NETs vs. NNETs: ESL Teachers in Hong Kong and the Motivation for Their Use of Classroom Communicative Strategies

Cho Yeung Lee
Department of Integrated Studies in Education
McGill University, Montreal
August 2018

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in Second Language Education

Abstract

This case study, involving one Native English Teacher (NET) and three Non-Native English Teachers (NNETs) at a secondary school in Hong Kong, investigates some of the factors that affect NET and NNETs choices of communicative practices within their classrooms. While there is data examining the differences between NETs and NNETs in an international context, there has not been much research conducted on the reasons that motivated their choice of communicative strategies. For this study, I gathered data using qualitative methods following Seidman (2006) such as participant interviews and in-class recordings. Then, I analyzed participating teachers' responses and classroom recordings in order to identify broad themes which included: the NET and NNETs level of fluency in English; their varying roles, responsibilities and the teaching difficulties they encountered in the classroom; and their use of Cantonese in their teaching, in order to answer the research questions. Because the NET and NNETs at this school took on different roles, they participated in varying amounts of time teaching, had responsibilities within the classroom, and had administrative duties. These factors appear to have had a stronger influence on their choice of communicative strategies, such as the strategic use of students' first language (L1) and their second language (L2). One of the outcomes of this research is to suggest that schools in Hong Kong implement the practice of co-teaching—wherein a NET and a NNET plan and teach an English class together—in order to provide students with more authentic forms of language. This is a case study of one school and, therefore, more research is required in order to determine the applicability of the conclusions from this study towards other Hong Kong schools.

Résumé

Cette étude de cas, qui implique une enseignante dont l'anglais est sa langue maternelle (NET) et trois enseignantes d'anglais dont l'anglais n'est pas leur langue maternelle (NNET) dans une école secondaire à Hong Kong, essaie de découvrir les facteurs qui ont un effet sur les choix des stratégies communicatives que les enseignants utilisent dans leurs cours. Malgré le fait qu'il y a beaucoup de recherches concernant les différences entre les NETs et les NNETs dans le contexte international, il y a peu de recherches qui se concentrent sur l'influence des raisons qu'un enseignant peut avoir sur les méthodologies d'enseignements. Pour cette étude, j'ai recueilli des données en utilisant les méthodes qualitatives énumérées par Seidman (2006) comme des entrevues individuelles ainsi que les enregistrements en classes. Ensuite, j'ai analysé les réponses pour créer certains thèmes généraux, incluant les niveaux d'aisance en anglais, la différence entre les responsabilités du NET et les NNETs, les défis d'enseignement que les enseignantes ont rencontrées et l'utilisation du Cantonais en classe pour répondre à ces questions. À cause du fait que la NET et les NNETs à cette école ont des rôles différents, cela a mené à une différence avec le temps d'enseignement, les responsabilités d'enseignements et les tâches administratives. Ces facteurs semblent avoir une grande influence sur le choix de stratégies communicative que la NET et les NNETs ont utilisées, c'est-à-dire l'utilisation stratégique du changement de langue entre la langue maternelle des étudiants (L1) et la langue seconde (L2). Une solution proposée est l'implémentation de l'enseignement en pair, où un NET et un NNET enseignent ensemble dans une classe pour fournir un exemple de l'utilisation de la langue de manière authentique. Ceci est une étude de cas d'une seule école et donc, il est recommandé de faire plus de recherches pour vérifier l'impact de cette recherche dans d'autres environnements scolaires en Hong Kong.

Acknowledgements

I would like to first thank my supervisors, Dr. Caroline Riches and Dr. Limin Jao. Your feedback and questions that came with each revision constantly challenged me to think deeper about my topic and helped me to grow as a researcher. Thank you both for providing me with the opportunity of doing a thesis, which would never have been possible without you, and for all your patience during the editing process and encouragement that came when I thought that I would never reach the end.

I would also like to thank my editor, Dr. Maija-Liisa Harju, for her edits and feedback which helped me to improve the quality of my writing.

This research was made a reality thanks to the four participants and the administrative staff at the participating school who graciously took time out of their busy schedules to accommodate me, allowing me to interview them and observe their lessons. To the four teachers: thank you for sharing your experiences with me and allowing me to share your experiences and realities with the world. I am sure that your personal experiences and insight will continue to benefit your future students. To the principal: thank you for opening up your school to me and welcoming me so warmly. I appreciate what you and your school have done for me and hope that this relationship between your school and McGill continues to prosper for many years to come.

The beginning and ending of this thesis is a culmination of the wonderful experiences and influences that I had throughout time as an undergraduate and graduate at McGill. I would like to thank Terry Price and Philippa Parks for their examples of what it means to be a good teacher. I would also like to extend my deep thanks to Jim Howden. Despite his busy schedule with work and travels, he always made time to catch up with me or allow me to air out my stress in his office (which was extremely helpful throughout the isolation of thesis writing), and provided me

with thought-provoking questions and continuous encouragement. Without these three influences throughout my time at McGill, I can say with certainty that my enjoyment of learning to teach would not have been as significant.

Finally, I would like to express my immeasurable love and thanks to my family and to Annie. Thank you for supporting my decision to pursue a master's degree, and for the constant encouragement and patience from beginning to end. The constant reminder to take breaks whenever I hit walls while editing or how each revision was one step closer to the end were much needed reminders during this long, and occasionally discouraging but ultimately rewarding, journey. Without all your love, support, and encouragement, I would never have gotten to where I am now.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction

At this point in the 21st century, English has been internationally adopted as the language of use in various sectors of work, education, and general life (Kachru & Nelson, 2006). As a result, many countries where English is not the native language are increasingly implementing policies to ensure that their students learn English. However, there are many issues that arise from learning or teaching English in non-English speaking countries because these places often use and teach their own varieties of the English language. For example, debates concerning the use of Standardized English, such as British Standard English or American Standard English, versus local varieties often arise, along with discussions concerning the perceived importance of *native speakerism* in English: meaning, there is preference put on hiring English teachers whose mother tongue is English (Hu, 2004; Rao, 2010).

According to Holliday (2006), "Native-speakerism is a pervasive ideology within [English Language Teaching], characterized by the belief that 'native-speaker' teachers represent a 'Western culture' from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology" (p. 385). The idea of nativism results in a belief that a teacher whose mother tongue is English is more qualified to teach the English language than one who has learned English as a second or foreign language (ESL or EFL respectively). These complex issues have a significant impact on the implementation of English language education in non-native English-speaking countries that teach ESL or EFL and have led to many debates about who should be teaching ESL and EFL: native speakers or non-native speakers. Note that from this point forward, I will use the term ESL to mean both ESL and EFL in order to be consistent with the terms used by research conducted in Asia.

Many residents of non-English speaking countries, such as Hong Kong, believe that Native English Teachers (NETs) are better able to provide students with English language learning within its original cultural context, and to notice students' mistakes or provide stronger pronunciation models than their Non-Native English Teachers (NNETs) counterparts (Trent, 2012). In addition to this, because NETs are unable to speak the local language, students are forced to use English to communicate with them. Often, students slip back into using the local language with the NNETs (Ma, 2012a), who are locally trained teachers, instead of practicing their English language skills. As a result, schools in non-English speaking countries seek out teachers internationally from English speaking countries such as the United Kingdom, Canada, United States, or Australia. While the majority of the international teachers being hired as NETs have the responsibility of teaching English to second language learners, they do not possess the necessary teaching qualifications that would otherwise be demanded of a local teacher. Essentially, international NETs are hired solely for their native English language abilities despite a lack of qualifications. This causes tensions between the two types of teachers who must work together, because it forces them to debate the question of who is more qualified to teach English in that country (Boyle, 1997; Walker, 2001). As a result, NETs and NNETs often compare each other's language teaching abilities to their own.

In the following research project, a qualitative case study of one specific secondary school in Hong Kong, I arranged to speak with their NET and several of the NNETs over a period of three weeks. Through a series of interviews and classroom observations, I compared each teacher's motivations for the types of communicative strategies used ─ tools that second language teachers and learners use to transmit meaning, such as switching to one's mother tongue (L1) or paraphrasing (Derwing & Rossiter, 2002; Selinker, 1972; Tarone, 1980). From it,

I propose that the question should not be who is the better English teacher—a NET or NNET, as is the subject of many research studies (Árva & Medges, 2000; Butler, 2007; Jeon & Lee, 2006; Lai, 1999a; Ma, 2012a, 2012b, 2015; Rao, 2010; Sim, 2014; Trent, 2012, 2016)—but rather what can they achieve together to provide the best second language learning experience. Although NETs and NNETs are often compared, debates abound concerning which kind of English teacher is more effective in a second language learning classroom (Árva & Medges, 2000; Boyle, 1997; Carless, 2006a, 2006b; Carless & Walker, 2006; Cook, 2012; Jeon & Lee, 2006; Lai, 1999a; Luk & Lin, 2007; Ma, 2012a, 2012b; Mak, 2010; Rao, 2010; Sim, 2014; Song & Andrews, 2009; Tsou, 1997; Walker, 2001). To consider this, I first provide the research context for the study, such as the importance of English in Hong Kong, then I explain the value of education in Hong Kong, and the program in place to hire NETs called the NET scheme. Following this, I situate the researcher, and list the research question, and conclude by providing an overview to the remaining sections of this research.

1.1 Outlining the Research Context

1.1.1 The Hong Kong special administrative region. China has two special administrative regions (SARs), Hong Kong and Macau, whose governments operates independently of the politics of Mainland China. This means that these regions have absolute control in terms of societal, judicial, and economic policy-making without interference from the Chinese government (The Basic Law, 2017). The reason for having SARs is because these regions were previously occupied by European countries prior to their reacquisition by China, as is the case with Hong Kong. Hong Kong was formerly under British dominion and, as such, Hong Kong's official languages are English, Cantonese, and, as of 1997, Mandarin: these are languages used in official documents and by government officials (Setter, Wong, & Chan, 2010).

Because this research took take place in Hong Kong, I provide more information here about the history of this SAR.

The citizens of the Hong Kong SAR have undergone many linguistic changes over the last 120 years. In the beginning, Cantonese was the only official language of Hong Kong. That shifted during the century of British dominion, when English became the dominant language, and was altered again following "the Handover" (Setter, Wong, & Chan, 2010, p.10) of Hong Kong back to China in 1997 when Mandarin was strongly enforced. These changes in the regional ownership of Hong Kong have resulted in a unique linguistic situation over the last century.

Today, Hong Kong is one of the largest financial hubs in Asia, and has attracted international corporations, in part, due to the financial prosperity that has resulted from its linguistic diversity (Setter et al., 2010). The country's financial stability and growth is also a result of its century-long occupation by the British, which greatly impacted Hong Kong's language and culture.

1.1.2 The history of Hong Kong. In 1898, Hong Kong was leased out to Britain for almost a century—agreed to and signed by both Britain and China. After the lease expired in 1997, Hong Kong was handed back to China causing many citizens to worry about the future of Hong Kong (Setter et al., 2010). However, thanks to policies that were pre-agreed upon by China and Britain, Hong Kong has been allowed to continue to govern autonomously. During the reign of the British, significant reforms were made to both the government and Hong Kong's social structures in an attempt to replicate the British Empire.

During the British occupation, Setter et al. (2010) noted that "for historical reasons English [was] the predominant language of the government, the legal system, and the

professional and business sectors" (p. 5), and became the country's official language. This meant that all official documents were required to be printed in English as well as Cantonese, and a heavy bias was exhibited against the use of Cantonese. In the event of a conflict of meaning between the Chinese translation and the English version of the rule, the one that would be deemed accurate and followed was the English version. If there was any confusion about Britain's contractual obligations towards Hong Kong, the English version was considered to be the absolute law. Tsou (1997) explained that "the unequal status of the two languages was clearly reflected [in laws] … and established the basis for English to be the only official language in Hong Kong for much of its history" (p. 23). Under British rule, the English language was deemed superior, and therefore a linguistic shift occurred that placed the use of English above that of Chinese in many areas of society, including those related to finances and education.

Because of the handover in power to the British, and the official shift in use of language from Chinese to English at the governmental level, the population also began to view English as the predominant and superior language. The people of Hong Kong came to correlate a "proficiency in English […] with educational level, prestigious employment, and (not least) with income" (Gibbons, 1987, p. 8). As a result of this belief, parents made great efforts to send their children to English schools which promoted the use of English within Hong Kong society. Setter et al. (2010) have explained that in Hong Kong, "before the Handover in 1997, the vast majority of secondary schools used English as the medium of instruction" (p. 5). Consequently, the use of English in Hong Kong's government, business and cultural sectors made the country increasingly attractive on the international stage.

1.2 Education in Hong Kong

In Hong Kong, education is highly valued—this attitude is similar to other Asian countries, where people believe that a higher level of schooling leads to a successful future (Tsou, 1997). Students undergo standardized testing at an early age to determine whether they will be eligible for admission into the top ranking secondary schools, which can then facilitate their access to top level universities. As a result, students feel an immense pressure to succeed in school. For many, getting into university is an impressive feat, and consequently, there is fierce competition to gain acceptance. Some parents push their children to be competitive for universities from an early age, by taking part in a plethora of extracurricular activities, such as sending them to cram schools after class, or to extracurricular activities such as sports teams, music lessons, or supplemental English tutorial classes.

Consequently, students are put under a lot of pressure to do well in schools by both their parents and their teachers. As students move from grade to grade, from elementary to secondary school, the educational focus shifts from fostering students' desire to learn towards drilling them with exams from past years in order to prepare them for their end-of-year exams. As a result, students have a high level of academic English drilled into them to use for their final exams, but lack the proficiency to use English in day-to-day life (Ma, 2012a; Walker, 2001).

1.2.1 The banding system. A large part of the educational pressure for students and schools in Hong Kong stemmed from the banding system that was in place from the educational reform of 2000 until its abolishment in 2013. The banding system assigned students to schools based on their final exam results. Within this system, Hong Kong primary and secondary schools were initially categorized into five bands: band one was generally comprised of the top 20th percentile of students, and band five had the lowest 20th percentile (Morris & Chan, 2010). This

ranking was assigned based on the overall average of graduating students' Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination results.

For primary school students, exam results at the end of grade six determined which banding of secondary schools they were eligible to apply for. In the highest banding of schools, students were expected to excel and perform well on exams, while in the lowest banding students faced less pressure (Mak, 2010). The repercussions for secondary school students was that "[o]nly pupils who achieve[d] good results in the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE) [we]re allowed to continue to year 6" (Morris & Chan, 2010, p. 252). Consequently, competition to get into top banding schools was fierce and began at a young age (Harris, 2001).

The banding system that was established during the educational reform of 2000 overemphasized grades as an evaluation of school performance and, therefore, final exam grades became critical for both schools and students. For schools, the banding system provided a chance to improve or maintain their ranking, which in turn affected the funding that they received from the government. Mak (2010) has suggested that this reform was challenging for teachers who had to quickly adapt so that they could maintain a certain quality of education expected by the government. Consequently, teachers felt that they had to "teach to the test," addressing only the necessary subject knowledge students needed in order to succeed on the exams.

In high-band schools, students worked hard on their studies to help maintain the school ranking, and teachers tried to ensure that their students received high grades on their exams to ensure their position at the school, and to attempt to improve the school's ranking (Harris, 2001). Students who were classified into the lowest banding often lost the motivation to work hard because teachers expected less of them. Likewise, teachers expected less of themselves and were

less likely to innovate their teaching approaches through professional development (Mak, 2010). In ESL classes in the lower band schools, for example, it was not uncommon for students to have a less-than-functional knowledge of English, and local English teachers commonly resorted to using Chinese to save time and to ensure students were understanding them.

However, recent educational reforms have abolished the banding system in Hong Kong, and instead put the focus on student centered learning. Despite the official abolishment of the banding system, its ranking of student and school status persists in the consciousness of students, teachers, and the general population. Today, there are still some websites that maintain the unofficial rankings of school by band (e.g. www.schooland.hk), and some teachers continue to talk about the academic performance of their school using the banding categories.

1.2.2 The NET Scheme. In order to promote functional communicative abilities in English in the population, the Education Bureau (EDB) of Hong Kong created the Expatriate English Language Teacher Scheme (EELTS) in 1987 (Lai, 1999a). Under the EELTS, schools were classified through the banding system, and had the opportunity to hire NETs to teach English in their schools. Despite the creation of this scheme to promote the hiring of NETs to teach English, the number of schools that participated in the EELTS was very limited, which caused an imbalance between the actual level of graduating students' English proficiency, and the desired level of English from companies that were hiring—the students' performance of English being lower than what was demanded (Lai, 1999b). Consequently, this forced the government to act, resulting in the creation of the Enhanced NET Scheme.

According to the EDB website, the goal of the Enhanced NET Scheme was to "enhance the teaching of English Language and increase exposure of students to English" (EDB, 2013, Native-speaking English Teacher Scheme). The program was first introduced into public

secondary schools in the 1998/1999 school year, and expanded to include public primary schools in the 2002/2003 (EDB, 2013). During the initial piloting of this project, a total of 700 foreign or expatriate NETs were recruited and hired to teach English in secondary schools. The expansion of this project raised many questions, including those concerning the qualifications of the newly hired NETs. Consequently, benchmark exams were put into place to ensure that the incoming international language teachers met the government required standards for language teaching (Lai, 1999b). This program has continued to evolve, finally becoming what it is today, an annual recruitment for "qualified candidates for the selection and appointment by public-sector schools" (EDB, 2013, Native-speaking English Teacher Scheme).

Because English is so important to contemporary Hong Kong society, and the focus on teaching English has increased, it is necessary to understand the social and historical context of the language in this country. These contexts are particularly important for researchers to understand in order to ensure that any research being conducted remain relevant for future of English in Hong Kong, without dismissing the experiences lived by the population. As a Canadian researcher who was born in Hong Kong, I am in a unique position to understand the historical and societal contexts that have led to current-day Hong Kong English.

1.3 Situating the Researcher

I have many passions, but there are two things that I most enjoy. The first is learning, specifically language learning, even though this can sometimes be very difficult, and the second is Hong Kong. Both have inspired this thesis research.

1.3.1 My passion for language learning. I was born in Hong Kong, but I did not grow up there. When I was five years old, my family decided to move to California, and lived there for approximately seven years. It was difficult to go to school there, having no prior knowledge of

any language other than Cantonese and so, during elementary school, I was enrolled in additional ESL classes in order to improve my English pronunciation. Sometimes, pronunciation specialists would come and remove me from my regular class and other times, I would have to stay after school to practice. As a result, I quickly became as fluent as the other students in my class. During this period of English learning, I experienced how language was taught in Western countries.

On weekends and during summers, my mother would send me to Cantonese school. However, it was too challenging for me to learn reading and writing in two very different languages and writing systems at the same time, so my mother reluctantly allowed me to withdraw from the program. Today, as a result, my overall Cantonese fluency remains at a kindergarten level—something that I regret. Still, the short time I spent learning Chinese re-connected me briefly with my life in Hong Kong because the classes followed the same traditional teaching style of repetition and rote memorization. Although I did not realize it at the time, experiencing such a stark contrast in language teaching styles would eventually serve as one of my motivations for becoming a teacher. I found that I appreciated English language learning more than Chinese because I was permitted to make mistakes and because the classes demonstrated a multiliterate learning approach. In English class, along with traditional language teaching methods, I was encouraged to understand and use the language by reading literature and watching movies, which led me to better understand and use English.

During the summer of 2002, my family decided to move to Montreal, Québec. In Québec, only children with at least one parent who is a Canadian citizen and who has completed the majority of their elementary education in English in Canada are permitted to attend English schools (Charter of the French Language, 1977). As a result, I had to attend French school.

In Montreal, I spent two years in "welcome classes" at French school—introductory French classes, where students normally stay for one year, which replace all regular classes to help bring up students' language abilities before integrating them back into regular classes. I did not like French, partly because the teaching style reminded me of traditional Chinese teaching, and for many years, I thought I would never use it except in school. It was not until the last two years of secondary school that I finally began to fully understand the intricacies of the language and started to enjoy and use French more, and this was because of my Secondary 4 French teacher. This teacher corrected my mistakes by taking the time to guide me to the right answer rather than simply giving me the answer, an approach that reminded me of my English language learning experiences in California.

After graduating from secondary school and Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel (CÉGEP), the Québec equivalent of college, which lasts a minimum of two years and is mandatory for Québec students to continue to university, I began to question what it was that made me enjoy learning English more than Cantonese and French. I quickly realized that what I enjoyed most was the way I was taught: My English teachers were always interesting, and although they corrected my mistakes, each time they gave me corrections they would point me in the right direction rather than giving me the correct answer outright. As stated, this contrasted greatly with how I was taught both Cantonese and French, and I became curious about the reasons why differing teaching styles might affect diverse learners and began to reflect on language pedagogy as I continued my studies in university.

1.3.2 My passion for English teaching. I never considered my privilege as a multi-language speaker until I started college and got a part-time job. Being able to speak many languages opened up several opportunities in my workplace that resulted in promotions and the

ability to achieve a higher standard of living. Once I started working, I began to earn enough money to travel to different parts of the world. It was during these travels that I learned just how important the English language has become, and how critical it is for people in major cities across the world to know English. As a McGill student, I also had the opportunity to work with international students from Asia who came to the university to learn English. Through this experience, I saw how language could bridge two contrasting cultures, and gained a better understanding of what English meant to another part of the world. It was humbling to realize that my knowledge of the English language gave me the opportunity to explore the world and the ability to interact with people from other cultures. These reasons became my motivation for wanting to teach English over any other subject.

1.3.3 My interest in Hong Kong. Although I was born in Hong Kong, I grew up in North America—consequently, I did not know very much about Hong Kong when I was a child, and just knew the basics of Cantonese. Throughout elementary school, secondary school and CÉGEP, I continued to use English, and did not have a great need for Cantonese because I only spoke it with my parents. This changed once I started going back to Hong Kong to travel and visit family.

When I first returned to Hong Kong, I felt alienated from the culture. I quickly realized that I knew nothing about my country of birth—it made me feel like an outsider and I did not enjoy being there. Physically, I was like any other Hong Kong citizen, but mentally and linguistically, I was considered a Westerner. For example, my aunt once commented on how my sister and I sounded like English people who were learning to speak Cantonese. However, after I visited a few times, I learned to explore Hong Kong on my own and to meet up with friends from Canada who also happened to be visiting family while I was there. Public transit was confusing

at first, and with no mobile internet at the time, I would rely on remembering verbal directions that my aunt had given me because I was unable to read Cantonese and had limited spoken fluency. The more I explored, the more I began to understand the culture. With time, I grew to love Hong Kong and I found myself feeling less like an outsider.

My passion for language learning and English teaching, in addition to my personal experiences in Hong Kong have, therefore, greatly shaped my interests as a researcher and have led me to want to contribute through my work to the betterment of Hong Kong. The following research project reflects the result of these passions and my desire to help the future citizens of Hong Kong to learn and use the English language fluently in order to thrive in the world.

1.4 Research Questions

The purpose of this research was to better understand if and how NETs' and NNETs' reasons behind using communicative strategies influenced their choice of communicative strategies used in the classroom. In order to investigate their experiences, this thesis asked critical questions such as:

1) How do NETs and NNETs define their roles as English teachers?
    a. What are the similarities and differences between their roles?
2) What are NETs' responsibilities compared to NNETs'?
3) What communicative strategies are used most frequently by NETs and NNETs?
    a. What is the motivation for using these strategies?

1.5 Overview of the Thesis

This thesis includes a literature review, outline of methodology, presentation of research findings, and then provides a discussion and conclusion of significant outcomes. In the literature review, I examine what the existing literature says about native language speakers in relation to

ESL teaching, NET hiring practices, and comparisons between NETs and NNETs with respect to their qualifications, their responsibilities, and the different types of communicative strategies that they use. In the outline of methodology, I explain the theory behind the research methods I adopted, the rationale for my choices, and I detail the research process, which includes information about the location and participants. When I detail the findings, I present the critical themes that emerged from the participant interviews and the classroom observations. Finally, in the discussion and conclusion, I return to address my research questions, examine some of the limitations and end with the project's implications

Chapter 2: Literature Review

There have been many studies concerning the teaching differences between NETs and NNETs in many parts of the world, and their advantages and disadvantages. Some of these studies look into the different ways that NETs and NNETs teach, for example by examining NNETs' use of students' first language, the L1, and how they teach communicative strategies (Canale & Swain, 1980; Lam, 2010). Other studies have examined how students react to NETs' teaching methods compared to NNETs' teaching methods (Árva & Medgyes, 2000; Harris, 2001; Ma, 2012a, 2012b). Many schools, including the one involved in this research, are in favor of hiring NETs from overseas. This is done in order to provide students with a perceived higher quality of English and English teaching by providing a native model for students to follow and allowing them to interact with a native speaker in their local setting. Because this perception and practice are widespread, it is important to look at how the available research accounts for these ideas. In this chapter, I begin by covering the literature available regarding the globalization of English, the definition of a native speaker, and how the term "native" affects ESL teachers. Then, I examine the goal of hiring NETs versus NNETs and consider how these teachers are compared to each other. I also investigate NET hiring practices and qualifications, the communicative strategies or practices teachers use in their classrooms with a focus on the use of the L1, and detail some of the difficulties facing NNETs.

The literature reviewed in this section will mostly focus on Asia because the research takes place in this location and context. While the hiring of native English speakers to teach English in foreign countries exists around the world, the concept of NETs and NNETs are concepts extensively used within Asia.

2.1 The Globalization of English

The globalization of English refers to the dissemination of the English language across the world (Murray, 2006; Park, 2016). Murray (2006) explains that there are three consequences to globalization: 1) an unwanted introduction of the English language into foreign cities and cultures around the world; 2) the rapid expansion of the English language around the world; and 3) the creation of different varieties of English in different contexts due to social and cultural differences and influences. As such, an ever-increasing number of people worldwide are learning English to succeed in the global economy, or participate in global culture (Crystal, 2003).

It is important to this research to examine Murray's consequences concerning the globalization of English in the context of Hong Kong's colonial history. Murray suggests that the spread of English is detrimental because it can change the cultures, traditions and local languages that it is introduced into. Consequently, it shifts the economic power dynamic to those who can speak English versus those who cannot (Crystal, 2003). This certainly occurred in Hong Kong as prior to the British occupation, Hong Kong's official language was Cantonese. However, once the British invaded and took control, they quickly enforced English as the official language for all judicial and economic purposes. This led to English being valued above the local language and culture, giving it more power and authority than Cantonese. This phenomenon, known as *linguistic imperialism,* occurs when "the dominance of [a language] is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between [two languages]" (Phillipson, 1992, p. 47). During the occupation, the people of Hong Kong were forced to learn and use English if they wanted to achieve greater status and wealth.

Murray's (2006) second consequence concerning the globalization of English illustrates the rapid expansion of English as a second or foreign language in other countries. What this

means is that more and more countries are having to incorporate English into daily use. One of the ways that cultures encourage the use of English in day-to-day social transactions is by reforming their school curriculum to include ESL courses; these ensure that students are provided with the means to communicate globally. For Hong Kong, this led to the creation of the NET scheme resulting in the hiring of NETs to help improve students' English language fluency. This type of initiative helped contribute to the increasing number of non-native English speakers who now outnumber native English speakers by a ratio of 3:1 (Crystal, 2003; Davies, 2005). In this sense, the English language stopped belonging to native speakers long ago, and now belongs to more non-native speakers (Crystal, 2003). The ever-rising number of ESL speakers in the world has contributed to the creation of new forms of English being created.

The third consequence to the globalization of English that Murray (2006) outlines is the creation of new forms of the English language. As more countries adopt English, its original form is changed, becoming influenced by local languages and cultures. One example of this is Hong Kong English. This form of English stems from the influence of the Chinese language into English, resulting in an adapted form of English to the local Hong Kong culture. Phillipson (2000) sees this as a natural progression in language adoption and use, explaining that "[i]t is legitimate and valid to consider local uses and functions of English as forming a distinct language" (p. 88). These new forms of English are grouped together to form what we now refer to as *World Englishes* (Cogo & Jenkins, 2010; Jenkins, 2012).

2.1.1 Different variations of English. New forms of English, such as those that appear in World Englishes often seem incorrect to native English speakers. Kachru (1985) categorizes English speaking countries as those reflecting three circles: the inner circle, the outer circle, and the expanding circle. The inner circle is reserved for "the traditional bases of English — the

regions where it is the primary language" (p. 12). Inner circle English speakers would be native English speakers of countries such as the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia. The outer circle represents countries where English was adopted due to colonization and where English is accepted as one of the multiple official languages, and the expanding circle is comprised of countries who accept English because it is an international language and they recognize its importance for example China, Japan, and Korea (Kachru, 1985). As previously stated, even though "the inner circle" is only for native English speakers, the outer circle and the expanding circle now make up the majority of English speakers in the world (Kachru, 1985).

Again, a consequence of the development of new Englishes means that (for native English speakers from inner-circle countries) some of the linguistic features of the emerging forms of English might seem grammatically incorrect. This perception often leads speakers of English within the inner circle to reject developing variations of English. Park (2016) has explained that these variations are generally thought to be caused by learner mistakes or their misuse of language resulting from a mixing of English with local dialects. Consequently, those who hold this view do not acknowledge these varieties as being "real" English. New Englishes are often rejected, therefore, by English speakers in inner-circle countries such as England and the United States (Nelson, 2011). The idea that emerging variations of English are not "real languages," and are caused merely by perceived learner error only comes from those who adhere to standardized forms of English—who perceive these forms as grammatically superior because they follow defined and structured rules. As Davies (2005) explains,

> When we consider variations in individual speech, we should not, however, see the individual in total isolation from other speakers. The kinds of variation possible in our speech are related not so much to abstract norms of the language as to those of the

> particular communities and groups to which we belong and with which we usually communicate. (p. 4)

As research into English language variations builds, there is increasing pressure to legitimate these forms (Park, 2016), and our understanding of what defines a native English speaker must change to accommodate them. As such, it is important to discuss how a native speaker of English has been identified to this point, and to consider how being labeled as a native speaker affects the international English teaching environment.

2.2 Native Speaker: A Definition

How do we define a native speaker? The reason that the terms native and non-native are important for teaching is because "[t]he term *native speaker* as opposed to *non-native speaker* is as widely used in the professional jargon of both teachers and researchers today as ever" (Árva and Medgyes, 2000, p. 356). As such, it is not possible to look at the differences between NETs and NNETs without first understanding how the current definitions of native speakerism came to be.

There are many interpretations of what it means to be a native speaker of a language, and ideas about who might be considered a native speaker. As Kramsch (1997) writes, "Originally, native speakership was viewed as an uncontroversial privilege of birth. Those who were born into a language were considered its native speakers, with grammatical intuition that non-native speakers did not have" (p. 363). However, this definition prevents a second language learner from being declared a native speaker and has resulted in some dilemmas: for example, what do we call someone who left their country of origin during their infancy and, therefore, grew up learning a different language than their native tongue? By considering questions such as this, we can begin to challenge the definition of native speaker we have held onto until this point.

Noam Chomsky (1965) defined the ideal native speaker as a person who is "in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions […] in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance" (p. 3). According to Chomsky, the ideal native speaker's supposed perfect knowledge of a language translates directly into how well the native speaker uses the language. His definition reflected "the position of the founders of modern general linguistics" (p. 4) and was developed to help represent language from a theoretical standpoint. It was generally accepted by linguists for lack of a better definition, but was later challenged and expanded on to include insider knowledge, such as culture and social behaviors that are associated with that language (Kramsch, 1997).

Chomsky's definition must be further interrogated within the advent of the globalization of English, because his understanding of a native speaker excludes many ESL learners because they were not part of English homogeneous speech-communities. In response to debates about who native speakers are, Davies (1991) has pushed for the following definition:

> [P]eople who have a special control over a language, insider knowledge about 'their' language. […] they know what the language is […] and what the language isn't […]. They are the stake-holders of the language, they control its maintenance and shape its direction. (p. 1)

Davies' thinking pushed for the idea that anyone can be a native speaker as long as they have the fluent grasp of a language and the culture associated with the language.

One of the biggest changes to the traditional notion of a native speaker was a shift from the idea that native speakerism was a circumstance of birth to an understanding that being a native speaker might be dependent on the language in which one was taught (Kramsch, 1997).

The assumption here was that as long as the language of education was the same for both native and second language learner, they should both be considered native speakers assuming the same levels of proficiency. However, the problem with this assumption was that it did not solve the problem of acceptance in native learning communities who did not recognize second language learners as being 'native' speakers (Kramsh, 1997).

Over time, the importance of classifying native and non-native speakers of a language has diminished. The term native speaker is a category that is oddly general, yet specific, and as such, there is no definition that can properly define it (Árva & Medgyes, 2000). On one hand, the qualifications of a native speaker are broad enough to include almost anyone who speaks the language with a self-proclaimed degree of proficiency and self-identifies as a native speaker. On the other hand, the category of native speaker is still specific enough to disqualify those lacking in a comparative proficiency to other speakers of English. As a result, there is not one clear definition of who or what constitutes a native speaker, and because of this the Western world has mostly abandoned the traditional definition of a native speaker as someone who learned the language from birth. Yet, in Asian countries, such as China, Japan, or Korea, many parts of the traditional definition of a native speaker are still held on to, and actively influences the selection of ESL teachers, as the choice of materials used to teach English in the classrooms. Butler (2007) explains that with the increasing emphasis of English teaching in Asia, many questions have been raised concerning the skills of non-native teachers and concerns voiced about their efficacy teaching students. For these reasons, Asian countries continue to hold onto the traditional ideal of a native speaker.

Despite the lack of a definitive definition, it is still important to understand the use of native speaker as an idea because, as Davies (1995) suggests, "the native speaker is a fine myth:

we need it as a model, a goal, almost an inspiration. But it is useless as a measure" (p. 157). Since the native speaker is not possible to define or measure, for the purpose of this thesis, I define a native speaker as someone who considers their primary language to be English. This understanding allows the study participants to identify themselves as either native or non-native regardless of their actual fluency in English. It was important to use the myth of the native speaker in this study to examine how the concepts of being categorized as "native" or "non-native" in the Hong Kong context affected teachers in particular.

2.3 'Native' or 'Non-Native' English Language Teachers

The terms 'native' and 'non-native' can have a strong impact on English language teachers, especially when they are looking for jobs, because "the prominence of the native speaker in language teaching has obscured the distinctive nature of the successful L2 user and created an unattainable goal for L2 learners" (Cook, 2012, p. 185). As hires for NETs have risen, the general expectations of language teachers have increased. Employers now favor hiring English native speakers, which marginalizes second language users' teaching abilities. This is in part due to the fact that traditional language teaching methods are based on native speaker fluency, and define second language learners by comparing their differences with natives (Kramsch, 1998). As such, NNETs are perceived as being less suited to teach English because employers believe that they have a lower level of fluency in comparison to NETs. Consequently, companies and organizations who hire English teachers have started listing being 'native' as a strong factor they consider when reviewing applications.

In Asian countries such as Hong Kong, where English continues to develop as an international language and is highly valued by employers, parents are placing an ever-increasing importance on their children to learn English. In response, governments across Asia have

included English as an obligatory school subject to produce citizens who are proficient in the English language in order to help sustain international commerce for their countries. As such, educational policymakers are working to revise their English education policies in order to raise students' English levels through the introduction of programs such as the NET scheme in Hong Kong. These programs attempt to recruit native English speakers to serve as NETs in local schools. In the following section, I provide more insight into the objective for using NETs in Asia.

2.4 Why use NETs in Asia?

Although there are different programs that hire NETs in Asia, the goal of these programs remains the same: "to improve the English proficiency of their citizens" (Wang & Lin, 2013, p.6). Despite having the same end goal, the way Asian countries use NETs versus NNETs varies depending on the program (Wang & Lin, 2013). These differences result in NETs having different responsibilities than NNETs in classrooms and for administrative tasks. In this section, I examine how several countries in Asia, namely Hong Kong, South Korea, and Japan, use the NETs that they hire.

2.4.1 The use of NETs in Hong Kong. Today, following their emancipation from almost a century of British occupation in Hong Kong, people still believe that one must learn English in order to get a well-paying job and to achieve high social status (Lai, 2010). This belief is wide spread across the general population, and also exists amongst teachers. As previously detailed in Chapter 1, to address the demand for English language instruction, the Hong Kong NET scheme was created in the 1998/1999 school year. Again, the goal of this program was to hire native English speakers as English teachers, in addition to the local ESL teachers at the school, in order to expose students to pronunciation models and a cultural context that would help them to

develop native fluency (Hong Kong Education Bureau, 2013). In Hong Kong schools, NETs focus on students' English fluency and interest in the language by attempting to improve students' fluency using pronunciation practices or vocabulary building exercises. As such, their primary role in schools is to raise and maintain student interest while helping fluency. Consequently, since only one NET is assigned per school, each NET is responsible for all the students in the school. This results in NETs having less time per group, generally seeing them only once a week per group. This language teaching approach is similar to how NETs are used in South Korea.

2.4.2 The use of NETs in South Korea. Like Hong Kong, South Korea hires NETs for the purpose of improving the overall fluency of their students. Sim (2014) explains that due to the continuously increasing requirements for NETs, "all schools in [South] Korea nowadays struggle with the challenges of teaching English and schools therefore struggle to hire good quality [NETs] to meet these challenges" (p. 118). This is due to NETs' positive impact on the quality of English being taught, resulting in a plethora of agencies that look to hire NETs for schools (Yun & Kim, 2012; Sim, 2014). The strong push for the hiring of NETs stems from "[t]he rationale that interaction with [NET]s will provide students with more English input, a more authentic English environment, and greater cultural understanding" (Jeon & Lee, 2006, p.57). As in Hong Kong, the focus of hiring NETs is to improve the overall level of students' fluency. However, unlike in Hong Kong, NETs in South Korea have additional responsibilities beyond language instruction. For example, in addition to teaching English, NETs must also help to provide training for the NNETs at their school to encourage professional development and to help NNETs improve their own English language fluency (Jeon & Lee, 2006).

2.4.3 The use of NETs in Japan. Although Japan also hires NETs through the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) programme, their use of NETs differs from Hong Kong and South Korea. Lai (1999a) writes that "[t]he JET Programme is a part of the broader movement towards internationalisation in Japan" (p. 219). Although NETs teach to improve the English fluency of students in Japan, they also must expose them to English culture, by "promoting international exchange at the local level through fostering ties between Japanese youth and the [NET]" (CLAIR, 1997, JET Programme Resources Handbook). Although the teachers do not explicitly teach English culture, it is anticipated that students will learn about the culture simply by having a NET in the classroom. As such, unlike in Hong Kong and South Korea (where the sole purpose of NETs is to improve fluency) the primary goal of hiring NETs in Japan is to help internationalize the country and, as a bonus of hiring native speakers as teachers, improve the overall fluency of students. Because NETs serve such an important role in these Asian countries, it is important to examine their qualifications and to discuss how they are recruited.

2.5 NETs: Hiring Qualifications and the Recruitment Process

The qualifications needed to be an ESL teacher vary from country to country, and range from a variety of different criteria such as nationality, educational background, and personality. Many countries whose primary language is not English will hire NETs in their schools to provide their students with authentic English interaction, to encourage and enrich English use, and model proper English use (Walker, 2001). Rao (2010) explains that "such an exploding demand to learn English has led to a greater need for well-educated and highly qualified Teaching English as a Foreign Language/English as a Second Language (TEFL/TESL) teachers" (p. 55). One common requirement is that applicants be native English speakers, typically following the traditional definition set by Chomsky (1965) as mentioned earlier in this chapter. Some countries, such as

South Korea, require applicants to be from specific countries that are generally considered to be inner-circle countries such as the United States, Canada, or the United Kingdom (English Program In Korea [EPIK], 2013). Other places, such as Hong Kong, allow for international applicants regardless of their nationality.

In terms of educational requirements, most places in Asia, such as South Korea, Japan, and Hong Kong, require applicants to provide proof of a bachelor's diploma or equivalent. However, even in countries that have this requirement, it appears that proof of graduation from any program is acceptable and does not specifically need to be a teaching degree (English Program In Korea, 2013; JET Programme Canada, n.d.; Ruecker & Ives, 2015).

Countries that employ NETs often simply hire applicants because they are native English speakers, assuming that they are better teachers of English than NNETs regardless of whether or not they have relevant teacher education or training (Ruecker & Ives, 2015). Ruecker and Ives elaborate on NET hiring practices, explaining that:

> Criteria for the ideal [English Language Teacher] candidate are often implied through imagery rather than stated explicitly. The images of teachers on the homepage suggest that the ideal teacher is a young, White, enthusiastic native speaker of English coming from a predominantly White country where English is the official language. […] Nonnative-English-speaking teachers from countries outside of the approved list, regardless of qualifications, need not apply. (p. 734)

If hired, NETs typically sign a year-long contract that is renewable if the school wants to keep them. In most cases, the advertisements for these jobs aim to entice potential candidates by promising that they will experience the allure and excitement of travelling abroad and being immersed in a new culture, while being highly paid and having their expenses subsidized

(English Program In Korea [EPIK], 2013; International TEFL Academy, n.d.; JET Programme Canada, n.d.; Ruecker & Ives, 2015).

In Hong Kong the recruitment of NETs reflects a strong preference for teachers who hold a teaching degree, although on the recruitment page of the Hong Kong Education Bureau (2013) it states: "[i]n the event that candidates meeting the requirements in Category 1 - 2 cannot be recruited, consideration may be given to appoint teachers with the following qualifications…a bachelor's degree in any subject from a Hong Kong university or equivalent" (Recruitment of Secondary NETs, para. 6). The Hong Kong EDB outlines seven different categories of qualifications that NET teachers can fall into: Category One being the most demanding and category seven being the least demanding in terms of the applicant's background and whether or not they have previous experience teaching ESL. These categories also reflect the order of priority followed during the hiring process. The minimum requirement for being hired as a NET teacher in Hong Kong in the lowest category (category seven) is a bachelor's degree in any subject from a Hong Kong University, which is an English medium of instruction university, or equivalent.

Having a bachelor's degree is not a necessary requirement for all countries recruiting NETs, however. According to the International TEFL Academy website, a school for EFL certification and NET recruitment,

> [T]here are dozens of countries throughout the world where you can live and explore while teaching English, even without a university degree… Numerous destinations throughout South America, and some in Europe and Asia, will hire you to teach English abroad without a bachelor's degree. With a TEFL certificate and native-English speaking

> abilities, you have all you need to provide your students with high-quality language instruction. (International TEFL Academy, 2012, para. 1)

The website goes on to list some of the most popular countries, such as Cambodia, Russia, or Argentina, that will hire English teachers who do not necessarily have a bachelor's degree. These positions might involve teaching public school students of any level, from elementary school to secondary schools, or even in private schools depending on the contracts available to them. On another part of their site, the International TEFL Academy suggests: "You don't need to possess prior teaching experience, a degree in education, or even a college degree" (2012, para. 6). In a study conducted by Cheng and Wang (2004), just under half of the active teachers who were currently teaching at the junior high school level did not possess a bachelor's degree, but rather, had over 10 years of prior teaching experience as compensation.

Another commonly expressed qualification for NETs is the need to be enthusiastic, passionate, and open-minded. This type of advertisement is primarily aimed towards a younger audience who lack the educational background, qualifications, and experiences that are generally required in order to teach ESL. One example, taken from gone2korea.com, a private South Korean ESL teacher recruitment site, suggests that anyone can become a teacher: "Teaching English as a second language is not rocket science! Anyone with a positive attitude, a willingness to succeed and the ability to communicate can be an excellent ESL instructor" (2017, para. 8). Although these are reasonable qualities to have for NETs who intend to travel abroad and experience a new culture or for travellers in general, it misleads applicants into believing that relevant professional experience and an educational background is not necessary.

These requirements have been determined as the result of a commercialization of English teaching, through which companies overstress the need for the general population to become

fluent in the English language in order to encourage people to sign up and make money for teaching it. The commercialization of language teaching is evident in the appearance of numerous private language schools throughout Asia which offer to provide private courses for various types of English at a cost (Ruecker & Ives, 2015). These schools are profitable because they promote the ideal: achieving a native-like fluency in English through their hiring of only native English speakers (Ruecker & Ives, 2015).

Despite the requirements, or lack thereof, of the various companies in Asia that are hiring, the recruitment process can be quite demanding, and even discouraging to potential candidates, because it can take a long time. Many applications take almost a year to complete, as they ask applicants to gather and submit various documents with their application—this is then followed by a series of interviews (Hong Kong Education Bureau (EDB), 2017; English Program In Korea (EPIK), 2013; JET Programme Canada, n.d.). Even if candidates, native or non-native English speakers alike, complete the application and interview process, they are still not guaranteed a job because English teaching positions are highly competitive and attract many applicants (JET Programme Canada, n.d.). According to an unofficial guide for information on the JET Programme, which has no affiliation with the official JET programme, in 2002, only 37% of candidates interviewed were offered work (The Unofficial JET Programme Guide, 2008). In addition to the high competition factor, there are also subtle discriminatory factors that can lead to the disqualification of a candidate for a position, particularly in the case of NNETs.

2.5.1 NNETs and Discrimination. Though much recent research has shown the effectiveness of both NETs and NNETs in teaching English (Boyle, 1997; Carless, 2006a, 2006b; Cook, 2001; Ma, 2012a, 2012b; Walker, 2001), discrimination against NNETs still exists, although it can manifest in subtle ways through advertising or listed requirements. While the fact

of hiring based on the status of native or non-native existed in inner-circle English countries, the prominence of this practice has also spread to outer circle countries (Selvi, 2010). Selvi (2010) conducted research on hiring practices throughout the Middle East and East Asia that suggested that these countries advantage NETs and disadvantage NNETs. He identified various forms of discrimination that "included advertisements that discriminated on the basis of nativeness as well as variety of English spoken, location of academic degrees attained, and location of residence or citizenship" (p. 173). Another example of discrimination against NNETs can be seen on the EPIK recruitment page. It states that,

> Due to the fact that some schools in South Africa and Quebec [sic] do not use English as the primary language of instruction, some applicants are not eligible for our program. Our policy is that an applicant's schooling from at least 7th grade and through university must have been conducted in English. (English Program In Korea (EPIK), 2013, p. 11)

In this situation, anyone who has not received a majority of their education in English prior to finishing university is automatically disqualified from their positions.

Discrimination against NNETs persists despite the fact that, as Mahboob and Golden (2013) have stated, "being a native speaker of English is not an essential factor in being an effective teacher" (p. 72). Favoring native English speakers over qualified teachers results in "unfounded arguments that put forth English language teaching [as] the birthright of native speakers of English" (Selvi, 2010, p. 174). Such hiring practices unfairly value candidates who are native English speakers over those who have relevant educational and professional experiences (Selvi, 2010). Butler (2007) notes: "[M]any commentators and policymakers in East Asia have expressed concern that local teachers' accents might have a negative effect on students' oral English performance" (p. 748). However, she refutes this notion throughout her

research by demonstrating that there was no significant difference in academic performance when students had a NET or a NNET in their classroom. Consequently, this raises the issue of whether NETs and NNETs are different. This concern is important because it leads to the comparison of NETs versus NNETs, raising questions about what NETs and NNETs are good at, and whether they are good at the same or different type of tasks.

2.6 The Strengths and Weaknesses of both NETs and NNETs

In examining their strengths and weaknesses, some studies demonstrate a comparative effectiveness of NETs and NNETs who teach English as a foreign language, but suggest that the two types of teachers are effective in different aspects of language teaching (Carless & Walker, 2006; Ma, 2012a, 2012b; Walker, 2001). For example, this research suggests that while NETs are better able to provide students with the cultural knowledge to support a language, NNETs have a better understanding of learner error based on their own personal experience. This outcome has raised the question of what NETs and NNETs should actually be used for in a language teaching classroom. Much of the research suggests that there are benefits to having both teachers in the classroom in order to provide students with the cultural background to the English language and native pronunciation from NET, while getting feedback from the NNET on mistakes which happen due to transfer from the students' native language. The approach of using both NETs and NNETs for English instruction has already been adopted by some countries, such as Japan.

The Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program hires native speakers as Assistant language teachers (ALTs) and pairs them with NNETs. According to the Canadian JET programme website, an ALTs' duties include "Assisting English classes taught by Japanese Teachers of English (JTEs) in junior and senior high schools" and "Assisting in the language

training of JTEs" (JET Programme Canada, 2017). By pairing NNETs with an ALT, this program provides Japanese students with two teachers whose strengths, weaknesses, and roles complement each other in order to maximize their effectiveness. To understand this, it is important to look at the differences between NETs and NNETs. Therefore, in the following section, I describe the advantages and disadvantages of using NETs and NNETs respectively.

2.6.1 Advantages and disadvantages of NETs. By virtue of their nativism, NETs provide linguistic fluency and a cultural awareness of the language for students. Employers, other teachers and students perceive NETs to have better English pronunciation, fluency, and accents than NNETs (Boyle, 1997; Ma, 2012a, 2012b). They also believe that NETs are valuable because they can help their peers and NNETs learn about the culture associated with the English language, such as the customs and cultures of English speaking countries. Ma (2012b) surveyed 53 NNETs in Hong Kong, most of whom were teaching in band 1 secondary schools, and held 20-minute interviews with three NNETs who had been co-teaching with a NET. Ma's goal was to document the teachers' perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages of both NETs and NNETs. Anna, one of the teachers Ma interviewed, said: "I've understood more about culture and learned how to get along with a westerner… and you know what you can say and what you can't (Translated)" (p. 9). In this respect, NETs can provide more than just the language that they are hired to teach because they bring an understanding of the English language in its cultural context with them.

Another advantage of NETs is that they are often able to introduce a different teaching approach to that of their local peers because of the difference in their roles at the school (Carless, 2006a; Walker, 2001). In Hong Kong, the roles of NETs versus NNETs can vary depending on the institution they teach at. In Chinese medium instruction (CMI) schools, NETs are hired to

provide additional support to both the students and the NNETs, by engaging students in English in order to raise their interest in the language. In contrast, in English medium instruction (EMI) schools, NETs are hired as regular English teachers who are fully responsible for their class, and thus have all the same responsibilities as the NNETs. In Ma's (2012b) study, local teachers believed that NETs were able to approach their teaching tasks more creatively, and thus could provide more engaging and authentic learning situations for the students. The students suggested that they found the NETs' teaching methods to be more engaging because they encouraged students to discover the answer on their own rather than giving them the answers (Ma, 2012b).

In 2010, Rao published a study examining how students in China perceived the effects of a NET on their English learning. From his survey of 36 third-year university students in China who were majoring in English, Rao deduced that "In general, [students] valued positive personality traits exhibited by [NET] teachers" (p. 62). These traits included being friendly, enthusiastic, and kind towards their class and in their teaching. Students also felt that having a NET benefitted them in other ways because they were a source of authentic English language, culture, and innovative teaching styles; these beliefs were also echoed by the NNETs.

Despite their advantages, Ma (2012b) found NETs were lacking in certain critical aspects such as: the ability to understand students' difficulties and needs, such as students' challenges communicating in with them, and their lack of knowledge about local examination materials and the educational system. Some of these issues stemmed from a lack of training and preparation for the local context, while others were rooted in a lack of cultural knowledge (Luk & Lin, 2007; Ma, 2012a, 2012b). For example, Gutherie (1984) found that NETs were often unaware of the common educational practices of their foreign country. In his study, Gutherie examined in-class language use by a NET and a local teacher, and found that "[the NET] was often vague about

what students were to do and appeared to have no established system of distributing turns [to encourage student participation]" (p. 44). Consequently, the NET's lack of awareness, organization and planning caused great confusion for students with lower language proficiencies.

Because NETs teach their English lessons entirely in English, higher level students who already have a high level of fluency and have learned the language over a longer period of time tend to have an easier time understanding lessons. In contrast, lower level students have more difficulties due to their lower level of fluency and being accustomed to having their L1 used during English lessons to support their lack of understanding. (Ma, 2012b). Unlike NNETs, the NETs are hired from abroad so they are not required to know the local language and so often have difficulty simplifying their vocabulary for lower fluency levels. Consequently, they cannot adequately assist students who already struggle with the English language. In another study, Ma (2012a) specifically explored students' perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages of NETs and NNETs in Hong Kong, interviewing 30 secondary school students from a Chinese-medium, band 2 school. During these sessions students suggested "that it was comparatively more difficult to communicate with NETs than [NNETs]" (p. 294) because of students' weaker proficiency in English. In particular, they reported that NETs used words that were too hard for the students' level and spoke too quickly for them to understand (Ma, 2012a).

NETs lack of understanding of local language, culture and educational approaches stems their "being imported to teach" (Luk & Lin, 2007, p. 26) and can result in NETs having a harder time connecting with students; often students are less willing to talk to them (Ma, 2012a). This might be due to the fact that NETs do not see the students as frequently as the NNETs do, often only once a week, and because in most schools in Hong Kong there is only one NET to provide service to the entire school (Ma, 2012a).

Luk and Lin (2007) explain that NETs, unlike their NNET counterparts, "are in a less favorable position […] to acknowledge the complexities of the meanings students with limited language skills are trying to produce" (p. 27). Unlike NNETs who can rely on their knowledge of the local culture and language to assist them in assessing student understanding, NETs do not have this ability. NETs are often unable to recognize whether an error is associated with students' L1 or to understand the cultural influences that affect students' language production. Boyle (1997) explains that NNETs "probably know the students' native language and culture, and can more easily appreciate their problems of language transfer and cultural alienation" (p. 169). As a result, NETs tend to oversimplify or offer too many explanations, both of which may confuse students (Chaudron, 1983). Consequently, it is the NNETs who can maintain and benefit from a "[l]inguistic and cultural affinity with the students" (Boyle, 1997, p. 169).

2.6.2 Advantages and disadvantages of NNETs. NNETs are locally trained teachers of English, and are often English second language learner themselves. Their in-depth knowledge of having learned English themselves paired with their inherent cultural understanding put them in a unique position to educate other second language learners (Árva & Medgyes, 2000; Ma, 2012a, 2012b). Because they have been through the second language learning process themselves, NNETs have a better understanding of the errors that students make and can provide more insightful corrective feedback for students (Árva & Medgyes, 2000; Ma, 2012a). In Ma's (2012b) Hong Kong study, the NNET was able to provide students with grammar rules and tips based on their own language learning experience, and used their awareness of the local education system to help students succeed. Additionally, the NNET provided the students with tried and tested strategies to overcome their obstacles.

In additional international research concerning NETs and NNETs similar findings have occurred. In Europe, where native English speakers are also hired to teach English, like NETs in Asia, a study conducted by Árva and Medgyes (2000) pointed out some of the differences between NETs and NNETs in Hungarian classrooms. They interviewed 10 English teachers, five NETs from Britain and five NNETs, who were teaching in Hungarian secondary schools. The five NETs all had either a bachelor's degree or teaching certificates, but none had training in teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL). The local Hungarian English teachers, on the other hand, were all qualified English teachers with training in TEFL. As part of the results, Árva and Medgyes found that both the NETs and NNETs believed that NNETs "had a faulty command of English" (p. 361) and "admitted to having problems with basically every aspect of competence, but especially with pronunciation, vocabulary, and colloquial expressions" (p. 361). Additionally, the NETs demonstrated a higher sense of self-importance when interviewed, in comparison with the NNETs, suggesting that the NETs felt that they were an essential part of English teaching. Finally, the authors found that the NNETs highly valued the presence of a NET due to NETs not knowing the local language, thus forcing students speak in English. Árva and Medgyes also found that the NNETs main concern was for passing on their mistakes to new English learners, as well as in modeling stiff, textbook English for their students. Because NNETs were aware of the gap between themselves and the NETs, they became very conscious of their use of English and, as a result, tended to mix their native and second languages while teaching (Árva & Medgyes, 2000).

Despite the local English teachers' perception of their English language abilities expressed through the interviews, Árva and Medgyes (2000) found that the NNETs behaved in opposition to their self-reported behaviors in the classrooms. They found that almost all of the

non-native teachers involved in the study mostly used English in their classrooms, even though they believed that their main advantage over the NETs was their ability to use the students' first language to help deepen understanding. In addition, although the NNETs had suggested the NETs were more creative with their teaching, the NNETs actually demonstrated variance in their lessons. Varying lessons allows teachers to engage students more interactively, thus helping to maintain or increase students' level of interest in English, while still facilitating students' understanding of the English language.

As previously mentioned, another advantage that NNETs have is that they speak the local language and understand the culture. This allows them to: better help students as they struggle to learn English; establish a rapport with students; and to know effective local classroom management practices (Ma, 2012b). These three factors help NNETs create a positive second language learning experience within their classrooms. Because NNETs are second language learners themselves, they can better understand how students negotiate their L1 and L2 and can determine whether their errors stem from incorrect language transfer, or from learner error. For example, with complex grammar notions, NNETs have the ability to provide a translation allowing students to better understand. This is one of the ways that NNETs are able to facilitate student learning because they can eliminate the possibility of students misunderstanding an explanation that would have otherwise been in the second language.

However, as with NETs, NNETs have their disadvantages: Because NNETs are local teachers who are fluent in the local language, students have a natural tendency to address these teachers in their native language (Árva & Medgyes, 2000; Ma, 2012b). Consequently, students may be less motivated to practice English because it is easier to communicate in a language that they are more comfortable with. Also, because NNETs are English second language learners,

they are often not as confident when using English (Árva & Medgyes, 2000; Boyle, 1997; Ma, 2012a, 2012b). Their lack of confidence can result in a lower rate of accuracy and fluency when they use and teach English—this can result in students having less confidence in their teaching English compared to that of NETs.

Another critical issue for NNETs is student engagement during lessons. Unlike NETs who often bring in different and more casual teaching methods, NNETs often teach using traditional teaching methods that are focused on teacher-fronted interactions, which students are already used to (Árva & Medgyes, 2000; Ma, 2012a, 2012b). As such, NNETs may have more difficulty when engaging with students, in comparison to their NET counterparts who are providing a teaching style that students have not seen before. Additionally, NNETs often lack a cultural knowledge of English and cannot elaborate on specificities to the language or explain sayings that English speakers use (Boyle, 1997; Ma, 2012b). This results in students learning the language but not being able to connect with it on a cultural level.

The differences evident between NETs and NNETs have, in part, led schools to find ways to assess both kinds of teachers' effectiveness. The assessment processes have, in turn, put more pressure on teachers to demonstrate their abilities. In the next section, I detail some of the pressures that teachers are under.

2.7 Stresses on Teachers

In many schools around Hong Kong, teachers are assessed annually based on their students' final exam performances (Cheng & Wang, 2004). The results of the exams have a significant impact on school rankings, enrollment rates, and the funding provided to the school. Consequently, teachers are put under immense pressure to ensure that students do well. This is a significant stress for teachers and causes them to worry about the impact to their job security

should their students' performances not meet the requirements demanded by the school; this, in turn, influences their teaching styles. In Chen and Wang's (2004) study involving NNETs who attended professional development courses, 58.1% of teachers indicated that their teaching methods were influenced by student tests. In comparison, NETs do not have these worries because they are often in schools as English models and are hired or re-hired on a yearly basis.

Performance stress for NNETs impacts their teaching methods in a variety of ways. Many teachers reported teaching to the test by providing students with examples of past exam papers to prepare them (Cheng & Wang, 2004). This is one of the consequences of assessing teachers through student performances. Rather than having the freedom to use authentic learning situations, teachers end up drilling their students using old exam papers as a form of transferring knowledge. In these learning situations, students gain technical knowledge but are unable to use it practically. For local English teachers, the pressure to perform causes teachers to resort to traditional language teaching strategies in order to drill students on the required language for the exams. In Cheng and Wang's (2004) study, a majority of the NNETs stated that they used either the grammar translation method, where grammar and vocabulary are learned through the translation of passages or texts, or the audiolingual method, the teaching of grammar through oral drills, though most of the teachers also indicated that they would like to have the opportunity to develop professionally and learn more communicative language teaching methods.

2.7.1 The reality of professional development for NNETs. To address the shift in pedagogical approach from test-based to student centered learning now demanded by government, teachers have had to undertake professional development activities. Trent (2011) conducted a study in Hong Kong with 64 NNETs who took the professional development course, he interviewed eight local English language teachers from English medium instruction secondary

schools on three different occasions: pre-course, post-course, and delayed post-course. Trent's research concluded that teachers, after having engaged in professional development, "described some of their content colleagues as 'too exam focused', [and that they failed] to acknowledge the importance of language issues" (p. 628). Additionally, participants in the study suggested that fellow English teachers would not attend a professional development course unless they were forced to by their school, and that those who did take part in such activities felt separated from their peers who were not interested in these courses.

NNETs believe that professional development is meant for growth and to help teachers improve skills. Research demonstrates that although local English teachers are interested in changing their teaching style, they also believe that the school administration and the government's education bureau are the biggest obstacles in the implementation of change at their schools (Walker & Cheong, 1996). This is because administrators generally allocate the task of professional development planning to the authoritative stakeholders of the school, such as the principal or other executive members, like the chairperson, of the school, and do not involve teachers. The result of this is that teachers do not believe that they are able implement changes at the school since they are not included in the planning for professional development.

Walker and Cheong (1996) have suggested that a "[l]ack of teacher involvement in planning or conduct of professional development may be problematic" (p. 206) because teacher involvement can have a profound impact on their own development. Teachers should be involved in strategies for their growth, they reiterated, because it is important for them to be aware of newer, and potentially more effective, pedagogical practices that they can apply within their own classrooms. When pedagogical changes are made without teacher input, and are

expected to be implemented immediately, teachers feel that they have a lack of control over the direction of their classes.

Professional development for teachers in Hong Kong normally means attending conferences or workshops to learn new, or refresh their own, teaching methods. Mak (2010) stated that "many ESL teachers regularly engage in [these] activities and look for ways to improve their proficiency and teaching strategies" (p. 398). These activities are meant to help improve the efficiency and effectiveness of NETs and NNETs alike within the ESL classroom, thus helping to reduce some of the pressures or stresses that teachers encounter. However, Walker and Cheong (1996) have suggested that these traditional professional development models perpetuate the belief that teacher learning is only an annual activity that requires little effort or input from the teacher. Mak (2010) has also stated that "professional development should not be confined to attending a course or a workshop. Rather, activities should help teachers make learning a daily activity, subconsciously or consciously" (p. 399). Teaching development activities are also meant to provide teachers with more resources, so that they can, in turn, try new teaching methods in their own classrooms (Trent, 2011). Professional development, therefore, cannot simply be confined to annual conventions or workshops, teachers need to actively reflect on their teaching on a regular basis. Only a consistent, committed and evolving practice can improve their teaching.

Mak (2010) found that professional development in relation to the planning and sharing of ideas could be simple or complicated depending on the school environment for teachers in Hong Kong. For example, in secondary schools NNETs tended to be more independent from their colleagues than at the primary level (Mak, 2010). This was because they often had differing schedules, and taught two different subject lessons, which made it difficult for the teachers to

find time to meet up and discuss or share ideas which are forms of professional development on a local level. Most of the popular activities for professional development revolved around workshops, or teacher cooperation with peers at their school. Consequently, the kinds of professional development that were the least popular among teachers were situations in which they had to participate in activities that required extra duties, such as being a trainer or conducting research (Mak, 2010).

Teachers' lack of willingness to participate in more time-consuming activities does not stem from a lack of desire to improve. Rather, it is influenced by their busy schedules, heavy workloads, and their need for activities that will provide a more immediate impact on their teaching methods (Mak, 2010; Trent, 2011). Consequently, participating in professional development activities became an additional cause of stress of teachers since it further reduced the amount of time they had to prepare for their lessons. As Harris (2001) has detailed, under the latest reform of education in Hong Kong, the traditional style of teacher fronted learning is no longer considered to be effective. Harris explained that teachers were apprehensive about how a shift in pedagogical approach would impact their perceived performance, and that they encountered challenges as they attempted new or different teaching strategies because they were often not well supported by their schools. The reforms also required teachers to collaborate more with each other, which was contrary to how teachers were previously operating and required changes in both the school culture and administration in order to be effective. The research has suggested that in order to integrate changes, schools need to provide teachers with more time for the creation, development, and execution of new, experimental teaching methods. This shift will adjust NNETs current workload, which consists mostly of teaching and testing (Cheng & Wang,

2004), but will also enable local English teachers to share and implement more effective teaching practices in their own classrooms.

2.8 Communicative Strategies

Since NETs and NNETs in Hong Kong have the difficult job of ensuring that students are prepared for the standardized testing, and to ensure that students produce good results on these exams, the need to ensure that students understand is always present. One way that teachers attempt to implement effective teaching practices are through the use and teaching of *communicative strategies (CSs)*. These strategies are some of the many tools that "can help learners obtain English language practice" (Somsai & Intaraprasert, 2011, p. 84) and are used by students and second language teachers alike (Lam, 2010). Examples of communicative strategies include, but are not limited to: the use of the L1, directed attention, advanced preparation, or repetition (O'Malley, Chanot, Stewner-Manzanares, Kupper, & Russo, 1985). O'Malley et al. (1985) explained that CSs are important because they "are for the most part relatively easy to use and have the potential to be taught with positive effects to [second language] learners" (p. 22). Similarly, Moore (2000) stated that "[CSs] allow learners to access more input by keeping the conversation going" (p. 114). However, several researchers have also suggested that these strategies are difficult to define or categorize because definitions and classifications of differing CSs vary by researchers (Dörnyei & Scott, 1997; Moore, 2000; Somsai & Intaraprasert, 2011). For this study, I define CSs as explained by Tarone (1981): "attempts to bridge the gap between the linguistic knowledge of the second-language learner and the linguistic knowledge of the target language interlocutor in real communication situations" (p. 288). CSs used in English classrooms can be categorized into two groups: student strategies and teacher strategies.

2.8.1 Student strategies. Students use different communicative strategies in the classroom in order to get their meaning across to their fellow classmates or their teachers. In her study, Lam (2010) demonstrated how CSs better benefitted lower proficiency students versus higher proficiency ones. As Lam related, lower proficiency students who were taught strategies by their teacher showed the most amount of improvement when compared to higher proficiency students, even though they were ultimately unable to reach the same scores. This increase in proficiency influenced the lower level students' confidence in a positive way, as they became aware that their use of the language had improved. Lam's (2010) results corroborated with Canale and Swain's (1980) conclusions that the teaching of CSs benefits lower proficiency students most. This is because CSs provide lower proficiency students with more tools to accomplish the task at hand—higher proficiency students already have a strong repertoire of strategies to rely on. However, O'Malley et al. (1985) demonstrated in their study on the use of CSs with second language learners that both lower and higher proficiency students used strategies, albeit different ones.

A common problem of students with low level proficiency is that they often lack the grammar or the vocabulary in the target language to express their ideas. By providing them with more strategies, they have more options for expressing meaning and, as a result "low-proficiency learners can operate – almost effortlessly, even under pressure – at a basic level during the English tasks" (Lam, 2010, p. 25). Using CSs allowed students with lower English proficiency to have an easier time formulating ideas in the targeted language. Lam also found that the lower proficiency students were more prone to using the strategies that were taught in class when compared to the higher proficiency students.

2.8.2 Teacher strategies. NETs and NNETs also typically employ CSs in oral communication to negotiate meaning during conversations (Lam, 2010). In addition to teaching CSs, teachers also use them within the classroom, such as the use of the L1, to help students better understand. The use of the L1 is the process of incorporating words or phrasing from the native language (L1) when using the second language (L2) in order to "communicate or disseminate information effectively" (Arumugam, Kaur, Sapramaniam, & Thayalan, 2017, p.122). This technique is effective because it allows the teacher to use their students' L1 if students lack vocabulary in their L2. As such, Du (2016) explained that "L2 teachers need to identify the differences between students' L1 and L2, and to direct students' attention to potential errors and the areas of difficulty" (p.16).

Lin (1996) has noted that when NNETs use English instead of the L1, it is "usually because [of] some institutionally given reasons, such as, to teach and learn the English language" (p. 67), and that they reserve the use of the L1 for when they "have something urgent and earnest to relay to one another" (p. 67). In these scenarios, English is used during lessons only because there is a need to teach it. Similarly, Liu, Ahn, Baek, and Han (2005) conducted a study with 13 NNETs in South Korean high schools. They found that the NNETs in their study would use the students' L1 to address their students for various reasons: such as explaining complex grammar and vocabulary, providing background context for parts of their lessons, saving time, classroom management, and emphasizing the importance of the information being provided. The findings of this study match with one of the conclusions that Cook (2001) came to in defining effective ways to use the L1 in an L2 classroom as a time saving measure to ensure understanding: "to provide a short-cut for giving instructions and explanations where the cost of the L2 is too great" (p.418).

In China, Song and Andrews (2009) conducted a study with four Chinese NNETs about their use of the L1 within their classrooms. They found that the reasons for the use of the L1 depended on how the NNETs regarded their students' language abilities, how the NNETs regarded their own language abilities, and time constraints to teach the required materials. Tang (2002) provided other common reasons for the use of the L1 in his study with 20 Chinese NNETs including: defining difficult vocabulary, and providing cultural context or abstract vocabulary. However, regardless of the reason for employing the L1 in the classroom, there are some positive effects from using such as helping to ensure that students understand the topics being explained in the L2 (Lin, 1996; Qian, Tian, & Wang, 2009), and increasing students' relatability to the topics being discussed (Lin, 1996).

Chapter 3: Methodology

In this chapter, I provide background information about the location, school, and participants involved in this research study. Additionally, I explain the research context, the data collection methods I used, as well as their rationale, and the ethical considerations and procedures that were taken to protect the anonymity of the study participants.

3.1 Situating the Research

3.1.1 Research context. As previously outlined, this study took place in Hong Kong. There were several contributing factors for choosing Hong Kong, the primary reason being simply because the study needed to take place in an area that hires native and non-native English-speaking teachers. Although there are many countries in which this contrast exists, I specifically chose Hong Kong because of previous experiences with schools in Hong Kong, and a personal interest in the country.

There is a standing relationship between several schools in Hong Kong and the particular Canadian university, which is not named to protect participants' identities, related to this research. I chose just one of the schools to participate in this study and, for the purpose of anonymity, refer to it from this point on as the "Zhong School". The relationship between the Canadian university and the school allows student teachers from this university to do a two-month practicum teaching English there, which also contributed to my choosing Hong Kong as the base for this project. During my time as an undergraduate student, I had the opportunity to complete such a practicum at Zhong School. In addition to this two-month stay, I have subsequently visited the school during vacations. Over time, I have gotten to know the school's principal, teachers, and students, which helped to facilitate my request to conduct the study at their school.

3.1.2 Zhong School. This secondary school is currently listed as a band 2 school because the students' Diploma of Secondary Education (DSE) exam results have improved in recent years. The school itself is a public, government-funded school that was started by a prominent charitable organization in Hong Kong. It is a Chinese Medium of Instruction (CMI) school, and the only lessons that are taught in English are the English classes, while all other classes are conducted in Cantonese. Zhong School handles all six levels of secondary education within the same building. The school offers various extracurricular and after-school activities for students to partake in, ranging from sports to choir. Along with the offer of extracurricular activities, Zhong School provides various types of support to their students, such as assistance with college applications, and summer exam practice for students who are preparing for their DSE exams, and employs approximately a dozen NNETs.

In the average day, students attending Zhong School take five subjects in addition to extracurricular and after-school activities. The class schedule breaks down into 35-minute lessons, with each subject generally occupying two lesson blocks in the schedule, and is taught by the same teacher, for a total of 10 lessons per day. The only subject that does not always have a double lesson with the same teacher is the English lesson. This is because once a week, the NET teacher at the school takes a group for a single lesson to focus on speaking practices and activities.

The school only employs one NET for the entire school who, as previously mentioned, sees each group of students once a week throughout the entire school year. Although the NET teaches alone, they are accompanied by the NNET for that class. However, the NNET is not involved in the lesson and is there to help with classroom management. This is because the NET does not know Cantonese, with the exception of a few simple utterances. This results in the need

for the presence of a NNET who is knowledgeable in both English and Cantonese to provide translations or help students who are having difficulty understanding.

3.1.3 Participants. The study participants consisted of four English teachers from the school. Although the initial recruitment of participants for this study targeted teachers from multiple schools in Hong Kong, only one teacher, being the NET from Zhong School, expressed an interest in taking part. Subsequently, the three remaining NNETs in this study were recruited upon my arrival at the school through referral by one of the local teachers, who had been assigned to help me get settled at the school for my research. In total, one NET and three NNETs were recruited by the start of the study.

The participating teachers had varying degrees of experience: the least experienced having four years of teaching, and the most experienced had 18 years of teaching experience. Similarly, all the participants (except the NET) had taught in many schools from different bands in Hong Kong. These teachers all had either English studies or English education during their bachelor degrees, or they possessed a post-graduate diploma for English Education. All the NNETs had learned Chinese as their first language, and English as a second language. Similarly, the NNETs did their primary, secondary, and post-secondary studies in Hong Kong. Throughout this study, teachers were referred to using their pseudonyms in order to protect their confidentiality and anonymity. Table 1 below details the participating teachers, the subjects that they taught, and their years of teaching experience.

The first NNET, Avery, had been teaching Cantonese, Mandarin, and English for over 18 years. She taught in both English medium instruction (EMI) schools and Chinese medium instruction (CMI) schools in Hong Kong from bands 1 through band 3. Avery had obtained a bachelor's degree in translation, and master's degrees in both Liberal Arts and English in Hong

Kong. Her motivation for becoming a teacher was due to the fact that she: had inspirational teachers throughout secondary school; lost interest in her original field of translation; and because she hoped for the stability of a teaching job. Along with Chinese and English, Avery had learned a third language: Japanese. She stated that she had native English speaker friends, but did not keep in touch with them regularly, and she did not mention having visited any English-speaking countries.

The second NNET, Wanda, had been teaching for approximately 10 years at several CMI and EMI schools prior to settling in as an English teacher at the Zhong School. She received her bachelor's degree in English and translation, and a post-graduate diploma in Education from a university in Hong Kong. Wanda spoke Chinese, English, and also learned German as a foreign language during university. She chose to become a teacher due to her interest in English, and positive teaching experiences she had during her teaching practicum and while teaching part-time classes on weekends as a student. She used English outside of school with friends who were not Chinese, and also did not mention having spent any time in English speaking countries.

Chloe, the third NNET, had been teaching for previous seven years as an English teacher in CMI and mixed Chinese-English schools. She completed a double major in Arts and Education, resulting in a Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) and Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.). She learned Spanish during travel to Spain, in addition to her knowledge of Chinese and English, and decided to become a teacher due to her personal interest in education and previous experiences working with students. She spent one year in the United States as an exchange student during university where she practiced English and some Spanish.

The final participant, Julia, taught English exclusively at Zhong School as the NET for almost four years. She spoke English, Polish, and French, and had graduated with a Bachelor of

Education with a specialization in English and History from a Canadian university. This meant that she had a teaching degree from university, but not specifically for TESL. She wanted to become a teacher because she enjoyed setting goals and following the path that she had set out for herself—teaching was her way of doing that.

Table 1
Zhong School Teachers and Their Teaching Experience

Pseudonym	NET or NNET	Subject	# of Years Teaching	Previous ESL Teaching Experience
Avery	NNET	English and Chinese	18 years	EMI and CMI secondary schools
Wanda	NNET	English and History	10 years	CMI schools
Chloe	NNET	English and Arts	7 years	CMI and Immersion schools
Julia	NET	English	4 years	Teaching at English summer camp

3.1.4 Rationale. Choosing qualitative research methodology for this research allowed me to best examine how the teachers perceived themselves. Qualitative methods permit researchers to explore and understand "the multiple meaning of individual experiences, meanings socially and historically constructed, with an intent of developing a theory or pattern" (Creswell, 2003 p.18). Another reason for choosing qualitative methods is because the research topic explored in this thesis was not a linear problem that could be explored through straightforward research design. Rather, as the primary researcher I needed to be constantly reflecting on and adjusting research questions, to re-evaluate points of elaboration and to be able to probe deeper into a given question (Maxwell, 2013). In qualitative research, each new part may influence the

understanding of any previously collected data. In line with this, research questions are designed to prompt the exploration of topics and must be general enough to allow the researcher to ask follow-up questions or provide opportunities for participants to elaborate on their responses. For this reason, I selected the method of interviewing in order to grant participants the liberty of sharing and elaborating on individual experiences.

3.2 Data Collection

I collected data through a series of one-on-one interviews (n=3) and through classroom observations with in-class audio video recordings of the participants' classrooms (n=3) over the course of a three-week period. One recorded interview and one classroom observation with in-class recording was conducted per week with each teacher in order to not further burden the teachers' already heavy workload. The interviews lasted for approximately 20-30 minutes and classroom recordings lasted approximately 30-60 minutes. They were scheduled based on each teacher's availability and enabled them to pick the days or the classes that were most convenient for them. Once the interviews were completed, I transcribed them so that data could be reviewed and coded. I used the in-class recordings to provide more contextual data when I needed to develop specific questions to ask in follow-up interviews addressing a teacher's specific classroom practices.

3.2.1 Interviews. I chose to interview participants because "interviewing is used to understand the perspectives and goals [of the participants]" (Maxwell, 2013, p. 102). Each participant was interviewed through separate one-on-one interviews, using open-ended questions. The interviews followed the three-interview method outlined by Seidman (2006) because in this type of phenomenological interview, "[p]eople's behavior becomes meaningful

and understandable when placed in the context of their lives and the lives of those around them" (p. 17). In line with this, in each of the three interviews the teachers followed different themes.

The first interview focused on getting to know the participant's background information, such as their educational background, previous experiences, and their use of the English language in their own lives. The second interview consisted of gathering "concrete details of the participants' present lived experience in the topic area of the study" (Seidman, 2006, p. 18). Specifically, this interview aimed to gather specific information about their pedagogy by asking teachers to reflect on their teaching methods and practices. Finally, the goal of the last interview was to allow participants to "reflect on the meaning of their experience" (Seidman, 2006, p. 18). During the final interview, participants were prompted to think about their reasons for becoming a teacher, what it means to be a teacher, and why they continue to teach.

During the interviews, I asked open-ended questions (see Appendix A) in order to "build upon and explore…participants' responses to those questions" (Seidman, 2006, p. 15). This helped to get participants thinking about how their ideas about teaching influenced their teaching practices in an English classroom. Because participants were considering open-ended questions, they were not restrained by a limited answer set and were free to accurately express their thoughts and expand upon answers when they felt the need to do so. Also, this approach allowed me to ask follow-up questions whenever participants mentioned something that I found intriguing or relevant during an interview, or when I noticed something interesting during their classes. I was also able to better study events in classes by using in-class recordings.

3.2.2 In-class recordings. For this teacher research, I chose to use classroom recordings, in addition to interviews, because the recordings allowed me to "describe settings, behavior, [and] events" (Maxwell, 2013. p. 102). By returning to class recordings I could better observe

and reflect on some of the examples of communicative situations with students that participants mentioned during the interviews: for example, the teachers' use of Cantonese translations in their classrooms, and different methods for prompting students to answer in English. For the in-class recordings, each teacher scheduled one classroom recording per week, at their convenience, so that in the end I obtained a total of three classroom recordings (per teacher) at the end of the research period. To record the class with the least disruption for students I placed a camcorder at the back of the classroom and aimed towards the front to capture each teacher's practices. The classroom recordings lasted between 35 minutes to 70 minutes, depending on the teacher's preference. This allowed me to record either a single lesson of 35 minutes, or a double lesson of 70 minutes. Later, I reviewed the recordings in order to gain more contextual information about what the participants had talked about during the interviews, and from my reflections was better able to design new questions for subsequent interviews.

3.3 Data Analysis

Again, the goal of this study was to understand the teachers' individual experiences when teaching, and to examine how they impacted their classroom practices. After collecting the data, I analyzed it in order to "mak[e] sense out of [the] data" (Creswell, 2003, p. 190) and to formulate conclusions from the study. Throughout my coding and analysis of the interviews and classroom observations, I made every effort to understand and to accurately interpret the data to reflect what participants meant.

In my data analysis process, I followed the six steps set out by Creswell (2003) to: organize the data, understand the data, code the data, generate themes, determine how to best present the data, and interpret the data. Step one consisted of organizing and preparing the data: for this I transcribed the one-on-one interviews using Microsoft Word. Later, I uploaded the

transcriptions to the software ATLAS.ti, to facilitate the coding and the organization of the themes that emerged from the interviews. The sole reason for choosing to use ATLAS.ti was because the uploading process was simple—there was no need to have prior knowledge of basic software codes—and the software allowed me to have multiple documents open in the same window, which enabled me to shift quickly between documents during the coding process.

In step two, I reviewed all of the data from the transcripts making sure to pay close attention to the recordings to ensure that the transcriptions were as accurate as possible. Then in step three, having reviewed the transcripts, I coded the data. The data I extracted from the interviews was explored and analyzed by grouping it into themes; I also used interview excerpts to support my interpretations. I used the software to code passages from the transcript of each interview into broader themes that I had identified based on the different issues raised throughout the literature review. Subsequently, in step four, I identified overarching themes that bound the codes together. Once all of the transcripts had been coded, similar codes that appeared between interviews were put together by me into more general themes, such as: the teachers' level of English fluency; the differing responsibilities of the NET and NNETs; the teaching difficulties that NNETs and the NET encountered; and their use of Chinese in the classroom.

In the last two steps, five and six, I explained the themes provided by the teachers' narratives, interpreted the data, and drew conclusions from it. In the next chapter, I outline these themes and detail the findings of the research, and then present my interpretation of the data and use it to address the research questions of my study in the final chapter of the thesis. However, I turn now from this description of my data analysis plan, to address the methods the ethical considerations of the research project.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

In order to ensure that all of the data gathered for the research remained private throughout the data collection process, and in order to protect the identity of the participants and the school, I took steps to ensure that all of the information remained secure during data collection by using hardware encryption.

3.4.1 Participant confidentiality. To ensure the confidentiality of the participants in the study, I changed the names of the participating school and the teachers. During the data collection, I removed the names of each participant and randomly assigned them a letter of the alphabet. I kept the names of the participants and their accompanying alphabetical designation saved on a password protected personal computer that could not be accessed by anyone other than myself. Then, throughout the writing process, I assigned the participants and the school pseudonyms in order to have an easier time identifying the different teachers during the writing process. Following this, I saved all files and documents, such as consent forms, associated with each of the participants using the alphabet pseudonym assigned to them, rather than their actual names. This was done to further ensure the confidentiality of the participants.

Chapter 4: Findings

In this chapter, I present the themes that emerged from interviews conducted with the four participants: Avery, Wanda, Chloe, and Julia. The four themes presented in this chapter are: 1) the teachers' level of English fluency and comfort in using English; 2) the responsibilities of NNETs versus the NET; 3) the difficulties that these teachers encountered during their English teaching experiences; and 4) the teachers' use of Chinese within their classrooms. For each theme, I provide a brief description supported by examples that have been extracted from the individual interviews.

4.1 The Teachers' English Fluency

Although the NNETs and NET were all responsible for teaching English to students, their personal comfort with the language differed. This appeared to have an effect on their self-identification as a native or non-native speaker of English. When the NNETs were asked if they considered themselves to be fluent in English, or if they viewed themselves as specialists of the English language, the NNETs were generally positive attitude and suggested that they considered themselves to be relatively fluent in English. As one of the NNETs, Avery, explained, "[f]or daily conversation, language instruction, classroom instruction, that kind of things that's ok" (Avery, Interview 1, February 20, 2017).

However, when the NNETs compared their English fluency to that of the NET teacher, they did not believe themselves to be as fluent. As one teacher elaborated, "I think it's fair, but I don't think I'm as fluent as [other] native speakers though" (Chloe, Interview 1, February 27, 2017). Avery further elaborated on this perception, explaining what she believed made NETs more fluent: "I think sometimes for example some slang or very idiomatic expressions, because we, that is not our first language, so when we teach them, maybe I sometimes will think we are

not giving them the most idiomatic expression maybe?" (Avery, Interview 3, March 5, 2017). For Avery, it was the use of idiomatic expressions that are commonly used by English speakers that distinguished the NET's use of English from her own.

In contrast, the NET teacher, Julia, did not see herself as a language specialist, per se. Instead, she saw herself as someone who met the linguistic needs and demands of the school and was able to provide a progressive learning schema. Julia stated:

> [I understand] exactly what the school needs from me, how I need to adopt my teaching style and lesson plans that I already have in order to meet their needs, but as a language specialist? I wouldn't consider myself that. I'm more of a… I can adapt myself to… teaching flexibility specialist? I can do what's needed of me to accommodate the different levels, because our school's so varied that I have had to learn how to adapt all that I want to do for such a wide range of people and kind of turn it into a progression of learning, that that's what I've become really good at, but inspiring kids to participate, leading them in the right direction, making them interested in language learning, that's what I will specialize in. (Julia, Interview 1, February 22, 2017)

Here, Julia explained that she saw herself more as a support specialist who provided the school with the extra linguistic support that the students needed (on top of what was already being provided by the NNETs). She clarified: "I don't have any professional background in [phonetics], I don't have a TESL certificate, but I do have an English Language Arts Bachelor of Education, which is a fluke that I landed on this job" (Julia, Interview 1, February 22, 2017). Despite not having a specialization in TESL, Julia maintained that she saw her role at the school as a support for the teachers and students, rather than as a teacher of English content.

4.1.1 The teachers' comfort with English. The NET teacher, Julia, who used English every day in her personal life was very comfortable with her use of English and identified as a native English speaker. On the other hand, the NNETs in this study, Avery, Wanda, and Chloe self-identified as non-native English speakers, stating that they only used English to communicate with foreigners who do not speak Chinese or in their teaching of English, and so felt less comfortable using the language outside of these contexts. They also all lived in non-English environments, immersed in Chinese culture, where English was not frequently used making it unnecessary in their daily lives.

Generally, although Hong Kong's official languages are English and Chinese, there is no need to use English in everyday life because all of the businesses there operate in Chinese. As the teachers stated, people in Hong Kong often only use English when they are interacting with foreigners, as there is a better chance that they speak English over Chinese. As one local teacher explained,

> I don't feel comfortable when I am talking to my friends, because you know, most of my friends are Chinese. I don't feel comfortable talking to them in English. I'm comfortable when using it when there is actually a need, for example, if the teachers are from… like the student teachers from the States, from Canada, then English is the only way that we can communicate. (Chloe, Interview 1, February 27, 2017)

The NNETs, as native speakers of the local language, did not need to use English often outside of their classes and therefore had less chance to practice the language or identify with it.

4.2 The Teaching Responsibilities of the NET and NNETs

All parties involved in the research agreed that local teachers in Hong Kong have more responsibilities and more tasks to attend to than the NET teachers. The participants mentioned

several reasons for the NNETs' increased responsibilities. As Julia, the NET at the school, explained:

> I look at them and how hard they work and all the things they're responsible for, outside of taking their homeroom class, outside of preparing the 10 different lessons worth of materials and subjects they have to do, and outside of being responsible for their different groupings of administrative tasks. (Julia, Interview 2-3, March 9, 2017)

Here, Julia agreed with the idea that NNETs have more responsibilities due to all the different tasks that they are responsible for, which she does not have due to the language barrier as these other tasks require a functional knowledge of Cantonese. This difference in tasks result from the different responsibilities of the NET compared to the NNETs at this school.

4.2.1 The varying amount of class time spent with students. One of the differences mentioned between the NET's and NNETs' responsibilities was the amount of time that teachers spent with students. As Avery said,

> NET teachers, maybe they see each class once a week, but we see them five days a week, yea, so it's different…but here, [the NET teacher] just has oral with each class once a week, or sometimes once every two weeks. (Avery, Interview 2, February 26, 2017)

Avery explained that because NNETs see their students for English every day, they are held accountable for the exam results produced by their students and must, therefore, ensure that all the required knowledge for the exam is taught. This contrasts with the NET who does not have the same responsibilities or consequences of her teaching because she only sees each group of students once a week, and in that time simply holds oral practices.

In the study, NNETs generally saw their students every day for two periods in which they were expected to teach them "the core grammar, writing skills, listening skills" and stated that

their "facing time with students [was] much more [than the NET]" (Avery, Interview 2, February 26, 2017). In contrast, the NET cycled through all the different groups and all the different levels in order to provide them with oral practices and to supplement what the NNETs were teaching in their classes.

4.2.2 Differing classroom responsibilities. Another difference between the NET and NNETs as described by all participants was the individual teacher's responsibilities. As Chloe said during the interviews,

> I do feel that we are different, because I am also taking up the role as a class teacher, and the NET aren't class teachers. You know, [the NET teacher] isn't a class teacher, and the workload in terms of the nature of the work we have is also different. We have more marking, but she also devises more activities for the students. (Chloe, Interview 2, March 1, 2017)

Chloe identified that the NET and NNETs played different roles in the schools and so had different responsibilities, such as grading or designing activities, which are not comparable tasks. In the interviews, other NNETs supported Chloe's statement suggesting: "the local teachers definitely bear more responsibilities than a NET teacher" (Avery, Interview 2, February 26, 2017). Another NNET teacher clarified this point by saying,

> We have to be responsible for the public exam results as well and you have to explain why a certain number of students fail or why they can only get a certain grade. I think it's far more stressful than the net teacher. (Wanda, Interview 2, March 1, 2017)

Generally, the NNETs suggested that they had more stresses placed on them by the school than the NET teacher because they were accountable for how well students performed on exams.

These differences in classroom responsibilities were corroborated by the NET teacher who agreed that she and the local teachers had a different workload. She explained, "My job is just keep them interested in English, to reinforce what they're learning in the other classes…I would say my job is easier because I don't have…I mean I think it is" (Julia, Interview 2-3, March 9, 2017). The NET reiterated that her role at the school was as a support teacher-that she was meant to supplement what the NNETs taught in class and to raise students' level of interest in English learning. She further explained that because her role was to support the NNETs, her job was therefore easier than the NNETs. Julia was also aware that it was the NNETs' responsibility to ensure that students were prepared for the end of year exams so that they could continue their studies:

> [The NNETs] teach grammar and they teach to the test. They need to teach their kids how to pass the [Diploma of Secondary Education]. […] First the [Territory-wide System Assessment], and then the DSE. How can we get them through to university or getting the certifications they need or the level that they need in order to be accepted? (Julia, Interview 2-3, March 9, 2017)

Again, Julia reiterated the differences between her role as a support teacher and that of the NNETs and emphasizes her role as the NET. She elaborated on the fact that the NNETs are responsible for students' academic performance and thus have more work compared to her.

4.2.3 Differing administrative tasks. Julia also pointed out that in addition to NNETs and NETs also had varying responsibilities within the classroom outside the classroom:

> Because every teacher at this school is responsible for an additional administrative field, like careers, or extra-curricular, or [parent teacher association (PTA)], social workers, everyone has a different discipline, other thing on top of what they're already doing and

> because of the language barrier, my tasks within my group are just super limited, so I don't have that much to do on top of what I need to do. (Julia, Interview 2-3, March 9, 2017)

The reason why local teachers helped with the extracurricular activities, and not the NET, was because of the language barrier. Because Julia did not speak Chinese, it was difficult for her to participate in Parent-Teacher Association meetings as parents do not necessarily speak English, or career counselling because the students did not all have the same level of proficiency in English which could lead to problems of miscommunication.

4.3 Teaching Difficulties

When asked about some of the difficulties that the participants encountered while teaching English, the NET and the NNETs named three contributing factors: the heavy workload of teaching English; the variance in students' level of English; and the repetitive type of activities that they did in class.

4.3.1 The heavy English teaching workload. At this school, English was taught every day whereas other subjects (except Chinese) were not. Consequently, the increased class time in English with the students translated into an above normal workload for the teachers when compared to their other teachable subjects. As Wanda stated,

> The [history] workload is not heavy, not as heavy as English. If they give me three English classes, then I will be crazy, but two English classes plus, you know, one history class is ok, is still ok. Much better than three English classes because for history, just two lessons per week, for English is 10 lessons per week and then a lot of markings (sic) and teaching materials. (Wanda, Interview 1, February 22, 2017)

Part of the increase in workload, as Wanda explained, was that there was a great deal more grading to be done for English classes than for other subjects. Chloe agreed with Wanda's assessment, stating, "visual arts for me is an outlet to escape from chasing the students [for their] homework" (Chloe, Interview 1, February 27, 2017). Julia explained that because the NNETs see their students for two lessons a day each week, they have to "[prepare] the 10 different lessons worth of materials" (Julia, Interview 1, February 22, 2017). Both the NET and NNETs agreed that NNETs had more responsibilities than the NET in terms of workload, seemingly due to the fact that NNETs had more class time with students, saw them more frequently, and needed to plan more.

4.3.2 Students' level of English. A second difficulty that was reported by both the NET and the NNETs was the students' low levels of English proficiency, even at the higher levels. As the NNETs related:

> They are not up to the standard for [a B rank group]. You know they have to cope with DSE exam, and their level is not that high and a lot of spelling mistake and they do not know a lot of words and they fail in a lot of exam papers, so I'm under pressure. … because they do well, or they do better in other subjects, but they are very weak, relatively weak in English, and then a few of them actually didn't know English, but they just kept quiet. (Wanda, Interview 1, February 22, 2017)

Even though, as Wanda pointed, her students did not have a high level of English she was still under pressure to ensure that they performed well on the exams. All students are required to take the same exam, Wanda found this to be particularly challenging, stating:

> The students are very weak in English, and uh.. because most students will find it very difficult to learn and they don't like English and that's why it's very difficult to raise their

> interest in learning and very difficult to raise their motivation so I think it's about their interest, but then we have to bring them for the… prepare them for the exam, public exam and that's why we need to push them, you know, doing a lot of papers, paperwork, and I think that's very challenging. (Wanda, Interview 3, March 8, 2017)

Wanda further explained that part of the reason why getting students engaged in English was so difficult was because they were not motivated to learn and not interested in the language However, in order to prepare students to do well on the exam, she had no other option except to push them to prepare and practice, which was very repetitive and not engaging pedagogy.

Chloe agreed that teaching English to students was difficult, explaining that "if you speak in English, they just totally turn off" (Chloe, Interview 3, March 8, 2017). Her observation supported Wanda's suggestion that the students lacked motivation in English class. Julia suggested that students were not open to teachers' attempts to engage them, or the introduction of new teaching methods, stating "if it's not spoon fed to them, if they don't have to repeat it a hundred times or copy it a bunch of times, then they're like 'Well how else do we learn?'" (Julia, Interview 2-3, March 9, 2017). Her statement speaks to the persisting, traditional, educational mentality in Hong Kong that believes in the rote memorization of formulas or structures. This type of learning works well for formula-based curriculum, such as the sciences or mathematics, because they follow established principles which can be memorized and recalled as needed, but is less efficient for language learning because to learn linguistic features one must interact and negotiate meaning between two speakers.

4.3.3 The repetitive nature of teaching materials. In their interviews, all the NNETs mentioned that the exam preparation materials and activities that they had to use in their classes were repetitive and did not engage students or motivate them in their language learning. This was

because the preparation materials dictated that students rehearse scripted English rather than practicing spontaneous speech productions. However, teachers felt they had to use the preparation materials since they were under pressure to ensure that students performed well on the exams, and the materials did provide students with an idea of the exam's structure. Wanda expressed this dilemma as follows:

> I enjoy the form 3 classes much more than senior form classes because we can have time to do a lot of activities and games, but now, you know, I have to get them work, get them to memorize things in order to prepare them for the school exam first, and then public exam at the end, so it's very different … form 2, form 3, form 1, you still have time to, you know, like run some activities to raise their interest in learning English. (Wanda, Interview 1, February 22, 2017)

In this example, Wanda stated a clear preference for teaching the lower levels because the focus there was to raise students' interest in English, and because she was able to use more engaging activities to stimulate students. She further contrasted her experience teaching the lower grades with the higher grades by saying,

> I can feel I am just doing, trying to push them, to spoon feed them in order to prepare them for the exam, so I know I shouldn't do this, but I have to think about their future right? So that's the pressure and I have been given two senior forms English classes, form 4 and form 5, so I am under great pressure. (Wanda, Interview 1, February 22, 2017)

In the higher levels, Wanda reiterated, the goal shifts from keeping students interested in the language to ensuring that students score well on their exams and so, in order to meet the school's expectations, teachers must resort to teaching only the test materials. Avery also addressed the problem of following the preparation materials, saying: "We just teacher centered, we keep

talking and talking, but the students don't have time, many chances to talk, so when we invite them to talk, but they just feel so reluctant [sic]" (Avery, Interview 3, March 5, 2017). Using the test materials, she suggested, meant that they had to employ a teacher centered approach rather than a student-centered approach. Because of this, students were not provided with enough opportunities to practice the language they were learning because they knew that the teachers would provide them with answers to questions asked in class regardless of whether or not they offered up answers.

4.4 The Use of Cantonese Within the Classroom

Additionally, in the research, I asked teachers questions about the types of communication strategies that they used to teach English to students in the classroom and specifically, whether or not they used Chinese within their English lessons to help facilitate learning. The teachers mentioned both using Chinese in the classroom, as well as allowing students to use Chinese in the classroom in specific circumstances.

The initial strategies that were consistently observed during the NNETs lessons throughout the three weeks were the use recast, mixed with directing students' attention to errors in pronunciation. NNETs appeared to have a habit of starting off their lessons by directing students' attention to pronunciation and recasting corrections to students' errors, before transitioning completely to the use of Cantonese. They did this by providing instant feedback: corrections were recast immediately after the error was made. This was a common factor amongst all the NNETs. However, as the class progressed, NNETs would quickly transition to the use of Cantonese, the most frequently used strategy, translating their instructions and new vocabulary from English into Cantonese. The use of translation would then continue until the end of the lesson.

The teachers gave various reasons for using Chinese in an English language classroom, but one of the most frequent explanations that they provided was the need to ensure students understood the material being taught. Using Chinese, they suggested, helped to facilitate this process. However, this practice went against the regulations of their English department. According to Wanda,

> The policy of the English department. It should be taught in English, 100% English. Actually for the translation, it is not very appropriate according to guidelines given to us, yea, we should always use English…we should speak in English otherwise they don't have opportunities to practice their listening or speaking. (Wanda, Interview 3, March 8, 2017)

Despite departmental policy, Chinese was often used by the NNETs to help ensure students' understanding, or allow more time for students to practice producing English.

4.4.1 Ensuring student understanding. In particular, the NNETs used Chinese translation to ensure that students understood instructions for their work. As Wanda said: "we have weaker students, then we have to stick to like translations, or ask questions or break things up and make sure they understand all the things" (Wanda, Interview 2, March 1, 2017). Avery also supported the idea of using Chinese translation to ensure student comprehension, saying,

> I want to ensure they understand because I just assume the students, if they don't understand, they will not, after school, they will not try to find out the answer themselves, so I just want to ensure on the spot I pass the message, clear message, the meaning, definition, to them, they understand it, and also sometimes to give examples to help them to memorize it better. (Avery, Interview 3, March 5, 2017)

Both teachers expressed the same goal for using Chinese translation: to ensure that students clearly understood what was being explained to them and so that they better grasped what teachers were expecting from them.

4.4.2 Efficient use of class time. Another reason teachers identified for their use of Chinese translation in classrooms was that the practice was a time saving measure. As Chloe explained,

> I think it's just for, just to save time sometimes. If for example, if I want to introduce a game or an activity in the class, and then after telling them what to do, and if they still seem to be perplexed, they still have no idea what to do, then I will choose to speak Cantonese very quickly, because this is just the instructions. The main thing is to get them to work on the task, that's all. (Chloe, Interview 3, March 8, 2017)

Other NNET teachers also supported Chloe's reasoning for using translation to save time in order to get students working on the main activity. Rather than losing time explaining less important aspects of their lesson, such as instructions, therefore, NETs and NNETs allowed the use of Cantonese in their classroom to maximize the time that students had to practice English and to complete their main activities.

However, in the case of the NET, Julia, who does not have a functional level of Cantonese, she had the students provide and had the supervising NNET corroborate the translation. This contrasts with the NNETs who are fluent in Cantonese and are able to provide the translations themselves. Julia explained that by allowing translation in her classroom she could ensure that students understood the vocabulary and were able to move on to practicing the language. As she said,

> I have to prioritize what's more important. Am I going to let them waste 3 minutes trying to figure out what I'm trying to tell them? Or can I give them a chance to figure it out, and after 10 seconds, if they can't figure it out, provide the meaning so that it's faster, they get what I'm saying, and then we can work on actually saying the words together. That to me is more important than wasting time guessing. They're not even guessing in English, they're guessing in Chinese too, especially if they're lower levels, so if I can just give them the push that they need in order to understand what I'm talking about, then I can actually move on to actually making them talk about it, and it seems a higher priority. (Julia, Interview 2-3, March 9, 2017).

In this study, therefore, both the NET and NNETs stated that they used Cantonese although the ways that they used it differed. The NET, for example, generally relied on the students in her class to provide translations for students, with the occasional assistance from the NNET for verifying the accuracy of the translation.

4.4.3 Students' use of Cantonese in the classroom. When asked if they allowed the students to answer in English or Chinese in order to ensure understanding, the teachers suggested that they allowed both, but had differing criteria for when and which students were allowed to use them. In some situations, the NNETs suggested that they allowed students to reply in Chinese in order to not waste time. For example, Wanda stated,

> Usually I allow them to answer me in English or Cantonese because it will be very time consuming if I ask them to try and speak in [English] for all the questions, so as long as they are trying to answer my questions or they try to ask questions in Cantonese, I will still try to answer them in English. (Wanda, Interview 2, March 1, 2017)

Furthermore, Wanda elaborated on her decision to allow students to use the language of their choice in the classroom,

> [I]t depends on the questions. If they are trying to, sometimes they have to give me the English words or sentences, then they have to speak in English right, but if they are trying to explain to me what they understand then they can use Cantonese. (Wanda, Interview 2, March 1, 2017)

When the same question about allowing Chinese was asked to another teacher, they offered a similar explanation:

> It depends. If it's speaking activities, they have to discuss in English and so they have to speak in English, but then sometimes when they tell some jokes, then I allow them to speak it in Chinese, or if they are having a discussion among peers, then I do think they need Chinese to communicate … so for questions like "So what it mean by this word?" and I would think if they're able to answer my questions in Chinese, give me the Chinese meaning of the word, then I would consider it as acceptable. (Chloe, Interview 2, March 1, 2017)

For Chloe, permission for students to speak in Cantonese depended on the activity. Chloe expected students to use English for formal speaking activities, but for more casual interactions, such as in group discussions or answering questions, she allowed the students to answer in Cantonese:

> Yes, and it's not important if they answer in Chinese or English and it's more efficient, especially for some conceptual works, and I would think it would be even better if they answer me in Chinese and they don't have a language to express in English. But then, for some questions like if they are doing a listening task and the answer is, for example, is

> about month, like March, and if they say [March in Chinese], then I would say no, tell me what is the answer. (Chloe, Interview 2, March 1, 2017)

Chloe explained that she allowed the use of either but it depended on her goal for the lesson: If she was looking to verify abstract ideas, then students were allowed to answer in Chinese, but if she was verifying vocabulary, then students had to provide an answer in English.

In contrast to Chloe, Julia, the NET, only allowed students in the lower levels to use Chinese and expected students in higher level to speak English. She explained,

> Students in the lowest levels, so the D and E classes, I accept. For example, I'll teach a list of 10 words, I'll ask them if they know the meaning in Chinese already and if they do, then everybody else has to write down what the meaning is if they didn't know that kind of thing … but with the higher levels, I strongly discourage it, so maybe with the B and C classes, there'll be less use of Cantonese, maybe in more obscure, higher level vocab, we need to rely on that kind of thing, and with the A classes, I don't allow speaking Cantonese at all. (Julia, Interview 1, February 22, 2017)

For Julia, the use of Cantonese depended on students' linguistic proficiency, whereas Chloe allowed Cantonese for specific goals, such as verifying understanding. Julia explained that this difference was because higher-level students were more proficient in English, therefore they were not permitted use Chinese at all during English lessons.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have examined both the NET and NNETs' perceptions of themselves as English speakers and discussed their use of English and Chinese in their classrooms. To summarize, both the NET and the NNETs in this study considered themselves to be fluent in English until they compared themselves to each other, then the NNETs described themselves as

not being as fluent as the NET. Additionally, while the NNETs viewed themselves as specialists of English teaching, the NET felt that she was only a support specialist for the NNETs rather than a language specialist in her own right.

Regarding their duties, the NET and NNETs both suggested that the NNETs had more classroom responsibilities, more teaching time, and more administrative tasks. Part of this stemmed from the NETs language barrier of not speaking the native language, and their differences as content teachers versus support teachers. Their differences in responsibilities also led them to experience different challenges: for example, the NNETs shouldered a heavy workload because of the number of English classes they taught, consequently they had more planning and grading to do, the challenges concerning their students' low level of English proficiency, and their need to prepare students for exams, and having to use repetitive preparatory materials. In order to cope with these difficulties, teachers resorted to using Cantonese within the classroom in order to facilitate student understanding, and to ensure a more efficient use of time. In the following section, I use these findings to help answer the guiding questions for this research, and discuss the potential implications of this research for NETs and NNETs in Hong Kong.

Chapter 5: Discussion

This study has examined some of the roles and responsibilities that influence the choice of communicative strategies that NETs and NNETs use in class. For the study, I conducted qualitative research using classroom recordings and one on one interviews with both the sole NET and the three NNETs in Zhong School in Hong Kong. Through this work, I have gained insight into the differing realities of NETs and NNETs experiences in their English classrooms. In this chapter, I address the following research questions that guided this study:

1) How do NETs and NNETs define their roles as English teachers?
    a. What are the similarities and differences between their roles?
2) What are NETs' responsibilities compared to NNETs'?
3) What communicative strategies are used most frequently by NETs and NNETs?
    a. What is the motivation for using these strategies?

Following this discussion, I provide some conclusions and I examine some of the limitations of this study and provide considerations for future research.

5.1 How do NETs and NNETs Define Their Role as English Teachers?

Throughout my interviews with the participants, the three NNETs identified themselves as classroom teachers, whereas the sole NET felt that she was simply a support teacher. The NNETs defined themselves as the students' primary content teachers and suggested that they were held accountable for students' results—these experiences support the findings by Árva and Medgyes (2000) and Cheng and Wang (2004). The NET differentiated her role from her NNET counterparts by explaining that her sole responsibilities were to provide language practice for students and to stimulate their learning (Ma, 2012b). The stated difference in the English teachers' roles was supported throughout the interviews and was articulated by both groups of

teachers. The NET appeared to differentiate her role as a support teacher rather than as a second language teacher. She stated the cause of this difference being her educational background, having been trained to teach English language arts rather than English second language. Consequently, she felt that she lacked some of the tools and knowledge that would otherwise have been learned through training to teach ESL. The NNETs in this study viewed themselves as traditional teachers who were responsible for teaching grammar in order to prepare students for exams (Trent, 2016). NNETs felt that they needed to be very traditional teachers in order to prepare students for the exams. They were also responsible for teaching and administrative responsibilities, resulting in constant stress (Mak, 2010).

5.1.1 What are the similarities and differences between their roles as English teachers? Although both groups of teachers had the task of teaching English, the responsibilities and the approaches that were used by the NET and the NNETs were quite different. The two groups of teachers interviewed in this study articulated different foci regarding their roles as English teachers. As one of the participants, Avery, mentioned during the interviews, the job of NNETs was to teach students the core English content (e.g. grammar, writing, and listening). Julia, the NET teacher, explained that her role at the school was to keep students interested in learning English, and to help guide students in their English language learning journey.

The similarities and differences I found between teachers in Hong Kong or this study reflect similar systems demonstrated in other research. Under the Hong Kong NET Scheme, the teachers at this school were assigned different roles corresponding with their respective strengths as outlined in other studies (Árva & Medgyes, 2000; Boyle, 1997; Ma, 2012a, 2012b). For NETs, this meant providing linguistic fluency and cultural awareness, and for NNETs, they were expected to rely on their insider knowledge of learning English as a second language to better

understand and correct errors in the students' second language practice (Ma, 2012a; 2012b). The difference in teacher roles allowed the two groups to work to their strengths and to complement each other's weaknesses (Boyle, 1997; Carless, 2006a; 2006b). For example, NNETs could assist NETs in their struggle to understanding the local language and, therefore, connect with students. The NET was there to help the NNETs when providing a cultural background for the study and use of English.

5.2 What are NETs' Responsibilities Compared to NNETs'?

Findings from this study demonstrated that there were more differences between the NET and the NNETs than just their roles. The NNETs and the NET also had varying responsibilities, such as: a different amount of time spent teaching English lessons; contrasting responsibilities to students within the classroom, and distinct administrative tasks. All the participants from the study agreed that the NNETs had significantly more responsibilities than the NET due to exam performance related stress and the NET's lack of Cantonese fluency (Wang & Lin, 2013).

However, the results of the interviews from the previous chapter provided further insight into the causes of these differences such as the NNETs mentioning their need to plan for more lessons compared to the NET. As the NET teacher said, her main responsibility during her English lessons were to help maintain students' interest in English, whereas the NNETs needed to teach grammar and content to prepare students for exams. This supports Trent's (2011) findings, who also found that the NNETs in his study had to focus more on students' exams. In addition to teaching, NNETs have additional administrative responsibilities, such as meetings with parents for report cards and career counselling, that the NET cannot do because of the language barrier.

5.3 What Communicative Strategies are Used Most Frequently by NETs and NNETs?

The NET and the NNETs used multiple communicative strategies (CSs) within their classrooms including: drawing students' attention to pronunciation, recasting student utterances with the correct grammar, and the use of translation into Cantonese. Throughout the interviews, all the teachers mentioned the importance of using Cantonese in order to save time. Interestingly, despite what was said during the interviews, all the teachers also made use of a variety of strategies, in addition to the use of translation, as observed during the classroom recordings. Throughout the study, the main CS teachers chose was translation: that is making use of the L1 to ensure understanding of concepts in the L2.

These strategies were also used by the NET. However, where the NNETs used the same strategies regardless of the students' level, the NET's choice of CS varied with the students' levels. With lower proficiency students, she focused on drawing students' attention to pronunciation over using recast, particularly with the lower grades. With the higher grades, she focused more on using recast to correct the students than with higher language proficiency. However, like the NNETs, she would also default to the use of translating to Cantonese. One interesting point that arose from the research was that even though the NET does not have a have a functional level of Cantonese as mentioned previously, she still managed to use the L1 within the classroom. She managed this by getting students to provide a translation and having the supervising NNET to confirm or correct the translation.

5.3.1 What is the motivation for using these strategies? As previously mentioned, the NET and the NNETs used a variety of strategies, ranging from recast, directed attention, and translation. However, it appears that regardless of their choice of strategies, they were motivated by one consistent reason which was common with the NET and NNETs: to save time.

NNETs had a tendency to default to translating English utterances into Cantonese in order to get their message across to students. As related in the interviews, the NNETs at Zhong School used translation throughout the majority of their lessons, often providing English vocabulary or instruction, followed almost immediately by a Chinese translation. This allowed the NNETs to ensure student understanding without losing time. The NNETs use of translation to ensure comprehension of tasks and principles corroborated with findings by Lin (1996), and Qian et al. (2009). Although the NET also used translations in her lessons, she relied on an external source—either the NNET who was also in the classroom or the students—to provide translations for their peers because she did not know Cantonese. This finding seemed to support Ma's (2012b) explanation that NNETs have the ability to help students better understand by providing and using translations during their lessons. While the NET was able to use this method, she needed an external translator, whereas the NNETs could use this method instantaneously as they taught.

This finding also supported Cheng and Wang (2004)'s research results in which they demonstrated how teachers used translation to save time. For NNETs, this time-saving method seemed to stem from their need to prepare their students for their Diploma of Secondary Exams. By giving students a translation of the English instructions, NNETs reduced the amount of class time lost due to student misunderstanding, and at the same time ensured student comprehension of the materials.

Unexpectedly, the NET also stated that she used translation to reduce the time that would have been lost from trying to negotiate meaning with students, and so that she could get students working on the production task, which she considered to be more important. This contrasts with

the traditional use of NETs in Hong Kong where NETs are hired to help students with pronunciation and expected to use only English in teaching (Lam, 2010).

5.4 Major Findings

Throughout this study, it seemed that there were various reasons which influenced NNETs' and NET's choice of strategies and practices. As such, the major findings in this study can be summarized as follows:

1) The NET and NNETs considered themselves to be fluent in English, but the NNETs believed that they lacked some fluency in comparison to the NET.
2) The NETs and NNETs served different roles within the school, which resulted in contrasting responsibilities—this had a strong impact on the practices used within the classroom.
3) The main CS used by all the participants within the classroom was translation from the L2 to the L1. For the NNETs, the choice of using this strategy stemmed from the large amount of responsibilities they shouldered: translating enabled a more efficient use of their class time, and ensured students' understanding. The NET used translation for similar reasons, but with the end goal of having students get to practice their English, rather than wasting time on transmitting instructions.

5.5 Limitations of the Research

There were several limitations in research design that became apparent throughout the course of this study. Unforeseen complexities began to emerge as the scope of the research became more concrete—the goal began to seem too big for the study parameters. First, only a small number of participants agreed to participate in the study. This meant that with such a small sample size it would be difficult to generalize the results for other English teachers in Hong

Kong or elsewhere. Also, because this was a case study of one school, it would not be possible to generalize the practices seen in this study to other schools in Hong Kong. Therefore, to increase a general application of the research, I recommend that future studies ensure the greater participation of both teachers and schools.

Secondly, regarding the participants, as noted in their descriptions, the only NET teacher had ELA rather than TESL teaching qualifications. Because she was the only NET at the school, it was not possible to compare her thoughts and practices with another NET who had a TESL background. This is important because the NET's particular educational background might have changed the approach that the NET teacher chose throughout the study. For example, a teacher with a TESL background might have relied more on visual cues rather than using translation in the classroom. This difference in educational approach would also have affected the responses given during the interview. As such, it would be interesting to see if a NET teacher with TESL qualifications would have the same opinions as the ones expressed in this study. Another potential area of interest for future research would be to examine NETs and NNETs in schools that use co-teaching, where both the NET and NNET teach together during English lessons and use similar communicative practices.

Lastly, three weeks is a short time to conduct such a study, especially since the participants were only interviewed a total of three times each due to issues with timing and teacher availability. Therefore, I recommend that future studies follow teachers for a longer period of time so that each interview can focus on one specific topic, rather than trying to cover several topics. At the same time, a longer duration would help participants feel more at ease with the researcher and perhaps allow for even more meaningful discussion, as teachers would have more time to reflect on their communicative practices.

5.6 Research Implications

Findings from this study suggest that NNETs are put under too much pressure due to the overwhelming amount of responsibilities they shoulder, particularly in the classes they oversee. This imbalance of pressure on the NNETs versus the NET results in their choosing to use traditional teaching practices over alternative techniques, which consequently does not provide students with many opportunities for engaging in authentic language use. One potential solution for this issue is the implementation of co-teaching. As Ma (2015) has explained, co-teaching occurs when NETs and NNETs work together in the same classroom; this results in greater opportunities for students to observe and engage in authentic language use between two speaker models of English. Co-teaching also allows the NNETs to gain a better understanding of the culture of the English language. This solution has the added effect of breaking out from traditional teaching methods and helping to engage students' interest due to the use of a more progressive approach to learning. Secondly, there needs to be a shift away from the heavy focus on exam results at the school level (Davies, 1995; Harris, 2001), and more emphasis on how well students are able to understand and use the second language outside of prepared scenarios. This would help to address teachers' stress levels about exam results, and allow them to focus more on interactive language activities to raise and maintain student interests in English.

Ultimately, the data provided in this study gives researchers greater insight into the immediate and local communicative practices NNETs and NETs use and the different influences that lead teachers in choosing communicative strategies. At the same time, it helps to fill some of the gap in the available research and, hopefully, will also help to serve as a basis for further investigations in this area.

References

Arumugam, N., Kaur, K., Supramaniam, K., & Thayalan, X. (2017). Code switching in ESL speaking class: How & Why? *Journal of Institutional Research South East Asia, 15*(1), 121-132.

Árva, V., & Medgyes, P. (2000). Native and non-native teachers in the classroom. *System*, *28*(3), 355-372.

Boyle, J. (1997). Native-speaker teachers of English in Hong Kong. *Language and Education, 11*(3), 163-81.

Butler, Y. G. (2007). How are nonnative-English-speaking teachers perceived by young Learners? *Tesol Quarterly, 41*(4), 731-755.

Canale, M., & Swain, M. (1980). Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics, 1*(1), 1-47.

Carless, D. (2006a). Good practices in team teaching in Japan, South Korea and Hong Kong. *System, 34*(3), 341-351.

Carless, D. (2006b). Collaborative EFL teaching in primary schools. *Elt Journal, 60*(4), 328-335.

Carless, D., & Walker, E. (2006). Effective team teaching between local and native-speaking English teachers. *Language and Education, 20*(6), 463-477.

Chaudron, C. (1983). Foreigner talk in the classroom – an aid to learning? In H.W. Seliger & M. H. Long (Eds.), *Classroom oriented research in second language acquisition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury, 127-145.

Cheng, L., & Wang, H. (2004). Understanding professional challenges faced by Chinese teachers of English. *TESL-EJ, 7*(4), 13-27.

Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

CLAIR (Japan: Council of Local Authorities for International Relations). (1997). The JET Program-Resource Materials Handbook.

Cogo. A., & Jenkins, J. (2010). English as a lingua franca in Europe: A Mismatch policy between practice. *European Journal of Language Policy, 2*(2), 271-294.

Cook, V. (2001). Using the First Language in the Classroom. Canadian Modern Language Review, 57 (3), 402-23.

Cook, V. (2012). Going beyond the native speaker in language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly, 33*(2), 185-209.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). (2nd Ed). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Crystal, D. (2003). *English as a global language*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Davies, A. (1991). *The native speaker in applied linguistics*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

Davies, A. (1995). Proficiency of the native speaker: What are we trying to achieve in ELT. In Cook, G., Seidlhofer, G. (Eds.), *Principal and practice in applied linguistics*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 145-157.

Davies, D. (2005). *Varieties of modern English: An introduction*. Hoboken, NJ: Taylor and Francis.

Derwing, T. M., & Rossiter, M. J. (2002). ESL learners' perceptions of their pronunciation needs and strategies. *System, 30*(2), 155-166.

Dörnyei, Z., & Scott, M. L. (1997). Communication Strategies in a Second Language: Definitions and Taxonomies. Review Article. *Language Learning, 47*(1), 173-210.

Du, Y. (2016). *The use of first and second language in Chinese university EFL classrooms*. Singapore: Springer.

Education Bureau. (2013). *Recruitment of Secondary NETs*. Retrieved from sahttp://www.edb.gov.hk/en/sch-admin/admin/about-sch-staff/net-scheme/recruitment-secondary-net.html.

Education Bureau. (2013). *Native-speaking English Teacher (NET) Scheme*. Retrieved from http://www.edb.gov.hk/en/curriculum-development/resource-support/net/index.html.

English Program In Korea (EPIK). (2013). *Benefits*. Retrieved from https://www.epik.go.kr:8080/contents.do?contentsNo=51&menuNo=280.

Gibbons, J. (1987). *Code-mixing and code choice: A Hong Kong case study.* Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Gone2Korea. (2017). *Things to Consider Before Committing to a Teaching Position in Korea*. Retrieved from http://www.gone2korea.com/things-to-consider-before-committing-to-a-teaching-position-in-korea/.

Gutherie, L. F. (1984). Contrasts in teachers' language use in a Chinese-English bilingual classroom. In J. Handscombe, R. A. Orem, & B. P. Taylor (Eds.), *On TESOL '83 "The Question of Control"* (pp. 39-52). Washington, DC: TESOL.

Harris, B. (2001). Facing the challenges of education reform in Hong Kong: An experiential approach to teacher development. *Pastoral Care in Education, 19*(2), 21-31.

Holliday, A. (2006). Native-speakerism. *ELT Journal*, *Volume 60, 4*(1), 385–387.

Hu, X. (2004). Why China English should stand alongside British, American, and the other "World Englishes". *English Today, 20*(2), 26-33.

International TEFL Academy. (n.d.). *Teaching English Abroad Overview*. Retrieved from https://www.internationalteflacademy.com/teaching-english-abroad-as-english-teacher.

Jenkins, J. (2012). English as a lingua franca from the classroom to the classroom. *ELT Journal, 66*(4), 486-494.

Jeon, M., & Lee, J. (2006). Hiring native-speaking English teachers in East Asian countries. *English Today, 22*(4), 53-58.

Kachru, B. (1985). Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk and H. G. Widdowson (Eds.), *English in the world: Teaching and learning the language and literatures*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Kachru, Y., & Nelson, C. L. (2006). *World Englishes in Asian contexts*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Kramsch, C. (1997). The privilege of the non-native speaker. *Modern Language Association, 112*(3), 359-369.

Kramsch, C. (1998). The privilege of the intercultural speaker. In M. Byram & M. Fleming (Eds.), *Language learning in intercultural perspective: Approaches through drama and ethnography* (pp. 16–31). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Lai, M-L., (1999a). Jet and Net: A comparison of native-speaking English teachers schemes in Japan and Hong Kong. *Language*, *Culture and Curriculum*, *12*(3), 215-28.

Lai, M-L., (1999b). Hong Kong: Language and education in a post-colonial era. *Language Culture and Curriculum, 12*(3), 191-195.

Lam, W. Y. K. (2010). Implementing communication strategy instruction in the ESL oral classroom: what do low-proficiency learners tell us? *Tesl Canada Journal, 27*(2), 11-30.

Lin, A. M. Y. (1996). Bilingualism or linguistic segregation? Symbolic domination, resistance, and codeswitching. *Linguistics and Education, 8*(1), 49-84.

Liu, D., Ahn, G.-S., Baek, K.-S., & Han, N.-O. (2005). South Korean high school English teachers' code switching: Questions and challenges in the drive for maximal use of English in teaching. *Tesol Quarterly, 38*(4), 605-638.

Luk, J. C. M., & Lin, A. M. Y. (2007). *Classroom interactions as cross-cultural encounters: Native speakers in EFL lessons*. Mahwah, N.J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Ma, L. P. F. (2012a). Advantages and disadvantages of native- and nonnative-English-speaking teachers: Student perceptions in Hong Kong. *Tesol Quarterly: A Journal for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages and of Standard English As a Second Dialect, 46*(20), 280-305.

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

Ma, L. P. F. (2015). Teaching behaviour of LETs and NETs in Hong Kong: Differences perceived by secondary students. *The Asian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *2*(1), 28-42.

Mahboob, A., & Golden, R. (2013). Looking for native speakers of English: Discrimination in English language teaching job advertisements. *Voices in Asia Journal*, *1*(1), 72-81.

Mak, B. (2010). The professional development needs of Hong Kong ESL teachers. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 11*(3), 397-410.

Maxwell, J. A. (2013). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Morris, P., & Chan, K. K. (2010). The Hong Kong school curriculum and the political transition: Politicisation, contextualisation and symbolic action. *Comparative Education, 33*(2), 247-264.

Murray, H. (2006). The globalization of English and the English language classroom. *Elt Journal, 60*(2), 204-206.

Nelson, C. L. (2011). *Intelligibility in world Englishes: Theory and application*. New York, NY: Routledge.

O'Malley, J. M., Chamot, A. U., Stewner-Manzanares, G., Kupper, L., & Russo, R. P. (1985). Learning strategies used by beginning and intermediate ESL students. *Language Learning, 35*(1), 21-46.

Park, J. S. Y. (2016). Researching globalization of English. In K. King, Yi-Ju Lai, & Stephen May, (Eds.), *Research Methods in Language and Education, Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, (27-38. Springer International Publishing

Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Phillipson, R. (1997). Realities and myths of linguistic imperialism. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 18,* 238–247.

Phillipson, R. (2000). English in the new world order: Variations on a theme of linguistic imperialism and "world" English. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *Ideology, politics and language policies: Focus on English* (pp. 87–106). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.

Platt, J. (1989). The nature of indigenized Englishes: Interferences — Creativity — Universals. *Language Sciences, 11*(4). 395-407.

Publications Québec. (2017). *Chapter VIII: The language of Instructions*. Charter of the French Language. Retrieved from http://www.legisquebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/ShowTdm/cs/C-11?langcont=en.

Qian, X., Tian, G., & Wang, Q. (2009). Codeswitching in the primary EFL classroom in China - Two case studies. *System, 37*(4), 719-730.

Rao, Z. (2010). Chinese students' perceptions of native English-speaking teachers in EFL teaching. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 31*(1), 55-68.

Ruecker, T., & Ives, L. (2015). White native English speakers needed: The rhetorical construction of privilege in online teacher recruitment spaces. *Tesol Quarterly: a Journal for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages and of Standard English As a Second Dialect, 49*(4), 733-756.

Seidman, I. (2006). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences.* (3rd Ed.). New York: Teachers' College Press.

Selinker, L. (1972). Interlanguage. *IRAL-International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, *10*(1-4), 209-232.

Selvi, A. F. (2010). All teachers are equal, but some teachers are more equal than others: Trend analysis of job advertisements in English language teaching. *WATESOL NNEST Caucus Annual Review*, *1*(1), 155-181.

Setter, J., Wong, C. S. P., & Chan, B. H.-S. (2010). *Hong Kong English.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Sim, M. (2014). A qualitative case study of native English-speaking teachers in Korea. *Multicultural Education Review, 6*(2), 117-144.

Somsai, S., & Intaraprasert, C. (2011). Strategies for coping with face-to-face oral communication problems employed by Thai university students majoring in English. *Gema OnlineTM Journal of Language Studies, 11*(3), 83-96.

Song, Y., & Andrews, S. (2009). *The L1 in L2 learning: Teachers' beliefs and practices*. Muenchen: LINCOM Europa.

Tang, J. (2002). Using L1 in the English classroom. *English Teaching Forum*, 40, 36–43.

The Basic Law (2017). *Chapter II: Relationship between the Central Authorities and the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*. Retrieved from http://www.basiclaw.gov.hk/en/basiclawtext/chapter_2.html.

The Jet Programme Canada. (n.d.). *The Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme*. Retrieved from http://jetprogramme.ca/about/jet-programme/.

The Unofficial JET Programme Guide. (2008). *The JET Programme: JET FAQ*. Retrieved from: http://jet-programme.com/jet_faq.htm.

Tarone, E. (1980). Communication strategies, foreigner talk, and repair in interlanguage. *Language Learning, 30*(2), 417-428.

Tarone, E. (1981). Some thoughts on the notion of Communication Strategy. *Tesol Quarterly, 15*(3), 285-95.

Trent, J. (2011). The professional development of teacher identities in Hong Kong: Can a short-term course make a difference? *Professional Development in Education, 37*(4), 613-632.

Trent, J. (2012). The discursive positioning of teachers: Native-speaking English teachers and educational discourse in Hong Kong. *Tesol Quarterly: a Journal for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages and of Standard English As a Second Dialect, 46*(1), 104-126.

Trent, J. (2016). The NEST-NNEST divide and teacher identity construction in Hong Kong schools. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education,* 15(5), 306-320.

Tsou, B. K. (1997). Aspects of the two language system and three language problem in the changing society of Hong Kong. In Wright, S., & Kelly-Holmes, H. (Eds). *One country, two systems, three languages: A survey of changing language use in Hong Kong,* (22-33). Clevedon, ENG: Multilingual Matters.

Walker, A., & Cheong, C. Y. (1996). Professional development in Hong Kong primary schools: Beliefs, practices and change. *Journal of Education for Teaching, 22(*2), 197-212.

Walker, E. (2001). Roles of native-speaker English teachers (NETs) in Hong Kong secondary schools. *Asia Pacific Journal of Language in Education, 4*(2), 51-77.

Wang, L. Y., & Lin, T. B. (2013). The representation of professionalism in native English-speaking teachers' recruitment policies: A comparative study of Hong Kong, Japan, Korea and Taiwan. *English Teaching: Practice and Critique, 12*(3), 5-22.

Yun Y. S., & Kim K. S. (2012) Cultural awareness of native English teachers who work at regular kindergartens in Korea. In: Cho, H., Kim, T., Mohammed, S., Adeli, H., Oh, M., Lee, K.W. (Eds). *Green and Smart Technology with Sensor Applications. Communications in Computer and Information Science*, (226-232). Heidelberg, BER: Springer.

Appendix A: Sample Interview Structure

Interview 1:

1- Why did you decide to become a teacher?
2- Why did you choose to teach English?
3- What is your education background? Where did you attend school?
4- What program did you study in University? Was it an education-related program? Or something else?
5- Did you learn a second language? If so, where?
6- How long have you been teaching in general?
7- Have you taught at other schools before or is this the first school you teach at?
    a. (If NET – Why did you choose to teach in Hong Kong?)
8- Where did you learn English?
9- How comfortable are you in using English in day-to-day situations?
10- How long have you been teaching English?

Interview 2:

1- What is your role at the school?
2- How do your English teaching responsibilities compare to those of the NET/NNET at your school? (i.e. teaching focus)
    a. Do you feel you focus on different tasks compared to the NET/NNET teacher?
3- What is the level of English at your school?
4- As an English teacher, do you see yourself as a specialist in the language?
5- What language do you use during English lessons?
    a. (If English) Do you allow the use of another language as well or only English?
6- How do you think students would respond if you were to use English/Cantonese during English lessons?
7- Generally, when you ask questions during English class, how do students respond?
    a. Do they answer in English or Chinese? If they answer in Chinese, do you accept their answer?
8- When students give an answer in Chinese, how do you get them to answer in English?
9- Does a mix of students participate? Or is it usually the same students?

Interview 3:

1- Are there any challenges related to being a NET/NNET teacher in Hong Kong? If so, what?
2- Have you changed your teaching as a result of your experiences teaching in Hong Kong? Or have you kept your original teaching methods?
3- Is there a reason why you use the communicative strategies that you do in the classroom? What encouraged you to continue using these strategies?
4- Are there any communicative strategies that you don't use? Why not?
5- If a workshop was available in Hong Kong addressing effective communicative practices within the classroom, would you attend? Why or why not?
6- What suggestions would you give future English teachers in Hong Kong in regards to engaging students using communicative practices?
7- Any other questions or comments?