Chengdu Parents' Attitudes Toward English Native-speaking International Teachers versus Local Bilingual Teachers

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Abstract. Situated in the background of China's Chinese-English K-12 education, this study investigates into parents' attitudes towards native-speaking international teachers versus local bilingual teachers. It examines the extent to which parents base their preferences for and perceptions of international teachers versus local bilingual teachers on native-speakerist mindsets through a mixed-methods questionnaire completed by 101 parent participants. Results show what parents look for when choosing a Chinese-English bilingual education, how they perceive the strengths and weaknesses of international and local bilingual teachers, respectively, and the extent to which they prefer international teachers or local bilingual teachers over the other. These results uncover 2 major assumptions, namely native-speakersim and Western superiority, embedded in parents' attitudes toward teachers.

Keywords: Bilingual education, native-speakerism, family and education.

1. Background

K-12 international schools mushroomed across China in the past two decades, hitting a total number of 1243 such programs in 2023 (Chinanews, 2023). The booming of international schools makes them particularly competitive with each other (Yan et al., 2015), which is exacerbated by international schools' high fee-charging (Yamato & Bray, 2006). As a result, international schools feel the need to differentiate themselves to attract prospective families through languages of instruction, curriculum, location, and tuitions, resulting in the typical "business venture" image of international schools compared to schools with an utterly Chinese curriculum (Wang, 2005 as cited in Yamato & Bray, 2006).

Due to high competitiveness among such programs and schools, parents' preferences could weigh heavily in schools' educational and operational decision-making. Studies reveal that English-learning is perceived to be one of parents' highest ranked goals to send their children to a Chinese-English bilingual program (Hu, 2008; Wei, 2011; Shimpi et al., 2015), and international schools in China use Mandarin and English as mediums of instruction, providing students with bilingual curricula in IB, AP, or A-level. On top of the studied parental priority on English-learning, research indicates parents' tendency to prefer native over non-native language teachers (Colmenero & Lasagabaster, 2023). If parents prefer one group of teachers to any other groups, schools might cater to the clients' needs to keep their children, resulting in unfair employment and treatment of teachers, reflected in Kiczkowiak's (2020) survey of 150 cross-national recruiters for English language teachers and earlier studies (Clark & Paran, 2007; Mahboob et al., 2004; Rivers, 2016).

While teachers at international schools of China teach subjects besides English as an Additional Language (EAL), local teachers who do not speak English as a native language could also suffer from "native-speakerism" (Holliday, 2006) considering parents' high expectations for students' English improvement in attending bilingual programs. However, existing literature mostly explores issues of "native-speakerism" in the English Language Teaching (ELT) community instead of in the bilingual teacher community where teachers teach both the language and a subject at the same time, usually adopting the content and language integrated learning (CLIL) techniques. Situated in this background, this study hopes to fill in the current research gap by investigating parental preferences for local bilingual versus international teachers at international schools in China. Additionally, because international teachers may differ from local bilingual teachers racially as well, this study is conducted with the awareness that race may be an additional factor to "native-speakerness" in parents' potential

perceptions and preferences over the two groups of teachers. Aiming at examining the extent to which native-speakerism shapes parent's perceptions of and preferences for international and local bilingual teachers in Chinese-English bilingual programs and exploring any other assumptions underlying these perceptions and preferences, this study asks three questions: 1) What do parents look for when choosing a Chinese-English bilingual education? 2) How do parents perceive the strengths and weaknesses of international and local bilingual teachers, respectively? And 3) to what extent do parents prefer international teachers or local bilingual teachers over the other?

Operational definitions of "international teachers" and "local bilingual teachers" are as follows. The term "international teachers" [henceforth IT] refers to any faculty at bilingual programs or schools who possess a non-Chinese passport and teach at least one class. Because some schools also use "foreign teachers" and "expat teachers", these terms may be used interchangeably by research participants to refer to IT. The term "foreign teacher" is also used in the questionnaire referring to ITs because the direct translation of the Mandarin word "外教" that is used the most common among teachers and parents to refer to ITs in English is "foreign teachers." The term "local bilingual teachers" [henceforth LBT] are Chinese citizens that have taught, are teaching, or will teach at least one non-ESL class at least partially in English. The term "Chinese teachers" is used in the questionnaire for the same reason "foreign teacher" is used. Because China does not allow dual citizenship of any kind according to the Nationality Law of the People's Republic of China (2003, original text in Chinese), this categorization has ruled out the possibility of a teacher identifying as both an IT and an LBT.

2. Native-speakerism

Holliday (2006, p. 1) defines native-speakerism as the general belief that "'native-speaker' teachers represent a 'Western culture' from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology." The production and reassertion of the concept is supported by multiple discourses around authenticity, which see the language use as well as the instructions of the language of native speakers superior to those of non-native speakers. Such discourses include the discourse of standard English (SE) that legitimizes and justifies Inner Circle Englishes as the standard and correct ones, the discourse of establishing native speakers' teaching methodologies as more advanced and superior, the discourse of English Language Teacher (ELT) recruitment where blunt discrimination against non-native speakers is normalized, the discourse of Anglocentric view of English language and its native speakers in ELT textbooks, and the discourse of how power and privilege play a role in perpetuating native speakers' status quo (Kiczkowiak, 2018, p. 32). Based on Holliday's original concept, Houghton & Rivers (2013) proposed to revise Holliday's definition of the term by adding a "bidirection" component of native-speakerism, to recognize how native-speaker language teachers may also suffer from native-speakerism, for this mindset downplays professionalism in native-speaker teachers.

Prior to the term of "native-speakerism", Phillipson (1992) created the concept of "linguistic imperialism" to describe the process of the promotion and maintenance of the Inner Circle way of using English and the inherent linguicism behind this process. However, while Phillipson's (1992) discussion around linguistic imperialism also touches on unfair discrimination based on languages, cultures, and countries of origin, his work in 1992 focused mainly on the discussion of standard English (SE) and the power relations behind the constructed idea of SE. Holliday's term of native-speakerism, on the other hand, underscores the impact of such linguicism on language teachers and language teaching, which is more relevant to the context of this study. Other than language, non-native speaker language teachers may have difficulty with the specific teaching techniques that are constructed as superior in western discourse of teaching and learning (Houghton & Rivers, 2013). This adds to the possibility of non-native speaker language teachers being discriminated against by recruiters and clients. However, studies (Chun, 2013; Zhang & Zhan, 2014) show that non-native-English-speaker teachers (NNESTs) are competent and professional in English language teaching, empirically objects the assumption that NNESTs are inferior in teaching English than their native-

speaking counterparts. In Chun (2013), native-English-speaker teachers (NESTs) were judged to be more effective in their language resources and linguistic competence while Korean English teachers (KETs) were judged to be more effective in helping students with other aspects of language learning, especially by empathizing with students in the difficulties associated with English language learning from their shared L1 with the students and their own L2 learning experiences.

In summary, adopting Holliday (2006)'s original and Houghton & Rivers' (2013) revised definitions for native speakerism, it is a concept that is rooted in the constructed and reproduced linguistic superiority of the native speakers over non-native speakers in the use and teaching of the language, grouping English language speakers, learners, and teachers in a dichotomous native versus non-native way, framing the former as the norm and the advanced and the latter as the deficient, and inevitably creating the antagonistic sense of "self" and "others" (Houghton & Rivers, 2013). Having recognized the social justice issues that native speakerism bring abouts in the teacher community, this study extends from the discourse of ELT recruitment to a new context in Chinese-English bilingual programs in China, investigating parents' attitudes towards local bilingual teachers (LBT) who are non-native-English-speaking teachers versus international teachers (IT), most of whom are native-English-speaking-teachers.

This study aims to fill in the current gap in the literature by revealing parents' attitudes toward native and non-native speaker teachers in a bilingual setting, where teachers do not teach only languages but also subject content. Existing research on parents' attitudes toward native versus non-native teachers, however, focuses on language teachers but not bilingual content teachers (Atamturk et al., 2018; Colmenero & Lasagabaster, 2020; Comprendio, & Savski, 2020). Other studies that do incorporate a bilingual setting investigate parents' concerns, needs, and perceptions of bilingual programs instead of teachers (Chaparro, 2020; Davis et al., 2019).

3. Research Design

To serve the purpose of analyzing parental perceptions and preferences for international and local bilingual teachers, this study recruits past, current, and potential parents of students attending international schools in Chengdu, the capital city of Sichuan, China.

The sample selection criteria for parents include: 1) those whose child is receiving or has the intention to receive an international program/international school education at the high school level in the Chengdu area OR 2) those whose child has received, is receiving, or will receive a general high school level education in Chengdu, but has the intention, or is currently studying abroad at the college level OR 3) those who have an ongoing interest or understanding of international education at the high school level in the Chengdu area and have children. In essence, these criteria are designed to select all parents that have or could have enrolled in a Chinese-English bilingual program.

Voluntary response sampling was used for recruiting participants. A participant recruiting document was circulated in two WeChat groups initiated and operated by acquaintances of the researcher. Both groups have similar member profiles of parents in the Chengdu area interested in bilingual education, international education, and studying abroad in English-speaking countries. There are 659 members in total in the two groups, but considering their similar member profiles, it is possible that some parents joined both. In the end, 101 people identifying as Chengdu parents who met the research criteria participated in the study. Their demographic information is summarized in Table 1 below. Of the 101 participants, 100 identify as a parent and 1 identify as an elder brother to a student.

A questionnaire with 19 multiple choice and short answer questions was filled out by the 101 parent participants. The questionnaire was originally written in Mandarin Chinese, with both the original and the translated English versions attached in the appendices. The questionnaire has 4 constructs: 1) Parents' and their children's demographic information, 2) parents' perceptions of the end goals of international and bilingual education, 3) how parents perceive ITs and LBTs,

respectively, and 4) parents' preferences for ITs and LBTs. Other than demographic information, the other three constructs each corresponds with one of the three research questions.

Table 1. Partipants Information

Self-identify as a parent who -

	Have child that is receiving or has the intention to receive an international program/international school education at the high school level in the Chengdu area	Have child has received, will receive, or is receiving a national high school education in Chengdu, butintends to, or is studying abroad for college.	Have an ongoing interest or understanding of international education at the high school level in the Chengdu area and have children		
Number	64	15	28		
Percentage	63.4%	14.9%	27.7%		

Have a child who is currently going to -

	Kindergarten or below	Elementary school	Middle school	High school	College or above
Number	11	15	34	47	6
Percentage	10.89%	14.85%	33.66%	46.53%	5.94%

Self-identify as the child's -

	Father	Mother	Other		
Number	18	82	1 (identifying as the elder brother)		
Percentage	17.82%	81.19%	0.99%		

Quantitative data is analyzed through descriptive analysis, while the results of qualitative short-response questions are analyzed through coding the raw data by emerging themes (Cohen et al., 2017). The answers to the short-response questions were first exported to a spreadsheet and the author created the first set of labels by identifying the keywords in each response, summarizing and comparing the keywords, and looking for general themes in the keywords. Since all responses were originally in Chinese, the author did this process in Chinese and translated the labels into English at the next phase. After the first round of labeling, the author then went through the answers again and matched responses to the first iteration of labels. Then, the author refined and emerged some labels to increase their representativity of the responses. Finally, the author used descriptive analysis to quantify the qualitative data. The frequency of labels is elaborated in the findings section.

4. Findings

4.1 Parents' perceptions of bilingual education and international schools

8 questions were designed to explore parents' perceptions of bilingual education and international schools. In a multiple-choice question asking parents why they are interested in choosing an international curriculum over a Chinese curriculum, results show that the highest number of parents (67.33%) value students being better prepared to study abroad, followed by their being able to receive international education near home (46.53%) and being able to improve their English proficiency (38.61%). This indicates that the choice of receiving a Chinese-English bilingual education is result-oriented from most parents' perspectives, especially in terms of college admissions results and English learning results. Results are shown in Table 2 below.
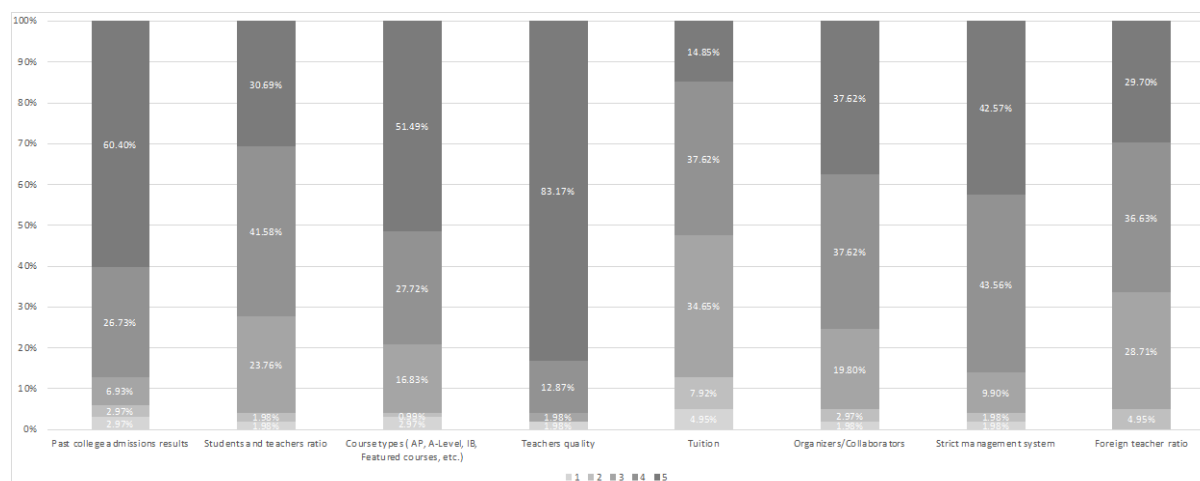

FIG.1 Reasons to choose an international school

Building on the general aim to receive a Chinese-English bilingual education, a following question asks how parents would rate the importance of 8 qualities when choosing the most appropriate school, with 5 points being the most important and 1 point being the least important. Results are demonstrated in Table 3 below.
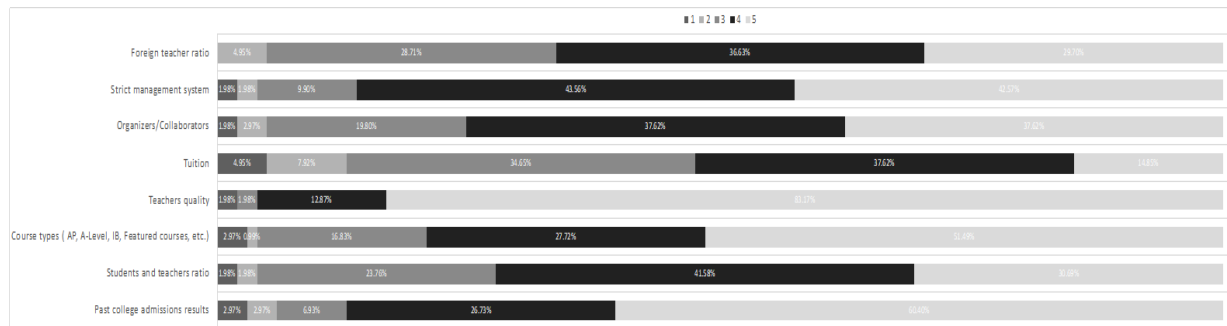

FIG.2 Rating the importance of 8 school qualities

In this question, 3 qualities receive 5 points from more than half of the participants: teacher quality (83.17%), past college admissions results (60.40%), and curriculum types (for example, AP, A-level, IB, and featured courses). This question reflects the importance of teacher quality as recognized by Chengdu parents. What exact teacher quality parents look for is explored in later questions. Past college admissions results rank as the second most highly ranked quality. This corresponds with earlier question's results that the top reason parents choose international curricula is to help children study abroad. The next questions investigate whether parents think Western high school education is better than Chinese high school education and ask whether parents think Western higher education resources are better than Chinese higher education resources. 96.04% of parents answered positive showing again a strong correlation between parents' will of sending children abroad and being interested in Chinese-English bilingual programs. The following two questions ask about how parents perceive the importance of having ITs in an ideal school. Results indicate 86.14% of participants consider ITs an indispensable attribute of international schools, and 71.29% cannot accept an international curriculum entirely taught by LBTs, demonstrating the importance and necessity of having ITs in international programs.

The last question under this construct asks parents what percentage of ITs should there be out of all subject teachers. 68.31% of participants hope ITs constitute more than half of all subject teachers, and 5.94% do not have a preference. This result corresponds with the interviewee's information that parents have a strong demand for ITs, but not that they should fully replace local teachers. Interestingly, the first question under the next construct asks whether parents think ITs and LBTs should be paid roughly the same, and 89.11% of participants think they should. This indicates most of the parents think ITs and LBTs produce roughly the same value as teachers.

4.2 Parents' perceptions of ITs and LBTs

This construct is designed to examine parents' perceptions of ITs and LBTs, which corresponds with the second research question. In a question that asks parents to check the subject strengths that they think ITs and LBTs have, results shown in Table 6 below indicate parents' perceptions of local and international teachers' subject strengths. Most parents think ITs are good at extracurricular activities (59.41%), humanities (84.17%), and ESL (86.14%), while most parents think LBTs are good at teaching math (62.38%), Chinese language arts (92.08%), standardized tests (66.34%), and sciences (55.45%). In general, parents tend to prefer subjects related to English and those that are writing-intensive to be taught by ITs, and subjects that are less English intensive and creative to be taught by LBTs. Possible reasons for such conception are explored in later questions.
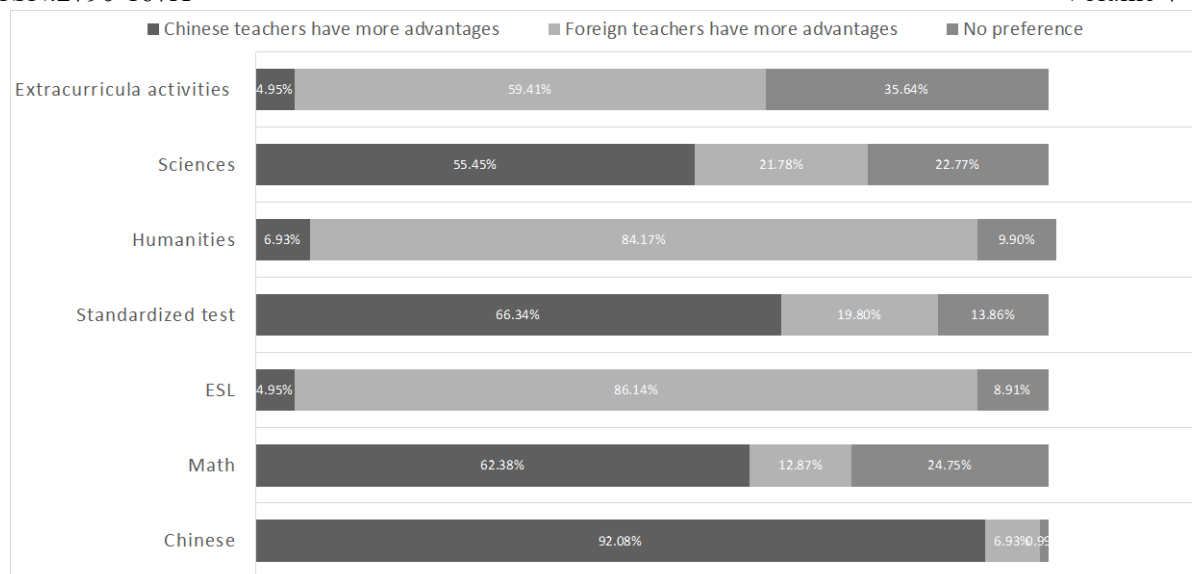
FIG.3 Subject strengths of ITs and LBTs perceived by parents

The next two questions are free-response questions that ask parents what about ITs and LBTs attract them the most, respectively. Seven major codes emerged regarding the attractiveness of LBTs. The most frequent code is "know the students and the Chinese context well," which is identified 30 times, followed by "multicultural and multilingual qualities," brought up 29 times. The third most frequent code is "easy to communicate" (21 times), followed by strong subject knowledge (14 times), then "good at tests and increasing scores" (9 times), "strong sense of responsibility" (4 times), and "hard-working" (3 times). 3 parents did not find reasons that LBTs are attractive.

Similarly, the question that asks about the attractiveness of ITs has 8 emerging codes in responses. The most frequent is "Western culture and Western way of thinking," 55 times, and the second is "being a native speaker and has language advantages," recognized 33 times. Interestingly, answers that qualify for these two codes frequently mention "原汁原味" in Chinese, meaning "original juice and original taste," reflecting parents' wish to receive the original Western education in which Western cultures, ways of thinking, and language are embedded. The third most frequent code is "advanced values, vision, and educational philosophy" (14 times), indicating a general perception of the Western values and pedagogies as advanced. "The western way of teaching" is ranked the next, being mentioned 13 times. The fifth code is "cultivation for comprehensive qualities" (9 times), which generally refers to critical thinking skills, passion for learning, and social emotional learning. The sixth is "humanistic and scientific literacy" (8 times), referring to ITs' tendency of focusing on decoding the charm of subjects instead of test scores. The seventh is personality, such as being inclusive and friendly, mentioned 3 times, tied with "none" (3 times), where 3 parents do not think ITs have any outstanding strengths. This question indicates parents' strong approval and demand for Western culture, ways of thinking, and the English language, and shows parents' tendency to link them to having ITs at school. Codes identified in this question reveal parent's native-speakerist way of thinking, which idealizes the teaching practices, teaching methodologies, and teaching philosophies of the native-speakers of English as well as the Western culture that they represent.

The next two questions investigate how parents perceive the general weaknesses of ITs and LBTs. Regarding the weaknesses of ITs, 7 codes emerged from the answers. The biggest weakness of ITs is "lack of understanding about the Chinese language and culture and related communication barrier," identified 28 times, followed by "uneven levels of subject knowledge and teaching skills" (19 times), and then "instability and high mobility" (17 times). Parents specifically write that high mobility harms student-teacher relationship building. The fourth most commonly recognized weakness is "deficient in professionalism and sense of responsibility" (15 times). Parents typically think being unprofessional and irresponsible is evident in that ITs have much shorter office hours than LBTs. The

next common weakness identified is "having too low expectations of students", mentioned 12 times, followed by "not results-oriented enough" (7 times). However, eight parents chose "do not know about this question" or could not think of weaknesses of ITs.

Regarding LBTs, parents identified 5 significant weaknesses: "rigid teaching style and low creativity" (36 times), "do not understand Western cultures or Western ways of thinking" (31 times), "too test-oriented and being too harsh on students" (16 times), "deficient in Standard English proficiency" (13 times), and "outdated visions and values about education" (8 times). As with the ITs, eight parents identified no weaknesses or did not know enough to contribute.

Overall, these results show that the strengths of ITs and LBTs seem to complement their counterparts' weaknesses. For example, low English proficiency, poor understanding of Western cultures, and low creativity in classroom instructions are considered major weaknesses of LBTs but are a top mentioned strength of the ITs. Similarly, strong subject knowledge, understanding the Chinese context and being easy to communicate with, and increasing students' test scores are the top strengths of LBTs, which are also the top weaknesses of ITs. These four short-answer questions show that parents have clear perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages of ITs and LBTs, respectively. In contrast, a few parent participants have a strong inclination towards one type of teachers that they could not think of the other group of teachers' strengths.

4.3 Preferences for ITs and LBTs

The last construct, preferences for ITs and LBTs, is measured by 4 questions. Two of these questions examine parents' preferences for ITs characterized by race, nationality, and native language. One of these two asks parents "If you could choose an IT for your child, all other things being equal, which of the following teachers would you prefer"? They are then asked to rank teachers in a descending order. The overall score of each choice is quantified by $\sum(frequency \times weighting) \div number\ of\ participants$. In this question, heavier weight is given to higher-ranked options. For example, the first-ranked option by a participant is given 6 points in the weight, the second-ranked option is given 5 points, and so forth. The last-ranked option is given 1 point in the weight.

Weighted results are shown in Table 5. The next question triangulates the results of question 14 by asking parents to rate preferences for the following qualities on a 1-5 scale, with 1 being the least important and 5 being the most important. See table 7 for results. These 2 questions show consistent results of parents' solid preferences for white, native English-speaking teachers from western countries. In the former question, 95 parents rank White native English-speaking teachers from mainstream Western countries as the most preferred, and 4 rank this type of teachers as the second preferred. The latter indicates that although being white is not as important as coming from mainstream Western countries and being an English native speaker, it still is valued.
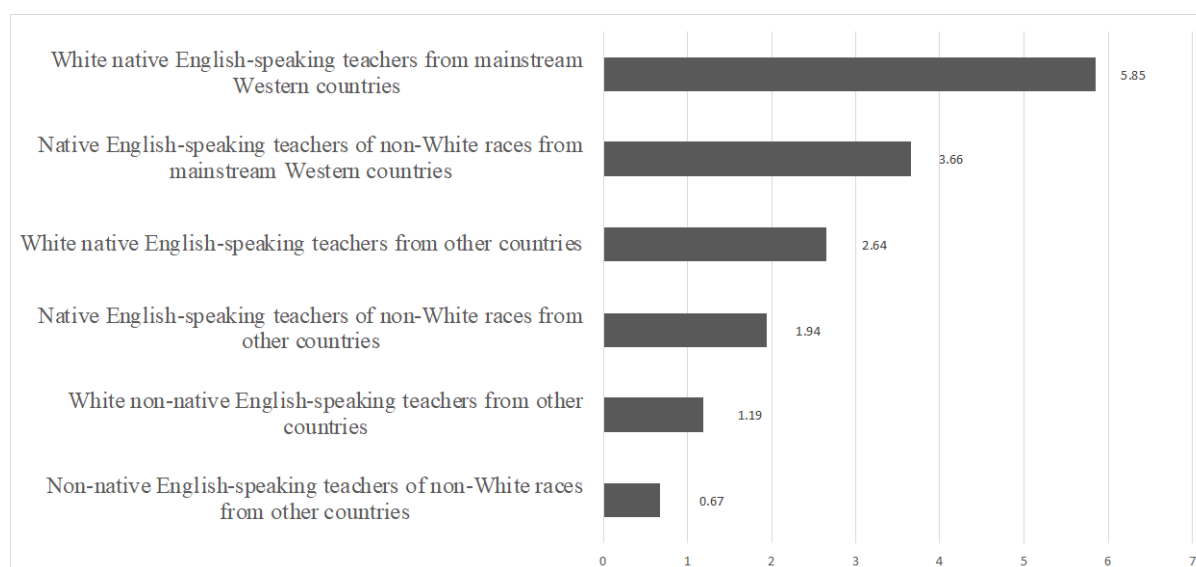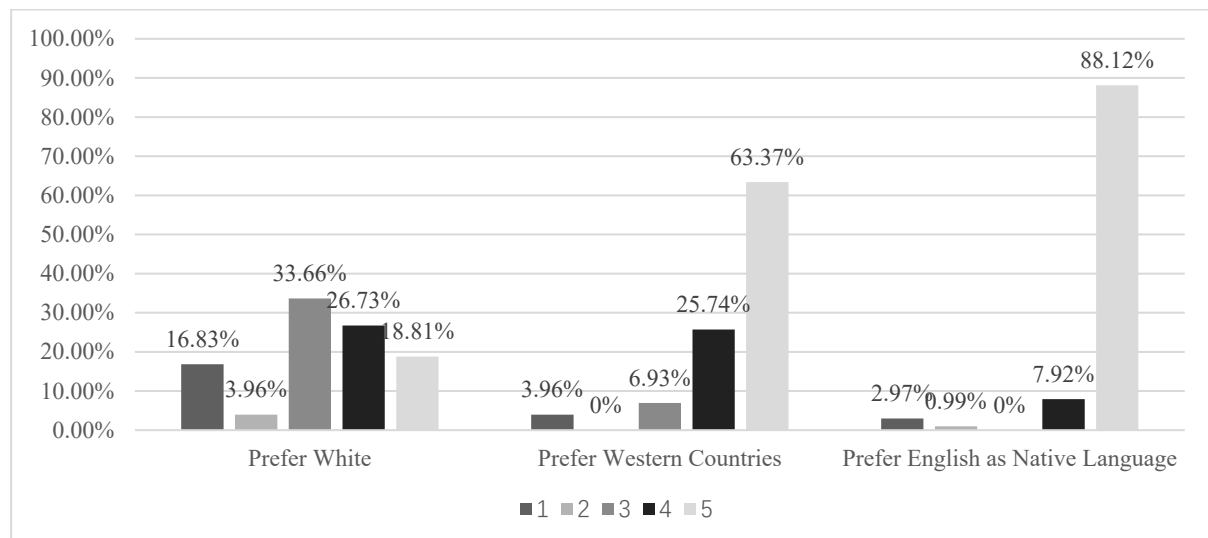
FIG.4 Ranking of foreign teacher identities

FIG.5 Parents' preferences for qualities of foreign teachers

The remaining two questions under this construct directly ask about parents' preference between ITs and LBTs. 57.43% of parents prefer ITs over LBTs to teach their children, 12.87% prefer LBTs, and 29.7% have no strong preference or think it depends on specific subjects. Similarly, 43.56% of parents think ITs are more qualified for teaching high school level Chinese-English bilingual curriculum, 18.81% think LBTs are more qualified, and 37.62% think it depends on subjects and individual teachers.

The four questions of this construct show parents' preference for white, native English-speaking, and mainstream Western nationality ITs over ITs with other identities and show a slight preference for ITs in general over LBTs.

5. Discussion

The author investigated what parents look for when choosing a Chinese-English bilingual education, how parents perceive the strengths and weaknesses of international and local bilingual teachers, respectively, and the extent to which parents prefer international teachers or local bilingual teachers over the other. The research was designed to examine the extent to which parents base their preferences for and perceptions of IT versus LBT on native-speakerist mindsets and to uncover any other underlying assumptions that parents hold. Deriving from the findings above, the following conclusions emerged.

Findings regarding the first research question show the importance of outstanding test results and college admissions results for parents. This information is triangulated and validated in later questions. For example, in discussing ITs' weaknesses, parents critique ITs for being not enough results-oriented and appreciate LBTs for being good at increasing test scores. In choosing the bilingual school or program to attend, parents also deem receiving "a foreign education" and "improving English proficiency" as priorities second to outstanding test and college admissions results. Though native-speakerism is not directly embedded in this ranking, it shows the importance of English learning in participant's conceptions, creating the precondition for native-speakerism to matter in parents' preferences for teachers. Additionally, teacher quality is valued by parents in choosing institutions. This means that schools' teacher profile plays a significant role in attracting parents to enroll their children in. However, what counts as quality teachers is a naturally subjective matter. Therefore, parent's perceptions, conceptions, and preferences regarding ITs and LBTs can have a considerable impact on schools' recruitment strategies, considering international schools compete with each other for higher enrollment statistics. In general, while findings about the qualities parents look for when

choosing a bilingual international school do not inherently reflect native-speakerism in them, the perceived importance of improving students' English proficiency and having high quality teachers provide the possibility for native-speakerism to matter for parents, teachers, and schools.

Parents' perceptions of the strengths and weaknesses reflect underlying native-speakerism through parents' strong demand for native English speakers and an all-English academic environment. Some parents specified that one weakness of ITs is their lack of ability to help students transition from the Chinese environment to the English environment. They appreciated LBTs' language skills primarily because they can help students transition between languages and systems, demonstrating parents' perception that bilingual education aims to transit students from Chinese to English. The viewpoint that native speakers are better suited to teach social sciences and humanities subjects is native-speakerism as it demonstrates an assumption that native speakers do a better job teaching subjects that use English language intensively. Furthermore, findings of this questions sheds light on Western superiority as another assumption. Western superiority is evident in multiple aspects of findings. Parents consider ITs' Western ways of thinking, Western cultural background, and experience in Western education strong strengths of the ITs, and the lack of these qualities as weaknesses of the LBTs. This is evidence of parents' assumption that Western ideologies are superior and more advanced than Chinese ones. Parents' opinion that Western high school level education and higher education are superior to Chinese education is also evidence of presumed Western superiority.

Findings about parents' preferences for ITs and LBTs align with the above observations. Questionnaire results indicate parents' strong preference for teachers coming from mainstream Western countries, which provide further evidence of Western superiority. However, in choosing ITs, 88.12% parents consider being a native speaker is of most importance, while parents do not reach quite a consensus on wanting teachers to be white and to come from Western countries.

These assumptions underlie parents' perceptions and preferences in Chinese-English bilingual education and therefore play essential roles in recruitment, compensation, and work experience inequities between ITs and LBTs. In conclusion, this study was designed to uncover the extent to which parents base their perceptions of and preferences for ITs and LBTs on native-speakerism, and qualitative evidence suggest that native-speakerism is manifested in parents' views of bilingual education and of the strengths and weaknesses of LBTs as well as in parents' preferences for LBTs, ITs, and even different types of ITs (white, native in English, and origin of nationality).

6. Implications

This study is mostly significant for taking the concept of native-speakerism beyond the traditional scope of English language learning to international education and multilingual education. It informs Chinese-English bilingual schools about how parents perceive the strengths and weaknesses of ITs and LBTs and the assumptions behind them. With the assumptions unrevealed, schools as educators could make better-informed decisions on staffing plans than before because they now could decide whether and to what extent these assumptions are valid. More importantly, it challenges schools to step up and act against inequities among their employees. Schools that blindly cater to the needs of parents fall into the fallacy of acting more like "business ventures" than "educators" (Wang, 2005 as cited in Yamato & Bray, 2006). This study challenges schools as educators to carry out their social responsibilities to actively change the status quo of unequal job opportunities and work experience among teachers.

To overturn the status quo, schools could choose to take an initiative by following Kiczkowiak's (2020) critical advice that schools should initiate education for clients (students and parents) about the benefits and strengths of non-native English speaker teachers, which might change their biases against local teachers and stop using "native-speakerness" as a selling point. More important than being business ventures, schools should take on their responsibilities as educators to work towards equity and justice, which will have a lifelong impact on learners who observe everything in their everyday learning and surroundings. Those who later become teachers could enlighten the next

generation of oppressed learners by being confident and courageous enough to stop the reproduction of inequities.

7. Future Directions

This study provides a picture of parents' perceptions and preferences in Chinese-English bilingual programs but does not provide any empirical evidence about how and why these perceptions and preferences are shaped. Therefore, future studies could potentially look at how parents come to hold the perceptions and preferences that they do regarding Chinese-English bilingual programs in China. Furthermore, this study is based on the opinion that parents' perceptions and preferences could potentially impact schools' reaction to the market's demand, as mentioned by various scholars. This opinion is validified by research participants of this study and multiple scholars (Yamato & Bray, 2006; Mast, 2018; Young, 2018). However, future studies could explore whether, to what extent, and how schools' marketing strategies and campaigns could influence parents' consuming psychology and behaviors.

Context-wise, bilingual programs in China also include bilingual education in Mandarin Chinese and a non-dominant language used mainly by ethnically minoritized groups. Colleagues in this field could study whether and how disparities are in place among teachers speaking Mandarin and teachers speaking the non-dominant language. Similarly, Mainland China is not the only context where Chinese-English bilingual programs flourish. Future studies can examine whether and how disparities discovered in this study are in place in similar contexts, such as other developing countries heavily influenced by English and other cross-continental dominant languages.

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