap year" (a period taken by a student as a break between secondary school and higher education), to be teacher assistants in low-performing rural secondary schools (Ministry of Education, 2004, p.13). The first year after the *Native Speakers Project* was launched, the Malaysian Ministry of Education reported that the English language public examination results were higher.

However, the reported higher English language public examination results among secondary schools had some disparity in the assessment. The MOE's standard for assessing English language proficiency of secondary school students is *Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia* (SPM) or Malaysian Certificate of Education (a national examination), which is the General Certificate of Education (GCE) O-level equivalent of Cambridge International Examinations—this academic requirement is awarded by most Commonwealth countries. A decade later, more expatriate NESTs and nonNESTs were brought into the country and the *Native Speaker Project* was launched. The MOE reported that 20% of SPM (Malaysian national exam) takers failed to achieve the minimum standard in English language proficiency, but under the Cambridge grading scale, 50% of the test takers failed (Ministry of Education, 2014). The disparity of grading and assessment between Malaysia and Cambridge showed that the measures that the language policy had taken to empower Malaysians through enhancing their linguistic ability in English did not lead to the intended result. Furthermore, it could be argued that the standard of grading English language proficiency for Malaysian national exam needs to be evaluated since there is a large nonconformity to Cambridge grading scale. The reason that the report gave for this decline was a dearth not only of local NonNESTs fluent in the English language but also of expatriate NESTs and NonNESTs, suggesting that the in-service training program, as well as the boost in the numbers of expatriates NESTs and nonNESTs, were a failure.

Consequently, the MOE started negotiations with the US government to bring volunteer NESTs as English Teaching Assistants (ETAs) to not only do teacher training but also teach at primary and secondary schools under the Fulbright English Teacher Assistantship program jointly administered by the Malaysia-American Commission on Education Exchange (MACEE) and the MOE.

Apart from the MACEE, the MOE proposed a plan to bring in nonNESTs from India. However, the move to bring more foreign nonNESTs from India into Malaysia brought unrest to local teachers as well as the public who claimed that there was no actual teacher shortage. Furthermore, the National Union of the Teaching Profession of Malaysia (NUTPM) called for an in-depth analysis to be carried out in bringing nonNESTs from India into Malaysia. Some of the reasons that the NUTPM gave for their uproar was the strong accent of the teachers from India that students would find very difficult to understand and also that teachers from India did not understand the local culture and therefore were not fit to teach in this multicultural country. The MOE proposal never materialized because of the intense opposition from the public.

Malaysia has always been one of the highest investors in NEST programs in Asia. Also, the country has invested heavily in bringing nonNESTs from China, Iran, the Philippines, Indonesia, India, Korea, etc. The teachers along with the general public expressed their concern that NESTs were 'quick-fixes' and that government "resources should...go into improving and training...English teachers' capabilities as well as developing a sustainable way of producing effective local ESL teachers" (Aliman, 2012). Jeon and Lee (2006) did a study focusing on five Asian countries (China, Hongkong, Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea) and suggested that although hiring NESTs is one of the most efficient ways to improve local students' English proficiency, the ways in which each hires NESTs needs to be evaluated in-depth longitudinally and cross-sectionally "to examine the extent to which the

key objective of the [hiring] policy are being achieved, with the aim of evaluating the effectiveness of the policy (p. 58). They further suggested that when there are unqualified NESTs, there should be training programs in place to prepare NESTs, and an “Advisory Teaching Team” that consist of NESTs and nonNESTs should be formed to foster collaboration (Jeon and Lee, 2006, pp. 57-58).

In Malaysia where emphases on English as an academic subject and as a tool for economic attainment are so strong, Malaysian nonNESTs’ lack of proficiency in the English language is the common reason given by the MOE for the decline in the English proficiency of Malaysian students. However, the MOE did not seem to acknowledge that they have been bringing in more expatriate NESTs with the goal to increase the English language proficiency across school levels and yet the nation’s proficiency in English has continued to decline.

The reasons for the decline in English language proficiency in Malaysia is multifaceted and complex. There is a “dire need to address the complexity and challenges of second language learning and teaching in Malaysia...due to a lack of comprehensive TESOL framework that could meet the language and education needs of the [learners] and the teachers of Malaysia” (Jawaid, 2014, p. 23). For all these reasons, it imperative that we look into the main players who are at the forefront of English language teaching (ELT)—the teachers.

Research Purpose

The purpose of the research reported here is to analyze the impacts on the morale of Malaysian nonNESTs morale with government and private educational institutions’ importation of both expatriate NESTs (teachers from the *inner circle* countries) and expatriate nonNESTs (teachers from both the *outer* and *expanding circle* countries) into the country. A second purpose is to identify Malaysian nonNESTs’, expatriate NESTs’, and

expatriate nonNESTs' perceptions of the discrepancies in hiring, wages, and benefits. Most published studies have not addressed the perceptions of these three groups.

Research Questions

In light of all the background factors described above, the following questions guided our research:

- 1) What are the attitudes of Malaysian nonNESTs, expatriate NESTs, and expatriate nonNESTs toward the discrepancies in teachers' wages and benefits?
- 2) What are the effects of the massive influx of expatriate NESTs and nonNESTs in Malaysia on the morale of local Malaysian nonNESTs?

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

The articles covered in this review establish the theories, topics, and studies that provide the framework for the rationale of this study. For the purpose of this study, the common research topics have been grouped into four categories: Native and nonnative labeling; labeling's effect on employability; the wage discrepancy between NESTs and nonNEST; and general perceptions of nonNESTs in the ELT profession.

Native and nonnative labeling

Native English speakers are generally described as a group of people from countries where English is the primary language while nonnative English speakers are from countries whose primary language is not English. In the ELT profession, this labeling has given native speakers a de facto authority and status. Chomsky (1965), a prominent American linguist, posited that native speakers have an intuitive sense of what is grammatical and ungrammatical and are therefore authorities of the language and ideal informants (p. 3). His claim is further supported by Stern (1983) who posited that native speakers have “intuitive mastery...to use and interpret language appropriately in the process of interaction and in relation to social context” (p. 229). In brief, the native speaker construct established by prominent linguists such as Chomsky and Stern puts native speakers as the true custodians of the language and most ideal as they are the best judges of whether the structure of their L1 is grammatical/appropriate or not.

However, with the evolution of the English language as it has spread around the globe, the English language community should acknowledge that English language standards are multi-faceted, not monolithic. The English language is no longer “exclusive.” Kachru and Nelson (1996) argued that "deciding who will be labeled an English user is not as straightforward as might be imagined" and cautioned that "TESOL professionals would err if

they held too tightly to the dichotomy of native versus nonnative, that is, ‘us versus them’” (p.79). This simplistic labelling has had a massive influence on the ELT profession, for better or for worse.

The number of nonNESTs in the TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) profession has increased exponentially over the years and “[t]heir interests, concerns, perspectives, and impact on ESL students have led to an examination of the label *nonnative-English-speaking professionals in TESOL*” (Liu, 1999, p.85). This is further supported by Trudgill who said that “English...has more non-native than native speakers” (as cited by Jenkins, 2009, p. 101). Consequently, Jenkins argued that “it seems unlikely that any native speaker variety will continue for much longer to exercise such influence over the development of World Englishes” (Jenkins, 2009, p. 101).

Liu’s study challenged the stereotype that nonNESTs “having learned English in EFL context[s] lack native proficiency in English” (Liu, 1999, p. 85). Davis (1991) posited that the native/nonnative dichotomy is “like majority-minority relations, is power driven, identity-laden, and confidence affecting” (p. 86). This is further reinforced by Braine (2005), who said that “[nonNESTs] were generally regarded as unequal in knowledge and performance to [NESTs] of English” (p. 13). Medgyes (1994), who pioneered in the nonNESTs studies, argues that [the] nonnative versus native speakers’ difference should be recognized as an asset and that their “respective strengths and weaknesses balance each other out” (p. 76).

Of course, there are differences between native English-speaking teachers and nonnative English-speaking teachers. Liu (1999) embarked on finding out how these differences affect teaching English. Liu's guiding research questions for his study were focused on the following points: the rationale for the labelling; the extent to which TESOL professionals ascribe themselves as either NESTs or nonNESTs; who defines what are non-

native speakers of English; the non-native speaker labeling's impact in hiring; and the challenges that arise in classrooms for nonNESTs (1999, pp. 86-87).

To answer his guiding research questions, Liu conducted a 16-month long series of half-hour face-to-face interviews (Liu, 1999, p. 87). The face-to-face interviews involved “initiating topics, responding, probing, and reflecting” which raised new questions that, to the researcher, called for further research (Liu, 1999, p. 87). There were seven nonNESTs who participated in his study—one full-time instructor and six graduate teaching associates of the university. Liu employed introspective measures in data collection to “tap participants’ reflections,” and also use introspection through verbal reporting (1999, p. 89).

In addition, Liu (1999) used open-ended questionnaires to elicit information from the participants who "raised new questions that warranted discussion" (p. 87). In terms of validity, Liu argued that his being a researcher who speaks English as an L2 "facilitated and strengthened the data collection and data analysis" (Liu, 1999). The data sources were analyzed qualitatively; however, Liu admitted that his analysis of the data was somewhat subjective as he was also a nonnative English speaker in the TESOL profession, which presents a weakness in this study (Liu, 1999, p. 88). It is also interesting to note that the participants' length of residency or as used in this research "age on arrival in the U.S." are significantly different—three out of eight participants arrived in the U.S. as young children, and the assumption could be made that they have a native-like proficiency.

Liu's study revealed that the participants had a common definition of a nonnative speaker, which is “someone for whom English was not the L1,” but “how the participants defined the term does not necessarily reflect their affiliation with it” (1999, p. 90). All participants echoed the problematic nature of the native and nonnative dichotomy as it is more complex and multifaceted. The participants felt that other factors must be considered in

assigning someone's native or nonnative status: Precedence or competence, cultural affiliation or dual identities, and environmental matters (Liu, 1999, pp. 91-96).

The implications of Liu's study called for adequate TESOL training and further exploration of the effects of labeling NESTs and nonNESTs in "classroom teaching, on our self-perceptions as English teachers, and ultimately on our students" (1999, p. 101). He presented findings that are worthy of discussions and further exploration. However, his population sampling was not fully representative of the issue since NESTs were not represented in his study. Perhaps their perception and introspection about their counterparts would shed light on how we can close the gap or overcome the adverse effects of labeling, especially on nonNESTs. In addition, conducting this research in EFL classrooms would garner more feedback on what can be done to train nonNESTs as TESOL professionals adequately, so they feel more confident and empowered in their chosen career. Liu's study explored both the impact of the native/nonnative labeling in hiring as well as to the morale of nonnatives, which was congruent to this research purpose in the context of Malaysia.

Labeling's effect on nonNESTs' morale

The widespread use of English and the increasing numbers of nonNESTs in the ELT profession have brought different language attitudes towards the variation of English, such as accents, choice of words, and so forth. These variations could be accepted, tolerated, or rejected by the learners of the language and native speakers. Despite nonNESTs' professional training and qualifications, they have often felt inferior and sub-par in the ELT profession which has put the NESTs on a pedestal.

Rajagopalan (2005) conducted a study in Brazil to explore "the exact extent of the damage done to the EFL [English as Foreign Language] teaching enterprise as a result of the unconditional adulation of the native and the consequent relegation of [nonNESTs] into second class citizenship" (p. 288). He sent out 500 surveys (90% were returned), that had

qualitative and quantitative means of data collection, to nonNESTs and later did follow-up one-to-one interviews. Rajagopalan found that nonNESTs in Brazil felt “handicapped when it came to career advancement,” “doomed to be chasing an impossible ideal,” or “treated as ‘second class citizens’ in their workplace” (p. 289). He claimed that “the complex of inferiority experienced by [nonNESTs] is much more widespread,” and despite their strivings to focus on their positive qualities and contributions to the ELT profession, the nonNESTs would still have nagging thoughts “that they can never be equal to their [NEST] colleagues” which “makes them enter into a spirit of conformity or even defeatism, paving the way for frustration and lack of enthusiasm to go on investing in themselves” (Rajagopalan, 2005, p. 293).

Thomas (1999), an EIL instructor at College of Lake County, Illinois since 1992, shared her feelings about being a nonNEST and her “experiences that challenge[d] [her] credibility mak[ing] [her] apologetic, nervous about [her] ability to succeed” (p. 9). Thomas (1999) further added that one particular piece of student feedback brought her to question her ability and credibility as an English teacher and it was a comment on the labeling. The student gave positive feedback on her exceptional ability to teach, to give encouragement, and to give advice; however, when the student was asked, “What did you dislike?” the student wrote: “We need [a] native speaker teacher. It will be better” (p. 10). She also shared her encounter with a nonNEST, a Chinese woman with a Ph.D. in the ELT profession. This Chinese woman always felt that she needed to constantly prove herself to her NEST counterparts who she thought saw her as “not just different but as inferior” and “then [she] find[s] [her]self stammering and stuttering and making grammatical mistakes as [she] talk[s] to them” (p. 9). Unfortunately, the nonNESTs’ low self-esteem when they are compared either by others or themselves with a native speaker is all too common in the ELT profession.

Another study done by Tajeddin and Adeh (2016) explored the perceptions of NESTs' and nonNESTs' professional identity. There were 200 NESTs and nonNESTs from the UK, the US, Turkey, and Iran who took part in this study. The results revealed that majority of nonNESTs self-perception "was influenced by the native speaker fallacy, and their responses indicated that they perceived themselves to lack the essential characteristics of a proficient teacher" which led to low self-esteem (p. 50). Furthermore, the study revealed that nonNESTs expressed "their concerns as being hired, paid, and treated like the native speakers, which offers further evidence of nonnative speakers' worries about employment discrimination" (Tajeddin & Adeh, 2016, p. 50). The pattern of nonNESTs having low self-esteem with regards to their role and contribution is commonplace in ELT profession. One of the purposes of this research study was to determine if Malaysian nonNESTs' morale is impacted by importation of expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs, and based on previous studies, we could assume that the morale of nonNESTs were negatively affected. The challenge would be to determine the extent of the impact of the importation of expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs to the morale of Malaysian nonNESTs.

Labeling's effect on employability

It is common knowledge that many ELT employers around the world express preferences for NESTs. Liu's (1999) small-scale qualitative study of nonNESTs in the TESOL profession found that nonNESTs were concerned about the label that put them at a disadvantage and "less desirable" vis-à-vis NESTs in terms of hiring. A similar study was done by Clark and Paran in 2007 in the UK focusing on private language schools, universities, and colleges. It showed that 68.9% (62 institutions of a total of 90) did not hire nonNESTs and 28.9% did (Clark & Paran 2007, p. 420). Being a NEST is an important factor in hiring, although there are other criteria that employers consider such as experience, education, and so forth. However, as Clark and Paran found in their study,

[E]ven if other criteria are considered, if an employer thinks ‘NES’ [native English-speaking teacher] is ‘very important,’ it may very well be the case that a candidate will be ruled out from consideration no matter how strong her or his teaching qualifications or educational background. (2007, p. 422)

Labeling of non-native speakers does have an impact on hiring and puts proficient and qualified nonNESTs at a disadvantage because the label alone is the gatekeeper. For many jobs, the chances of getting an interview appointment are quite narrow for nonNESTs.

Clark and Paran's (2007) findings—that being NESTs from the *inner circle* is an essential criterion in hiring—is further supported by policy and practices that are common in Asia. In 2006, China had 150,000 foreign teachers teaching English (Jeon & Lee, 2006, p. 53) and there was no universal policy in hiring NESTs, so provinces had their own sets of criteria in hiring NESTs. For example, as pointed out by Jeon and Lee (2006), “some of the remote provinces have allowed US high school graduates to teach, while Shanghai and Beijing have not” (p. 54). In Liaoning, a province of China, they require that NESTs “should be from the ‘English Five:’ that is, be ‘nationals from [the] British Isles, Australia, Canada, New Zealand or the United States” and if they are coming from other European countries outside the British Isles, their spoken English should have “a minimum non-English accent” (Jeon & Lee, 2006, pg. 54). This policy even discriminates against NESTs from *inner circle* countries that may have a “non-English accent” that is not favorable to them. In Hong Kong where English has been weaved into government, businesses, international trades, and law, the hiring of NESTs is given a priority. According to Li's (2002) study, the Hong Kong government “has spent an average of HK\$560 million each year” in hiring NESTs (as cited in Jeon & Lee, 2006, pp. 54-55).

Preference for NESTs is also prevalent in Taiwan where the Bureau of Education will only issue work permits to NESTs from the *inner circle* countries; however, other schools in

Taiwan will hire NESTs or nonNESTs with a degree or TEFL/TESOL teaching certificate (Jeon & Lee, 2006, pp. 55-56).

Besides China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, another Asian country that has long recruited NESTs is Japan. After World War II, ELT in Japan garnered a strong opposition from Japanese nationalists on the grounds that it "would lower [their] national pride and weaken their identity" (Jeon & Lee, 2006, p. 56), but recognizing that the English language is essential in globalization, the Japanese Ministry of Education has been active in importing NESTs through the JET (Japan Exchange and Teaching) program. In 2005, this program had about 5,200 NESTs from the *inner circle* teaching in Japan.

In addition, the South Korean government has increased the number of NESTs it recruits for the country. According to Jeon and Lee (2006), the government "proposed that English be taught through English, a development which frustrated a majority of local English teachers, since few had the proficiency in meeting the demand" (p. 57). The rationale that the government gave for bringing in NESTs "is that interaction with [NESTs] will provide students with more English input, a more authentic English environment, and greater cultural understanding" (Jeon & Lee, 2006, p. 57).

The labeling of NESTs and nonNESTs in the context ELT in Malaysia has given favor to native English speakers who "resemble a stereotypical blond, blue-eyed" as postulated by Kamhi-Stein (2014, p. 588) and discriminate against nonnative English speakers. Kamhi-Stein (2014) argued that the stereotype of native English-speaking teachers also presents a problem to NESTs who are "second-generation native speakers of English whose nativeness is challenged" as they are not white (p. 588). The expatriate NESTs have a higher likelihood to get hired and paid more than their nonNESTs counterpart. Clark and Paran's study result confirmed that a nonNEST's "lack of native speaker status" affects their

employment prospects, and they are “unlikely even to be invited for interview” (2007, p. 423-424).

Although there is discrimination against nonNESTs in ELT around the world, the TESOL International Association has taken steps towards eradicating this unjust practice. In March 2006, the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Inc. issued a statement that openly opposed the discrimination against nonNESTs in the hiring process and asserted that the native and non-native speaker labeling "in hiring criteria is misleading, as this...minimizes the formal education, linguistic expertise, teaching experience, and professional preparation of teachers" (2006). Furthermore, TESOL does not allow employment advertisement that specify “native speaker of English only.” However, despite the organization’s efforts to call for uniformity in evaluating all educators regardless of their native language, it is still a common practice in the ELT profession to post jobs with the specific criteria that only native speakers may apply. There are many cases of nonNESTs trained and educated in the West who struggle to find employers that would not discriminate against them based on their native language. It is disconcerting that nonNESTs are being prepared for a life in the ELT profession, only to be shot down by the hiring process which is dominated by the labeling process.

Wage discrepancy between native and nonnative

In 2006, Jeon and Lee reported on the policies and practices of hiring NESTs in China and Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea. They found wage discrepancy throughout Asia. Their study indicated that most of these countries have a clear policy of hiring NESTs who have degrees, professional training, and teaching experience, but this policy is not always followed. They have found that some remote provinces in China have hired US high school graduates to teach English (Jeon and Lee, 2006, p. 52). These NESTs teach an average of 16-20 hours a week and are paid from US\$365 to US\$629 a month which is three times

higher than Chinese teachers who earn US\$101 to US\$ 284, and who work 36 to 40 hours a week (Jeon & Lee, 2006, p. 52).

Furthermore, Taiwan, in recognizing the importance of the English language in propelling the country's economic globalization, recruited 3,000 NESTs in 2003. The salary scale for NESTs was US\$1,540 to US\$1,870 a month while their local nonNESTs counterparts earn from US\$670 to US\$ 731 a month (Jeon & Lee, 2006, p. 55). In brief, NESTs were paid about three times more than their nonNEST counterparts.

On the other hand, there are some countries in Asia that do not discriminate in terms of pay. In Hong Kong, where English has been an integral part of society since the British occupation in 1841, hiring expatriate NESTs was also of great importance and a common practice in the country. In 2004, the salary scale for both expatriate NESTs and local nonNESTs was about the same for teaching 16 to 18 hours a week; the NESTs' salary ranged from US\$2,077 to US\$5,700, and the local nonNESTs' salary was US\$2,300 to US\$5,700 (Jeon & Lee, 2006, p. 55). The starting pay for local nonNEST is about US\$200 more than their NEST counterparts. The same was true in Japan where expatriate NESTs were paid about US\$2,600 per month while the local nonNESTs were paid between US\$2,043 to US\$3,795 a month. Nevertheless, "the government arrange[d] for the NESTs' accommodation" (Jeon & Lee, 2006, p. 56). The NESTs worked 35 hours a week and were sometimes "asked to do some extra work" that included assisting Japanese teachers, developing materials, and so forth (Jeon & Lee, 2006, p. 56). In the case of ELT in Japan, NESTs were paid almost the same (if not slightly less) as their local nonNEST counterparts but were given some extra responsibilities. However, in South Korea, the local nonNESTs were paid about US\$700 – \$1,000 more than the NESTs. The NESTs were paid between US\$1,480 to US\$2,800 a month with free or subsidized accommodation while local nonNESTs' pay ranged from US\$2,258 to US\$3,877 a month (Jeon & Lee, 2006, p. 57).

General perceptions of nonNESTs in Malaysia

Most NESTs in Malaysia are from the UK and being native speakers of the English language has a "very real currency within the popular discourse of [English language teaching]" (Aboshiha, 2015, p. 43). This thesis looked into some studies of the perception of NESTs from the UK about themselves and their nonNESTs counterparts. Aboshiha (2015) did an 18-month long small community study about the perception of British NESTs about themselves and their Malaysian nonNEST counterparts. The data was collected from multiple interviews, email correspondence, and field notes. The study revealed that the NESTs from the UK felt that they had a "wider breadth of knowledge and depth of education coming and using the language"; had superior language proficiency and classroom pedagogy compared to their nonNESTs counterparts, adding disparaging remarks about the lack of nonNESTs' linguistic ability; and that the NESTs for the UK's self-image of superior professional identity in the field of ELT was consistently reinforced by this oppositional stance to their nonNESTs counterparts (Aboshiha, 2015, pp. 44-45).

Aboshiha's findings were further supported by Kabilan (2007) who found in his research about the future of ELT in the Malaysian context, that based on his observation and direct interaction with nonNESTs in Malaysia, Malaysian nonNESTs lacked "fundamental pedagogical knowledge and understanding, awareness of meaningful classroom practices, linguistic capabilities, positive attitude, and relevant skills" (p. 682). However, as these future ELT professionals were asked to reflect on their proficiency as this study required, the participants brought "awareness of their own development and of current professional knowledge," they "were able to identify the changes they needed to make to become more effective teachers," and "were able to internalize pedagogical knowledge and practices that were useful to them" (Kabilan, 2007, p. 681).

This review of literature sought to critically address the problematic nature of the native and nonnative labelling that favors one group and discriminates against the other in the ELT profession. According to Paikeday (1985), this native/nonnative dichotomy is a “linguistic apartheid imposed on us by theoreticians” (p. 392). Besides the impact in hiring, wages, and benefits, the most rousing is the negative effect of this labeling in the morale of nonNESTs who constitutes the majority of ELT professionals in the world. There is no denying that based on merits, there are unqualified nonNESTs, but the same can be found among the ranks of NESTs. When labeling undermines the consideration of other factors that determine the competence of both NESTs and nonNESTs, there is a need to investigate the fallacy of this construct and challenge the ELT profession to build upon the principle of merit and equal opportunity.

Native and nonnative labeling is a complex issue in ELT. Although the simplistic definition offers convenience, it does present a myriad of problems especially to nonNESTs as the labeling generally discriminates them in hiring and wages—a practice that is prevalent in some parts of Asia and the UK. In addition, this labeling also affects the morale of nonNESTs as they compare themselves with their NEST counterparts. Although there were some studies done exploring the role of NESTs and nonNESTs in Malaysia’s ELT, no studies have looked specifically at the impact of the importation of expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs to the morale of Malaysian nonNESTs. Furthermore, no studies have explored the perceptions of Malaysian nonNESTs, expatriate NESTs, and expatriate nonNESTs in wage and hiring discrimination in Malaysia.

Chapter 3

Method

This research is a small-scale qualitative study designed to identify the impact of the importation of expatriate NESTs and nonNESTs on the morale of Malaysian nonNESTs. In addition, the study will determine the perception of individuals from these three main groups toward the discrepancies that exist in hiring, wages, and benefits.

Participants

A snowball sampling was used to find and attract participants among the primary investigator's acquaintances in Malaysia. A total of ten NESTs and nonNESTs in Malaysia participated in the questionnaire which was posted on the primary investigator's Facebook and LinkedIn account, which was shareable and open to anyone. In addition, the link of the survey was also sent via Facebook messenger and Gmail by the researcher, who previously had taught ESL in Malaysia, to ex-colleagues who were currently teaching in Malaysia. This sample consisted of one expatriate NEST from the UK (*inner circle*), two expatriate nonNESTs from Indonesia and the Philippines, and seven Malaysian nonNESTs. To maintain confidentiality, each survey participant was assigned a pseudonym based on the first letter of their place of birth. The ten pseudonyms were as follows: Ms. I (Indonesia), Mr. P (Philippines), Mr. U (the UK), and Mr/Ms. M (Malaysia) with their corresponding numbers based on the chronological order of the submission of the questionnaire. This sample consisted of 30% male and 70% female teachers, which generally is the case as females dominate the ELT profession in Malaysia. Four of the respondents were full-time teachers (one teaches at an international school, and the rest did not provide information about their school); four are part-time teachers (one currently teaches at an international school, one teaches at a language center, and the others did not provide information about the school where they currently teach); one teaches as a part-time volunteer teacher, and that one

participant did not provide information about his/her employment status and where he/she is currently teaching.

The participants' educational background was varied: Two of the participants had an M.A. degree in TESL (one obtained her degree in Australia and the other in Malaysia), two completed only high school, one had a professional certificate in TESOL/TEFL, one had an associate degree in occupational studies, and four had a B.A. degree (in tourism, English, or education studies). The age range of the participants was from 20-50 years old. The mean age was 32.

Participants completing the questionnaire were invited to participate in a semi-structured interview as a follow up to their short responses to part 2 of the survey which asked about their perception of the influx of expatriate English teachers in Malaysia as well as the discrepancy in remuneration and benefits. Three of the ten survey participants agreed to do an interview, but only two actually went through with the interview: Mr. U (expatriate NEST), and Ms. M5 (Malaysian nonNEST). The third participant who initially agreed did not respond to the primary investigator's messages for a follow-up interview. The demographics of the participants in the study are summarized below (Table 1):

Table 1

Participants' Demographic Information

Participants	Age	Birthplace	Where and how did you learn English while growing up?	Highest level of education	Employment Status in Malaysia	Employment status
Ms. I	20-30	Indonesia	Malaysia/at school	Associates - Occupational Studies	Expatriate nonNEST	Part-time
Ms. P	41-50	the Philippines	Philippines/home and school	BA in Tourism	Expatriate nonNEST	Volunteer
Mr. U	31-40	the UK	Native language	BA in English minor in Philosophy	Expatriate NEST	Full-time
Ms. M1	20-30	Malaysia	Malaysia/school	BA (Hons) Education Studies	Local nonNEST	Part-time
Mr. M2	20-30	Malaysia	Malaysia/home	BA-University of Oklahoma	Local nonNEST	Full-time
Mr. M3	20-30	Malaysia	Malaysia/home and school	High School	Local nonNEST	N/A
Ms. M4	41-50	Malaysia	Malaysia/school	High School	Local nonNEST	Part-time
Ms. M5	31-40	Malaysia	Malaysia and the UK/home and school	Professional certification in TESOL/TEFL	Local nonNEST	Part-time
Ms. M6	20-30	Malaysia	Malaysia and Australia/home and school	MA in TESL	Local nonNEST	Full-time
Ms. M7	31-40	Malaysia	Malaysia/school	MA in TESL	Local nonNEST	Full-time

Instrumentation

In this small-scale qualitative study, two instruments were used to collect data: a questionnaire (see Appendix A) and a semi-structured interview. Each of these will be described below.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed to gather the demographic and salary/remuneration data to identify potential participants that shared relevant characteristics that were pertinent to this study, such as their country of birth, level of education, type of secondary school where

they currently teach or taught, etc. Mackey and Gass argued the importance of ensuring “that participants are matched on the feature that is being examined” (2005, p. 111). This principle of ensuring that participants’ characteristics are within the parameters set for the study eliminates (or at least minimizes) the threats to internal validity. Internal validity as defined by Mackey and Gass (2005) “refers to the extent to which the results of a study are a function of the factor that the researcher intends” (p. 109). For example, there is a significant wage difference between public and private/international schools in Malaysia. Therefore, we need to make comparisons between NESTs and nonNESTs who work at the same type of institution, e.g., compare the salary of expatriate NESTs against expatriate nonNESTs and Malaysian nonNESTs who work in private/international schools. One of the most common threats to internal validity as argued by Mackey and Gass is participants’ characteristics (2005, p. 109). The questionnaire served as a funnel to narrow down the participants in order to do the second part of the data collection, a semi-structured interview. There were three participants who volunteered to do an interview that fits this study’s profile. One of the participants did not respond to the primary investigator’s email for interview. The participants’ responses to the questionnaire (especially item 14, their self-ascriptions, and their feelings about the importation of NESTs) were analyzed later for the formation of interview questions relevant to this study.

The questionnaire was divided into three parts. Part 1 consisted of 14 questions intended to solicit information about the participants' demographic information such as their sex, age, nationality, educational background, employment status in Malaysia, and so forth. Question 13 asked about the participants' self-ascription or perceived native speaker identity (native or nonnative). The inclusion of question 13 was based on Inbar-Lourie’s (2005) research on English as Foreign Language (EFL) teachers in the Israeli school system and “their self-ascribed and perceived English native speaker identity” (2005, p. 271). Inbar-

Lourie (2005) posited that the “multi-identity reality that teachers function in and accept as a natural part of their professional existence” (p. 277) adds to problematic nature of the native and nonnative dichotomy. The native and nonnative labelling creates a hierarchy in ELT profession; in addition, this labelling can either provide or withhold resources (e.g., job opportunities and increased pay). Inbar-Lourie stated that “[p]erceived identity was found to play an important role in constructing teachers’ self-identity, for EFL teachers’ assumptions as to how others perceive their English native speaking identity was one of the reasons underlying the teachers’ native or non-native self-ascriptions” (2005, p. 268). Many of the Malaysian nonNESTs from Chinese and Indian descent always identified themselves as native speakers of English as they have spoken it all their lives. Inbar stated that there is in fact “the existence of an assumed gap between self and perceived identities among EFL teachers” that is “prevalent in immigrant multilingual societies” (Inbar-Lourie, 2005, pp. 277-278) which is the case for our research site, Malaysia.

Furthermore, question 14 was open-ended and intended to elicit the participants’ reasons for their self-ascription. The purpose of this item was to determine the reasons for the participants’ self-ascription—perceived language proficiency, having a native speaker identity gives them a viable option for employment or the native speaker community has labeled or accepted them as such. Faez (2015) argued that native/nonnative identity “is mistakenly perceived to be a strong determiner of [the teachers] ability to perform well” (p. 231). Thus, the labeling, not the language proficiency or teaching qualification, is generally the gatekeeper in hiring, pay, and status quo. It is therefore safe to assume that the teachers’ language identity constructed by themselves can play a role in their professional world.

In the second part of the questionnaire, the participants were asked to select the degree of their agreement with ten statements on a seven-point Likert-scale, ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree.” These statements were used to find out how teachers

perceived the impact of importing expatriate NESTs and nonNESTs and the discrepancy in hiring, wages, and benefits on the morale of Malaysian nonNESTs. Each Likert-scale statement also had a comment section that allows participants to respond freely in order to provide insightful data, hypothesis formation, and the emergence of new issues about their perceptions.

Lastly, part 3 was a consent to be interviewed that asked participants about their willingness to be interviewed in the future or not.

Semi-structured interview

Although there were three participants who agreed to do a semi-structured interview as a follow-up to their responses on the ten statements, only two went through it. The other participant did not respond to the primary investigator's correspondence. This study chose to do a semi-structured interview "in which the researcher uses a written list of questions as a guide" but "still [has] the freedom to digress and probe for more information" (Mackey & Gass, 2005, p. 173) since participants' perceptions, feelings, and opinion were probably complex. A written list of potential interview questions was formed based on the participant's written responses in the second part of the questionnaire to elaborate further their perceptions regarding each statement.

The following guidelines were used when the interviews took place, as suggested by Mackey and Gass (2005, p. 174-175):

- a) Be sensitive to (and/or match the interviewer's characteristics with) the age, gender, and cultural background of the interviewee.
- b) Encourage open-ended discussion—for example, by keeping silent, or by saying "Anything else?" rather than accepting a first answer as the interviewee's final and complete response to a question.

- c) Try to make the interviewee as comfortable as possible. This can be done by conducting the interview in a familiar place, beginning with small talk to relax the interviewee, and/or using the L1 if a communication problem arises or if the interviewee so prefers.
- d) Mirror the interviewee's responses by repeating them neutrally to provide an opportunity for reflection and further input.

Throughout the interviews, these guidelines were used when participants were asked follow-up questions about their comments on each of the statement so they could elaborate further what their perceptions were on the importation of expatriate NESTs and nonNESTs and the discrepancy in hiring, wages, and employment benefits. Below are some of the interview questions participants were asked, including the questions formulated as a result of their written comments on the questionnaire (hereafter called *Scripted Questions*). The others are questions from the established train of thought as new issues or hypotheses emerged during the interview (hereafter called *Digression Questions*):

Scripted Questions

- 1) What kind of opportunities do you think students will gain from having a native speaker as their English teacher?
- 2) How do you feel about (the) proficiency of non-native speakers from different ESL countries? Can you cite an example or people you have worked with that are nonnative as an example for your answer?
- 3) In your experience, does the importation of expatriate native/nonnative English-speaking teachers affect Malaysian teachers negatively or positively?
- 4) How so? And has this been your general experience? What are your feelings about it?
- 5) Can you elaborate on this a little bit more? And what do you think is important in teaching English then if being native is not a qualification?

- 6) How do you think this shortage should be addressed?

Digression Questions

- 1) When you say in-depth, what degree of depth does the native speaker provide for students of English?
- 2) In your general experience right now with the current graduates, how prepared do you think, or how good is the English proficiency of college students in Malaysia?
- 3) Why do you feel that the Ministry of Education or Malaysian government would want to hire expatriate native and nonnative teachers alike?
- 4) Regarding the lack of local teachers, do you think it's a lack of proficient teachers or just lack of a number in general?

Coding and Analysis

A modified set of transcription conventions following the guidelines recommended by Mackey and Gass (2005) were used to transcribe the interviews “to facilitate the representation of oral data in a written format” (p. 222-224). The modifications were done to fit the purpose of this research, the nature of the interview, and the characteristics of the two interviewees as the transcription conventions set by Mackey and Gass (2005) were more specific for use in second language classrooms. The oral data transcription focused only on the features of interest pertinent to the study. Table 2 shows the transcription conventions that provided guidelines for the notation used in transcribing the oral data.

Table 2

Transcription Conventions

Symbols	Meaning
I	Interviewer
P	Participant
" "	Participant's open-ended responses on the Likert-scale statements
?	Rising intonation
(word or phrase)	A word or phrase within parentheses indicates that the transcriber is not certain that she heard the word or phrase correctly.
(?) or ()	Incomprehensible word or phrase
(.)	A brief pause
(...)	A long pause or silence
<i>Italic</i>	Indicate anything read rather than spoken without direct text support (both interviewer and participants)
Uh, hm, mhm	General hesitation fillers
[]	If participants will mention names of people or name of school, it will be inside a bracket and will be given general description, such as name of person and name of school, to maintain confidentiality of information.

Transcriptions of the two interviews are provided in Appendix C. Upon completion of the transcription phase, the researcher read through all interview questions and answers and extracted main ideas from the two participants' responses.

As the data were qualitative, this study used open coding which breaks down the main points that "generally emerge[d] from the data rather than being decided on and preimposed prior to the data being collected" in accordance with the principle that "the data, rather than the theory or framework, should drive the coding" (Mackey & Gass, 2005, p. 241). Based on the participants' responses, this study identified five core perceptions (Table 3) that will be used to interpret and analyze both the questionnaire and semi-structured interview.

Table 3

Participants' Core Perceptions

Core Perceptions
1) The large discrepancy in wages;
2) The impact of importation to the morale of nonNESTs;
3) The importance of expatriate NESTs and nonNESTs;
4) The important criteria in hiring English teachers; and
5) The self-ascribed and perceived English speaker identity.

The five core perceptions explored the similarities and potential connections of opinion and/or perception of the participants.

Procedures

The procedures for this small-scale qualitative analysis consisted of the following: sample/population identification, administering the questionnaire, extracting and compiling data using Qualtrics[®] software, conducting semi-structured follow-up interviews, transcribing the oral data from the interviews, and analyzing data from questionnaire and interview transcripts.

Sample/population identification

A snowball sampling was used to find and attract participants. The target population was gathered from the primary investigator's social media survey (see Appendix D) where ten participants completed the questionnaire. Then, the demographic characteristics of the population of interest (e.g., ethnicity, work status in Malaysia, or the level of education attained) were considered as well as respondents' willingness to participate in a semi-structured interview. Three participants agreed to participate in the interview who, fortunately, fit the profile of the target population of this study: One expatriate NEST and two Malaysian nonNESTs. However, one of the Malaysian nonNESTs did not do the interview and gave no reason for not participating.

Administering the questionnaire

The questionnaire was created using Qualtrics[®] software and was available from February 8, 2018, to March 9, 2018. In addition, the questionnaire was circulated via the primary researcher's social media, e.g., Facebook (including FB messenger), LinkedIn, Google, and email. As mentioned earlier, the primary researcher worked as an English teacher in Malaysia and had a network of ex-colleagues in the ELT profession that fit the profile of this study's target population; hence, the researcher's social media account was used to circulate the questionnaire. In addition, this network of ex-colleagues could forward the survey link to other English teachers in Malaysia. This study also emailed and sent private messages to ex-colleagues in the ELT profession. A questionnaire scripts for both social media and email are shown in Appendix D. To encourage respondents, each participant who completed the survey was entered into a drawing for a wireless presenter with a laser pointer and a portable speaker.

Extracting and compiling data using Qualtrics[®] software

When the survey was concluded, Qualtrics[®] compiled and exported the response data. Then, an Excel[®] spreadsheet was created to organize the data that were relevant to the purpose of this research. After the data had been organized into a spreadsheet, the participants who agreed to do an interview were identified and contacted via email for an interview appointment.

Conducting semi-structured follow-up interviews

Before the semi-structured interview was conducted with the two questionnaire respondents who agreed to be interviewed, an email was sent to these two participants with two documents attached: a consent form (see Appendix B), and a copy of their survey report to refresh their memory of what they had answered on the questionnaire since almost a year

had passed since they filled out the questionnaire. Moreover, the email asked about the time most convenient for the participants to do an interview.

The participants were interviewed for approximately 30 minutes via Facebook messenger and Skype as a follow-up to their open-ended responses to the statements in part 2 of the questionnaire. Mr. U was interviewed on December 27, 2019, at 7:00 am MST (10:00 pm Malaysia time), and Ms. M5 was interviewed the same day at 8:00 am MST (11:00 pm Malaysia time). Each interview was recorded using the Voice Memos app of an iPhone. A separate phone was used to call the participants via FB messenger (video chat) and Skype (video chat). During the interview, a hard copy of the participant's questionnaire with scripted questions was available to the interviewer, so the interviewer could refer back to the participants' open-ended responses and come up with guiding questions. Some of these questions are listed in the instrumentation section of this paper under the sub-heading "semi-structured interview."

Transcribing the oral data

Before transcribing the interview recordings, a set of transcription convention guidelines (see Table 2) was created. Then, the table of transcription conventions was printed to make it accessible for the transcriber to refer to while listening to the recording. For the sake of brevity, this report will focus only on the transcription of the parts of the interview pertinent to the study. The interviewer was the transcriber/proofreader and adopted a three-pass-per-tape policy "whereby each [recording] is listened to three times against the transcript before it is submitted" (McLellan, MacQueen, and Neidig, 2003, p. 80). However, the transcriber, to ensure the accuracy of the transcription, listened to the recording five times.

After the oral data had been transcribed and proofread, the transcription was printed out for the last round of listening to the recording for final editing. The recordings were

downloaded from the smartphone to a password-protected hard drive to which only the primary investigator had access.

Analyzing data from questionnaire and interview transcripts

Once the transcription was completed, this study used axial coding to break down the core themes (referred to as *core perceptions* for the purpose of this study) of both the questionnaire and semi-structured interview. There are five core perceptions that emerged as a result of the semi-structured interviews as mentioned in Chapter 3 under the subheading “Coding and Analysis” that focus on answering the two research questions and present three other perceptions that were pertinent to the study.

To sum up, chapter 3 has illustrated what was done or how this study was conducted for the purpose of giving readers an informed idea about the research. Also, this information will allow future researchers who may be interested in replicating this study to have a clear blueprint to follow. The data collected as a result of following through the methods of this study is presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Results

The purpose of this study was to explore the attitudes of Malaysian nonNESTs, expatriate NESTs, and expatriate nonNESTs toward the discrepancies in wages and benefits, and the effects of the massive influx of expatriate NESTs and nonNESTs in Malaysia on the morale of local Malaysia. To answer the research questions as well as to present participants' perceptions on other relevant issues that emerged from the data, the results will be presented based on the categories established and referred to as the core perceptions.

Core perception one: The large discrepancy in wages

The first core perception established that there was a discrepancy in wages among expatriate NESTs, expatriate nonNESTs, and Malaysian nonNESTs. In addition, the participants' perceptions about wage discrepancy were also determined. In what follows, the results of the questionnaire analysis are reported (Table 4) showing participants' monthly salary and what type of secondary school they currently teach at (questions 9 and 11 respectively). Question 11 was asked because the type of school determines the pay grade for teachers (e.g., international schools pay significantly more than public schools because it is privately funded).

Table 4

Participants' Monthly Salary, Employment Benefits, and the Type of School Where They Currently Teach

Participants	Monthly salary	Employment Benefit	Type of Secondary School where you currently teach	Employment Status
Ms. I	RM 4,001-6,000	Housing allowance	International School	Part-time
Ms. P	RM 1,001-2,000	N/A	N/A	Volunteer
Mr. U	RM 20,001-RM25,000	N/A	International School	Full-time
Ms. M1	Less than RM1,000	N/A	N/A	Part-time
Mr. M2	RM 4,001-6,000	N/A	N/A	Full-time
Mr. M3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ms. M4	RM 2,001-3,000	N/A	Language Center	Part-time
Ms. M5	RM 2,001-3,000	Paid holiday - approximately 2 months	N/A	Part-time
Ms. M6	RM 4,001-6,000	Housing allowance; retirement; free medical consultations and treatment in government hospital.	N/A	Full-time
Ms. M7	RM 4,001-6,000	Paid vacation; 3 days paid sick leave; and RM300 allowance	N/A	Full-time

Column 2 in Table 4 shows a significant discrepancy in salary between NESTs and nonNESTs. Mr. U (full-time expatriate NEST) who teaches at an international school was paid five times more than his nonnative counterparts, Mr. M2, Ms. M6, and Ms. M7 (full-time Malaysian nonNESTs). However, comparing one NEST against four others may not be representative of the larger population. Furthermore, the participants did not provide

information on the type of secondary school where Mr. M2, Ms. M6, and Ms. M7 currently teach, nor has Mr. U elaborated on his current employment. Also, only four participants recorded some of their employment benefits. The demographic information of the participants in Table 1 shows that Mr. U has a BA in English and minor in Philosophy while Mr. M2 has a BA from the University of Oklahoma. Meanwhile, Ms. M6 and Ms. M7 both have MA in TESL (Ms. M6 acquired her degree from Australia). On the other hand, Ms. I's highest level of education is an associate degree in occupational studies. The salary of Ms. I as a part-time expatriate nonNEST at an international school is the same as her three full-time Malaysian nonNESTs counterparts who are full-time teachers.

In sum, Figure 1 shows the average monthly salary among the teacher groups.

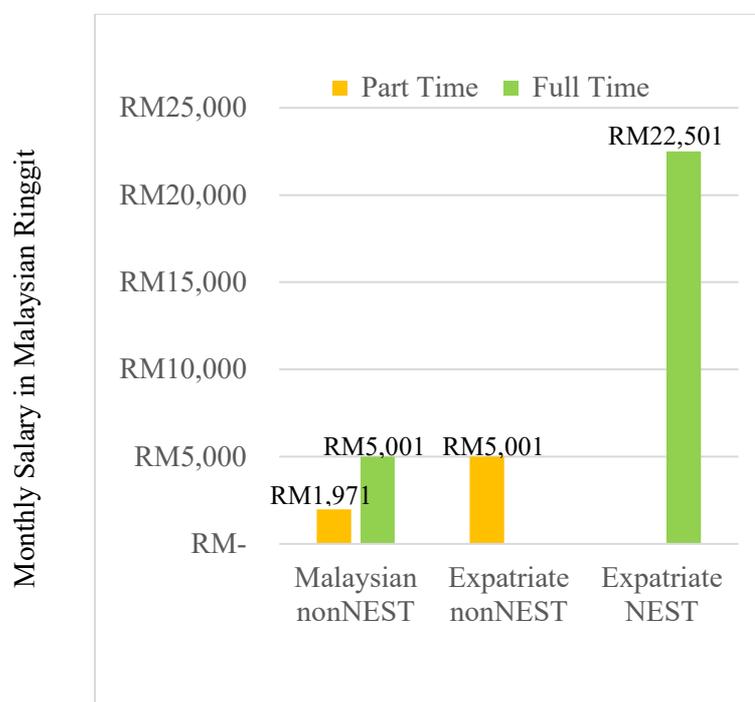


Figure 1. The average monthly salary in Malaysian Ringgit among the teacher groups. The average monthly salary among teacher groups was taken from Table 4. The yellow bars represent part-time English teachers. There were three part-time Malaysian nonNEST that were paid an average of RM1,971, and one expatriate nonNESTs that was paid two and a half times than their local nonNEST counterparts. The green bars represent the full-time English

teachers. Three Malaysian nonNESTs reported an average of RM5,001 monthly pay, while there was one expatriate NEST who reported a monthly salary that was four and half times more than the local English teachers. In sum, there are inconsistencies in wages based on educational level, but more so, it shows the discrepancies between expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs and Malaysian nonNEST.

In addition, the following are the participants' perceptions of whether there are wage and benefit discrepancies between local and expatriate English teachers—statements E and F respectively (Table 5). These statements are in the second part of the questionnaire which has ten statements on a seven-point Likert-scale, ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree.” Point values are assigned to each of the seven Likert points with 7 representing strongly agree and 1 strongly disagree. Each statement has a comment box and three participants (Mr. U, Ms. M5, and Ms. M6) wrote in responses to elaborate on the reasons for their degree of agreement or disagreement.

Table 5

The Participants' Perceptions on Wage and Benefit Discrepancies

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
E. There is a large discrepancy in salary between local and expatriate teachers.	6	2	2				
Written Comments: Mr. U: Strongly agree. English teachers are automatically given higher salary if they are white. Mr. M5: Somewhat agree. This is purely anecdotal, as I have no evidence of such a discrepancy, but I have been told by friends who work at certain Malaysian institution who say there is a discrepancy in an expatriate teacher's and a local teacher's pay. Mr. M6: Strongly agree. I have foreigner friends who are here as expat teachers.. they live a good life, high salary, free car to use, accommodation subsidy and other allowances.							
F. There is a large discrepancy in employment benefits between local and expatriate teachers.		4	2	2			
Written Comments: Mr. U: Agree. No explanation. Mr. M5: Neither. I have no idea if this is true. expatriate teacher's and a local teacher's pay. Mr. M6: Somewhat agree. No explanation.							
G. The discrepancies in salary and employment benefits between local and expatriate English teachers are justified.				2		4	4
Written Comments: Mr. U: Strongly disagree. I believe that everyone should have equal pay and benefits as it would cause less of a divide. Ms. M5: Strongly disagree. Assuming there such a discrepancy, why should a person's salary package be dictated by where he/she was born, rather than how proficient he/she is as a teacher? Ms. M6: Disagree. Some of us teachers are highly qualified with masters and PhDs but the expat teachers don't even have a proper degree in education.							

To find out the participants' perceptions of whether there is a large discrepancy in salary between local and expatriate teachers, item E shows that the average response is 6.4/7: 6 strongly agreed, 2 agreed, and 2 somewhat agreed. Three participants added comments that there is salary discrepancy between Malaysian nonNESTs and expatriate NESTs whether they knew from personal experience or anecdotal evidence. Mr. U strongly agreed to statement E and felt that NESTs are "automatically given higher salary" because they are "white." Also, Ms. M6 strongly agreed that there is such a discrepancy and that her expatriate NESTs friends "live a good life" and have "high salary." Ms. M5 knew of this discrepancy from her friends who works with expatriate English teachers.

Statement F addressed the discrepancy in employment benefits between Malaysian nonNESTs and expatriate English teachers. A mean response of 5.0 with the participants leaning to somewhat agree that there is a discrepancy in employment benefits between Malaysian nonNEST and expatriate English teachers. On the subject of whether the discrepancy is justified (statement G), the analysis of responses showed a mean of 2.0—four participants disagreed and 4 strongly disagreed while 2 responded neither. Mr. U favored equal pay to have "less of a divide" while Ms. M5 felt that salary should be determined by English teacher's qualification and proficiency. Ms. M6 argued that this wage and benefit discrepancies between Malaysian nonNESTs and expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs is not justified as some expatriate teachers do not even have the qualifications or "proper degree in education" while some local teachers have masters and PhDs.

Furthermore, the semi-structured interview revealed the two participants' perception of the salary discrepancies in Malaysia. Extracts from the interviews are given below, revealing the aforesaid salary discrepancies:

I: The next statement here is the discrepancy in remuneration, the salary between local and expat teachers. You commented that you strongly agree about the large discrepancy [and that] native "English teachers are automatically given a higher salary if they are white." How so? And has this been your general experience? What are your feelings about it?

Mr. U: Uh, to be honest, I don't like it...when I was working at [name of school], it actually caused a lot of problems with, uh, the staff that I worked with...one of the teachers I worked with, she was there for, I think it was about 10 years or so...she said [she makes] 3 and a half... [and I] I'm making RM6,000 and I just came into that place... I just think it was a bit shocking, to be honest with you. I mean a lot of people can argue about experience and knowledge and things like that, but I mean, basically, we're all doing [the] exact same job, you know? (see Appendix C, lines 58-76)

Ms.M6: ...I did hear from a friend who worked in, uh, a private institution, it's, uh, higher level, tertiary level private institution (.) that there is such a discrepancy because he was receiving a much higher pay than someone who is in the same position as him, but he was local Malaysian. He's an expat. Assuming the salary is large, I would think that the unhappiness [of Malaysian nonNESTs] stem from this bias. (see Appendix C, lines 197-202)

Both interviewees agreed that there is a large discrepancy in wages between Malaysian nonNESTs and expatriate NESTs based on their own experiences, as well as anecdotes they had heard. Mr. U, an expatriate NEST, commented that "English teachers are automatically given a higher salary if they are white" and he was not comfortable with it as it "caused a lot of problems with...the staff [he] worked with." Ms. M5 supported this discomfort as she mentioned that her expatriate NESTs friend who was "receiving a much higher pay than someone who is in the same position as him, but...was [a] Malaysian," and that the unhappiness of Malaysian nonNESTs could stem from this large discrepancy. Furthermore, Mr. U felt that this wage discrepancy is quite unfair, and although "a lot of people can argue about experience and knowledge," all teachers are "basically...doing the exact same job."

Core perception two: The impact of importation to the morale of nonNEST

The second core perception identified from the analysis of our data was the participants perceptions of whether the importation of expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs affects the morale of Malaysian nonNESTs (Table 6).

Table 6

The Perceptions of Participants on the Presence of Expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs Affecting the Morale of Malaysian nonNESTs

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
C. The importation of expatriate teachers in Malaysia affects the morale of local English teachers NEGATIVELY	2			6		2	
Written Comments:							
Ms. M5: Neither. I've not personally experienced any negativity of local teachers towards expatriate teacher[s].							
Ms. M6: Strongly agree. Expatriate are paid much more than local teachers. Some foreigner teachers don't even seem to know how to teach. They are here just because they have blue eyes and fair skin.							
	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">4.2 – mean response</div>						
D. The importation of expatriate English teachers in Malaysia affects the morale of local English teachers POSITIVELY.		2		6		2	
Written Comments:							
Ms. M5: Neither. As above, I have not seen the morale of local teachers improved by the presence of expatriate teachers.							
	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">4.0 – mean response</div>						
J. The importation of expatriate English teachers makes local Malaysian English teachers unhappy.		4	2	2	2		
Written Comments:							
Mr. U: Agree. We take their jobs.							
Ms. M5: Somewhat agree. Assuming the salary discrepancy is large, I would think the unhappiness stem from this bias.							
Ms. M6: Agree. The government show little respect to local English teachers but worship expat teachers.							
	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">4.8 – mean response</div>						

As shown in Table 6, the participants have mean responses of 4.2 and 4.0 for statements C and D respectively, which indicates that they were highly ambivalent of whether the importation of expatriate NESTs and nonNESTs affects the morale of the Malaysian nonNESTs negatively or positively. Although the numbers said one thing, when the study probed further through written responses and interviews, the majority of the participants felt otherwise. For example, Ms. M5 revealed her feelings in the excerpt below:

Ms. M5: Well, I've (...) I've not worked in a place where we have such counterparts, but I've seen the way that teachers in my teaching/learning environment behave around the natives... They seem to have a self-esteem problem (?) So, they seem to have a bit of a low self-esteem when comparing themselves with these so-called "native speakers." Uh, I think, just bearing that in mind, that if someone were to be hired into that environment who's a native speaker, I think that would actually be, uh, negatively impact the morale of the teachers. I think. I'm making a presumption here. (see Appendix C, lines 163-170)

Ms. M5 made a presumption based on what she has observed in her teaching and learning environments that Malaysian nonNESTs "seem to have a bit of low self-esteem when comparing themselves to so-called native speakers" that she thought "would actually...negatively impact the morale of the teachers." This was supported by Mr. U as shown in the excerpts below:

I: The next one I have here is the importation of expatriate English teachers in Malaysia. In your experience, does it affect Malaysian teachers negatively or positively?

Mr. U: I think it does, yeah. I think, it causes, uh, it causes them to question their own confidence in their English language because, like, obviously they teach English their way and their style and everything, but then you have, uh, these, you know, foreigners coming in and taking over their jobs, and they're like, but I can teach English, why can't I be in that position? Mhm, so I think it affects them negatively, that would be. But I mean, on a flip side of it, if the person themselves were more of a challenge-oriented kind

of person, they're probably tak[ing] it in positive way and say, well, I have to improve myself more to be better than people, obviously who have more experience than me. You know, so, but I think it affects them in a negative way more. (see Appendix C, lines 44-57)

Mr. U and Ms. M5 both argued that the local English teachers' low morale is caused by comparing themselves to the expatriate NESTs. However, Ms. M6 felt that the morale Malaysian teachers was affected negatively due in part to the alleged salary discrepancies as expatriate NESTs are paid significantly more than their nonnative counterparts. Also, she argued that some expatriate teachers are not qualified to teach, but they are in Malaysia to teach English on the basis of race because they "have blue eyes and fair skin."

Statement J addressed the importation of expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs causing unhappiness to Malaysian English teachers. The participants had a mean response of 4.8: Four agreed and 2 somewhat agreed while 2 chose neither and 2 somewhat disagreed. Mr. U agreed with statement J and commented that expatriate teachers, including himself, are taking the jobs of the local teachers. He also added from his interview that the presence of expatriate NESTs causes Malaysian nonNESTs "to question their own confidence in their English language." Ms. M6 agreed to statement J and argued that the government favors expatriate teachers and "show[s] little respect to [the] local English teacher[s]." Ms. M5 somewhat agreed and argued that if there is a large discrepancy in wages, she thought this bias could be the cause of unhappiness among Malaysian nonNESTs.

Core perception three: The importance of expatriate NESTs and nonNESTs

The third core perception identified from the data that is relevant to this study addressed the participants' perceptions of the importance of expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs in improving the English proficiency of Malaysian students (Table 7). In addition, how the participants perceived the hiring of expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs and the funds used by the

government to import them as being necessary and justified revealed some important insights that are worthy of discussion.

Table 7

The Perceptions of Participants on the Importance of Hiring Expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs in Malaysia

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
A. The employment of expatriate native English-speaking teachers in Malaysia is important in improving the English proficiency of students.	4				4	2	
Written Comments:							
Mr. U: (No recorded degree of agreement/disagreement) It helps students to have more opportunities in life.							
Ms. M5: Somewhat disagree. I don't think that your country of origin necessarily indicates that you'd be proficient in teaching a language, even if it's your first language							
Ms. M6: Disagree. Students may find native speakers interesting[,] but they may not understand the accent and therefore do not understand the English lesson.							
B. The employment of expatriate non-native English-speaking teachers (e.g., foreign countries whose primary national language outside the classroom is NOT English) in Malaysia is important in improving the English proficiency of students.		2			2	4	
Written Comments:							
Mr. U: (No recorded degree of agreement/disagreement) It exposes students to different dialects of English.							
Ms. M5: Disagree. I don't think it's important where a teacher is from, whether a foreign country whose national language is English or not.							
Ms. M6: Disagree. Why find talents outside the countr[y] when many Malaysians who have good command in English fail to get a job as an English teacher.							

Note: There were only 8 participants who responded to statement B.

Table 7 (Continued)

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
H. The importation of expatriate English teachers in Malaysia is unnecessary.	2				2	6	
Written Comments:							
Ms. M5: Somewhat disagree. There is reportedly a shortage of qualified teachers in Malaysia. To address the shortage, I don't see why there shouldn't be importation of expatriate teachers.							
Ms. M6: Strongly agree. There are many Malaysians with good English.							
I. The use of government/private funds to hire expatriate English teachers is justified.	2		2	2		2	2
Written Comments:							
Ms. M5: Somewhat agree. I don't see a problem with taxpayers paying for the employment of teachers; what I think is the issue is that the salary scales and relevant details regarding such employment should be made transparent.							
Ms. M6: Strongly disagree. I feel someone is definitely sucking millions away from this expat teachers project.							

Statement A of Table 7 shows a mean response of 4.4, which shows that the participants are somewhat ambivalent with the statement that the employment of expatriate NESTs is important in improving the English proficiency of Malaysian students: 4 participants strongly agreed, 4 somewhat disagreed, and 2 disagreed. Ms. M5 asserted that it is the qualification and proficiency of English teachers that will contribute to the improvement of the proficiency of English students and not by the mere fact that they are coming from a certain country of origin. On the other hand, Ms. M6 felt that expatriate teachers' accent might hinder students' understanding of the English lesson. However, Mr. U felt that having expatriate NESTs gives students "more opportunities in life." When Mr. U and Ms. M5 were asked to elaborate their written comments, both participants confirmed their written comments as reflected in the excerpts below:

I: ...you [commented] that "[having expatriate NESTs] help students to have more opportunities in life." What kind of opportunities do you think students will gain from having a native speaker as their English teacher?

Mr. U: Uh, well, (.) how do you explain that (.) I think that the native speakers when they're teaching English, they can teach English to, uh, a (degree) of depths. Uh, it gives them more of opportunities to look at, uh, lectures and things like that, and a lot more depth and gives them a lot more, mhm, ideas to think about life and things like that.

I: Okay, so, when you say in depth, uh, at what degree of depth does the native speaker provide for students of English?

Mr. U: Well, uh, I think we go on to a lot more (subjective) ideology and to the actual language, the meanings, the hidden meanings behind the word. Uh, we just go on to a lot of more (thoroughly) than Malaysian teachers here, so it opens-up a realm, a lot of more possibilities for students, uh, when it comes to their writing styles (...) is that okay? (see Appendix C, lines 7-18)

Ms. M5: Is important in improving the English (?)” (.) Well, actually, I was disagreeing with the phrase “is important in improving the English” see, that’s what I was disagreeing with. Yeah. Meaning that I don’t think that these (specific) teachers, the nonnative expat teachers, are important in improving (...)I think basically, it’s the same thing, I don’t think it’s important where you’re coming from or where you were born, but how you were qualified to teach, what qualifications do you have, and of course, what your own proficiency is. (see Appendix C, lines 120-126)

The next statement addressed the importance of the importation of expatriate nonNEST in improving the English proficiency of Malaysian students (statement B). There were only 8 participants who recorded their response to this statement; the mean response is 3.3 with 2 agreed, 2 somewhat disagreed, and 4 disagreed. Based on the responses of the participants to both statement A and B, the participants slightly favor expatriate NESTs with a mean response of 4.4 over expatriate nonNESTs with a mean response of 3.3 for this purpose. Again, Ms. M5 felt strongly that the country of origin should not be a determining factor if one is qualified to teach English. On the other hand, Ms. M6 argued that Malaysia should not look elsewhere for English teachers as she felt that there are enough local talents that “fail to get a job as an English teacher.” However, Mr. U felt that having expatriate nonNESTs will “expose students to different dialects of English.” He elaborated his comment further on his interview in the excerpt below:

Mr. U: I find differences in everyone’s English adds to the, uh, complexity of English language. I think it’s where it gives a lot more possibilities for students where they can experience a lot of different types of English. (see Appendix C, lines 41-43)

About whether the importation of expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs is unnecessary (statement H), the participants mean response is 3.2 with 6 disagree, 2 somewhat disagree, and 2 strongly agree. Ms. M5 commented that the importation of expatriate English teachers was due to the reported shortage of proficient English teachers. And if there was such a shortage, she felt it necessary to bring in expatriate teachers and found that the use of

government funds is justified for such reported shortage for as long as there is transparency of the “salary scales and relevant details” and there is an improvement in the English proficiency of Malaysian students (statement I). However, Ms. M5 felt suspicious about this shortage of proficient local English teachers and argued that she has not seen an impact in the overall proficiency of students from these years of importing expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs as shown in the excerpt below:

Ms. M5: ...I don't know if there's a shortage. That's what they say. They claim that there's a shortage and therefore they justify in bringing all these teachers in from outside of Malaysia... I don't see a problem with it so long as it actually improves the situation in Malaysia, in terms of improving the standard of English in local schools, but actually, to be quite honest, I don't see that, uh, impact. They've been bringing these teachers in for quite a number of years, now, right? (see Appendix C, lines 146-141)

On the other hand, Ms. M6 felt indifferent towards the importation of expatriate English teachers as she argued that there are enough qualified teachers in Malaysia and that there are people that are benefiting from this project (importation of expatriate English teachers) that is “definitely sucking millions away.”

Core perception four: The important criteria in hiring English teachers

The fourth core perception that emerged from our data analysis of the semi-structured interview was the participants' perception of what should be the determining factor in hiring English teachers. Some of the important criteria for hiring English teachers are reflected in the excerpts below:

Mr. U: ...hiring foreigners from overseas and all that, why can't the same exact same money be used to invest on the teachers that they already have to give them a much better and a much higher education? I mean I'm pretty sure that if you take a Malaysian teacher, student or whoever, and put them through the exact same course that I went through, I'm, pretty sure they're just as good in English as I am. (see Appendix C, lines 81-85)

Ms. M5: ...I don't think it's important where you're coming from or where you were born, but how you were qualified to teach, what qualifications do you have, and of course, what your own proficiency is. So, it doesn't matter whether you were born in a so-called English-speaking country or not. I

don't think that's important at all or I don't think it even comes into play when you're talking about whether a teacher is proficient or not. (see Appendix C, lines 123-128)

Both interviewees agreed that educational qualification and training are of the utmost importance in selecting English teachers and not in the basis of the country of origin. Mr. U felt that the government/private funding should be used to train local teachers and “give them a much better and a much higher education” so they could be “as good in English as [he] is.”

Core perception five: The self-ascribed and perceived English speaker identity

For convenience, this study referred to all English teachers outside the *inner circle* as nonnative. Although self-ascription of English teachers was not considered in the research questions, the questionnaire data revealed that this native and nonnative dichotomy is much more complex and multifaceted and therefore worthy of mention. Question 13 of the questionnaire asked for participants' self-ascription (native or non-native), and question 14, an open-ended question, explored the reasons why the participants identified themselves as such. Table 8 shows the participants' responses to these questions.

Table 8

Participants' Self-ascribed and Perceived English Speaker Identity

Participants	I perceive my English proficiency as...	In reference to the previous question, please explain why you feel this way.
Mr. U	Native	I have only spoken English from when I could talk.
Mr. M3	Native	I have spoken English my entire life and now reside in England with little to no difficulty when communicating with the locals.
Ms. M4	Advanced	(No response)
Ms. M5	Native	I grew up speaking English and consider English my first language. I read voraciously as a child, and I still do. In my experience living abroad as well as communicating with native English speakers via the internet, I speak and write as well as they (and often even better, if I may say so myself).
Ms. M6	Native-like or near-native	I grew up speaking English and watching English programmes. When I studied in Australia, my friends are foreigners and we communicate in English all the time. I passed my TEFL exam with high scores and my lecturers' comment of my English language competency is 'near native.'
Ms. M7	Advanced	I feel like there is always room for improvements.

Table 8 shows that 7 out of 10 participants responded to the self-ascription question. Mr. M3 and Ms. M5 ascribed themselves as native speakers of the English language as they had spoken it their entire life and found no difficulty communicating with native speakers of English. Mr. M3 also added that he currently resides in England. Ms. M6 ascribed herself as native-like or near-native, as she has spoken English her entire life, passed her TEFL exam with high scores, and her lecturers in Australia commented on her English language competency as “near native.” Two Malaysian nonNESTs perceived their proficiency as advanced—Ms. M7 explained that she felt that “there is always room to grow” while Ms. M4

did not offer any explanation. Lastly, Mr. U naturally ascribed himself as native because he was born in the inner circle and that is the only language he spoke since he could talk.

Chapter 5

Discussion

This research's attempt to identify the perceptions of expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs and Malaysian nonNESTs on the issue of wage/benefit discrepancies as well as the perceived effects of importation of expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs on the morale of Malaysian nonNESTs was inspired by the primary researcher's desire to bring to light the issues pertaining to native/nonnative labelling in ELT profession in Malaysia. Liu's (1999) study with seven nonnative-English-speaking professionals provided the framework for this study. Although the result of this research should not be generalized because there were only ten participants, this study offers opportunities to probe further the issue of the effects of the native and nonnative labeling.

Analysis of the participants' responses to the questionnaire and semi-structured interview showed that there is a large wage discrepancy between expatriate NESTs and Malaysian nonNESTs, which is consistent with Jeon and Lee's report on some wage discrepancy which is a common practice in Asia (2006). For example, in China and Taiwan, the NESTs are paid three times more than their nonNEST counterparts (Jeon & Lee, 2006, pp. 52-55) while in Malaysia, at least based on our qualitative data, NEST is allegedly paid five times more than the Malaysian nonNESTs. There was only one NEST participant who works full-time that is compared to nine nonNESTs that questions the reliability of this data. Another wage discrepancy was revealed between a part-time expatriate nonNEST and 3 full-time Malaysian nonNESTs as the latter were paid the same but works 40 hours a week. Again, this report is comparing one expatriate nonNEST to three Malaysian nonNESTs, and further probing is required to establish the reliability of this evidence. However, the salary discrepancy was revealed by the interview data where the participants had experienced this issue personally or knew of someone who had. All participants' felt that this practice is

unfair; they also agreed that large discrepancy in pay causes a divide among English teachers (local and expatriate) and unhappiness to the less favored group.

In response to the effect of the importation of expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs to the morale of Malaysian nonNESTs, although the quantitative data revealed that the participants were highly ambivalent, the written and interview responses revealed that majority of the participants agreed that the morale of Malaysian nonNESTs are affected negatively. Participants perceived that Malaysian nonNESTs often compare themselves to the expatriate NESTs and feel inadequate, which results in low self-esteem. In addition, the large discrepancy in wages and the low employability of nonNESTs made the local English teachers unhappy. Similar results were reported by Rajagopalan (2005) with Brazilian nonNEST, as participants felt like second class citizens in their workplace, and that they were “doomed to be chasing an impossible ideal” (p. 289).

The issue on the low morale of nonNESTs in ELT profession was also reported by Moussu (2010) in her study where 96 ESL teachers and administrators in an Intensive English Program were asked about their perceptions on the weakness of the nonNESTs. Both the ESL teachers and administrators noted that lack of self-confidence as one of the major weaknesses of nonNESTs (Moussu, 2010, pp. 410-411). The study also revealed that nonNESTs perceived themselves as lacking confidence (Moussu, 2010, p. 409). There seems to be a pattern of low self-esteem among nonNESTs in the ELT profession.

Furthermore, this study also confirmed that the native/nonnative labelling has a huge impact on employability; participants agreed that NESTs are more likely to get hired than nonNESTs based on race. Similar results were reported by Clark and Paran (2007) with 90 educational institutions in the UK where 68.9% did not hire nonNESTs (p. 420). Likewise, Jeon and Lee (2006) reported that preference for NESTs is a prevalent practice in Asia. In our study participants argued that qualification, training, and relevant teaching experience

should take precedence over the teacher's country of birth or language background in hiring English teachers. This idea is supported by Medyes (1994), a pioneer in the topic of nonnative English teachers in ELT profession, who argued that "NESTs and non-NESTs are potentially equally effective teachers, because in the final analysis their respective strengths and weaknesses balance each other out" and therefore, "language teachers should be hired solely on the basis of their professional virtues, regardless of their language background" (p. 494). Likewise, this concept of equality is supported by the international TESOL organization's effort to eliminate discrimination in hiring and pay as a result of the labeling (native or nonnative). In fact, TESOL released an official statement that calls for ELT profession to focus on English teachers' qualifications, experiences, and skills, and not just their native speaker status.

A surprising finding in this study was the participants perceived importance of bringing in expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs in Malaysia to improve the English proficiency of the students. One participant who is an expatriate NEST felt that expatriate English teachers provide more opportunities in terms of the depth of the language as well as the exposure to different dialects of English. On the other hand, a Malaysian nonNEST felt that importation of expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs is unnecessary as there are enough qualified teachers in Malaysia, and argued that some of the expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs did not even have qualifications to teach. The other participant, who is also a Malaysian nonNEST, felt that the importation could be justified as the government reported that there is a shortage of qualified Malaysian nonNESTs; however she felt that the presence of expatriate NESTs do not really have an impact on improving the English proficiency of Malaysian students as the Ministry of Education reported of the continuous decline. The issue of whether the importation of expatriate NESTs improves the overall English proficiency of Malaysian students needs to be studied and explored in-depth.

Another critical finding in this study is that the self-ascriptions of the Malaysian nonNESTs were varied because of their perceived exposure to English language and acceptance by the English language community. This finding supports the notion that language identity is affected by the acceptance (or rejection) of the speech community (Inbar-Lourie, 2006). According to Inbar-Lourie (2005), “with the massive spread of English, currently accepted norms of native speaker status will be revisited and perhaps revised to include populations presently excluded from the native speaker speech community” (p. 278). This finding supports the problematic nature of native and nonnative dichotomy that Medyes (1994) felt that “for all its shortcomings, should not be rejected, overlooked, or blurred, but rather subjected to close scrutiny” (p. 429).

Limitations of the study

The greatest limitation to this study is its small number of participants. There were only ten respondents to the survey (one expatriate NESTs, two expatriate nonNESTs, and seven Malaysian nonNESTs). Three of the ten agreed to do a semi-structured interview, but one opted out. The two interviewees consisted of one expatriate NEST and one Malaysian nonNEST). The small number of participants in this study cannot be considered representative of each category of the population of teachers in Malaysia. However, it must be noted that this research was framed from Liu’s (1999) research study that had seven participants. One factor that might have affected the number of participants was the short period of which the questionnaire was made available; it was only available for one month from the time it was posted on social media and emailed to potential participants to the deadline of the questionnaire availability. Another factor would be that the issue of wage and importation of expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs is a highly charged topic in Malaysia that the target population would opt not to participate in this study. With that said, this study suggests a longer data collection timeframe, perhaps a period of 6 to 12 months.

Another threat of validity in this study was the questionnaire's content and face validity. Although the content and face validity were established by the judgment of a panel of experts, consisting of the three thesis committee members—who have reviewed the validity, suitability, and clarity of the questions—it could be argued that a pilot test should have been conducted. Mackey & Gass (2005) stated the following:

A pilot study is a necessary means of assessing the feasibility and usefulness of the data collection methods and making any necessary revisions before they are used with the research participants.

In general, it is crucial for researchers to allocate time for conducting pilot tests...because it can reveal subtle flaws in the design and implementation of the study that may not be readily apparent from the research plan itself. (p. 43)

The same piloting concept could be applied to the coding and analysis method to ensure that the data collected is accurately interpreted leaving no room for ambiguity.

However, the benefit of not doing the pilot study was being able to start the study without delay. Although one can argue that doing a pilot study will ensure the content and face validity of the instrumentation, piloting it to some NESTs and nonNESTs here in the U.S. may not transfer as well in the context of Malaysia. And if the pilot study was done in Malaysia, more time would be required to complete the research—a luxury that the primary investigator did not have.

Another threat to validity would be that the data collected were self-reported and NESTs and the nonNESTs issues may be so highly charged that participants may not be willing to divulge their real feelings. This study assured the participants that any information given would be treated with the utmost discretion and that their names would not, in any way, be publicized. However, there were many missed opportunities to probe some issues brought up from the questionnaire, as well as in the semi-structured interview further, such as what

influences their self-ascription of whether they consider themselves as either native or nonnative speakers and what is the impact of this labeling in the hiring process in Malaysia.

Another limitation of this study was the semi-structured interview. Both participants were ex-colleagues of the interviewer. It could be assumed that participants were more open and uninhibited because of the relationship they have with the interviewer, but it could also have a negative impact as to how they will share their information, e.g., participants would be more sensitive when referring to non-native speaker issue since the interviewer is from the Philippines. One of the ways that this could be avoided is to make sure that there are enough participants that the primary investigator can eliminate acquaintances.

Lastly, the raw data was only analyzed by the primary investigator. To increase the validity of the interpretation of data, it would have been helpful to have a second person do the same analysis and compare the interpretations. Furthermore, a member checking also would have increased the validity of the data interpretation by going back to the respondents and checking if they agreed with the researcher's interpretation.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This research study is the only study to the knowledge of the primary researcher that addresses the perception of local Malaysian nonNESTs, expatriate NESTs, and expatriate nonNESTs in the context of ELT in Malaysia with regards to the massive influx of expatriate teachers in the country. Also, the salary discrepancy in Malaysia between local and expatriate teachers has not been reported nor studied in any published studies.

The findings of this study showed that there is a self-reported large discrepancy in wage and benefits between Malaysian nonNESTs and expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs. The reliability of the evidence to this claim is questionable as this self-reported salary is comparing one to seven others. In addition to wage discrepancy, this study also revealed that participants were highly ambivalent with whether the importation of expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs affects the morale of Malaysian nonNESTs positively or negatively. However, the written and interview responses revealed otherwise. Majority of the participants felt that the morale of Malaysian nonNESTs is impacted negatively. In addition, this study points to Malaysian nonNESTs' low self-esteem as they compare themselves with NESTs.

This study calls for a more in-depth study in identifying the wage gap between expatriate NESTs, expatriate nonNESTs, and Malaysian nonNESTs as well as the hiring practices for English teachers in Malaysia. The hope is that this study can inform lawmakers and raise their awareness of their role in improving the morale of Malaysian nonNESTs by providing them equal opportunities as they create policies that could diminish or eliminate the discrimination and wage/benefits discrepancy. Moreover, this study has implications for the way Malaysia's educational institutions train and educate future English teachers to empower them in propelling the country's goal to be a globally competitive nation. Teacher

education programs in Malaysia should develop courses and materials that focus on Malaysian nonNESTs' own advantages and potential to be good language teachers in order to increase their self-confidence and awareness of their unique contribution to the English language educational process.

Another finding of this study suggested that although the importation of expatriate NESTs/nonNESTs provide opportunities for students to be exposed to different dialects of English and learn the language in-depth, most participants felt that the importation of expatriate NESTs over the years had not had a significant impact on improving the English language proficiency of Malaysian students. In fact, the Ministry of Education reported on the continuous decline of the English language proficiency, and the education ministry invariably attributed this decline to the shortage of qualified Malaysian nonNESTs; thus justifying the importation of expatriate NESTs/nonNEST. We call for a thorough investigation of the cause of the decline of the English language proficiency in Malaysia. Also, the impact of expatriate NESTs on the improvement of students' English proficiency must be examined.

Furthermore, this study revealed that all participants felt that qualifications and teaching experiences are paramount in hiring English teachers and should take precedence over the country of origin or L1 background. The native/nonnative labeling often favors race in lieu of merit. This study suggested that this native/nonnative dichotomy is more complex as some nonNESTs ascribed themselves as native speakers. Although this labeling offers convenience in identification, it should be scrutinized and viewed as multi-faceted.

Although this study is limited in terms of its generalizability because of the small number of participants, the implications of this study have a potentially broader impact. This study hopes to bring to light the plight of Malaysian nonNESTs and to start a proactive

conversation to affect change in the education policy and the mindset of Malaysian nonNESTs.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Questionnaire

Survey Takers Consent

My name is **Syringa Joanah Judd**, I am a graduate student at Brigham Young University and I am conducting this research under the supervision of **Dr. Lynn Henrichsen, Ed.D.**, from the Department of Linguistics and English Language. You are being invited to participate in this research study of the perception of native and nonnative English-speaking teachers in Malaysia. I am interested in finding out about the effects of the importation of expatriate native and nonnative English-speaking teachers have on the morale of local Malaysian nonnative English-speaking teachers. Also, I am interested in finding out what the attitude of local Malaysian Non-NESTs, expatriate NESTs, and Non-NESTs are toward the discrepancies in wages and benefits at work.

Your participation in this study will require the completion of a **questionnaire/survey**. This should take no more than **20 minutes** of your time. Your participation will be anonymous, and you will not be contacted again in the future. You will not be paid for being in this study, but you will have **a chance to win a wireless presenter with a laser pointer and a portable speaker through drawing**.

This survey involves minimal risk to you. The benefits, however, may impact society by helping increase knowledge about the perception of native and nonnative English speaking teachers in Malaysia.

You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to be. You do not have to answer any question that you do not want to answer for any reason. We will be happy to answer any questions you have about this study. If you have further questions about this project or if you have a research-related problem you may contact me, Syringa Joanah Judd at joanahjudd@byu.edu or my advisor, Dr. Lynn Henrichsen, Ed.D., at Lynn_Henrichsen@byu.edu.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant you may contact the IRB Administrator at A-285 ASB, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602; irb@byu.edu; (801) 422-1461. The IRB is a group of people who review research studies to protect the rights and welfare of research participants.

The completion of this survey implies your consent to participate. If you choose to participate, please complete the online survey by March 9, 2018. Thank you!

- Yes
- No

Part I : Demographic Information about Participants

1. Sex
 - Male
 - Female
2. Age
 - 19 years below
 - 20-30 years old

- 31-40 years old
 - 41-50 years old
 - 51-60 years old
 - 61 years old and above
3. Do you consider yourself a native English speaker?
- Yes
 - No
4. Where is your country of birth?
_____ (Text entry)
5. Where and how did you learn English while growing up? (List all the countries, environments/institutions, and the length of your English study)
_____ (Text Entry)
6. Highest level of education (completed)
- High School
 - Associates
 - Bachelor
 - Masters
 - Doctorate
 - Post. Doctorate
 - Professional certification in TESOL/TEFL/Applied Linguistics, etc. (e.g., ICELT, CELTA, DELTA, etc.)
7. Employment Status in Malaysia
- Local Malaysian Non-native English teacher
 - Expatriate Native English-speaking teacher (from countries whose primary national language is English)
 - Expatriate Non-native English-speaking Teacher (from other foreign countries whose primary national language is NOT English)
 - None of the above
8. Employment Status
- Part-Time
 - Full Time
 - Volunteer
9. Monthly Salary
- Less than RM 1,000
 - RM 1,001 – RM 2,000
 - RM 2,001 – RM 3,000
 - RM 3,001 – RM 4,000
 - RM 4,001 – RM 6,000
 - RM 6,001 – RM 8,000
 - RM 8,001 – RM 10,000
 - RM 10,001 – RM 15,000
 - RM 15,001 – RM 20,000
 - RM 20,001 – RM 25,000
 - Over RM 25,000
10. Employment Benefits (check appropriate boxes)
- Paid vacation/holiday
How many days/weeks/months? _____ (Text Entry)
 - Paid sick leave

teachers in Malaysia is unnecessary. (Please explain why you feel this way)

I. The use of government/private funds to hire expatriate English teachers is justified. (Please explain why you feel this way)

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

J. The importation of expatriate English teachers makes local Malaysia English teachers unhappy. (Please explain why you feel this way)

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

Part 3: Consent to Participate in an Interview

16. Are you willing to do a 30-minute interview via Skype, social media, or email at your convenience?

Yes

Please write your email address: _____ (Text Entry)

Note: Your information will be treated with utmost confidentiality, and at the conclusion of the study, all identifying information will be removed. Your participation in the interview will give you a chance to win a wireless presenter with a laser pointer and a 3TB hard drive through drawing.

No

Note: If you win the drawing for completing the survey, please write your email address so we can notify you of your prize.

Please write your email address: _____ (Text Entry)

Appendix B: Interview Consent

Consent to be a Research Subject

Introduction

This research study is being conducted by **Syringa Joanah Judd, a graduate student of TESOL** at Brigham Young University to determine the administrative, financial or pedagogical challenges that the importation of expatriate native and nonnative English-speaking teachers create for the Malaysian education system. Furthermore, this study will look into the effects of this importation has on the morale of local Malaysian nonnative English-speaking teachers. Finally, this research study will found out the attitude of local Malaysian Non-NESTs, expatriate NESTs and Non-NESTs toward the discrepancies in wages and benefits at work. You were invited to participate because we want to help increase knowledge about the perception of native and nonnative English speaking teachers in Malaysia.

Procedures

If you agree to participate in this research study, the following will occur:

- you will be interviewed for no more than thirty (30) minutes about your perceptions on native and nonnative English-speaking teachers in Malaysia
- the interview will be audio recorded to ensure accuracy in reporting your statements
- part/s of the transcription of the audio recording pertinent to the study will be directly quoted in presentation/publications, but the audio clips will not be used in any presentation
- the interview will take place via Skype, Facebook messenger, or through email correspondence at a time convenient for you
- the researcher may contact you later to clarify your interview answers for no more than fifteen (15) minutes.
- total time commitment will be no more than 45 minutes

Risks/Discomforts

Your participation will be treated with the utmost discretion and your names/contact information will not, in any way, be publicized. Instead, a coding system will be used to identify you as a participant in the study (pseudonym). The data will be stored on the Qualtrics® system network and the primary investigator's password protected hard drive that will only be accessed by the primary investigator, co-investigator, and two (2) thesis committee members.

Benefits

There will be no direct benefits to you. It is hoped, however, that through your participation may impact society by helping increase knowledge about the perception of native and nonnative English speaking teachers in Malaysia.

Confidentiality

The research data will be kept **on password protected hard drive** and only the primary investigator, co-investigator, and two (2) thesis committee members will have access to the data. At the conclusion of the study, all identifying information will be removed, and the data will be kept in the researcher's locked **cabinet**.

Compensation

You will not be paid for being in this study, but you will have a chance to win a wireless presenter with a laser pointer and 3TB hard drive through drawing.

Participation

Participation in this research study is voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at any time or refuse to participate entirely.

Questions about the Research

If you have questions regarding this study, you may contact Syringa Joana Judd at syringa.domingo@gmail.com or Dr. Lynn Henrichsen, Ed.D., at Lynn_Henrichsen@byu.edu for further information.

Questions about Your Rights as Research Participants

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant contact IRB Administrator at (801) 422-1461; A-285 ASB, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602; irb@byu.edu.

Statement of Consent

I have read and understood the above consent and desire of my own free will to participate in this study.

Signature of Participant

Date: _____

Appendix C: Participants' Interview Transcript

Participant : Mr. U
 Date : 27 December 2018 (7:00 am MST; 10:00 pm Malaysia)
 Media : via FB messenger video call
 Interviewer's Location : Residence in South Jordan, UT, USA
 Participant's Location : Residence in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
 Transcriber : Syringa Joanah Domingo Judd

- 1 I: The first one, you answered about *the employment of expatriate native English-*
 2 *speaking teacher in Malaysia is important in improving the English proficiency of*
 3 *students*. This one, you actually made a comment that “It helps students to have
 4 more opportunities in life.” Uh, my question for you is, I don't think you actually
 5 wrote down your level of agreement on this one. (Uh) Like how strongly you agree
 6 or somewhat disagree, but you said something that “It helps students to have more
 7 opportunities in life.” What kind of opportunities do you think students will gain
 8 from having a native speaker as their English teachers?
- 9 P: Uh, well, (.) how do you explain that (.) I think that the native speakers when
 10 they're teaching English, they can teach English to, uh, a (degree) of depths. Uh, it
 11 gives them more of opportunities to look at, uh, lectures and things like that, and a
 12 lot more depth and gives them a lot more, mhm, ideas to think about life and things
 13 like that.
- 14 I: Okay, so, when you say in depth, uh, at what degree of depth does the native
 15 speaker provide for students of English?
- 16 P: Well, uh, I think we go on to a lot more (subjective) ideology and to the actual
 17 language, the meanings, the hidden meanings behind the word. Uh, we just go on to
 18 a lot of more (thoroughly) than Malaysian teachers here, so it opens up a realm, a
 19 lot of more possibilities for students, uh, when it comes to their writing styles (...) is
 20 that okay?
- 21 I: Yes, yes. So, the second statement here is the employment of expatriate, these are
 22 expatriate non-native English teachers, okay? These would be, uh, teachers from
 23 foreign countries like Iran for example, the Philippines, I think they've hired people
 24 from India as well. Uh, how important is it for them in improving the English
 25 proficiency of students there? Your answer here it says, “It exposes them to
 26 different dialects.” How do you feel about (the) proficiency of non-native speakers
 27 from different ESL countries? Can you site an example or people you have worked
 28 with that are nonnative as an example for your answer.
- 29 P: U, I think the perfect example would be Mr. [name of teacher] from [name of
 30 school], wouldn't it? If I remember correctly, Mr. [name of teacher]'s from Iran.
 31 But you look at his English. He's English is absolutely fantastic. But, mhm, there's,
 32 I'm trying to think of other examples (...) Oh! There was a person I worked with in
 33 Mont Kiara. Ugh, I'm trying to remember her name (.) Uh, she's from the
 34 Philippines. Uh, what's her name (...) [name of teacher]! Her name's [name of

35 teacher]. She was from the Philippines, and, but, uh, her level of English wasn't so
 36 good. But it was more her dialect? She had a very, uh, how can I describe it? (.) uh,
 37 it was slightly broken, but she reduced her own little words when she was speaking
 38 English. Mhm, she added a level of slang and sometimes she would be saying
 39 something, but what? I always find it quite funny though coz her English was
 40 perfectly understandable, but it just had this other level to it, you know, that I find
 41 very very interesting. But, whereas, like Mr. [name of teacher] was, well, his
 42 English is well, I mean almost perfect. It just has a slight Iranian slang to it. That's
 43 where I find Differences in everyone's English adds to the, uh, complexity of
 44 English language. I think it's where it gives a lot more possibilities for students
 45 where they can experience a lot of different types of English.

46 I: The next one I have here is the importation of expatriate English teachers in
 47 Malaysia. In your experience, does it affect Malaysian teachers negatively or
 48 positively?

49 P: Say that again?

50 I: Does it affect the morale of the local teachers with, you know, the presence of
 51 expatriate teachers, either native or nonnative speakers?

52 P: I think it does, yeah. I think, it causes, uh, it causes them to question their own
 53 confidence in their English language because, like, obviously they teach English
 54 their way and their style and everything, but then you have, uh, these, you know,
 55 foreigners coming in and taking over their jobs, and they're like, but I can teach
 56 English, why can't I be in that position? Mhm, so I think it affects them negatively,
 57 that would be. But I mean, on a flip side of it, if the person themselves were more of
 58 a challenge-oriented kind of person, they're probably take it in positive way and
 59 say, well, I have to improve myself more to be better than people, obviously who
 60 have more experience than me. You know, so, but I think it affects them in a
 61 negative way more.

62 I: The next statement here is about the discrepancy in remuneration, the salary
 63 between local and expat teachers. You commented that you strongly agree about the
 64 large discrepancy native speakers "English teachers are automatically given a
 65 higher salary if they are white." How so? And has this been your general
 66 experience? What are your feelings about it?

67 P: (...) Uh, to be honest, I don't like it. Uh, It causes, uh, when I was working at [name
 68 of school] it actually caused a lot of problems with, uh, the staff that I worked with.
 69 Because, uh, one of the teachers I worked with, she was there for, I think it was
 70 about 10 years or so she's been working at [name of school]. And then, when I
 71 came in, and then she asked me, she was like, hey, how much you're making? Well,
 72 uh, And I thought, ah, to hell with that, I'll just be honest with it. I said, I'm making
 73 RM6,000 and she's like, oh really? Well, I said, yeah. I was like, how much you
 74 making? She said 3 and a half. I was like (?), I kinda feel bad for 'em, you know,
 75 coz I just came into that place and I just started working, and she's been there for 10
 76 years. I just think it was a bit shocking, to be honest with you. I mean a lot of people
 77 can argue about experience and knowledge and things like that, but I mean,

- 78 basically we're all doing the exact same job, you know? We're all trying our best.
79 And, we're all putting the effort in and all the, taking all the heartaches, all the (.) if
80 we do something wrong and taking the punishment from (?) so why should we not
81 be making the same salary?
- 82 P: I share your sentiment about, mhm, it's just uncomfortable to talk about it.
83 Culturally, in Malaysia, in Asian countries, it's kind of okay to ask questions about
84 salary. I'm sorry I have to ask about that, by the way.
- 85 I: Nah, it's alright, it's alright. Uh, the thing I always wonder, you see, you the
86 administrative stuff; hiring foreigners from overseas and all that, why can't the
87 same exact same money be used to invest on the teachers that they already have to
88 give them a much better and a much higher education? I mean I'm pretty sure that if
89 you take a Malaysian teacher, student or whoever, and put them through the exact
90 same course that I went through, I'm, pretty sure they're just as good in English as I
91 am.
- 92 I: So, in your general experience right now with the current graduates, you know, like
93 college graduates or high school graduates, how prepared do you think, or how
94 good is the English proficiency of college students in Malaysia?
- 95 P: (.) Well, uh, that kind of question comes down to individual students and how
96 hardworking they are. But as a general kind of overview? The kids are not 100%
97 fully prepared especially with their English. Because they're not really sure how to
98 analyze certain piece of literature. They're not sure how to really read into it and
99 analyze it.

END OF INTERVIEW—(1 MP3 RECORDING 39 MINUTES AND 43 SECONDS)

Participant : Ms. M5
 Date : 27 December 2018 (8:00 am MST; 11:00 pm Malaysia)
 Media : via Skype video call
 Interviewer's Location : Residence in South Jordan, UT, USA
 Participant's Location : Residence in Ipoh, Malaysia
 Transcriber : Syringa Joanah Domingo Judd

100 I: "The employment of expatriate native English-speaking teachers in Malaysia is
 101 important in improving the English proficiency of students." You somewhat
 102 disagree and commented, *I don't think that your country of origin necessarily*
 103 *indicated that you'd be proficient in teaching a language, even if it's your first*
 104 *language*. So, can you elaborate this a little bit more? And what do you think is
 105 important in teaching English then if being native isn't a qualification really?

106 P: Okay, well, the thing is, I've always felt like, uh, just because you were born at a
 107 certain place, so called, the uh, the English speaking countries, such as the USA, the
 108 UK, Australia, okay, I mean like this sort of countries, doesn't necessarily mean that
 109 just because you were born there, you'll be an expert teacher overnight. Just
 110 because you woke one day and (...) you can say I was born in Australia (...) I think
 111 that teaching a language requires training, first of all. Right? So long as you have
 112 training and a good base, I think, of the language (.) Why do you have to be born in
 113 a certain place, that's where I'm coming from.

114 I: Training and good grasp of the language would make for a good teacher. Uh,
 115 another, the second statement, Juliana, is about "The employment of expatriate non-
 116 native English-speaking teachers." These are teachers coming from the Philippines,
 117 for example, or China, or from Iran, anywhere that their primary national language
 118 outside the classroom is not English. So how do you feel, you did mention that you
 119 disagree from this statement and you said, *I don't think it's important where a*
 120 *teacher is from whether from a foreign country whose national language is English*
 121 *or not*. How do you feel, this is from your personal interactions and experiences
 122 with non-native English-speaking teachers? How do you feel about their proficiency
 123 or their training, in other words, or good grasps of the English language? How do
 124 you feel about that?

125 P: This is the expat non-native English-speaking teachers.

126 I: Yes.

127 P: "Is important in improving the English (?)" (.) Well, actually, I was disagreeing
 128 with the phrase "is important in improving the English" see, that's what I was
 129 disagreeing with. Yeah. Meaning that I don't think that these (specific) teachers, the
 130 nonnative expat teachers, are important in improving (...)I think basically, it's the
 131 same thing, I don't think it's important where you're coming from or where you
 132 were born, but how you were qualified to teach, what qualifications do you have,
 133 and of course, what your own proficiency is. So, it doesn't matter whether you were
 134 born in a so-called English-speaking country or not. I don't think that's important at

- 135 all or I don't think it even comes into play when you're talking about whether a
136 teacher is proficient or not.
- 137 I: So, there's a large influx of expatriates in Malaysia. Why do you feel that the
138 Ministry of Education or Malaysian government would want to hire expatriate
139 native and nonnative alike?
- 140 P: (Sigh) I can't say I know why the government has decided to do that, but I think it's
141 a kind of, uh, it's a stuck-up measure. I think it's like (?), you have a problem, as in
142 you don't have enough, uh, English teachers. We're talking about English teachers,
143 right?
- 144 I: Yes.
- 145 P: So, you don't have enough English teachers and you need to fix this problem.
146 What's, what's the first thing they do? They throw money at the problem. So,
147 basically, they bring (?) in to fill in the gaps. So, you don't have enough good
148 English teachers in Malaysia who are locals, (?). I think that's where they are
149 coming from.
- 150 I: The lack of local teachers, do you think lack of proficient teachers or just lack of
151 number in general? Are we talking about proficient local English teachers or just
152 there's a dwindling in numbers and we can't, and we just have to get people here?
- 153 P: But I don't have the facts, I've not done (?). I don't know really if there's a lack of
154 (.) I don't know if there's a shortage. That's what they say. They claim that there's a
155 shortage and therefore they justify in bringing all these teachers in from outside of
156 Malaysia. So, I don't know if there's a shortage. You know sometimes things
157 happen and they say they make justifications for it, but they claim there's a shortage
158 and so they're bringing these teachers in. I don't see a problem with it so long as it
159 actually improves the situation in Malaysia, in terms of improving the standard of
160 English in local schools, but actually, to be quite honest, I don't see that, uh, impact.
161 They've been bringing these teachers in for quite a number of years, now, right?
- 162 I: Yes, yes, yeah.
- 163 P: As long as there's actually a real impact in school. Uh, from my own experience, I
164 met, in my master's course, teachers who brought in not to teach in the schools, but
165 to train the teachers in the schools. So, they were brought in not as teachers to the
166 students, but as trainers to the teachers.
- 167 I: Another statement we have here is that the importation of expatriate, has it affected,
168 in your experience, the morale of local teachers. When I say local teachers, that
169 would our Malaysia counterpart. Are they affected in any way (.) with the presence
170 of expatriates?
- 171 P: In the teaching and learning environment?
- 172 I: Yes, generally speaking.

- 173 P: Well, I've (...) I've not worked in a place where we have such counterparts, but
 174 I've seen the way that teachers in my teaching/learning environment behave around
 175 the natives. They kind of, uh, saw as native English-speaking teachers (?). They
 176 seem to have a self-esteem problem? So, they seem to have a bit of a low self-
 177 esteem when comparing themselves with these so-called native speakers. Uh, I
 178 think, just bearing that in mind, that if someone were to be hired into that
 179 environment who's a native speaker, I think that would actually be, uh, negatively
 180 impact the morale of the teachers. I think. I'm making a presumption here.
- 181 I: In our literature reviews, the reason that Malaysia imports expatriates is because of
 182 the shortage of English teachers. How do you think this shortage should be
 183 addressed? They did say that it's a shortage of qualified English teachers, is what
 184 they said.
- 185 P: (...) That's a very tough question. I wish I had an easy answer. But, I don't think we
 186 have a short-term answer for this. I don't think, uh, (...) I heard about some teachers
 187 from national school (.) has proficiency that is worse than their students... I've
 188 heard of that. How do you resolve that problem? How do you teach English to an
 189 English teacher? How do we address the shortage of this English teacher? I think
 190 we had to look at the root of the problem.... Why do you have such bad English? Is
 191 it because your educational system has failed you? So (.) We have to back step a
 192 little bit, and question what is going with our education system that students of this
 193 caliber have gone on to be teacher. Why, (...) you shouldn't come out of formal
 194 education with that level of English. You know? I think that hopefully this (?)
 195 education blueprint and all that, would address the failures of our education system
 196 soon (.) but I think it's a long-term struggle, you know, they flip flop, as soon as
 197 there is no clear (task) they have no vision. (Uh) I think that's why, (uh) I think
 198 that's why we have such teachers (...). So, to address the shortage of qualified
 199 teachers, I think we have to go back to our education system, fix the system and you
 200 can fix everything.
- 201 I: So, going back to your very first comment, that hiring of expats are their quick fix,
 202 unless the root of the problem is known and addressed that's when change will
 203 happen. Unless we don't identify that, this quick fix (doesn't) have an impact (.)
 204 globally in terms of their language proficiency. The last one I have here is one that
 205 you said, *assuming that there is a discrepancy, I would think the unhappiness stem*
 206 *from this bias*. Which from your personal experience, you've never worked with
 207 anyone that's never speaker, so you won't know. (uh)
- 208 P: But then again, I did hear from a friend who worked in, (uh), it's a private
 209 institution, it's (uh) higher level, tertiary level private institution (.) that there is
 210 such a discrepancy because he was receiving a much higher pay than someone who
 211 is in the same position as him, but he was local Malaysian. He's an expat. Assuming
 212 the salary discrepancy is large, I would think that unhappiness [of Malaysian
 213 nonNESTs] stem from this bias.

END OF INTERVIEW—(1 MP3 RECORDING 22 MINUTES AND 17 SECONDS)

Appendix D: Questionnaire Script

1) Social Media Recruiting Script

English as a Second/Foreign Language Teachers in Malaysia,

As part of my MA Thesis, I am collecting data to better understand the effects of the importation of expatriate native and nonnative English-speaking teachers has on the morale of locale Malaysian English teachers. Also, I want to find out what the attitude of local Malaysian teachers, expatriate native and nonnative English teachers are towards the discrepancies in wages and benefits at work. If you are a teacher in Malaysia or have taught in Malaysia, I would really appreciate your completion of the attached survey. The survey should take no more than 20 minutes to complete. Those that complete the survey will be entered into a drawing for a wireless presenter with a laser pointer and a portable speaker. Please complete the online survey on or before March 9, 2018. Thank you so much for your support.

If you are not an ESL/EFL teacher in Malaysia, I would appreciate it if you could share this post.

2) Email Recruiting Script

English as a Second/Foreign Language Teachers in Malaysia,

As part of my MA Thesis, I am collecting data to better understand the effects of the importation of expatriate native and nonnative English-speaking teachers has on the morale of locale Malaysian English teachers. Also, I want to find out what the attitude of local Malaysian teachers, expatriate native and nonnative English teachers are towards the discrepancies in wages and benefits at work. If you are a teacher in Malaysia or have taught in Malaysia, I would really appreciate your completion of the attached survey. The survey should take no more than 20 minutes to complete. Those that complete the survey will be entered into a drawing for a wireless presenter with a laser pointer and a portable speaker. Please complete the online survey on or before March 9, 2018. Thank you so much for your support.

If you are not an ESL/EFL teacher in Malaysia, I would appreciate it if you could forward this email to any ESL/EFL teachers in Malaysia that you might know.