

Native-speakerism: English students' perceptions and English teacher applicant job requirements
in Buenos Aires, Argentina

Hector S. Alvarez

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University, Montreal

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Abstract

Native-speakerism, as defined by Holliday (2005), suggests that Native English Speaking Teachers (NESTs) are perceived as the best teachers and are attributed superior status in comparison to Non Native English Speaking Teachers (NNESTs). Native-speakerism has been studied in different contexts around the world. However, few studies have tackled Native-speakerism in the Latin-American context, and none within the context of Argentina. This study fills a gap in providing a comprehensive overview of students' preferences for NESTs/NNESTs, their beliefs about effective teaching practices, and to what extent these preferences/perceptions affect hiring practices in the City of Buenos Aires. This study also provides a macro-perspective via the analysis of recruiting practices in the City of Buenos Aires ELT market. The author used a mixed methods research design to carry out this study. Surveys, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews generated both quantitative and qualitative data from English students at two schools in Buenos Aires. These data, supplemented by public domain data via document analysis of job advertisements, enabled both statistical and content analysis to be carried out, as well as a final convergent analysis phase. Results show that, even though students express a slight preference for NESTs and convey that NESTs have an advantage in areas like pronunciation, vocabulary or language fluency, students expressed great appreciation and respect towards NNESTs. Students avoided extreme opinions such as the ones found in previous studies, where NESTs' strengths (i.e., pronunciation, vocabulary, language fluency) were equated to NNESTs' weaknesses (Alviaderi, 2018; Benke & Medgyes, 2005). Students showed openness to being taught by NESTs or NNESTs, an openness potentially stemming from students' positive experience with NNESTs (and NESTs) and students' belief that teaching effectiveness entails knowing teaching methodology, being flexible and being able to motivate students. Students

expressed that native status and native-like pronunciation are the least important characteristics of effective teaching. The analysis of job advertisements supports the students' position in that being a NEST is not an important requirement to be hired as a teacher. A considerable number of ads required qualified and experienced teachers. A significant reason why Native-speakerism is not prevalent in the research context can be the strong English education eco-system in the City of Buenos Aires, equipped with proficient, highly skilled teachers from highly respected ELT colleges.

Résumé

Le « *native-speakerism* », tel que défini par Holliday (2005), suggère que les enseignants anglophones natifs (NEST) sont perçus comme les meilleurs enseignants et se voient attribuer un statut supérieur par rapport aux enseignants anglophones non natifs (NNEST). Le *native-speakerism* a été étudié dans différents contextes à travers le monde. Cependant, peu d'études ont abordé le *native-speakerism* dans le contexte latino-américain, et aucune dans le contexte argentin. La présente étude comble une lacune en fournissant un aperçu compréhensif sur les préférences des étudiants pour les NEST/NNEST, leurs croyances par rapport aux pratiques d'enseignement efficaces et dans quelle mesure ces préférences/perceptions affectent les pratiques d'embauche dans la ville de Buenos Aires. Cette étude propose également une macro-perspective à travers l'analyse des pratiques de recrutement sur le marché du travail des enseignants d'anglais langue seconde (ELT) de la ville de Buenos Aires. L'auteur a utilisé un plan de recherche à méthodes mixtes pour mener à bien cette étude. Des enquêtes, des questionnaires et des entretiens semi-structurés ont généré des données quantitatives et qualitatives auprès des étudiants dans deux écoles de Buenos Aires. Ces données, complétées par des données du domaine public via l'analyse documentaire des offres d'emploi, ont permis de réaliser à la fois une analyse statistique et de contenu, ainsi qu'une dernière phase d'analyse convergente. Les résultats montrent que, même si les étudiants expriment une légère préférence pour les NEST et indiquent que les NEST ont un avantage dans des domaines tels que la prononciation, le vocabulaire ou la maîtrise de la langue, les étudiants ont exprimé une grande appréciation et un grand respect envers les NNEST. Les étudiants ont évité les opinions extrêmes telles que celles que l'on retrouve dans les études précédentes, où les points forts des NEST (par exemple, la prononciation, le vocabulaire, la maîtrise de la langue) étaient assimilées aux points

faibles des NNEST (Alviaderi, 2018 ; Benke & Medgyes, 2005). Les étudiants ont montré une ouverture à l'enseignement par les NEST ou les NNEST, une ouverture pouvant découler de l'expérience positive des étudiants avec les NNEST (et les NEST) et la conviction des étudiants que l'efficacité de l'enseignement découle d'une connaissance de la méthodologie d'enseignement, de la flexibilité et d'une capacité de motiver les étudiants. Les étudiants ont indiqué que le statut de locuteur natif et la prononciation de type natif sont les caractéristiques les moins importantes d'un enseignement efficace. L'analyse des offres d'emploi soutient la position des étudiants en ce sens qu'être un NEST n'est pas une condition importante pour être embauché en tant qu'enseignant. Un nombre considérable d'annonces nécessitait des professeurs qualifiés et expérimentés. Une raison importante pour laquelle le native-speakerism n'est pas répandu dans le contexte de cette recherche peut être le solide écosystème d'enseignement de l'anglais dans la ville de Buenos Aires, équipé d'enseignants compétents et hautement qualifiés provenant d'universités ELT très respectées.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This introduction provides the foundation for this thesis as a whole. Hence, this introduction offers a definition of Native-speakerism, which is the concept at the center of this thesis, as well as a statement of the problem regarding Native-speakerism, my personal perspective, the purpose of my research, and its significance. This introduction also provides a brief overview of the structure of this thesis.

1.1 Native-speakerism: a brief definition and statement of the problem

Native-speakerism, as explained by Holliday (2005), implies 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. 6). In a practical sense, this definition suggests that the “Native Speaker” is the most successful teacher of a target language and is attributed superior status. First, as “owners” of the English language (Widdowson, 1994), Native English-Speaking Teachers (NESTs) are perceived to have “superior language skills” as these conform to the “Norm” of native-speaking models (Kachru, 1992). Hence, NESTs are understood to indicate an optimal target-language role-model (Phillipson, 1992; Rao, 2009), especially for pronunciation teaching (Jenkins, 2005). This conceptualization of the NEST condones inequality, significantly diminishing Non-NESTs’ (NNESTs’) chances of successful employment, as eligibility requirements for teacher applicants put place of birth and mother tongue at the forefront, relegating teaching qualifications and experience to secondary requirements. Particularly within countries where English is taught as a foreign language (EFL), or what Kachru (1996) would call “the expanding circle,” Native-speakerism materializes in blatantly discriminatory hiring practices, with certain discriminatory patterns depending on the region (Alvarez, 2020; Kiczowski, 2020; Ruecker & Ives, 2015).

When I make use of Kachru's (1996) "expanding circle" conceptual framework, it is important to clarify its purpose and scope, as scholars have questioned the limitations of Kachru's circles (Leimgruber, 2013). Yano (2009) describes how even Inner Circle countries are experiencing demographic changes. Inner Circle countries are usually considered "the old-variety English-using countries, where English is the first or dominant language: the United States, Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand" (Kachru & Nelson, 1996, p. 77-78). The *Outer Circle* is made up of countries "where English has a long history of institutionalized functions and standing as a language of wide and important roles in education, governance, literary creativity, and popular culture, such as India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Singapore, South Africa, and Zambia." (Kachru & Nelson, 1996, p. 78). The *Expanding Circle* countries are those "in which English has various roles and is widely studied but for more specific purposes than in the Outer Circle, including (but certainly not limited to) reading knowledge for scientific and technical purposes" (1996, p. 78).

Kachru's (1996) expanding circle conceptual framework has been called into question as now the current changes in Inner Circle countries are such that these are starting to pose questions to the Inner Circle's "native" variety: for example, the proportional increase of Hispanics and foreigners in the US for the last ten years (Rumbaut & Massey, 2014); the emergence of native speakers of Singaporean English in Singapore, who speak this language not only at school, but at home and in other environments (Saito & Shintani, 2015). However, it is the fixity of Kachru's circles (regardless of whether we agree or not) that works as a useful metaphor in this thesis to express the ideology espoused by stake-holders in ESL/EFL contexts: a fixed viewpoint as to what a "native speaker" is/looks like and how that fixity in connection to the Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles can lead to conflating ethnicity, native language, and

nation-state imaginaries all together. In other words, the USA or Canada, both Inner Circle countries, might evoke White native speakers of English, while India might evoke non-native English speakers of color. In general, it is the stereotypes of Inner-Circle-countries native speakers that are often favored within current recruitment practices (Holliday, 2005; Ruecker & Ives, 2015).

Relevant aspects of Native-speakerism studied include recruiters' perceptions of NESTs/NNESTs, discriminatory practices via job ad requirements and state policy documents, and students' perceptions of NESTs/NNESTs. To date, globally, not much research has been conducted into EFL recruiters' hiring practices (Akcan et al, 2017). Since the studies available have uncovered clear instances of Native-speakerist practices among recruiters, it is urgent that further research be conducted into different contexts globally. Studies in the recruitment category can be categorized according to two types of sources: those with direct access to school administrators/managers/recruiters and policymakers (for example Ackan et al., 2017; Liu, 2018; Phillips, 2018), and more indirect studies with analysis of job advertisements and/or policy documents/teachers' accounts of employers (for example Mackenzie, 2021; Rivers, 2016; Ruecker & Ives, 2015).

Among one of the most, if not the most, important teacher selection criteria mentioned by recruiters/managers/administrators/policymakers is language proficiency and/or nativeness (these two sometimes being conflated) (Clark & Paran, 2007; Mahboob et al., 2004; Zhang & Zhan, 2014). In the studies conducted in Inner Circle countries e.g., United States of America (USA), Canada, the United Kingdom (UK), and Australia, teaching qualifications/experience share similar importance with native-speaker status, with the exception of Stanley (2015) in Australia. Within EFL contexts, where teaching qualifications and experience are less highly regarded,

especially in North-East and South-East Asia where they are completely disregarded (Alvarez, 2020; Ruecker & Ives, 2015), language proficiency and native-speaker status appear to be the most important teacher traits, according to recruiters. Native-speakerism studies on recruiters' perceptions in Latin America are scant, with one study in the Brazilian context (Corcoran, 2011).

The discourse analyzed in many job ads with offers in the Middle East, East Asia, and South America correlates with many opinions expressed by recruiters from EFL contexts, i.e., Akcan et al. (2017), Bryant (2016), Keaney (2016), Kiczkowiak (2019), Liu (2018) and Stanley (2013) as well. Native-speaker status and/or language proficiency alone are more important than teaching qualifications and teaching experience (no teaching experience is required in many cases); a bachelor's degree in any field, and in some cases an ESL teaching certificate, suffice (Fithriani, 2018; Hickey, 2018; Mahboob & Golden, 2013; MacKenzie, 2020 Ruecker & Ives, 2015; Song & Zhang, 2010).

Native-speakerism in general is further encouraged via passport-based discrimination in certain countries such as the People's Republic of China and South Korea (Job description: Eligibility, n.d; State Administration of Foreign Affairs, 2017) and NET schemes prevalent in Japan, Hong Kong, and Taiwan (Wang & Lin, 2013).

Hand in hand with nativeness as a form of privilege, the other important aspect with some coverage in the recruiter-related literature is that of ethnicity (Mahboob & Golden, 2013; Ruecker & Ives, 2015; Stanley, 2015). As has been mentioned by numerous scholars, the privilege native speakers enjoy in the ESL/EFL market can also be increased by having white skin (Kubota & Lin, 2006; Amin, 1999). Issues regarding ethnicity and the privileging of Whiteness seem to be predominant in Asia, as corroborated in contexts such as South Korea (Fithriani, 2018), Thailand (Hickey, 2018), China (Stanley, 2013; Leonard, 2019) and Japan (Rivers & Ross, 2013; Lowe &

Pinner, 2016; Appleby, 2017). However, studies on this issue in Europe and North America are scant, with no studies carried out in South America.

As regards students' perceptions, the main trend found in much of the available scholarship is that NESTs are often considered language authorities, cultural ambassadors, and are usually praised for their capacity to teach/model speaking and/or pronunciation (Chun, 2014; Díaz, 2015; Rivers & Ross, 2013). When these aspects of teaching are considered most important, rather than considering teaching pedagogy as important (Kiczkowiak, 2019), it is only natural that students might equate “proficient speaker” with “effective teacher”. Studies covering students' perceptions in South America are insufficient, with one study in Brazil (Corcoran, 2011) and one in Chile (Kamarudin, 2018).

Studies on ethnicity catering to the students' perspective have shown that ethnicity or foreignness, associated to being a NEST, is another factor contributing to Native-speakerism (Fithriani, 2018; Hickey, 2018; Stanley, 2013; Rivers & Ross, 2013). However, most scholarship available discusses the matter on a general level without presenting empirical data, and most studies focus on the Asian context.

1.2 Researcher positionality

English teaching has been my career path for more than 15 years. I did my bachelor's degree in EFL in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and my MA in ESL in the USA prior to my work experience in China and the beginning of my Ph.D. studies in Quebec, Canada. As an English teacher with more than six years of teaching experience in Argentina, I have had the chance to witness Native-speakerism on the part of both students and recruiters. Both as a student and instructor, I have witnessed students' fascination with the NEST. When students believed I was a NEST myself, upon my clarification that I was not, they were keen to assume that “a native

speaker would realize you are not a native speaker.” I have also worked alongside NESTs at certain private language schools that outsource English teaching services to business companies. These NESTs, more often than not, were not qualified teachers at all, and they were often hired illegally and paid under the table, as their visa status would not allow them to obtain legal employment in Argentina. On one occasion, while I was still a student at a prestigious teaching training college in Argentina, I had an interview at a well-known school which has branches in different countries. At first, I thought the position I was applying for was that of a teacher. However, the recruiter clarified the opening was that of student tutor, which entailed helping students with homework and carrying out administrative duties. Upon me asking whether there was the possibility for me to apply for a teacher position, the recruiter told me they only hired NESTs because NESTs had knowledge of the kind “you can’t learn at a teacher training college.” The last and, perhaps, most “extreme” example of Nativespeakerism I witnessed personally was overhearing a teacher coordinator giving indications to a language school employee as to “the blonde, female, American” teacher they needed to find for a company’s CEO.

I do not claim here that the phenomena described above are everyday currency in the Argentine context or, even less, that the experiences mentioned above approach the degree of discrimination taking place in other EFL countries such as China, Japan, or Spain (Alvarez, 2020). However, these events have, indeed, taken place and are worth exploring to better understand what the current situation is in Argentina with regard to Native-speakerism and to what extent the Argentine context reflects Gonzalez and Llorca’s warning that Latin America is “fertile ground for native-speakerism” (Gonzalez & Llorca, 2016, p. 90).

1.3 Scholarship gap and research justification

The studies discussed so far, covering students' perceptions and job ads discourse, provide a general comprehensive picture of Native-speakerism with regard to ESL/EFL teaching and hiring around the world. However, among all the studies found in the literature review (chapter 3 in this thesis), only three studies pertain to the Latin American context (Corcoran, 2011; Kamarudin, 2018; MacKenzie, 2020). Throughout the almost 30 year-history of NEST/NNEST-related studies after Medgyes's (1994) seminal work, *The Non-native teacher*, the Latin American context has been neglected in terms of NEST/NNEST-related studies (Mackenzie, 2020). Only a few studies have delved into Native-speakerism through the language teachers' gaze. For example, Avalos Rivera and Corcoran (2017) report on two studies, one carried out in Mexico and the other in Brazil, where teachers' perceptions were elicited. In this study, NNESTs accepted native-speakerism as a justified practice based on agreeing with the native-speaker fallacy (Phillipson, 1992). Passoni (2019) carried out a document analysis of Brazil's English Federal program that highlights the Native-speakerist stance of the government in terms of having the NEST as a superior model of English speaker. Also, Gonzalez and Llurda (2016) carried out a news media review that details the potential for growing Native-speakerism in countries such as Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Mexico. The authors explain how educational policy as well as mainstream media call for the hiring of native speakers as a symbol of language quality assurance. Hence, the present situation calls for more extensive research in contexts where not much is known about the development of Native-speakerism.

More specifically in Argentina, studies of the kind covered in this introduction are nearly non-existent. The only exception is Porto's (2020) study of 75 English language teachers in Argentina. In this study, the researcher delves into teachers' perceptions regarding "the

expansion, use and teaching of English as an international language, with particular attention to the native vs. non-native dichotomy” (Porto, 2020, p. 69). Results of this study indicate that teachers had, 1) “An uncritical view in relation to the hegemony of English as a language of international communication” (2020, p. 77), 2) “Fluid and sometimes conflicting understandings about the language, its varieties and the question of language ownership” (2020, p. 77), 3) “Critical reflections on the native/non-native-speaker/teacher dichotomy touching upon perspectives associated with the concept of native-speakerism” (2020, p. 77).

There are no studies on students’ perceptions of NESTs/NNEST and no job ads studies, (except for Mackenzie (2020) for job ads analysis, Corcoran (2011) who explored recruiters’, teachers’ and students’ perceptions, and Kamarudin (2018) who studied students’ perceptions) within Latin America and Argentina, the context on which I focus. The urgency and impetus of research on Native-speakerism in the Argentine context lies not only in the fact that this type of research is non-existent, but also in the fact that results from this research could potentially unveil current, real discrimination taking place.

To the best of my knowledge, my dissertation project is the first study to enquire into Native-speakerism via students’ perceptions in Argentina. My thesis project also is the first study in Argentina to include an analysis of teacher applicant requirements via online job ads as a source of triangulation to see to what extent the requirements imposed agree with students’ perceptions of NESTs/NNESTs.

1.4 Research objectives

This research project provides a general panorama of whether, and to what extent, Native-speakerism, in relation to ESL/EFL, is an active phenomenon in Argentina, particularly in Buenos Aires, where most of the data collection took place. Originally, I intended to have two

main sources of data collection: recruiters and students. I wanted to focus on these two sources of data collection as these stakeholders (may) have direct power in choosing the teacher that gets hired. Recruiters, or students might demand, or might be perceived to demand a specific type of teacher. This is why I chose not to survey nor interview teachers. Due to a lack of a sufficient sample size for recruiters, this part of the research project had to be dropped (along with a survey to collect teacher background data in relation to recruiter hiring), leaving students' perceptions and job advertisements as the sources of data. Hence this project delves into students' perceptions of NESTs/NNESTs, their beliefs about effective teaching practices, and general ELT hiring practices at for-profit private language schools in the Capital of Buenos Aires, seen via job advertisement analysis. The data from both sources will also be triangulated to obtain further insight from the comparison. All the data collected will, ultimately, be seen in the light of effective teaching scholarship and will also be contextualized within the local education system of Capital Federal, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

1.5 Research questions

Research Question 1: What are students' overall perceptions of NESTs/NNESTs and beliefs about effective teaching?

- a. What attributes do students ascribe to each type of teacher?
- b. Overall, do they prefer NESTs or NNESTs? What are factors that influence their preference?
- c. What characteristics does an effective teacher have according to students?

Research Question 2: What are the general requirements for teacher applicants based on online job advertisements? Do such requirements encourage Native-speakerism, if at all? How?

Research Question 3: Can any parallels be drawn between job ads hiring requirements and students' perceptions of NESTs/NNESTs, their beliefs about effective teaching, and hiring practices as shown in job ads? How do these align with teaching effectiveness literature?

1.6 Overview of the thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters: Chapter 2, *Context*, provides a general overview of the city of Buenos Aires regarding students' proficiency levels, the EFL market, the public and private institutions that cater to students' demands, and the teacher training institutions in the city.

Chapter 3, *Literature Review*, reiterates the definition of Native-speakerism above, along with a comprehensive review of the NEST/NNEST dichotomy and the bias in favor of NESTs. The chapter follows with the literature that has covered students' perceptions of NESTs/NNESTs, including what stakeholders perceive to be strengths/weaknesses of NESTs/NNESTs and their overall preference for either kind of teacher. Then, a brief section on job ad analysis literature follows. The chapter also includes two sub-sections covering the importance of teachers' qualifications and a review of scholarship that has compared NESTs'/NNESTs' actual teaching effectiveness in class vis-à-vis their students' perceptions of this effectiveness. This chapter concludes with an in-depth overview of the literature gap on Native-speakerism within the Latin American context.

Chapter 4 covers the methodological aspects relevant to this thesis. First, it goes over the Mixed Methods research. Then, a thorough account of the research context and participants is provided. Finally, a detailed overview of the data collection tools and data analysis is presented.

Chapters 5 and 6 present results and discussion of the results. Chapter 5 answers Research Question 1 and its sub-questions 1a, 1b and 1c; Chapter 6 answers RQ2. Chapter 7 answers RQ3 by comparing results from Chapters 5 and 6 and analyzing these in light of teaching effectiveness literature. Chapter 8 provides the final conclusion of this thesis.

Chapter 2: Context

2.1 Introduction

Argentina is located in South America, bordering Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, Brazil and Uruguay, with a population of 40,117,096 inhabitants according to the 2010 census¹. Spanish is the official and de facto language spoken by most of the population, although there are minority languages spoken by certain ethnic communities due to historical immigration as well as Indigenous languages spoken by members of the Indigenous community (Censabella, 1999).

Numerous indicators rank Argentina, and most specifically the Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires (City of Buenos Aires) as highly proficient in English. First, the EF English proficiency Index (EF Education First, 2022) ranks Argentina 30th in the world with 562 points which equates to a strong B2 level of proficiency according to the EF scale (EF Education First, 2022a, p. 33). This places Argentina as the most English-proficient country in Latin America, surpassing some European countries such as Spain, Italy, and France. The City of Buenos Aires, in another EF sub-classification, was ranked 24th, again making it the most proficient city in all Latin America. The EF 2022 ranking is carried out by the institution EF Education First, founded in Sweden in 1965, currently with operations in 120 countries, with more than 600 schools and offices around the world (EF Education First, 2022b). The results shown by the EF English proficiency index correlate strongly with IELTS and TOEFL scores (EF Education First, 2022a).

Other tests place Argentine test takers as highly proficient as well. The 2021 IELTS demographic statistics website (IELTS, 2022) ranks Argentina among the 40 nationalities with highest test performance in IELTS general training, along with Brazil, Colombia and Mexico in

¹ The 2022 census data is still processing and was not available in its entirety at time of writing. See <https://www.cronista.com/informacion-gral/censo-2022-el-indec-confirmo-cuando-se-conoceran-los-resultados-definitivos/>

the ranking. It is noteworthy that 71.14% of Argentine test takers attain 6.5 points (equal to a strong B2 of proficiency in the Common European Framework of Reference) or more, only surpassed by Brazil in South America, with 73.08%, and eight other countries worldwide: France, Lebanon, Malaysia, Nigeria, Jamaica, South Africa, Zimbabwe and the United States of America. The TOEFL iBT 2021 report (ETS, 2022) ranks Argentine test takers second in Latin America with 92 points (higher end of a B2 proficiency level in the Common European Framework of Reference), two points behind Uruguay. The only other countries surpassing Argentina are generally countries from the European Union, or countries where English is an official and/or de facto language.

However, positive as this initial outlook might be, it only reflects part of a more heterogenous reality in Argentina. Most of the exams afore mentioned are taken by a minority who has the resources to afford English education. It is not common for students who benefit only from public education to take these exams, as, for example, only 52.5 % of public schools in Argentina are able to offer foreign language classes (due to a lack of qualified teachers), compared to 90% of private schools (Braginski, 2017). With a national median salary equivalent to US \$330 (Telam digital, 2022), it is most likely that only students from private schools. or those earning above the median who can afford extra private tuition outside the public system, are able to prepare for said international examinations.

2.2 Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires (CABA—City of Buenos Aires)

The *Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires* (CABA) [city of Buenos Aires], located in the province of Buenos Aires, is the capital city of Argentina. It has a population of 2.9 million inhabitants (INDEC, 2010). Furthermore, it should be noted that the city receives a daily influx

of people from outside the city who come into the city for work, studies, etc., adding to the number of inhabitants afore-mentioned.

In the primary and secondary school system in the city, according to 2021 statistics, there are a total of 488,924 students (Ministerio de Educación (GCBA, n.d. (a) Ministerio de Educación (GCBA), n.d. (b)), 52% of whom attend public schools, and 48% of whom attend private schools.

In the City of Buenos Aires (CABA), English is taught from first grade (six-year-olds) onwards (Buenos Aires Ciudad, n.d. a). In public primary schools (approx. 460 schools), students at the 203 *escuelas de jornada simple* (half-day school), are taught English three periods per week (one period = 45 minutes). At the 271 *escuelas de jornada completa* (whole-day schools), students are taught 5 periods per week.² (Buenos Aires Ciudad, n.d. b). Also, among the *escuelas de jornada completa* (whole-day schools), there are 14 plurilingual schools where students receive eight periods of English as a foreign language instruction per week from first grade. (Buenos Aires Ciudad, n.d. c). Finally, as of 2022, the city government has implemented an English/Spanish bilingual education program at 6 whole-day primary schools. These bilingual school offer 13 periods of English, within which some classes, such as science, art, and music can be taught in English in addition to the EFL classes (Buenos Aires Ciudad, n.d. (d).

In public secondary schools (approx. 158 schools), students receive at least 4 periods of foreign language instruction per week during the first two years of high school (Buenos Aires Ciudad, 2015a), and at least three periods of instruction per week during the last three years (Buenos Aires Ciudad, 2015b). There is no government data available as to which language is

² There is a minority of schools where the second language taught is French (13 schools), Italian (one school), a combination of the two afore-mentioned (two schools), and Chinese (one school).

taught at school. However, it is common for most schools to teach English as their additional language due to the instrumental value English has in Argentine society (Nielsen, 2003).

Besides the minimum number of hours of English language instruction, some public secondary schools offer extended foreign language instruction in the following formats: 1) *educación bilingüe* (bilingual education), 2) *Intensificación en lengua adicional* (additional language enrichment program), 3) *especialización en lengua y cultura* (specialization in language and culture), 4) *Especialización Complementaria con Competencias en una o más Lengua Adicional* (complementary specialization with one or more additional languages). For each type, the number of foreign language periods allotted per week are 1) at least 10 periods per week in the additional language throughout the five years of secondary schooling; 2) between 6 to 8 (or more) periods per week throughout the five years of schooling; 3) unspecified (25 periods that cover different subjects related to language and culture, among them the foreign language, distributed throughout the five years of schooling) ; 4) 9 periods of foreign language instruction per week for at least two years (the other three years students could have the minimum of three or four periods a week) (Gobierno de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, 2015).

There is no accessible government data with specific figures as to which public secondary schools pertain to which language program. Regardless, it is noteworthy that, according to the *Diseños curriculares de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires y su articulación con el Marco Común Europeo de Referencia para las lenguas* (Curricular design of the city of Buenos Aires in conjunction with the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages), students with full schooling in primary and secondary school, receiving the minimum number of hours designated by the city government (3 periods per week in primary

and 3/4 periods per week in secondary) should attain a proficiency level of B2 (Buenos Aires Ciudad, 2021). However, data on students' language achievement is completely unavailable.

In the private system (more than 800 primary and secondary schools), the amount of foreign language instruction must follow at least the minimum requirements set for public (primary and secondary) schools. This means private primary schools should provide at least three periods per week if they are half-day schools, and five periods per week if they are whole-day schools. In the case of private secondary schools, it is four periods per week during the first two years of school, and at least three periods per week for third, fourth and fifth year. However, it is not uncommon for many private primary and secondary schools to offer more than the minimum number of hours of foreign language instruction set by the government, as this is a very important selling point for many of them (British Council, 2015).

There is a broad spectrum in terms of school tuition fees in the private sector, ranging from US \$17 per month on the lower end, to up to US\$700 per month (Micheletto, 2022; Romero, 2019). Factors determining schools' tuition fees are the amount of hours of schooling, as well as their personnel's qualifications, and whether these schools receive any funding from the city government (which in Argentina does not modify their status of *private*) (Suarez, 2021). Schools which do not receive any subsidies from the government charge tuition fees ranging between US\$187-700 per month. These schools (along with schools on the higher end of tuition fees who receive some government funding) usually offer international exam preparation, such as Cambridge English qualifications, for example, B1 preliminary, B2 First, and C1 Advanced. Schools on this higher end (i.e., not receiving any funding from the government) also offer international baccalaureates such as the IGCSE certification or the IB diploma (Banfi & Day, 2009). Given that the monthly median salary in the city of Buenos Aires is around USD\$716

(Dirección General de Estadística y Censos (Ministerio de Hacienda y Finanzas GCBA), 2022), it is safe to assume several families from different social classes would be able to afford private schools, and in some cases private schools that do not receive any government funding. It seems feasible that the higher middle class and elites are able to access expensive private schools with bilingual curriculums. The actual number of bilingual schools offering international certificates/diplomas in the City of Buenos Aires is not known. However, if we check the webpage of the English Speaking Scholastic Association of the River Plate (ESSARP), which offers schools pedagogical and logistical assistance with international certificates/diplomas, we can see that there are six member schools and 32 affiliate schools in ESSARP (ESSARP, n.d.). Therefore, these schools are likely to prepare students for the highest English language certificates/diplomas, including IGCSE and the IB level.

At the university level, some universities offer elective courses or, sometimes, compulsory courses that might focus on specific skills (reading comprehension in many cases). There are no specific figures available as to the number of students and specific curriculum since universities are autonomous, hence they determine curriculum by themselves (British Council, 2015). However, a survey of 755 university students in the whole country suggests students at private universities have a higher level of proficiency (Garcia et al., 2019).

Besides primary and secondary school, and the university level, there are several options for those interested in learning English in the city of Buenos Aires. The government offers free public courses for students, adults, and teachers who work for the city of Buenos Aires: **1)** The *Centros Educativos Complementarios de Idiomas Extranjeros* (Centers of complementary foreign language education) or CECIEs offer 25 locations teaching English (and other foreign languages). **2)** Optional workshops are offered by the government for 3 hours a week for

secondary school students who are 14-17 years old. **3)** Free courses called *Lenguas en los barrios* (Language in the neighborhood) are open to the community (14 years old and up) and offer seven levels of foreign language (taught online in 2022). **4)** Language courses are also offered to teachers that work in the public sector in the City of Buenos Aires. Unfortunately, data regarding the regular student body or language proficiency achievement are not available.

In the private sector, the number of schools offering English courses is plentiful, covering different types of courses (General English, business English, Exam preparation, EAP, ESP) and different price ranges. The *Asociación de Centros de Idioma* (Language Centre Association) website shows twenty-one language schools (SEA, n.d.), some of which have numerous branches inside (and outside) the City of Buenos Aires, such as *Centro Universitario de Idiomas* (University language center), or *C.U.I.*, which has 8 branches in the city and four outside of the city (Centro Universitario de Idiomas, 2022a). The figures here are just illustrative, as there are several more language schools operating in the city not affiliated to the Language Centre Association.

As an example of tuition fees, the CUI offers general English group courses of 45 hours per level (with different schedule options) at US\$ 271 (Centro Universitario de Idiomas, 2022b). Depending on the class frequency, courses can last around 12 weeks, which makes the monthly fee amount to US\$ 90 a month. This seems to be quite a reasonable amount for someone in the City of Buenos Aires based on the city's median salary. On the higher end of private language centers, International House, a well-known organization with branches all around the world, offers courses of three hours of instruction per week at different fees depending on the level. For example, the Upper Intermediate 1 course for adults costs US\$ 150 per month (International House Buenos Aires Belgrano, 2021).

In conclusion, this section has illustrated the broad availability of English language instruction in the City of Buenos Aires both in the public and private sector. Within the private sector there is a range of services at different price points that different people choose based on their budget. It is reasonable to assume this broad availability of English language education is one of the factors contributing to Buenos Aires' (and by extension, Argentina's) good proficiency in English.

2.3 Entering the ELT system in the City of Buenos Aires

This section will provide a description of how English teachers enter the public and private school system as well as how they enter private language schools.

To get a position at any primary, secondary school or government language program, prospective graduate teachers can access the city portal <https://www.buenosaires.gob.ar/educacion/docentes/clasificaciondocente> where they can upload their documents (degrees, course certificates, seniority certificates, scholarships obtained, research achievements) to be assessed by a specialized committee. It is important to remark that any degrees/certificates issued in any language other than Spanish must be translated into Spanish by a certified translator. Then the candidate is given an appointment to bring the original documentation for validation purposes. Once the documentation is validated and assessed, the candidate is given a score. The next step is to check the available posts on the City of Buenos Aires teacher portal (URL provided above) and apply for the desired positions. The applicant with the highest score is granted the position/s applied for.

Because of the high demand for teachers, students from accredited teacher training colleges in the city who have completed 70% of their program are allowed, and encouraged, to enter the system (Buenos Aires Ciudad, n.d. g). However, they can only apply for interim or

substitute positions, and cannot hold tenure (Buenos Aires Ciudad, n.d. g). Only graduate teachers can hold tenure. Graduate teachers and trainees teaching English in the public system, more often than not, come from public or private teaching training colleges in the city, most of which are highly regarded (Porto, 2014) by the ELT community in all Argentina.

For all private primary and secondary schools (regardless of whether they receive government funding or not), the application process resembles that of a regular application, namely sending a CV, having an interview and, in some cases, giving a demo lesson. The applicant sends their CV, and whoever oversees hiring at the school determines whether the applicant is qualified to get the position, as explained to me by an Education ministry employee via personal communication (Pablo, Personal communication, November 8, 2022). This poses more serious concerns compared to the public sector as to the hiring of qualified teachers since there does not seem to be any standardized hiring procedure in place. Even though it seems reasonable to assume the most expensive schools will offer quality English instruction (as parents can demand greater accountability based on the fees paid) this might not be the case at private schools at the lower end of the tuition fee scale.

Finally, the hiring at private language centers resembles that of private schools. However, the difference lies in that, while many private schools are non-profit organizations in Buenos Aires, most of the private language centers are for-profit institutions, whose hiring depends more strongly upon their clientele, company culture, and whether they cater to younger students (children and/or teenagers), adults, or both. Most importantly, there is no quality assurance overseer, other than the company itself and their clientele. Thus, it is this type of institution that sometimes resorts to marketing gimmicks, including selling course packages with supposedly *native-speaking teachers* (English services, 2022).

2.4 The language education system, in general, might discourage Native-speakerism, but...

This section shows the different anti-Native-speakerism mechanisms that private and public primary and secondary schools are equipped with. I explain below why medium and small language schools pose a potential breeding ground for Native-speakerism.

Several reasons inherent to the system discourage Native-speakerism. First, the public system requires applicants to have English teaching degrees (or majors closely related) to be translated into Spanish if the originals are in another language. Furthermore, the application process itself is intricate, even for locals. So, someone who is not proficient in Spanish would need expert assistance to help them apply. In the primary and secondary school private system, even though teachers can be hired at the school's own discretion, other factors come into play as well. On the one hand, local teachers, particularly graduates from recognized teacher training colleges, are highly respected in the ELT community. On the other hand, classroom management is seen as an important skill required in Argentine classrooms (OECD, 2021). Hence, hiring someone who is proficient in the language (NEST or NNEST) without any classroom management skills is discouraged when compared to someone less proficient with proficient classroom management skills. Finally, for both public and private schools, applicants are required to be legal residents with a *Document Nacional de Identidad* (National identification document), or *DNI*, which in itself makes it challenging to hire random foreigners legally.

Finally, language schools present a problematic grey area. Even though these schools do not need to follow any quality assurance in terms of the type of teacher they hire, big private language school chains usually hire teachers following lawful procedures (i.e., having teachers on the payroll or as freelancers, for which the teachers need a DNI) which further discourages Native-speakerism. It is unheard of for language schools to go through visa processes to bring

foreigners over to Argentina for the sole purpose of teaching, as well as for foreigners going through the process to come to Argentina legally for the sole purpose of teaching. The fact, again, that the median salary in the city of Buenos Aires is US\$716 might be a factor in not attracting foreign nationals nor, even less, qualified foreign teachers.

However, as I know from years of teaching experience in Buenos Aires and my extensive conversations with local Buenos Aires fellow teachers, it is medium and smaller language schools that might present a strong breeding ground for Native-speakerism. Besides the lack of teacher quality assurance accountability, medium and small language schools can have better success at attracting native English speakers that happened to be residing in the city of Buenos Aires, regardless of their legal status. Because of their medium/small size, these language schools are not usually subject to thorough scrutiny by *AFIP* (Argentina's tax revenue institution) as bigger schools are, particularly if these smaller schools are not formally registered as an institution. Consequently, these schools can be more successful at keeping certain transactions off the books, such as certain teachers' salary records. Being able to pay their foreign teachers under the table offers schools flexibility to hire NESTs without a DNI, which accounts for a vast number of NESTs staying short-term in Argentina. This specific combination of variables can set up medium/small language schools as the potentially strongest promoters of Native-speakerism. This is why my thesis project takes place in this type of context, i.e., two small-size language schools in the city of Buenos Aires.

2.5 Why are English teachers from teacher training colleges in the city of Buenos Aires so highly regarded?

It was previously mentioned in some instances that English teachers in the city of Buenos Aires are, in general, highly respected by the community, which is a factor that can help discourage Native-speakerism, particularly in the less regulated private sector. This is an aspect that differs from other EFL countries, particularly in Asia, where discriminatory (sometimes racist) practices take place favoring NESTs (Kubota & Lin, 2006; Liu, 2018; Ruecker & Ives, 2015; Song & Zhang, 2010). In this brief section, I provide context to further explain why other Argentine scholars and I make this statement as a widely accepted fact.

There are three well-known public *profesorados* (teacher training colleges) in the city of Buenos Aires: *Instituto de Enseñanza Superior (IES) en Lenguas Vivas “Juan Ramon Fernandez” (JRF)* (with two branches), *Instituto Superior de Profesorado (ISP) “Joaquin V. Gonzales*, and *Escuela Normal Superior (ENS) en Lenguas Vivas “Sofía Esther Broquen de Spangenberg”*. These teacher training colleges are nationally renowned, to such a degree that applicants come from all corners of the country with the hope of being admitted to study to become licensed English teachers. The admission process for these three institutions is identical: students are required to take an English language entrance exam which they have to pass to have a firm chance of being admitted. (IES en Lenguas Vivas “Juan Ramon Fernandez”, 2022; ENS en Lenguas Vivas “Sofía E. B. de Spangenberg”, n.d.; ISP “Dr. Joaquin V. Gonzalez”, 2022). Students admitted to these colleges usually have a B2 level of English proficiency (IES en Lenguas Vivas “Juan Ramon Fernandez”, 2022; ENS en Lenguas Vivas “Sofía E. B. de Spangenberg”, n.d.; ISP “Dr. Joaquin V. Gonzalez”, 2022). This mechanism sets a standard for applicants, future students, and teachers in terms of language proficiency, an aspect criticized in

other EFL contexts, where many graduate teachers would not be able to attain a B2 level even after their teacher training (Keaney, 2016). Furthermore, if we check the colleges' study programs, we see that three-fourths of the program is delivered in English, with one-fourth delivered in Spanish for all future teachers from the different language departments (IES en Lenguas Vivas "Juan Ramon Fernandez", 2015; ENS en Lenguas Vivas "Sofia E. B. de Spangenberg", 2015; ISP "Dr. Joaquin V. Gonzalez", 2014). This, simply, shows how strong English is as a medium of communication and knowledge transference in the colleges.

In terms of specific subjects given within the teacher training program, students take classes divided into the following sections: Language (to improve language proficiency), Phonetics/phonology (both to learn about pronunciation as a science, and to develop pronunciation skills), Linguistics (language science), cultural studies (anglophone literature, British and North American history), Didactics (pedagogy-related classes), Professional practice (divided into three stages covering classroom observations as well as professional internships at schools) (IES en Lenguas Vivas "Juan Ramon Fernandez", 2015; ENS en Lenguas Vivas "Sofia E. B. de Spangenberg", 2015; ISP "Dr. Joaquin V. Gonzalez", 2014). The teacher profile of a college graduate from any of these three institutions is that of a teacher that is pedagogically qualified in state-of-the-art approaches (e.g., communicative approach, TBLT, CLIL) with a wealth of practical and theoretical knowledge (IES en Lenguas Vivas "Juan Ramon Fernandez", 2015; ENS en Lenguas Vivas "Sofia E. B. de Spangenberg", 2015; ISP "Dr. Joaquin V. Gonzalez", 2014), and who is also proficient in the target language and with comprehensive technical knowledge of it. Graduates usually go on to teach at public primary/secondary schools, becoming tenured teachers, or at highly respected private primary/secondary schools. The caliber

of teachers in the City of Buenos Aires is such that the British Council has employed them to teach in Uruguayan primary schools via video conference since 2012 (British Council, n.d.).

It is worth mentioning that, contrary to some contexts where private education is generally better than public education, these three public institutions are considered the best among all institutions private or public, especially when it comes to their English teacher training faculties. Many of the lecturers at these three institutions are former trainees from the institutions themselves, all of whom did subject specializations at the institutions, and some of whom also pursued studies internationally and have produced relevant scholarship in different fields such as English language education, literature, applied linguistics, etc. (e. g., Banfi and Day (2009), Beacon (2021), Boffi (2014), Ferradas (2016), etc.). It is not uncommon to see these lecturers working not only at one of the three institutions mentioned, but sometimes at two or even all three of them at the same time, since full-time lectureships are not offered at these public institutions, but rather a specific course tenure. These lecturers sometimes also work at other public institutions, such as the *University of Buenos Aires*, *Universidad Tecnológica Nacional* (National Technological University) or some private universities, such as *Universidad del Museo Social Argentino* (Social Argentina Museum University), *CONSUDEC*, *Universidad de Belgrano* (Belgrano University), etc. Finally, it is no surprise that some lecturers at the latter public and private institutions mentioned are graduates from the three core institutions mentioned at the beginning of this section. As a graduate myself of one of the three institutions aforementioned, and after having studied at a university located in Minnesota and now at McGill University, I can attest to the world-class quality of these Argentine institutions in the city of Buenos Aires.

2.6 Conclusion

Chapter 2 has covered relevant contextual factors for this project. First, I outlined the general language proficiency level in English of citizens of the Republic of Argentina to, then, focus on the capital of Buenos Aires. I provided an overview of the ELT system in the city of Buenos Aires in terms of the educational resources provided for students to learn English as well as a description of how English teachers become part of the labor force public and private sectors. I clarified why the ELT system in the city of Buenos Aires discourages Native-speakerism by referring to the local labor force system and the high-quality English teachers who graduate from prestigious teacher training colleges in the capital. Finally, I described the specific context which could present a potential breeding ground for Native-speakerism.

Chapter 3: Literature review

3.1 Introduction

In this literature review, I will identify and critically evaluate the following topics: the NEST/NNEST dichotomy/bias in general, the types of hiring practices used in job advertisements applicant requirements in ELT recruitment, students' perceptions of/attitudes towards NESTs and NNESTs, and teachers' classroom performance and how these are perceived by students. The main purpose of this comprehensive review is not only to gain a broad understanding of Native-speakerism in the ESL/EFL context, but also to draw parallels among the different contexts and ascertain what potential factors lead to specific patterns of discrimination within the Native-speakerist phenomenon. For example, a clear difference in how Native-speakerism seems to materialize in Asia (vs. Europe and the Americas) is the amplified Whiteness factor present in how teachers might be perceived to be NESTs (or not) regardless of whether they are in fact NESTs or NNESTs, and how this can lead to racist hiring practices, as stakeholders seem to idealize the successful teacher as a White Anglo-Saxon NEST (Kubota & Lin, 2006; Ruecker & Ives, 2015). Here, I do not mean to underplay Native-speakerism in other countries³, but just to emphasize the Whiteness factor as being overtly present in Asian countries such as Thailand, South Korea, Japan, and China (Braine, 2010; Kubota & Lin, 2006; Leonard, 2019; Lowe & Pinner, 2016; Rivers & Ross, 2013; Ruecker & Ives, 2015; Stanley, 2013).

3.2 NEST/NNEST dichotomy: origin of the bias and its consequences on teacher equality

To understand the biased ideology attached to the NEST/NNEST dichotomy and its consequences for teacher inequality in the English teaching industry, it is pertinent to answer the

³ For examples of ethnic-based discrimination in Inner Circle countries, see Amin (1997), Ramjattan (2015), Braine (2010), Stanley (2015).

following questions: What is the definition of “native speaker” and what are the ontological assumptions behind it? How have (Applied) Linguistics/SLA, and teaching pedagogy influenced aspects of this dichotomy and, ultimately, teacher equality?

Answers to the question “what is a native speaker?” vary depending on who defines the term. For example, Bloomfield (1935) defined the native language as “the first language a human being learns to speak” (p. 43). Another definition, by McArthur et al. (2018), states that a native speaker is “[a] person who has spoken a certain language since early childhood” (p. 45). These two definitions are extremely vague, with gaps that decrease the soundness of such definitions. For example, Bloomfield’s (1935) definition does not necessarily account for individuals who learn an L1 that does not reach high proficiency when they subsequently learn an L2 that becomes their dominant language. Lam-McArthur and Fontaine’s (2018) definition does not clarify whether the language spoken since childhood also correlates with the language a speaker is most proficient in.

In a more extensive discussion, Davies (2003) characterizes the native speaker using six characteristics: age of acquisition, grammatical intuition in the L1, intuition of how the L2 grammar differs from the L1 grammar, discursial capabilities, creative capabilities and translation (to L1) capabilities of the native speaker. Comprehensive as this description is, the author himself admitted that defining what a native speaker is, is a complex endeavor. He states, however, that he can define a native speaker as the *opposite* of a non-native speaker, and vice-versa (2003).

The vagueness of the term “native speaker” is supported by Árvai and Medgyes (2000) who state, by quoting Halliday, that “the native speaker is a useful term, precisely because it cannot be closely defined” (p. 356). However, the vagueness in these definitions has allowed the

emergence of stereotypes attached to what a native/non-native speaker is (Firth & Wagner, 1997), such as “a native speaker is always a proficient speaker” and “a non-native speaker is potentially a deficient speaker”. Many of the stereotypical assumptions that perpetuate the perceptions of an inferior non-native speaker stem from what scholars in a multilingual paradigm have termed the *monolingual bias*.

The monolingual bias can be defined as “the viewpoint that takes the prototypical human as having only one language” (Barratt, 2018). This viewpoint excludes the possibility of bi/multilingualism within its framework, and usually associates native speaker language proficiency with that of a *monolingual* native speaker (Ortega, 2014). Hence, a definition of native speaker (such as the ones mentioned above) within a *monolingual bias*-based framework will necessarily include the characteristic of *monolingual* even if it is not explicitly mentioned. Successful bilinguals are usually, and erroneously, equated to dual monolinguals, i.e. “with a [monolingual] command of two languages held separately in the mind” (Block, 2014, p. 55) in terms of language proficiency. However, as Cook (1999) succinctly put it, “[m]ulticompetent minds that know two languages are qualitatively different from those of the monolingual native speaker in a number of ways” (p. 191). Neurolinguistically speaking, a bilingual speaker is not the sum of two monolinguals (Grosjean, 1989). The monolingual bias is, mainly, a product of nationalism and nation-state building that developed over the last few centuries (Auer, 2007; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; May, 2011, 2012). Particularly in terms of Romance language varieties during the 18th-19th centuries, nations were to be seen as culturally and linguistically homogenous units to ensure cohesiveness (Hobsbawm, 1990). The French revolution exemplifies this point through the promotion of French monolingualism in their *liberté, égalité et fraternité* (Heller, 2007) at the expense of local languages (e.g.: Breton or Gascon, Picard or Occitan).

Other countries, with their own particularities, went through power struggles leading to the choosing of an official language that would be promoted at the expense of the multilingual diversity among their citizens. Hence, in the Western world, a person's nationality often becomes a proxy for the "native" language they speak: Spain=Spanish, France=French, German=Germany, USA=English.

The monolingual bias has been significantly influential in the development of (Applied) Linguistics and the Second Language Acquisition field, particularly within the cognitivist approach which has been dominant in the field for the last few decades (Atkinson, 2011). One significant factor bolstering the monolingual bias was Chomsky's notion of native speaker competence. Chomsky's (1965) conception of the native speaker was of "an ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogeneous speech community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance" (p. 3). However, Chomsky's assertion that homogenous monolingual communities are a societal norm is erroneous because, as was pointed out above, this so-called norm is a political imposition of the nation-state project pushing for unity (Ortega, 2019). Relevant examples of current multilingual societies under an official monolingual gaze/policy could be Spain's Catalan and Galician minorities, and the USA's increasing Spanish-speaking minority. The current reality shows that many so-called official languages conceal a context of rich language diversity (see Blommaert (2010) for a discussion of current trends on *superdiversity* in a context of globalization).

Chomsky's conception of the native speaker was influential in the conceptualization of terms such as *Interlanguage* (Selinker, 1969) and *Fossilization* (Selinker, 1972) which use a

monolingual native speaker benchmark to indicate how far the language learner is from the unattainable monolingual native speaker proficiency. Bley-Vroman (1983) initially critiqued Interlanguage as setting up a “comparative fallacy” where “foreign norm” is placed in subservient opposition to an idealized “native norm” (Bley-Vroman, 1983, p. 1). His criticism, along with that of others who questioned the monolingual orientation and the narrow purview of cognitivism (Firth & Wagner, 1997; Kachru, 1994) encouraged broader exploration of language phenomena towards the sociolinguistic field and the consideration of a multilingual ontology.

Scholars in the 1990s began to challenge the native/non-native dichotomy and its inherent monolingual bias for the native over the non-native (=multilingual) speaker. Kachru and Nelson (1996), for example, came up with terms such as “users” of English and “types of users” (p. 77). This entails that a deviation from a certain model (e.g.: General American) should not be considered as “deficient Englishes” (p. 66), but rather a unique variety of English (e.g. Indian English, Singaporean English, etc.). Rampton (1990) also challenges the idea of native speaker superiority by generating a more nuanced conceptualization of linguistic proficiency through the concept of *expertise*. A language presents different domains (e.g.: speaking competency, writing competency) that users of that language might have command of to a greater or lesser degree. Rampton (1990) explains, “[e]xpertise is partial. People can be experts in several fields, but they are never omniscient” (p. 99); and further, he notes that expertise is “learned, not fixed or innate” (p. 98). According to Rampton, as well as Kachru and Nelson (1996), the description of someone’s expertise as a user of English is not only a more accurate way of viewing a person’s abilities in English, but also avoids the pitfalls of conflating citizenship with competence.

These views against a monolingual deficit view of bi/multilingualism have now been further legitimized via a gradual move away from comparing language proficiency levels

between monolinguals and bi/multilinguals, a research pursuit beyond cognitive-bound linguistics via further exploration of the social dimension in (Applied) Linguistics/SLA. This movement culminated in what has been coined “the social turn” (Block, 2003, p. 9) in the field of Applied Linguistics/SLA. However, as I will explain below, the lasting effects of the monolingual bias, coupled with colonialist endeavors, have had a lasting effect on the English teaching market, which, for the most part, still holds a deficit view towards bi/multilingual language teachers.

The monolingual bias in the English teaching realm was further legitimated and spread across many contexts due to British colonialism. In *Linguistic Imperialism*, Phillipson (1992) provides an accurate account of how the British Empire imposed English in different territories as the language of “efficiency, science, technology, modernity, etc.” (Phillipson, 1992, p. 247). Standard English, then, became the language for the elites in an attempt to relegate local language diversity to the status of *dialects* or *local vernacular* in the pejorative sense of the terms.

The monolingual orientation of teaching methodology in the British colonies further instigated monolingual teaching practices as well as inequality among NEST/NNESTs. The teaching ethos was ultimately inscribed in the five tenets implied in the Report that came out of the Commonwealth Conference of the Teaching of English as a Second Language held in Uganda in 1961 (or the “Makerere Report”): 1) English is best taught monolingually; 2) the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker; 3) the earlier English is taught, the better the results; 4) the more English is taught, the better the results; 5) if other languages are used much, standards of English will drop (Phillipson, 1992). These tenets, seen in light of more contemporary linguistic and teaching theory, were redesignated as fallacies by Phillipson (1992). It is fallacy 1, 2, and 5

that betray the monolingual orientation of teaching used in British expansionism, features that can also be found in Situational Language Teaching (SLT), the *Direct Method* (used and promoted in the Berlitz private language school chain) and Audiolingualism, where teaching is to be monolingual in nature, the first language is to be avoided at all costs, and the native speaker is the established role-model (Richards & Rodgers, 2014).

Most recently, even the broadly accepted *Communicative Approach* has come under scrutiny in terms of its monolingual orientation (May, 2014). Some have questioned the lack of reference in teaching manuals to the instructional possibilities of using the L1 in the classroom (Cook, 2001; Cummins, 2007) such as the exploration of cognates, which can further aid students in expanding their academic lexicon (Cummins, 2007). Even if translanguaging practices based on a multilingual framework have received attention and encouragement in academia (Garcia & Wei, 2014; Hajek & Slaughter, 2015; Ortega, 2019), particularly in Inner Circle countries, “the TESOL industry (...) continue[s] to treat the acquisition of an additional language (most often, English) as an ideally hermetic process uncontaminated by knowledge and use of one’s other languages” (May, 2014, p.2).

It is the confluence between applied linguistics theory and its influence on methodological trends, along with British expansionism, that provides the major foundations of the monolingual bias in TESOL, which puts emphasis on the alleged superiority of the NEST vs. a less proficient NNEST. This deficit view of the NNEST is clearly materialized in general perceptions held by recruiters and students, as will be further explained.

3.3 A brief note in the use of the NEST/NNEST terminology in this paper

As mentioned above, alternative terminology to *native* and *non-native* has been proposed with a view to fighting against further stigmatization of bi/multilingual speakers/teachers.

However, as Ortega (2019) observes, the native and monolingual bias continue to be used as frameworks within the applied linguistics community “because rejecting them would encroach on disciplinary identity” (p. 24). Furthermore, even if authors recognize the inaccuracy of the terms NEST/NNEST as “fuzzy, lacking in concrete definitions and often based on ideology and prejudice” (Kiczkowiak, 2019, p. 2) they still apply said terms, for different reasons: in some cases these are used for practical purposes, as previously mentioned (Árva & Medgyes, 2000); in some other cases it is due to the continual stigmatization currently attributed to NNESTs that the native/non-native dichotomy is kept and the ambiguities in definition are accepted but further deconstructed to embrace and empower the non-native speaking teacher (e.g., Kiczkowiak (2019) and Kiczkowiak and Lowe (2019) use ‘native’ and ‘non-native’ with inverted commas to remind the reader of the particular intention behind this use). Advocacy groups for NNESTs have indeed embraced the term and sought to fight against the negative associations ascribed to the *NNEST* term itself. A few examples are the many anti-discrimination statements by important organizations: TESOL International Organization (2001⁴; 2006⁵), KOTESOL (2016⁶), TESOL Spain (2016⁷); also, the 30th Annual TESOL convention, 1996 (organized by George Braine), which evolved into the NNEST Caucus, and became a full-fledged Interest section in the TESOL organization by 2008. Most recently, TEFL Equity Advocates has emerged as a resourceful webpage/movement by Marek Kiczkowiak to tackle Native-speakerism. To emphasize this point, Ruecker (2011) quotes Thomas to the effect that “scholars need to reconstruct healthy, more

⁴<https://www.tesol.org/docs/default-source/advocacy/tesol-position-statement-opposing-discrimination.pdf?sfvrsn=8&sfvrsn=8>

⁵ <https://www.tesol.org/docs/pdf/5889.pdf?sfvrsn=2&sfvrsn=2>

⁶ <https://koreatesol.org/sites/default/files/pdf/KOTESOL-nondiscrimination-policy-2016.pdf>

⁷ <http://www.tesol-spain.org/en/>

egalitarian roles for NES and NNES teachers and recognize NNES teachers as ‘an important, vital, and very credible presence in the TESOL profession’ (p. 418). Even if the native/non-native terminology was avoided, this does not mean the native/non-native dichotomy would not influence stake-holders’ decisions on an implicit ontological level. And even if the multilingual turn is slowly, but surely, under way within the academic realm, the paradigm has not yet crossed over into the mainstream English Language Teaching field. It is for this reason that I will use NEST/NNEST terminology in this thesis, by way of highlighting the inequalities subjected by teachers who are (perceived as) NNESTs.

3.4 ELT school hiring practices

ELT hiring practices can be investigated via direct and indirect sources. Direct sources can be understood as research where the investigator had direct access to recruiters, managers and/or policy makers via surveys and/or interviews. Indirect sources consist of education policy documents or job advertisements from which concrete hiring practice can be analyzed and hiring policies can be inferred. For the purposes of the scope of this thesis, I will review indirect sources in this literature review. Most of the *indirect* sources in the form of language education policy/ad jobs analysis pertain to EFL contexts, with the exception of Selvi (2010), which includes ESL job ads in the USA and EFL contexts. The rest of the studies focus on contexts such as the Middle East and East Asia (Mahboob & Golden, 2013; Ruecker & Ives, 2015; Rivers, 2016), and Colombia (Mackenzie, 2020).

3.4.1 Job ads analysis and educational policy documents

The discourse analyzed in many job ads with offers in the Middle East, East Asia and Colombia reveals that native-speaker status is more important than teaching qualifications and teaching experience (teaching experience not being required, in many cases); a bachelor’s degree

in any field, and in some cases a 120-hour ESL teaching certificate, suffice (Fithriani, 2018; Hickey, 2018; Mahboob & Golden, 2013; Ruecker & Ives, 2015; Song & Zhang, 2010;).

Particularly for Asia, in countries such as China, Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, and Thailand, requirements specified in job ads include teachers having to hold passports from “native English speaking countries” (sometimes specified as the US, Canada, the UK, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa—Mahboob & Golden, 2013; Ruecker & Ives, 2015; Song & Zhang, 2010).

Passport-based discrimination is further supported and encouraged in certain countries such as China and South Korea through official policy (Job description: Eligibility, n. d; State Administration of Foreign Affairs, 2017) that allows only teachers holding passports from certain “native English-speaking countries” to obtain a work visa. In some other Asian countries, even if NNESTs are not proscribed from working legally, the hiring of NESTs is significantly encouraged through NEST hiring schemes, such as the JET program in Japan, the EPIK program in South Korea, the NET scheme in Hong Kong, and the Foreign English Teacher Recruitment Project (FETRP) in Taiwan. In these recruitment schemes, common minimum requirements include being a NEST holding a passport from specific countries, holding a bachelor’s degree in any field, and a teaching certificate; specific qualifications and teaching experience are not a requirement but a “plus”, and these do not supersede the passport/nativeness requirement. These kinds of policy/recruitment practices, overall, legitimize the recruitment of unqualified, inexperienced language teachers, without any proven success, as empirical studies evaluating these programs are non-existent (Wang & Lin, 2013).

Research on Native-speakerist hiring practices in Europe and the Americas is scant (Mackenzie, 2020). In Latin America, besides Mackenzie (2020), Gonzalez and Llorca (2016) carried out a news media review that details the potential for growing Native-speakerism in

countries such as Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Mexico. The authors explain how educational policy as well as mainstream media call for the hiring of native speakers as a symbol of language quality assurance. Conclusively, the present situation calls for more extensive research in contexts where not much is known about the development of Native-speakerism.

Based on the job ads and policy document analysis discussed above, ELT applicants are usually required to possess native English-speaking status as the most important pre-requisite (and proof of this via a passport from specific countries), relegating teaching qualifications and teaching experience to secondary positions.

3.5 Students' attitudes towards NEST/NNESTs

Studies in this area show slightly greater heterogeneity in terms of students' opinions of the qualities they value in teachers. Some of this variability could be attributed to students' different lingua-culture, that is to say, their L1 and their cultural background (based on their country of origin (Moussu, 2010), students' proficiency level (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Liaw, 2012; Perez Canado & Madrid, 2004), and student-teacher contact time (Moussu, 2010), among others. However, with some exceptions, the majority of these studies share critical results that help explain the prevalence of Native-speakerism among students' ideologies in different cultural contexts, age groups and educational levels (i.e., secondary school, university), and university majors (English-related majors vs. non-English related majors). Studies delving into students' perceptions of NEST/NNESTs include countries such as Armenia and Germany (Seyranyan & Westphal, 2020), Brazil (Corcoran, 2011); Cambodia (Channy & Ogunniran, 2019), Chile (Kamarudin, 2018), mainland China (He & Miller, 2011; Huang, 2018; Liu, 2018; Rao, 2010), Cyprus (Atamturk, Atamturk & Dimililer, 2018) France (Díaz, 2015), Germany and Switzerland (Yanaprasart & Melo-Pfeifer, 2019), Hong Kong (Ling & Braine, 2007; Ma, 2012),

Hungary (Benke & Medgyes, 2005), Indonesia (Alviaderi, 2018), Iran (Tamimi Sa'd, 2018), Jordan (Alghazo & Zidan, 2019), Japan (McKenzie, 2008), Korea (Chun, 2014; Butler, 2007), Malaysia (McGee, 2009), Oman (Buckingham, 2014), Poland (Kiczowski, 2019), Saudi Arabia (Alseweed, 2012), Spain (Carrie, 2017; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Perez Canado & Madrid, 2004), Sweden (Brown, 2013), Thailand (Grubbs, Jantarach & Kettem, 2010; Phothongsunan, 2017; Waelateh, Boonsuk, Ambele & Fa-ezah, 2019), Turkey (Gurkan & Yuksel, 2012), Vietnam, Japan (Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2014; Rivers & Ross, 2013), the USA (Kelch & Santana-Williamson, 2002; Mahboob, 2004; Mahboob & Lipovsky, 2010; Moussu, 2010) and Taiwan (Chang, 2016; Liaw, 2012; Wu & Ke, 2009).

3.5.1 Perceived strengths attributed to NESTs

Among the main trends found in much of the available scholarship on students' attitudes, NESTs are considered language authorities, cultural ambassadors, and are usually praised for their capacity to teach/model speaking and/or pronunciation. These trends are consistent in studies carried out in Chile (Kamarudin, 2018), France (Díaz, 2015), Hong Kong (Ma, 2012), Vietnam, Japan (Rivers & Ross, 2013; Walkinshaw and Oanh), Jordan (Alghazo & Zidan, 2019), Korea (Chun, 2014), Turkey (Gurkan & Yuksel, 2012), China (Huang, 2018; Liu, 2018; Rao, 2010), Thailand (Grubbs, Jantarach & Kettem, 2010; Phothongsunan, 2017; Waelateh, Boonsuk, Ambele & Fa-ezah, 2019), Spain (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005), Sweden (Brown, 2013) and Taiwan (Liaw, 2012). Most importantly, when these aspects of teaching are considered most important, rather than considering teaching pedagogy as important as it should be (Kiczowski, 2019), it is only natural that students might equate "proficient speaker" with "effective teacher". For example, in a study (Kiczowski, 2019) that analyzed students', teachers', and recruiters' views on effective teaching in Poland, students stated that "knowing English well" (with

96.8/100 points on a scale from 0 being *not important at all* to 100 being *extremely important*) was the most important trait an effective teacher should have. This trait was followed by “can convey knowledge effectively” with 89.6/100 points. The author concluded that students’ appreciation for high language proficiency, coupled with its association to native speakers, could explain students’ commonplace preference to be taught by native speakers.

Even though Kiczowskiak (2019) did not clarify what “can convey knowledge effectively” means specifically, he did differentiate it from “knows teaching methodology”, which was ranked not even among the five most important teacher traits based on students’ opinions. “Conveying knowledge effectively” could be construed as having the capacity to explain things in a way that students can understand successfully. However, this does not mean that someone who can give good conceptual explanations should be automatically equated to an effective teacher.

3.5.2 Perceived strengths attributed to NNESTs

One-sided as the NEST/NNEST dichotomy in favor of NESTs might seem to be, NNESTs are also attributed certain strengths. However, opinions on NNESTs’ strengths seem to be more heterogenous, compared to certain NEST strengths that enjoy fair consistency (especially around NESTs’ language proficiency, pronunciation and suitability as cultural ambassadors). First, in cases where NNESTs share their students’ L1, students have stated this is advantageous (Chang, 2016; Gurkan & Yuksel, 2012; Ma, 2012) since teachers can give instructions in L1 (Alseweed, 2012), teach grammar in L1 if necessary (Díaz, 2015), and enhance teaching and learning effectiveness (Huang, 2018; Liu, 2018). However, opinions do not necessarily show consistency across the board.

Table 1

NNESTs Sharing Students' L1

<u>Author</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Sample size</u>	<u>NNESTs sharing students' L1 is a strength</u>
Chang, 2016	Taiwan	200	95% agree
Gurkan & Yuksel, 2012	Turkey	72	68% agree
Huang, 2018	PRC	480	3.83/5 agreement ⁸
Mahboob & Lipovsky	USA (Japanese students)	33	Mixed opinions (quan data not available in the study)
Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2014	Vietnam & Japan	50 Viet 50 Jap	Vietnam: 34% agree Japan: 14% agree

As shown in Table 1, above, students in Turkey (Gurkan & Yuksel, 2012) (68% agreement), mainland China (Huang, 2018) (3.83/5 Likert-scale mean agreement among 400 students) and Taiwan (Chang, 2016) (95% agreement) agree that a NNEST sharing their L1 is a strength. However, Mahboob and Lipovsky (2010) found mixed opinions among Japanese students, some expressing that it was an advantage as they viewed “their teacher’s lack of knowledge in their L1 as an incentive for honing their own speaking skills in English” (p. 172). In Walkinshaw and Oanh (2014) only 14% of the Japanese students and 34% of Vietnamese students surveyed concurred that L1 use by NNESTs was an advantage.

⁸ Percentage not provided by the author.

Table 2

Explicit Knowledge of Grammar

<u>Author</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Sample size</u>	<u>Explicit knowledge of grammar seen as a NNEST strength by students</u>
Chun 2014	Korea	125	80% agreement
Díaz, 2014	French Britanny	78	Students inclined towards NNESTs or both types of teacher (statistics not available in study)
Grubbs, Jantarach & Kettem, 2012	Thailand	600	70% agree
Gurkan & Yuksel, 2012	Turkey	72	Most students agree (specific statistics nor provided in study)
Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005)	Spain	76	43.5% no preference 17.1% Agree 29.5 disagree
Liaw, 2012	Taiwan	206	94.5% agree
Mahboob, 2004	USA	19	12 comments in favor (no actual statistical data available)
Mahboob & Lipovsky, 2010	USA	33	(no statistical data available) NNESTs praised for their knowledge of explicit grammar
Moussu, 2010	USA	-804 answered the initial questionnaire -643 students answered the end-of-semester questionnaire	No preference for either teacher (statistical data not available)
Perez Canado & Madrid (2004)	Spain	459	NNESTs preferred (statistical data not available in study)
Waelateh, Boonsuk, Ambele & Fa-ezah, 2019	Thailand	200	“Most participants” agree (as said by the author, p. 238)
Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2014	Japan & Vietnam	50 Viet 50 Japanese	Vietnamese: 8% agree Japanese: 18% agree

Perhaps more consistently, as shown in Table 2, above, NNESTs are also usually praised for their explicit knowledge of grammar, in comparison to NESTs. In Chun (2014), 80% of students surveyed agreed that Korean English Teachers (KETs) (also considered NNESTs) were more competent to teach grammar; in Grubbs, Jantarach and Kettem (2012) more than 70% of students agreed they would prefer NNESTs for grammar instruction; in Gurkan and Yuksel (2012) most students agreed NNESTs had superior knowledge of grammar; in Liaw (2012) 94.5% students prefer NNESTs to learn grammar from; also, in Waelateh, Boonsuk, Ambele and Fa-ezah (2019) most students (200 participants) expressed a preference towards NNESTs for grammar instruction. In studies such as Mahboob (2004), and Mahboob and Lipovsky (2010), students praised and associated NNESTs with good knowledge of explicit grammar, although statistical data in these studies is unavailable since these studies are of a qualitative nature. Perez Canado and Madrid (2004) also concluded NNESTs are preferred for their ability to explain grammar. However, in Moussu (2010), and Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005) students, in general, did not express preference for either NESTs or NNESTs for grammar instruction. In Díaz only 41% of students taking learning English as their L1 at university said they prefer NNESTs in the grammar domain, the rest opting for both NESTs and NNESTs. Finally, in Walkinshaw and Oanh (2014) only 8% and 18% of the Vietnamese and Japanese students, respectively, agreed that being able to explain grammar was an advantage attributed to NNESTs.

Table 3

*NNEST Understand Students' Target Language Difficulties and their Language Learning**Journey*

Author	Country	Sample Size	NNEST understand students' target language difficulties and their language learning journey
Alseweed, 2012	Saudi Arabia	169	68% agree
Alviaderi, 2018	Indonesia	73	64% agree
Channy and Ogunniran, 2019	Cambodia	100	68% agree
Chang, 2016	Taiwan	200	93% agree
Chun, 2012	Korea	125	69.6% agree
Gurkan & Yuksel	Turkey	72	64% agree
Huang, 2018	PRC	400	3.83/5 in favor of NNESTs
Ma, 2012	Hong Kong	30	(no statistic data available whatsoever in study)
Mahboob, 2004	USA	19	15 comments supporting NNESTs
Mahboob & Lipovsky, 2010	USA	33	(statistical data not available in study)
Perez Canado & Madrid	Spain	459	Students "somewhat" prefer NNESTs (no statistics available in the study)
Phothongsunan, 2017	Thailand	31	23/31 students agree

Most consistently, NNESTs have been praised for understanding students' target language difficulties and their language learning journey (see Table 3, above) overall in Chang (2016) (93% agreement), Alseweed (2012) with 68% agreement, Phothongsunan (2017) (23/31 students agreed), Chun (2012) with 69.6% agreement, Mahboob and Lipovsky (2010), Ma (2012) and Mahboob (2004) (qualitative studies), Gurkan and Yuksel (2012) with 64% agreement, Channy and Ogunniran (2019) (68% agreed out of 100 students surveyed), Alviaderi (2018) with 64% agreement (73 students surveyed), and Huang (2018) (3.83/5 mean in a 400 student poll). They were "somewhat" preferred in Perez Canado and Madrid (2004) (no statistics available in the

study). Along with understanding students' difficulties, another consistent strength attributed to NNESTs is their capacity to teach target language learning strategies (Gurkan and Yuksel, 2012; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Mahboob, 2004; Mahboob & Lipovsky, 2010). Finally, as shown in Table 4, below, students have also recognized NNESTs' know-how to prepare students for exams (both local and international) in studies such as Chun (2014) with 76% agreement, in Huang (2018) (means of 3.84 for NNESTs vs 2.86 for NESTs out 5 points in a 400 student-poll), Liaw (2012) with 55.7% preferring NNESTs (in a 206-student survey); and Benke and Medgyes (2005) (means of 3.51 for NNESTs vs 2.76 for NESTs in a 422 student poll).

Table 4

NNESTs' Know-How to Prepare Students Towards Exams (Both Local and International Examinations)

Author	Country	Sample size	NNESTs have the know-how to prepare students towards exams (both local and international examinations)
Kamarudin, 2018	Chile	6 students	Almost all participants agree
Benke & Medgyes, 2005	Hungary	422	3.51/5 in favor of NNESTs vs 2.76 in favor of NESTs
Chun, 2014	Korea	125	76% agree
Huang, 2018	PRC	400	3.84/5 in favor of NNESTs vs. 2.86 in favor of NESTs
Liaw, 2012	Taiwan	206	55.7% agree

3.5.3 Issues with teachers' accent

Other studies have specifically delved into students' accents of preference as models of the variety of English they would like to learn in connection with the type of teacher they would like to have. Studies include contexts such as Austria (Dalton-Puffer, 1997), the USA (Kelch & Santana-Williamson, 2002), Armenia and Germany (Seyranyan & Westphal, 2020), Oman

(Buckingham, 2014), Iran (Tamimi Sa'd , 2018), Malaysia (Mcgee, 2009), South Korea (Butler, 2007; Lee & Warren, 2016), and Japan (Mckenzie, 2008).

Studies concur that students significantly favor speakers of Inner-Circle varieties, particularly USA and/or UK English, as pronunciation models. and most students prefer teachers with these types of accents. Specifically, in Buckingham (2014) 72% of students stated they would need NESTs to improve their pronunciation, 76% favoring UK accents and 21% favoring USA/Canadian accents. In Tamimi Sa'd (2018), 78.4% of students agreed that NESTs are the best model of the English language, and 88.2% stated they wanted to sound like native speakers. In Lee and Warren (2015), 65% of students expressed that it is important to understand Inner-Circle English varieties only, saying that USA and UK varieties are the easiest to understand. In McGee (2009), 89% of students were in support of UK English being taught in the classroom.

In Dalton-Puffer (1997), via a matched-guise test, students responded most favorably towards Received Pronunciation and General American accents regarding traits such as likeability, friendliness and intelligence. In Seyranyan and Westphal (2020), via a Verbal Guise Test, both Armenian and German students show a preference towards British and American accents over Armenian and German-accented English. In Butler (2007), through a matched-guise technique, students showed preference towards American-accented English; and in McKenzie (2008), through a verbal-guise technique, students showed preference for UK and US English in terms of their status (although they expressed solidarity towards heavily-accented Japanese English). In terms of students' explicit opinion, the issue seems significantly one-sided in favor of the Inner Circle varieties afore-mentioned. However, the opinions provided by students about what accent is most desirable are, in some studies, contradictory and problematic.

A study applying the matched-guise technique by Kelch and Santana-Williamson (2002) sheds light on this problem. In this study, students at a community college in Southern California had to identify six accent varieties as native or non-native, as well as rate them in terms of different traits such as “accent” to study listening/speaking/ pronunciation with, likeability, competence as an English teacher, level of education, etc. The authors found that students had less than a 50% accuracy at identifying native and non-native accents, with the exception of one accent—Standard American Accent (SAA) spoken in Southern California—which was successfully identified 70% of the time. The other American accent sample, as well as the British English sample, were deemed native 39% and 27% of the time, respectively. However, students also identified Portuguese-accented English as a native speaker accent 40% of the time. Conclusively, the SAA as well as Portuguese-accented English also received the most favorable ratings in terms of likeability, good pronunciation for a teacher, and good degree of education. The authors attributed these results to the students being most familiar with these two accent varieties, since the SAA was a Southern California-based accent and that was where the students were residing; and as for the Portuguese-accented English, the students’ teacher was Brazilian, and most of the students in the cohort were Spanish speakers, “[t]herefore, due to the students’ familiarity with a Latin accent..., they may have preferred it or considered it (consciously or unconsciously) to be natural” (Kelch & Santana-Williamson, 2002, p. 66). Kelch, K. and Santana-Williamson (2002) concluded that even if students associate most positive traits (desired accent to study listening/speaking/ pronunciation with, likeability, competence as English Teacher, level of education, etc.) to native speaker accents, their lack of familiarity with different types of accents would make them prone to deeming unfamiliar accents as non-native ones. Also,

the fact that students unanimously associate a native accent to being a competent teacher is, at the least, disquieting.

In a similar vein, McGee (2009) reports a similar contradiction in a study of students' accent perception in Malaysia. In the matched-guise test, 5 accent choices were given: English (Oxfordshire), American (Los Angeles, CA), Wales (Wrexham), Scotland (Glasgow), Malaysian (Kuala Lumpur) and Chinese (Guangdong province). Although 89% of the students were in favor of having British English taught at their institution, a matched-guise test indicated that students associated most negative traits towards British English, this one being ranked least favorable even after Malaysian and Chinese English (part of the matched-guise). Students showed a significant preference for American and Scottish accents.

Finally, Buckingham (2014) shows how students' accent-based pre-conceived notions affect their judgment in matched-guise studies, as students showed striking differences in preference towards the same speaker depending on whether they were introduced as a NEST or NNEST. For example, a Pakistani teacher received a score of 59.6/100 in total agreement as a model for pronunciation, while the same teacher, introduced as a NEST from England to the students, received 81.9 in total agreement. Students also assumed that the teacher introduced as an English NEST, with 68 points in total agreement, was a more experienced teacher in comparison to the 34.9 points given to the same teacher introduced as a Pakistani NNEST. In general, the other three NNESTs in this study also received significantly higher scores when introduced as NESTs.

Inconsistencies like the ones mentioned here and in the previous examples cast some doubt on whether what students say they want as a “model accent” is, indeed, what they desire. First, with the exception of American English and the popularity it enjoys due to globalization,

students' lack of familiarity with certain accents will automatically make these less familiar accents fall from favor in most cases (being deemed as NNEST accents). Furthermore, according to students, teachers whose accents are deemed native (regardless of whether they are, actually, native or not) are automatically associated to having more teaching experience, and even being more competent as a teacher in general. The ramifications of students' beliefs in this regard seem to justify recruiters' claims to satisfy their customers' demands (Holliday, 2008) by hiring teachers that students will perceive as NESTs, regardless of how scientifically unfounded this practice might be. Furthermore, as I will discuss later, the systematic practice of hiring less experienced and/or qualified (perceived) NESTs could cause detrimental effects on students' language education.

3.5.4 NESTs or NNESTs? What is students' overall preference?

Ultimately, results regarding students' overall preference for NESTs/NNESTs/both kinds of teachers show variation across multiple studies. Some scholars have claimed that students do not overwhelmingly favor NESTs or NNESTs, but appreciate the different strengths and weaknesses each group brings to the classroom (Mahboob, 2004; Mahboob & Lipovsky, 2010; Chun, 2014; Benke & Medgyes, 2014; Diaz, 2015). In some studies, learners have even expressed that NNESTs are as effective as NESTS (Chang, 2016; Ling & Braine, 2007) (86% and 72% agreement respectively) and that "in an ideal situation", learners should receive instructions from both NESTs and NNESTs (sometimes as team-taught classes). This last statement showed a 4.40/5 agreement among 422 students in Benke and Medgyes (2005), 65.6% agreement among 125 students in Chun (2014), and 79% agreement among 800 students in He and Miller (2011). Most exceptionally, students in Yanaprasart and Melo-Pfeifer (2019)

expressed the importance of “teaching per se” (p. 338) (i.e pedagogical capacity) at the heart of the matter, rather than NEST or NNEST preferences.

However, in Walklinshaw and Oanh (2014) only 14 students (out of 100) advocated for receiving instruction from both types of teachers; in Kramadibrata (2016), 43% agreed they would prefer to have an even mix of teachers in the department; in Brown (2013) only 43% of students agreed that both NEST and NNESTs should teach them during a school term, while 52.02% “would be ready to trade a NNEST for a NEST any time” (Brown, 2013, p. 28). Furthermore, “ideal situations” are not necessarily commonplace, especially when it comes to team-teaching, due to lack of human/capital resources. Many of the studies that ask questions inquiring into students’ preference between NESTs and NNESTs show consistently that students usually prefer NESTs over NNESTs, most specifically 81% of students in Phothongsunan (2017), 78% of students in Alseweed (2012), 65.9% of students in Liu⁹ (2018), 50.6% of students (with 35.5% exhibiting “no preference”) in Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005), 65% in Grubbs, Jantarach and Kettem (2010)¹⁰, 52% in Alviaderi (2018), 4.69/7 (Likert-scale) in Watson Todd and Pojanapunya (2009), and all 6 participants in Kamarudin (2018). Exceptions are found only in Chang (2016), Ling and Braine (2007) and Channy and Ogunniran (2019), where students expressed preference towards NNESTs (60% in favor), and Corcoran (2011), where 85% disagreed NESTs are better than NNESTs.

3.5.5 Students’ perceptions: conclusion

Based on the students’ perceptions scrutinized above:

⁹ NESTs from Inner Circle countries

¹⁰ This is an average of the results from the two student-groups presented in the study that correspond to the questions “Who would help you improve your language skill?” (2010, p. 567)

Students praise NESTs, above all, for their perceived superior language proficiency and inner-circle accents (particularly American and British varieties). As students seem to consider language proficiency as one of the most important traits of teaching effectiveness (Kiczkowiak, 2019), it follows that they will usually prefer NESTs, as they are associated with the best language/pronunciation role model. Even if students do appreciate certain perceived traits among NNESTs, these traits do not seem to supersede the importance of language proficiency and accent. Most studies presented here show that students usually prefer NESTs when they have to choose one teacher they would like to have classes with. Instigating a recruiting system that values teachers according to country of origin/mother tongue/English proficiency (alone) may result in potential negative consequences to both ELT professionalism as well as students' learning outcomes. I will explain these consequences in depth in the following section.

3.6 A note of caution: disregarding pedagogical qualifications

As has been shown in the analysis so far, stakeholders' conceptualization of teaching effectiveness relies mostly on characteristics such as language proficiency and accent. In some contexts, ethnicity can also be added to the equation. Within a discussion of NEST/NNEST preference, the importance of scientifically grounded aspects of teaching effectiveness, such as pedagogical skills, have been significantly neglected.

According to applied linguistics research, to be an effective second language teacher means, among many other qualities, having enough subject knowledge (Lamb & Wedell, 2013; Mujis & Reynolds; Pachler, 2007) which, in language teaching, includes “knowledge of second language acquisition theory, pedagogical knowledge, curricular and syllabus knowledge and cultural knowledge, as well as teachers' proficiency in the target language and an awareness of the structure and features of the target language” (Richards, Conway, Roskvist, & Harvey, 2013,

p. 232). Many scholars also agree that having the ability to motivate learners is another characteristic of effective teachers (Bell, 2005; Lamb & Wedell, 2013). Motivation can be increased or decreased through the application of different classroom language tasks (Jones et al., 2009; Wu, 2003) which signals the importance of having enough subject knowledge to prepare activities that will increase motivation. Furthermore, scholars have also argued that the experience of learning a foreign language should be included as part of necessary subject knowledge (Ellis, 2006; Phillipson, 1992) as this can help teachers better understand their students' language learning journey. In fact, teachers' proficiency in a language other than the target language, particularly the students' L1, has been shown to further motivate students (Cheng & Dörnyei, 2007). Although going in depth into English teacher effectiveness would be beyond the scope of this thesis, it is important to emphasize that teacher effectiveness goes beyond mere language proficiency and being able to give good explanations of the target language, as has been explained above.

Stakeholders associating language proficiency and standard Inner-Circle accent *primarily* to teaching effectiveness explain the reasons behind recruiters'/national policies' major priority of language proficiency/nativeness for their teachers over pedagogical skills. As will be shown in the next section, this type of Native-speakerist belief about what an effective teacher is, on the part of both students and recruiters, could incentivize the hiring of less pedagogically skilled teachers, to the detriment of students' language learning.

3.7 Studies on teacher effectiveness/performance: always perceiving the NEST as superior, even if the reality of the classroom indicates otherwise

I would like to clarify that, in this section, I do not attempt to claim that a certain type of teacher, NEST or NNEST, is inherently better than the other. However, I do wish to demonstrate

the importance of pedagogical qualifications, regardless of NNEST/NEST status, and how stakeholders' biased perception in favor of NESTs could act to the detriment of their own language education.

Some scholars such as Kumaravadivelu (2016) state that research on the comparison between NESTs/NNESTs is not worth delving into, based on the assumption “that a professionally trained teacher is competent to teach all aspects of a language” (p. 81). However, it is thanks to classroom performance and student learning outcomes research that we can empirically assert, rather than just assume, that any professionally trained teacher can teach any aspect of language. Following Moussu and Lurda's (2008) appeal for more classroom performance-related research, I have been able to find relevant sources, though not many, to make my case.

As I presented in the ELT school hiring practices and students' perceptions sections, NESTs are highly appreciated for their native language proficiency, perceived to be a significant stand-alone characteristic, most effective in teaching pronunciation or speaking skills. In this section, I will show that this perception is not only erroneous, but could also be detrimental to students' language education.

The types of NEST/NNEST comparative studies I scouted out needed to fulfill certain requirements in terms of variables analyzed in the research: minimally, a) students' language improvement/performance as objectively measured by the researcher(s). They could also include b) classroom observation to analyze teachers' (and students') performance, and c) students' perception of their NEST/NNEST. I have been able to find only five studies that fulfill such requirements: Li and Zhang (2016) in China, Shin and Kellogg (2007) in South Korea, Levis et

al. (2016) in the USA, Fuangkarn and Rimkeeratikul (2020) in Thailand, İngilizce et al. (2016) in Turkey, and Tariq and Noor (2019) in Saudi Arabia.

Shin and Kellogg (2007) compared the performance of a novice NEST to a more experienced NNEST teaching a science class in English in a Korean primary school. Their quantitative analysis showed the NNEST utilized more complex phrasing in class that provided students with richer input in terms of vocabulary and grammar. This was facilitated by the NNEST's use of students' L1 when necessary for better contextualization within the topic taught. Also, students in the NNEST class produced 5% more linguistic output in the target language. The authors summarized that, overall, the oral interaction between teachers and students in the NNEST science class was linguistically more productive than that of the NEST class. The authors concluded that the native speaker fallacy, which views native language expertise in isolation, would not lead to successful teaching/learning outcomes. Instead, they propose that language expertise be viewed as a component of teaching expertise, an overarching concept that encompasses more than mere language proficiency. Even though this is a small case study, and the role of language background is not isolated from the years of teaching experience, this study presents interesting, relevant findings.

In İngilizce et al. (2016), the study researched the academic achievement and speaking skills improvement in an experimental study carried out at Uşak University, in Turkey. Students were divided into two classes (control and experimental group) to be taught by a NEST and NNEST. They were administered a multiple-choice achievement test and a speaking test both before and after the courses were taught. Quantitative analysis results showed that achievement and speaking test results of the students taught by the NEST went down, although the differences were not statistically significant. In the case of the NNEST's class, students' scores in both the

achievement and speaking pre and post-tests showed statistically significant improvement. The authors suggest that the difference in the teachers' experience (the NEST, 3 years; the NNEST, 5 years) could account for the difference in their level of effectiveness. Conclusively, "Experience and qualifications of a teacher are what make a teacher successful" (İngilizce et al., 2016, p. 183), rather than their mother tongue.

Tariq and Noor (2019) used quantitative analysis to survey students' listening and speaking skills improvement at a university in Saudi Arabia. The authors compared students' proficiency gains in two classes (one taught by a NNEST and the other taught by a NEST) via pre and post-tests and ex post facto. The study concludes that "teachers' nativeness has no significant effect on students' achievements in speaking and listening skills" (p. 37).

This fallacious perception that NESTs are inherently superior teachers to NESTs is so deep-rooted that it can affect students' beliefs even if the reality of the classroom points in the opposite direction. For example, in Li and Zhang (2016), 30 students were taught a four-month pronunciation course at a university in China. The first two months of the course were taught by a NEST from California, whose qualifications were not specified in the study, with half a year of teaching experience in China. The last two months of the course were taught by a NNEST from China who had studied for six years in the US, where she obtained her MA and PhD. Even though 70% of the participants indicated they would prefer to be taught by a NEST, research results showed students had significantly better pronunciation improvement with the NNEST. It is important to point out, however, that this study could have had stronger validity with a different design for the comparison, such as having each teacher teach a separate group from beginning to end. Nevertheless, the results presented are worth considering, despite its limitations.

In another study (Levis et al., 2016), two concurrent 7-week classes were formed, one taught by a NEST, and another taught by a NNEST. The instructors were PhD students in applied linguistics and technology. Both had similar background preparation for pronunciation teaching. They both had taken the same graduate course in pronunciation teaching. They also had similar experience in pronunciation teaching through one-to-one directed tutoring. Results showed that students did not have significant pronunciation improvement in either the NEST or NNEST class. Ultimately, as Levis et al. (2016) put it: “there was no significant impact of teachers’ language backgrounds on students’ overall improvement of comprehensibility and accentedness” (p.915). However, the students interviewed by the researchers expressed that, overall, they would still prefer NESTs for speaking and pronunciation classes, even though they “typically struggled to explain why” (2016, p. 915). The authors conclude that pronunciation is more dependent on “knowledgeable teaching practices than on native pronunciation” (p. 894). It is of note to see that in both Li and Zhang (2016) and Levis et al. (2016), students learned equally well with both NNESTs/NESTs, and even better with their NNEST in one of the studies. However, students still expressed they would prefer to learn with NESTs only.

In a comprehensive study of teachers’ performance, students’ learning outcomes (in terms of language proficiency improvement) and students’ perceptions of NNESTs/NESTs, Fuangkarn and Rimkeeratikul (2020) studied 252 students in a Thai secondary school. Results in terms of students’ proficiency improvement, measured with the Key English Test, showed improvement in all classes, but this was generally higher in NNESTs’ classes. In the surveys and interviews, students kept an open mind in terms of what the profile of a good teacher was. They did not side with either NESTs or NNESTs. The authors further stated: “students prefer to study with teachers, either NEST or NNEST, who can explain the lessons clearly and provide an

environment that keeps them engaged.” (p. 254). It is interesting to find these kinds of encouraging results within a context where prevalent discrimination against NNESTs has been reported (Braine, 2010; Hickey, 2018).

To sum up, this section has touched upon two issues. First, all studies in this section show *empirically* the fallaciousness of mainstream discriminatory bias in favor of NESTs. Secondly, two out of the three last studies mentioned (Levis et al, 2016; Li & Zhang, 2016) show how, regardless of a NNEST’s actual teaching effectiveness (even if better than a NEST), students will still opt for a NEST for pronunciation classes. Consequently, in some cases, students might be acting against their best interest by choosing a less effective teacher whom they believe to be more effective because of their NEST status (as in Li and Zhang (2016)). Predominant stakeholders’ biases, as well as educational policies that prioritize nativeness and country of citizenship while disregarding teachers’ qualifications/experience, could lead to serious consequences. Capable teachers can be unfairly disqualified from employment application solely based on their NEST/NNEST status or country of citizenship, to the detriment of students’ language education, as recruiters would have to, or would opt to, hire based on native speaker status as a first priority, rather than qualifications and teaching experience.

3.8 Literature gap on Latin America

It is noteworthy that from all the studies found delving into students’ perceptions, job ads and teacher effectiveness, only three studies focus on the Latin American context: Corcoran (2011), in Brazil, delving into students/teachers’ and recruiters’ perceptions; Kamarudin (2018), in Chile, with a qualitative study delving into six students’ perceptions; and Mackenzie (2021) analyzing job ads in the Colombian context.

The few remaining studies focusing on the Latin-American context all delve into teachers' identity issues in relation to their (colleagues') nativeness/non-nativeness. For example, Avalos Rivera and Corcoran (2017) report on two studies, one carried out in Mexico and the other in Brazil, where teachers' perceptions were elicited. In this study, NNESTs accepted native-speakerism as a justified practice, based on agreeing with the native-speaker fallacy (Phillipson, 1992). Passoni (2019) carried out a document analysis of Brazil's English Federal program that highlights the Native-speakerist stance of the government in terms of having the NEST as a superior model of English speaker. Archanjo et al. (2019) studied pre-service teachers' identity positioning in Brazil and Chile, and found that teachers still considered proficiency "a major factor in the construction of FL language teachers' identity" (p. 82). They concluded that "the context of the global South is still shaped by notions of legitimization and language proficiency, mostly dictated by the global North." (p. 82).

In Colombia, Viafara Gonzalez (2015) studied pre-service teachers' identity at two universities. Here, participants expressed a sense of inferiority in terms of language proficiency, and 65% of them would recommend a NEST over a NNEST if they had to advise a relative on taking classes with either type of teacher. Calderon Aponte (2020) studied three pre-service English teachers and their life experience vis-à-vis the NEST/NNEST dichotomy. Results show that participants view native speakers as the benchmark for language proficiency. In Tarazona-Ariza (2021), the three NNEST-participants expressed how the under-trained NEST at their school enjoyed more respect from students, as "their manner of speaking is considered to be the correct linguistic model" (p. 127).

Gonzalez and Llurda (2016) carried out a news media review that details the potential for growing Native-speakerism in countries such as Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Mexico. The

authors explain how educational policy as well as mainstream media call for the hiring of native speakers as a symbol of language quality assurance. These results are further corroborated by Correa and Flórez's (2022) analysis of Colombian newspapers, where they find discourse with clear favoritism towards native speakers, as they are considered experts on the subject matter due to their perceived mother tongue, regardless of their pedagogical training.

All the studies' findings mentioned so far portray NNESTs in a subjugated, subaltern position due to the current state of affairs worldwide. However, two studies that portray a different picture are Payan's (2021), in Colombia, and Barrantes Elizondo's (2020) in Costa Rica. In Payan (2021), even though a few teachers express their frustration in terms of NESTs' strengths in aspects such as "pronunciation [and] vocabulary" (p.32), many of the participants dismissed the NEST/NNEST labels and just focused on pedagogical knowledge and qualifications. Perhaps this is due to all the NNESTs having a C1/C2 proficiency level (as mentioned by the author) as most of them had had experience in English-speaking countries. A high self-perceived level of proficiency could allow teachers to focus on other teaching aspects such as pedagogical qualifications. Finally, in Barrantes Elizondo (2020), even though teachers did acknowledge language proficiency as a point of concern, their overall outlook was positive, as they see themselves as lifelong language learners within their teacher role. Furthermore, and most important, no teacher reported any kind of hiring-related discrimination in relation to their NNEST status.

More specifically in Argentina, where the current study was carried out, studies on Native-speakerism or NEST/NNEST issues are nearly non-existent. The only exception is Porto's (2020) study of 75 English language teachers in Argentina. In this study, the researcher delves into teachers' perceptions regarding "the expansion, use and teaching of English as an

international language, with particular attention to the native vs. non-native dichotomy” (Porto, 2020, p. 69). The results of this study indicated that teachers had 1) “An uncritical view in relation to the hegemony of English as a language of international communication” (2020, p. 77), 2) “Fluid and sometimes conflicting understandings about the language, its varieties and the question of language ownership” (2020, p. 77), 3) “Critical reflections on the native/non-native-speaker/teacher dichotomy touching upon perspectives associated with the concept of native-speakerism.” (2020, p. 77). The lack of research on Native-speakerism in Latin America, and more specifically in Argentina, calls for urgent endeavors to develop scholarship pertinent to this context.

3.9 Literature review conclusion

This comprehensive literature review has analyzed students’ perceptions/beliefs about NESTs and NNESTs, the connections of these perceptions/beliefs with Native-speakerism, and how these biased, fallacious perceptions not only can produce hiring inequalities, but also potential detriment to students’ language education. In EFL countries, job ad analysis show that nativeness is the most important requirement, and they relegate pedagogical qualifications to a lower echelon. These hiring criteria are further bolstered and perpetuated by NEST schemes and educational policy that encourage the hiring of teachers based, mainly, on native-speaker status and country of origin. Most students show this bias in favor of nativeness and/or language proficiency being one of the most important aspects of teaching in several different contexts. Even though students do recognize certain strengths among NNESTs, they show, overall, a greater preference for being taught by NESTs. As shown in the empirical studies covered in this review, believing language proficiency/nativeness (along with perceived inner-circle accent) to be the sole factor for teaching effectiveness is fallacious. The current bias expressed by students

also shared in language education policy and job advertisements in favor of NESTs not only negatively affects NNESTs by creating inequality regimes, but can also detrimentally affect students' language education. Finally, as pertains to the Latin American and Argentine context, the scant scholarship available calls for the concerted effort of scholars in these contexts to expand on NNEST/NEST and/or Native-speakerism issues to better understand how these phenomena develop.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Methods

This chapter covers the data collection, analysis, participant selection and context. I begin by explaining my rationale as to why I chose a mixed-methods design.

4.1 A Mixed Methods approach

To provide a definition of Mixed Methods Research (MMR), I use Creswell and Plano Clark's (2018) "definition of core characteristics of mixed methods research" (p. 41) in which the researcher:

- collects and analyzes both qualitative and quantitative data rigorously in response to research questions and hypotheses,
- integrates (or mixes or combines) the two forms of data and their results,
- organizes these procedures into specific research designs that provide the logic and procedures for conducting the study, and
- frames these procedures within theory and philosophy.

(Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018, p. 41)

As Dörnyei (2007) points out, MMR can help minimize the weaknesses of using quantitative and qualitative methods individually. Quantitative methods provide precise, numerical data efficiently across a great number of participants (McDonough & McDonough, 1997). However, they might produce results that are too general, due to their inability to immediately probe respondents to elaborate (Bryman, 2016; Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010; O' Leary, 2017). Therefore, in the case of my research project, the qualitative component in the form of follow-up interviews with students looks to elaborate, enhance, illustrate, and/or clarify results from the data obtained via questionnaire surveys (Bryman, 2006).

4.2 Research design

A research design is a “procedur[e] for collecting, analyzing, interpreting, and reporting data in research studies” (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018, p. 106). It is a useful model for doing research and a guide that helps researchers make methods decisions and set the logic to be followed in the collection, analysis and interpretation of data. My dissertation uses a fixed design, in which the use of qualitative and quantitative methods is predetermined and planned at the start of the research project, and these are implemented as planned (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018). I follow a typology-based approach based on Creswell and Plano Clark’s (2018) advice to novice researchers, as a typology-based approach is “well defined, [and] facilitate[s] a solid approach for addressing the research problem, and help[s] the investigator anticipate and resolve challenging issues (p. 112).

My dissertation reports on a study carried out in three phases: A, B, and C. Phase A consisted of an explanatory-sequential design with a QUAN (A1) and a qual (A2) component which delved into students’ perceptions. In A1, quantitative data was collected via survey questionnaires and analyzed to establish general trends concerning students’ perceptions. In A2, qualitative data was collected via semi-structured interviews. The data underwent qualitative analysis to investigate these general trends and ascertain reasons behind these. Phase B consisted of a Quan component where content analysis was used to analyze job ads to understand hiring practices applied at different local schools in the city of Buenos Aires. Finally, I took all the data from A and B and compared it for further insight in the Convergent phase (C).

My dissertation project takes a case study approach, as I was interested in learning about two private language schools only, without any view to generalizing these findings. Phase A answered Research Questions 1- *What are students’ overall perceptions of NESTs/NNESTs and*

beliefs about effective teaching? (RQ1 consists of three sub-questions RQ1a-*What attributes do students ascribe to each type of teacher?-*, RQ1b- *Overall, do they prefer NESTs or NNESTs? What are factors that influence their preference?-* and RQ1c- *What characteristics does an effective teacher have according to students?*). Phase B answered RQ2- *What are the general requirements for teacher applicants based on online job advertisements? Do such requirements encourage Native-speakerism, if at all? If so, how?* Finally, phase C answered question RQ3- *Can any parallels be drawn between job ads hiring requirements and students' perceptions of NESTs/NNESTs, their beliefs about effective teaching and hiring practices as shown in job ads? How do these align with teaching effectiveness literature?* (see Table 5, below)

Table 5

Summary of Research Phases

	A (answers RQ1 a, b, c)	B (answers RQ2)	C (answers RQ3)
Sample	A1 (56 students)	23 job ads- from local job boards	
<u>Data collection, data type, and analysis</u>	(QUAN) survey questionnaire, belief/perception/students' background, descriptive statistics	(QUAN)job ads scouting (content analysis), teacher requirements, descriptive statistics	
Sample	A2 (13 students)		
<u>Data collection, data type, and analysis</u>	<u>(Qual) interviews,</u> belief/perception/students' background, qualitative-thematic analysis		
<u>MMR Convergent design phase</u> (data from phases A and B compared for further insight)			All QUAN and qual data from A and Quan data from B compared.

4.3 Context and participants

This research project was carried out within the context of Buenos Aires province, Argentina. For the purposes of quantitative data collection, participants comprised 56 adult learners of English as a foreign language currently studying at a private language school, 35 from “school North” and 21 from “school South.”

Participants were drawn via stratified random sampling from two language schools of different sizes (school North—a total of approximately 50 students; school South approximately 70 students) in Buenos Aires. I translated the questionnaire surveys for students into Spanish to allow students from different proficiency levels in English to answer them.

For the purposes of qualitative follow-up interviews, a sub-sample of 20% of the students that responded to the surveys was drawn, using convenience sampling. Students with different levels of English proficiency were interviewed to cover a plurality of views. All interviews were carried out in Spanish for students' ease of communication.

4.4 Data collection

4.4.1 Survey-questionnaires (A1)

For the quantitative data collection, online survey-questionnaires via Microsoft Forms were used to collect data from students. Survey-questionnaires were selected as a tool in this project for the following reasons:

- a. Efficient in terms of time, effort and financial investment
- b. Broad geographical coverage
- c. Can offer confidentiality/anonymity
- d. Can collect great amounts of data that can be efficiently quantified for analysis
- e. “[C]an reduce the bias of interviewer effects and thus increase the consistency and reliability of the results” (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010, p. 6)

Indeed, particularly regarding geographical coverage, online surveys allowed me to efficiently collect data in Buenos Aires. As for reasons c and e, students were able to fill out the surveys at

their own convenience, which might have enhanced willingness to answer questions truthfully, particularly in terms of issues of social desirability. This means that having the possibility to fill out a survey in the privacy of their own homes would make participants feel more at ease to answer truthfully, rather than carrying out, for example, an in-person survey in their classroom.

4.4.1.1 Student survey piloting.

Surveys were first shared with my thesis supervisors to obtain a first round of feedback and make necessary modifications. Then, student surveys were shared with my friends and family and they were asked to provide feedback in terms of the clarity of questions and any other aspects that they considered relevant in the survey. After that, minor changes were made to the survey questionnaire.

4.1.1.2 Students survey distribution and surveys construction rationale (A1).

In the case of school North, student surveys were shared with the teachers (upon school administrator authorization via an e-mail where I was CCed), who subsequently shared them with their students. Thirty-five (out of approx. 50) students completed the survey from school North, and 21 (out of approx. 70) students completed the survey from school South. For school South, the student survey link was shared to students via a general communication by the school administrator (who was the initial recipient of the survey links).

Part 1 of the survey employs 5-point Likert-scale items to measure the general perceptions/attitudes that students hold of NESTs/NNESTs. Likert-scale items were worded in affirmative statements with (S)trongly (A)gree, (A)gree, (N)either (A)gree (N)or (D)isagree, (D)isagree, (S)trongly (D)isagree and (N)ot (A)ppllicable (see Appendix A1)

This choice of Likert scales is grounded in the fact that many scholars agree that these are the most common scales used to measure attitudes (Bryman, 2016; Dörnyei & Taguchi 2010). Furthermore, Likert scales have been used extensively to analyze students' perceptions of NESTs/NNESTs (e.g.: Alvidieri, 2018; Chun, 2014; Clark & Paran, 2007; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Liu, 2018; Mahboob, 2004; Phillips, 2018). The specific Likert-scale items included in this first section were adapted from the existing literature. I drew inspiration from Kiczkowiak (2018) in terms of the Likert-scale battery format of four statements and some of the questions.

All the statements in Q2—*I prefer to have classes with NES teachers; I prefer to have classes with both NES and NNEST teachers; My teacher's mother tongue is important; I prefer to have classes with NNEST teachers*—in the survey (see Appendix A1) were taken from Kiczkowiak's questions (2018, p. 207-208). The wording was slightly simplified.

For Q3—*You will learn good English both from a NES and a NNEST teacher; You will learn bad English from a NNEST teacher; A NES teacher will teach you better English than a NNEST teacher; You will learn good English from a NNEST teacher*—two statements were taken from Kiczkowiak (2018, p. 211). However, two statements were modified: for Kiczkowiak's (2018, p. 211), *A NNEST teacher is a better language model than a NES*, I have substituted *You will learn good English from a NNEST teacher*; and the statement *It is necessary to interact with a NES to speak English fluently* is (2018, p. 211) was modified to *A NES teacher will teach you better English than a NNEST teacher*. I did this to have respondents focus on the perceived quality of English they thought they would learn with either type of teacher.

Q5 statements—*There are people who sometimes assume teachers of Anglo-Saxon ethnicity are NES teachers; There are people who sometimes assume teachers of African*

ethnicity are NES teachers; There are people who think a teacher might be a NES or NNEST teacher based upon their ethnicity; There are NES teachers whose nativeness goes unnoticed as their ethnic background is similar to that of the general population in Buenos Aires—were my own creation following much of the extant scholarship, which points to students believing NESTs might have certain inherent strengths and weaknesses (Huang, 2018; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Liu, 2018; Ma, 2012) vis-à-vis NNESTs having certain inherent strengths and weaknesses (Alseweed, 2012; Chang, 2016; Gurkan & Yuksel, 2012; Ma, 2012; Walkingshaw & Oanh, 2014).

Part 2 of the questionnaire looks into students' beliefs about effective teaching. In this section I used semantic differential scales, following Kiczowskiak (2018, p. 216) to identify the degree of importance assigned to different *teaching effectiveness* qualities by using scales from 0 to 10, that covered opinions from *Not important at all* to *Very important*. Whereas Kiczowskiak (2018) used a 0-100 scale, which is what I would have preferred to use, I was limited by the functionality of Microsoft Forms, which offers scales of 0-10. Many of the statements were taken from Kiczowskiak (2018, p. 216). However, I decided to add a few statements I considered important, based on the literature, that had not been sufficiently explored. For example, I added Q18—*an effective teacher has formal English teacher qualifications*, since this is a regular conversation within ESL teacher recruitment literature (Keany, 2016; Liu, 2018; Wang & Lin), but has been under-explored from the students' point of view. I also added two statements, Q17—*An effective teacher has a native-speaker accent*—and Q11—*An effective teacher has an intelligible accent*—since intelligibility vis-à-vis native accent, a very relevant issue to teaching and Native-speakerism (Munro & Derwing, 1995) had not been conjointly studied with other teaching aspects, especially within the specific framework of Native-speakerism.

Parts 3 and 4 of the questionnaires sought to understand specific teaching-related attributes that students believe are more/less predominant in NESTs/NNESTs. Part 3 covered attributes of NESTs and Part 4 attributes of NNESTs. Each section starts with “A Native English Speaker Teacher...”/ “A Non-Native English Speaking Teacher...” and is followed up by different attributes (such as “is good at pronunciation teaching”, “is good at grammar teaching”) in a list format which comprises 12 attributes. The 12-attribute list is exactly the same for Part 3 and 4. For each attribute, students responded by choosing among 6 options on a Likert scale: (S)trongly (A)gree, (A)gree, (N)either (A)gree (N)or (D)isagree, (D)isagree, (S)trongly (D)isagree and (N)ot (A)ppllicable. I should clarify that the objective of these sections is not to fall into what many scholars have called the *comparative fallacy* (Moussu & Llurda, 2008; Selvi, 2010), in which ideologically charged/biased labels are used to further perpetuate Native-speakerism by reinforcing pre-conceived beliefs that stakeholders already hold towards these groups. The comparison between NESTs/NNESTs in these sections is to purposefully ascertain the degree to which certain stereotypes associated to NESTs/NNESTs are entrenched in students’ belief systems, if at all, and are to be further problematized to demystify the NEST/NNEST comparative stereotypes throughout my thesis. Even if scholars presume that these are outdated questions in the field of Applied Linguistics in 2023, NEST/NNEST comparisons/discrimination are phenomena that are still commonplace in ELT outside of academia and that deserve to be further inspected and problematized. Question formulation for this section followed scholarship that suggests the prevalence of certain stereotypes as to inherent strengths perceived by students in NESTs/NNESTs (Alseweed, 2012; Chang, 2016; Gurkan & Yuksel, 2012; Huang, 2018; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Liu, 2018; Ma, 2012; Walkingshaw & Oanh, 2014) that is also

delineated in this dissertation's Literature review (section: *students' attitudes towards NESTs/NNESTs*).

Part 5 collects biographical information in terms of students' language learning journey, such as how many years they have been studying English, whether they have been taught by NESTs before, and if so, for how many years they have been taught by NESTs. Students' biographical data in previous research has provided useful insight into understanding stakeholders' perceptions, such as Moussu's (2010) finding of students' preference for NESTs/NNESTs, which varied depending on their L1 and cultural background. Most of the items in this section were multiple choice and used short open-ended answers to expand on some of the multiple-choice questions. For question formulation, I looked to Kiczowskiak (2018, p.217-222), Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005, p. 237), Ling and Braine (2007, p. 274-276) and Moussu (2010, p. 768). Most of the scholarship just mentioned included items that I include in Part 5 such as questions about a student's age (Q26), language background (Q27), level of English (Q31), experience with NESTs/NNESTs (Q33-Q27).

4.4.2 Follow-up semi-structured interviews (A2).

Interviewing, defined by Brenner, Brown and Carter, is an "interaction in which two or more people are brought together into direct contact for at least one party to learn something from the other" (Brown, 2018, p. 95). Interviewing, as a data collection tool, has been broadly used to investigate students' attitudes/opinions towards NESTs/NNESTs. Interviewing has been used in mixed methods approach research, where the qualitative part of the research provided depth as to the reasons related to the quantitative results obtained (for examples, see Huang, 2018; Kiczowskiak, 2019, 2020; Liu, 2018; Moussu, 2010; Phillips, 2018).

Qualitative data from the interviews was used to complement the quantitative results. Qualitative answers delve deeper into and provide reasons behind the different answers provided in the different closed-ended questions (e.g.: Likert scales, semantic differential) from the survey.

For the purposes of my research, I used *semi-structured interviewing*, in which the researcher “knows what topics need to be covered and to a large extent what questions need to be asked (though this does vary), so a degree of comparison is possible” (Richards, 2009, p. 185). Also, some flexibility is required “to probe some aspects in depth and, where necessary, to let the respondent lead in much the same way as in an open interview” (2009, p. 186).

I approach interviewing from a constructivist perspective, where the fundamental tenet is that “reality is socially constructed” (Richards, 2009, p. 38). Hence, there is disbelief in the conception of “data as stable nuggets to be mined by the interviewer” (Brinkmann, 2018, p. 2012), if we take the miner metaphor from Kvale (1996). Variably called naturalist, interpretive, phenomenological, or social constructivist epistemology (Beuving & de Vries, 2015; Mirhosseini, 2020), constructivist knowledge “is essentially subjectively constructed and is primarily about a particular instance and situated in a particular context, culture, and setting.” (Mirhosseini, 2020, p. 9). In other words, knowledge and truth are created, not discovered, and reality can be pluralistic (Richards, 2009). Hence exact replicability and applicability of studies in a quantitative sense is neither desired nor possible (Mirhosseini, 2020). Within this paradigm, the interviewer is not seen as a neutral subject, so it is important for researchers to have an understanding of their own biases and how these could influence their research (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). My approach is also critical, as I seek to interrogate conceptions and values that are taken

for granted, hence “penetrating underlying assumptions and value orientations in order to expose the power relationships that permeate social structures and interactions.” (Richards, 2003, p. 40)

4.4.2.1 Follow-up semi-structured interview piloting.

Once the initial student semi-structured interview schedules were ready, these were piloted with three friends who were taking English classes at the time of the piloting. Feedback was obtained in terms of whether questions were easy to understand and whether there was any question that might cause discomfort at the time of answering. Feedback was obtained and minor changes were made to the schedules.

4.4.2.2 Follow-up semi-structured interviews with students (A2).

After quantitative data collection (A1) and subsequent (preliminary) data analysis, semi-structured interviews (A2) took place through purposive sampling (and based on logistical availabilities). Seven students from school North and six students from school South were interviewed. Before each interview, participants signed a consent form sent via e-mail. Interviews with students lasted around 30 minutes.

Semi-structured interviewing provided further in-depth insight as to why students consider certain teaching effectiveness qualities important and also why they ascribe certain qualities to NESTs rather than to NNESTs.

4.4.3 Document analysis and content analysis (B).

Scholars doing research in Native-speakerism have adopted document analysis as a methodology, either as the primary methodological tool, or as part of a triangulation scheme (e.g.: Bryant, 2016; Mackenzie, 2020; Ruecker & Ives, 2015; Selvi, 2010; Song & Zhang, 2010). Document analysis has been defined in different ways by different scholars. For Bowen (2009)

“[d]ocument analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material” (p. 27); for O’ Leary (2017), document analysis is the “Collection, review, interrogation and analysis of various forms of written text as a primary source of research data” (p. 698). Here, O’ Leary (2017) clarifies that documents are limited to “written text” (p. 27) only, whereas photographs and other documents that may not contain written text only are also included within Bowen’s (2009) definition of document analysis. Indeed, Bowen (2007) states that a document contains “text (words) and images that have been recorded without a researcher’s intervention” (p.27). Bowen’s definition seems in line with other scholars’ definitions, such as Grant’s (2018), which states that a document contains “content or objects which include written, graphical or pictorial matter, or a combination of these types of content, in order to transmit or store information or meaning.” (p. 11). In sum, going along with Bowen’s and Grant’s definitions, documents may not only contain written text but also images of different types.

For the purposes of this research, documents collected underwent *content analysis*. I followed Neuendorf’s (2017) definition, which states:

Content analysis is a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that follows the standards of the scientific method (including attention to objectivity–intersubjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability, and hypothesis testing based on theory) and is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented. (p. 39)

In content analysis, the unit of analysis is the *message unit*, which materializes in the teacher requirements specified in each job ad. *Counts* of pre-established key categories are recorded, which include the different types of requirements mentioned in the ads. After counts are

recorded, they are subject to quantification (Smith, 2000) with a view to identifying any patterns in job ads in general.

4.4.3.1 Job ads analysis data collection (B).

Following Selvi (2010), Mahboob and Golden (2013) and Mackenzie, (2020), I used content analysis that focused on the requirements specified in the job ads. Based on a review of the three authors afore-mentioned, the main three categories under which different sub-categories were recorded were: personality characteristics (e.g., energetic, creative, outgoing), linguistic (e.g., proficiency level, native language), and professional (degrees, certificates, years of experience), which followed a similar categorization as Mackenzie's (2020). Based on several suggestions by fellow Argentine English teachers, I surveyed three types of job ad sources: two local job boards— <https://ar.computrabajo.com/> and <https://www.linkedin.com/> (set to Buenos Aires location); two Facebook groups that post job ads for English teachers— <https://www.facebook.com/groups/eltargentina/> and <https://www.facebook.com/groups/612046062196061/>; and two Instagram accounts that share a collection of job ads from diverse sources-@bolsadetrabajo_docente and @elartedeserdocente -.The websites/groups/accounts were monitored for two months, September 14th-November 30th 2022, daily recording new ads and checking for duplicates. The period during which the job ads were recorded is a common hiring period for private schools and adult language program institutions that are looking for teachers to start working right after the New Year. To be considered valid, ads had to fall within the ESL/EFL teaching field (i.e., content area teaching posts in English were not considered). Also, the positions offered in the ads had to be to teach adult students in Buenos Aires (regardless of whether the actual teaching was in-person or

online), as all the student participants surveyed and interviewed were adults from or residing in Buenos Aires.

4.5 Data analysis

4.5.1 Student surveys (A1).

For the quantitative data from the students' questionnaires, descriptive statistics were used. To summarize findings, different indicators were applied, such as the sum, average, and ratio of each dimension in the questionnaire (Part 1, 2, 3, 4, 5). These indicators helped expedite the descriptive analysis and enabled the aggregation of different questionnaire datasets into differently configured datasets to be analyzed. For example, one unitary dataset encompassed the whole population of student-participants together.

Once databases were coded, histograms were computed for every variable and summarized indicator to identify distributions and variability in the responses. Additional descriptive analysis included correlation analysis of relevant indicators, and all bivariate combinations of distinct variables. For example, a relevant independent variable was student's reported level of English as per question 31 in the student questionnaire (see Appendix 1) and whether there is any relation between this independent variable and students' overall preference for NESTs/NNESTs, which would be the dependent variable. The independent variable "level of proficiency" (from Q 31) was considered relevant based on my previous literature view, as Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005), Perez Canado and Madrid (2004), and Liaw (2012) pointed out this variable as bearing a potential relation with students' NEST/NNEST preference. This is just one example among many that were considered and that will be detailed in the results section, below. For the correlation analysis I used Tau B (Witte & Witte, 2017). Although traditionally Spearman's rho is used for non-parametric rank correlations, I used Kendall's Tau B for

sampling and survey design reasons. Firstly, the survey contains low degrees of freedom among categories in most preference variables. Any respondent can choose between 5 and 10 categories for any given variable. Secondly, the sample consists of 56 respondents. Taken together, both elements reduce the foreseeable variability in the responses, i.e., there are low combinations of responses that each participant can answer. Additionally, Likert and 1-10 score scales center response bias or “error towards moderation” (Berry, 1993, p. 51-57). To overcome such problems, the Tau B measure is better suited to handle pairings of responses and is less sensitive to outliers in the dataset.

4.5.2 Job ads data analysis (B).

As mentioned in the data collection section, teacher requirements were categorized under personality characteristics, linguistic, and professional categories. Then descriptive statistics were used to obtain a general picture of teacher-requirement general trends among the job ads sources surveyed. Descriptive statistics involved measures of frequency and central tendency.

4.5.3 Student interview data analysis (A2) and open-ended survey question data analysis (A1).

To analyze data in these phases, I used *Qualitative content analysis* as explained by Dörnyei (2007). Here, I emphasize that I wish not to take any close affiliation with specific methodologies, as Dörnyei (2007) explains:

when scholars do not wish to affiliate themselves too closely with a specific methodology, they often use the broad term ‘qualitative content analysis’ to characterize the collection of generic qualitative analytical moves that are applied to establish patterns in the data (p. 245)

However, I will detail the collection of qualitative analytical moves I have made use of, which are not generic, as they can be traced back to specific authors in their development of grounded theory.

First, one of the most important characteristics of qualitative data analysis is its iterative, non-linear, zigzag pattern. Constantly moving back and forth between data collection, analysis and interpretation is at the center of the whole process, until data collection/analysis saturation is reached (Dörnyei, 2007).

Categories in Qualitative content analysis are inductively derived from the iterative analysis (Dörnyei, 2007). Therefore, the researcher's intuition plays an important role in the analysis, beyond any technological assistance provided by analytical tools.

One of the first steps in analysis comes about at the pre-coding stage while collecting the data. Substantial reflection occurs while one collects and transcribes the data. Researchers agree that this is a good step to meet the data in a meaningful way, which helps shape the way in which data is to be coded (Dörnyei, 2007).

As regards my coding strategy, I decided to follow Charmaz's (2006) approach by proceeding with two main forms, or levels, of coding: *initial* coding and *focused/selective coding*. Initial coding entails remaining "open to exploring whatever theoretical possibilities we can discern in the data" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 47). The initial coding is close to the data and focuses on words to reflect concrete actions (found in the data) so as not to make conceptual leaps too soon in this first phase of coding. These codes are also provisional and might be re-phrased/re-conceptualized to better fit emergent phenomena in the data. As per Charmaz's advice, line-by-line coding was my "mantra": to stay close and critical to my data, hence

avoiding any “theoretical flights of fancy” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 51). Data from different participants was compared for similarities and differences.

Focused/Selective coding, as the second major phase, is more “directed, selective, and conceptual” (Charmaz, 2006) than codes in the initial coding phase. This coding phase comes after strong analytic directions have been established through initial coding. The most significant/frequent codes were used to sift through the data, in a recursive, iterative manner. The main goal was to determine the adequacy of these codes and whether these could appropriately condense the data.

I also used some useful tools stemming from grounded theory schools of thought, such as memos and vignettes (Dörnyei, 2007) to assist in my analysis. Analytic memos assisted me greatly during my focused/selective coding stage. Vignettes were also written to provide concrete examples pertaining to the different themes identified.

One aspect of my coding requires clarification, as it relates to the fact that my qualitative phase A2 is part of the explanatory design of my project. One could say there were certain pre-set themes established as per the questions in the survey questionnaire that were to be further explained by the qualitative phase of the design (A2). Some of these pre-set themes could be said to be, for example, NEST vs. NNEST, pronunciation, or native speaker status. Even though these are macro themes to be touched upon in this project, the opinions attributed within these macro-themes (native speaker status, pronunciation, and other characteristics) that students might consider relevant for effective teaching were unknown and the themes created by these opinions were built from the ground up. Thus, even though there are sections of the interview that cover pre-set sections of enquiry (stemming from sections in the survey questionnaire), the opinions

expressed could give rise to a myriad number of coding possibilities. It is in this sense that open coding was carried out in alignment to Charmaz's description of open coding (2006).

4.5.3.1 Concrete steps taken during data analysis (A2).

Each interview was first transcribed with the help of the MS Word online transcriber on the McGill 365 MS Office platform. Then, I listened to each interview while reading through the transcript, to correct software inaccuracies. Following Mackey and Gass's (2016) description of transcription categories, I applied broad transcription. However, a fair amount of detail was used, to the point of including hesitations in several instances, even if these might end up not being relevant for the analysis.

Then, each file was loaded as a *Case* on the NVivo application. NVivo offers convenient advantages at the time of coding, such as visualization and query tools. Visualization tools were a good aid when exploring the hierarchy of codes/themes and how each is potentially related to others. Query tools such as the Matrix coding query helped with identifying intersections of codes in different cases. Overall, NVivo 20 provided useful tools, at my fingertips, for an affordable fee. The coding procedure itself took place the same way it would have as if the interview transcripts had been analyzed in MS Word line-by-line open coding, with use of colors for different codes created and stored on the NVivo database. The iterative/recursive process took place as many times as necessary until relevant codes were identified and the selective/focused stage ensued.

The same procedure was carried out with data from the open-ended questions in the student surveys (Appendix A1). Answers to a specific open question were grouped together as a case. There was one case per relevant open-ended question. Open-ended questions addressed were Q19, Q22, Q24, Q33, Q35, Q36, Q38, Q39 (see Appendix A1).

4.5.4 Convergent phase (C).

A mixed-methods convergent design is defined by Creswell and Plano Clark (2018) as “a mixed methods design in which the researcher collects and analyses two separate databases—quantitative and qualitative—and then merges the two databases for the purpose of comparing or combining the results” (p. 125). In the case of this thesis, different types of data—quantitative and qualitative—were compared in Convergent phase C to answer RQ3, *Can any parallels be drawn between job ads hiring requirements and students' perceptions of NESTs/NNESTs, their beliefs about effective teaching and hiring practices as shown in job ads? How do these align with teaching effectiveness literature?*

As Creswell and Plano Clark (2018) explain, data collection in a convergent design is concurrent but separate. In the case of this project, A and B were separate and independent of each other. Whether they were concurrent depended upon logistical convenience. Also, following Creswell and Plano Clark's (2018) description, these convergent phases were equally important to answer RQ3.

The data analysis of the emergent phase followed the four steps of Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie's (2003) model described in Creswell and Plano Clark (2018):

1. Data reduction—reducing data collected through statistical analysis of quantitative data or writing summaries of qualitative data
2. Data display—reducing the quantitative data to, for example, tables, and the qualitative data to, for example, charts and rubrics
6. Data comparison—comparing data from different sources
7. Data integration—integrating all data into a coherent whole

(p.321-322).

In terms of data display, results are shown in joint-display tables that compare data obtained from the different phases (A **and** B) analyzing corresponding target phenomena to answer RQ3. Data is displayed side-to-side to compare results that confirm, disconfirm or expand each other. The comparisons made between the different phases A **and** B leads to *integration*, “which arises when additional insight emerges beyond that gleaned from the separate quantitative and qualitative results” (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018, p. 322). The joint display uses one **row** per phase, based on where the data comes from (phases A **and** B). See Table 6 below, for an example.

Table 6

Convergent Phase Sample Table

Phase A1 QUAN data from survey	(data displayed here)
Phase A2 Qual data from interviews (and open-ended questions)	(data displayed here)
Phase B Quan data from job ad analysis	(data displayed here)

Insight from the data comparison are explained in a narrative manner below each table.

4.6 Conclusion

This Methods chapter has covered all relevant aspects of the research design of this thesis and the data collection/analysis tools utilized. Foundational theoretical aspects of survey/interview schedule construction and implementation were covered as well as the

theoretical underpinnings and concrete steps taken in the data analysis approach of the different phases of the research design.

Chapter 5: Research Question 1—Results and Discussion

5.1 Results of Research Question 1: What are students' overall perceptions of NESTs/NNESTs and beliefs about effective teaching in relation to native status?

5.2 Introduction

This first Results chapter reports findings in response to Research Question 1: *What are students' overall perceptions of NESTs/NNESTs and beliefs about effective teaching in relation to native status?* RQ1 delves into students' perception of and preference for NEST/NNESTs, and beliefs about effective teaching at two language schools in the city of Buenos Aires (called here “school South” and “school North”). Within RQ1 as the overarching question, RQ1a—*What attributes do students ascribe to each type of teacher?*—investigated students' perceptions of NESTs and NNESTs as to what attributes they associate with either type of teacher. RQ1b—*Overall, do they prefer NESTs or NNESTs? What are factors that influence their preference?*—investigated whether they prefer, overall, NESTs or NNESTs, and whether there were any factors influencing their preference. RQ1c—*What characteristics does an effective teacher have according to students?*—went beyond the NEST/NNEST dichotomy by investigating what qualities students consider important in effective teachers, native status being just one quality among many.

A total of 56 students from both schools completed a survey (21 students from school South and 35 students from school North). After the survey was completed, and upon completion of quantitative analysis, 13 students were interviewed (six interviews with students from school South and seven interviews with students from school North).

Data will be presented following a mixed methods explanatory sequential design, where quantitative data will be presented first to showcase the general panorama, followed by

qualitative data to delve into the quantitative data in an attempt to explain the reasons behind the quantitative results. The chapter will follow with a discussion section where the results from this section are interpreted. Finally, the chapter will wrap up with a brief conclusion.

I will be using the terms *survey participant* to refer to participants when quoting or referring to qualitative data from the survey. I will use the term *interview participant* when quoting or referring to data collected via interviews (all these interview participants also completed the online survey). For every interview participant statement, I will include the opinion they expressed in the survey next to their participant number, for example (*interview participant X-Agree*). I will use the term *respondent* when I refer to quantitative survey data. Finally, I will be using the terms *participant* or *student* to refer to participants in general.

5.3 Results

5.3.1 Research Question 1a: What attributes do students ascribe to each type of teacher?

Before presenting the results, an important clarification needs to be made in terms of the qualitative data presentation. In some cases, participants answered in the survey *NA* or *Neither Agree nor Disagree* to several questions within the same Likert battery (e.g.: Q2, Q3, Q4 or Q6) or sometimes several Likert statements in Q21 and/or Q23. When I asked participants their reasoning behind their several *NA* or *Neither Agree nor Disagree* answers, they usually provided an all-in-one encompassing answer to justify their survey answers. In some cases, interview participants adopted this all-in-one encompassing answer to justify other answers in the survey (e.g.: Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree). I start by reporting on answers to Q6 that pertain to students' perceptions of NESTs'/NNESTs' strengths and weaknesses.

5.3.1.1 Perceived NESTs'/NNESTs' strengths and weaknesses are not mutually exclusive

Q6 delved into students' perceptions of NESTs'/NNESTs' general strengths and weaknesses.

Below, I present the general results for Q6 and present the distribution of answers for each question in the Q6 set. The values go from 1 to 5: 1-*Strongly Disagree*-, 2-*Disagree*-, 3-*Neither Agree Nor Disagree*-, 4-*Agree*-, 5-*Strongly Agree*-.

Table 7

Perceived NESTs' /NNESTs' Strengths and Weaknesses

Q6-statement	mean	median	mode	SD
1- NES teachers have inherent strengths such as vocabulary and cultural knowledge, fluency, perfect pronunciation	4.30	4	4	0.74
2- NNEST teachers usually lack vocabulary and cultural knowledge, fluency and perfect pronunciation.	2.31	2	2	0.95
3- NNEST teachers have inherent strengths such as grammar teaching, capacity to use their students' native language if necessary	4.07	4	4	0.81
4- NES teachers usually lack grammar knowledge and capacity to use their students' native language if necessary.	3.06	3	2	0.99

Cronbach alpha for this question falls below the 0.7 threshold with a coefficient of 0.419.

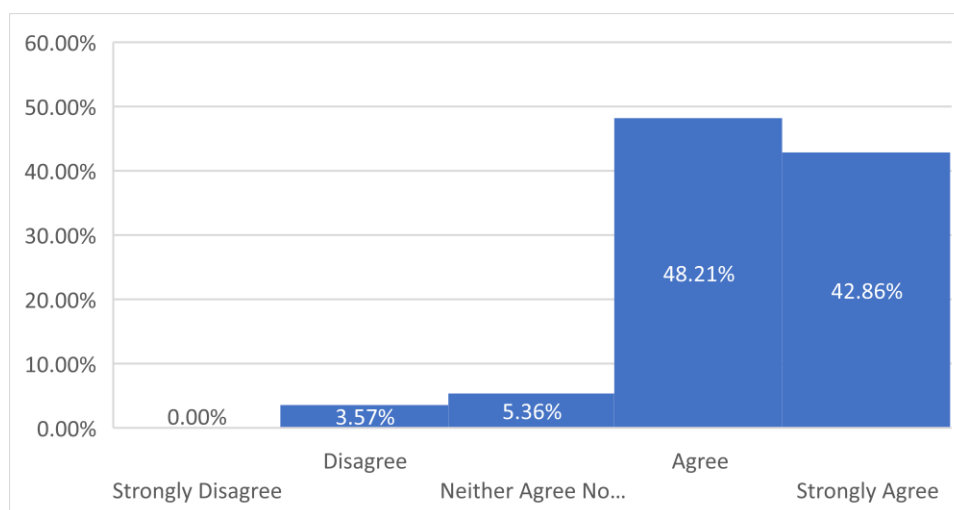
Cronbach alpha coefficients are apt for consistency when the respondent has different dimensions of the same underlying concept being asked. Although factors such as item wording (i.e., lack of clarity) (DeVellis, 2016) or sample size (Streiner & Norman, 2008) can affect internal consistency, there also exists the possibility that in the case of the Q6 set, the concepts the participants have in mind are different and independent of each of the questions in Q6 rather

than interconnected aspects of one underlying construct. The fact that there is a low consistency between the perceptions of NEST's and NNEST's strengths and weaknesses can be interpreted as the fact that in the students' perceptions, NEST and NNEST teachers are not fundamentally opposing concepts nor mutually exclusive. Where NESTs have strengths, NNESTs do not necessarily have weaknesses, and vice versa. Since the consistency sought no longer refers to a unique underlying concept (NEST vis-à-vis NNEST), but rather two separate ones, NEST and NNEST are different but not opposing types.

The Cronbach alpha points to the fact that NEST and NNEST are different constructs with their own sets of opinions and beliefs, not necessarily opposing one another. Therefore, the answers individually considered can still be analyzed in a descriptive manner and can still point to the opinions directly, instead of to different dimensions of one underlying construct in Q6. This is why, even though Q6 is presented as a battery of Likert scales (that usually analyze one underlying construct), the questions will hold individually for the analysis ahead.

Below I present histograms to describe the answer distribution within each question:

Figure 1

Students' Belief that NESTs Have Inherent Strengths (Q6.1)

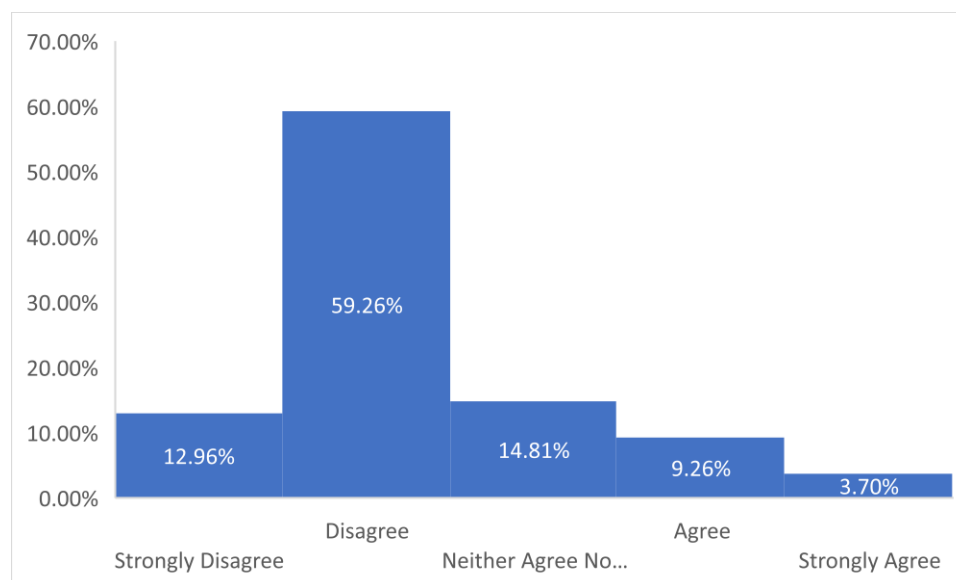
91.07% of respondents agree or strongly agree with statement Q6.1, *NES teachers have inherent strengths such as vocabulary and cultural knowledge, fluency, perfect pronunciation*. This perception, with the lowest standard deviation (0.74) in Q6, agrees with trends previously recorded in the literature. Qualitative data shows here that interview participants recognize these as native virtues, inherent to their native status:

I like the virtues they have. They know a lot about slang and their culture. Well, I also believe non-native teachers can study and know that, but they can't live it. (Interview participant 12-Strongly Agree)

Well, this is the advantage of a native speaker in any language (Interview participant 5-Agree)

Figure 2

Students' Belief that NNESTs Have Inherent Weaknesses (Q6.2)

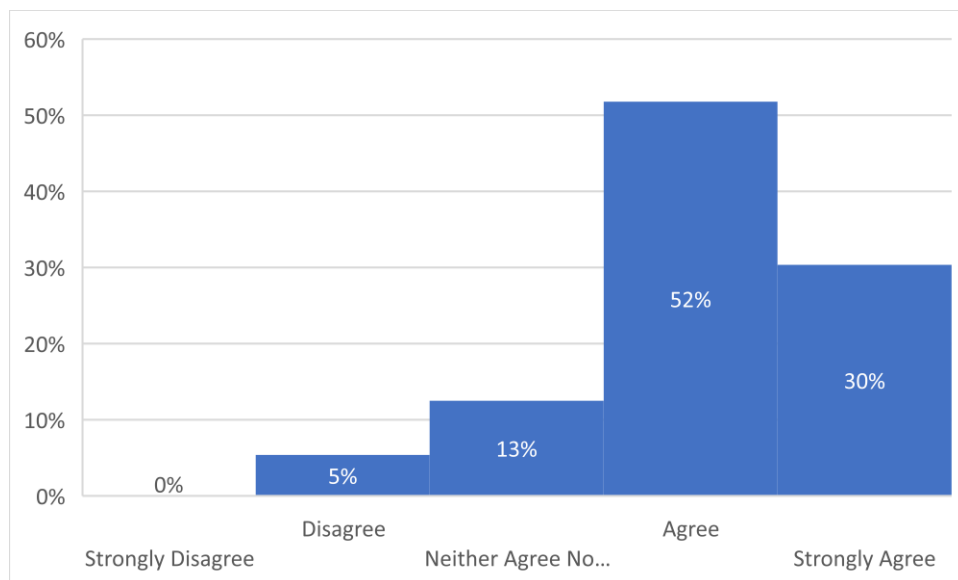


However, a majority of students disagree that NNESTs have inherent weaknesses. As we can see, 72.22% disagree or strongly disagree with statement Q6.2, *NNES teachers usually lack vocabulary and cultural knowledge, fluency and perfect pronunciation*. A statement that illustrates this position follows:

Well, I believe there can be [non-native] teachers with really good vocabulary and knowledge. For example, I was really young , but I do remember that my teachers at the time had really good vocabulary and knowledge, their fluency and way of speaking was really good. (Interview participant 12-Disagree)

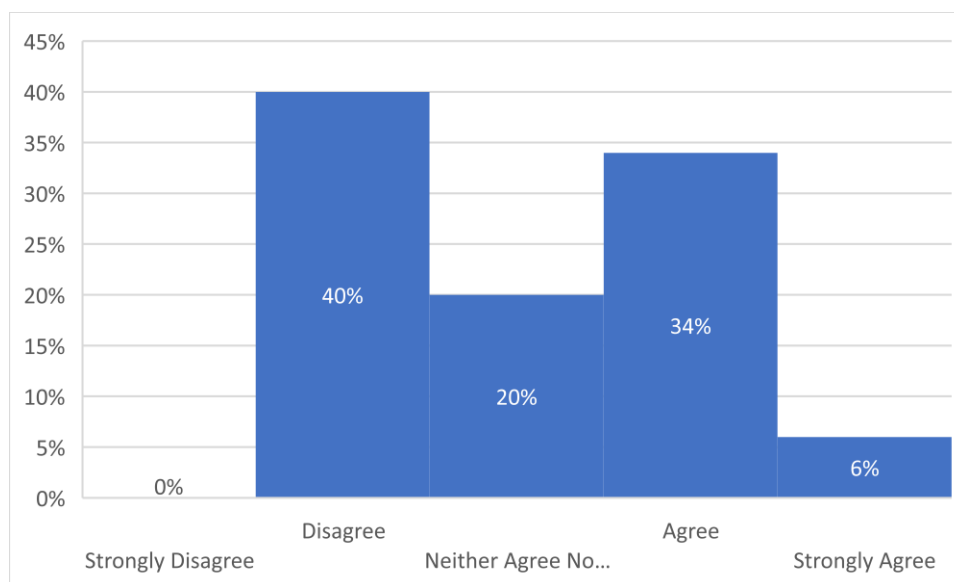
The student here shares a recollection of a teacher that was not weak in realms of vocabulary, fluency or speaking.

Figure 3

Students' Belief that NNESTs Have Inherent Strengths (Q6.3)

82% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with statement Q6.3, *NNES teachers have inherent strengths such as grammar teaching, capacity to use their students' native language if necessary*, which is consistent with previous research done in the field where students agreed that NNESTs grammar knowledge is one of their predominant strengths (Chun, 2014; Liaw, 2012) as well as their capacity to speak their students' L1 (Chang, 2016; Huang, 2018). For more explanation go to Chapter 3: Literature review—*Perceived strengths attributed to NNESTs*.

Figure 4

Students' Belief that NESTs Have Inherent Weaknesses (Q6.4)

There is clear disagreement among respondents' answers to Q6.4, *NES teachers usually lack grammar knowledge and capacity to use their students' native language if necessary*. 40% of respondents disagree with the statement, 20% neither agree nor disagree, and 40% agree or strongly agree with the statement.

Two interview participants representing the disagreeing position point out that all their NESTs are able to teach grammar. As regards the NESTs' Spanish proficiency, interview participant 12 points out that his NESTs speaks really good Spanish. In the case of interview participant 6, he is a bit more ambivalent, since he mentioned one of his NESTs who is proficient in Spanish, and one who isn't:

Well, in my case, Cat, who is the teacher I take classes with [at school South], when it comes to grammar, I've never had any problems. I've never seen any shortcomings. She's always been very accurate, and clear. It's not just talking, but she always teaches us

grammar. In fact, the first 20 minutes of class, we usually see a verb tense or something: how to make questions, how to conjugate them. And she is very clear, and you can tell she knows the stuff. (Interview participant 12-Disagree)

[W]hen it comes to grammar, the classes always develop, for example, ‘today we are going to see how to use these three auxiliaries, in which context, etc’. So the class is always tied to learning grammatical functions. Then, as regards the teacher’s ability to speak the student’s native language, that varies in relation to whether the [native] teacher has or doesn’t have the language skill. For example, with Cat, who has been living here for many years, she speaks Spanish really well, so she does have that skill. But with Sarah, it happens she doesn’t speak [Spanish] yet, so the class is strictly in English, which is also interesting. (Interview participant 6-Disagree)

The participants representing the “agree” position state that NESTs cannot speak Spanish (showing this by providing an example) and justify that they do not know how to teach grammar, since they have acquired their grammar in a subconscious manner:

Well, the teacher asks me a question, and I want to give them an answer, but I know the word in Spanish but not in English. So then I say ‘how do you say this [word in Spanish] in English?’ If the teacher is a native speaker, they won’t know the word I’m saying in Spanish. Like, ‘how do I say *vaca* [cow] in English?’ A native teacher is going to say ‘I don’t know what *vaca* is’ (Interview participant 4-Agree).

They acquired their grammar in an instinctive manner. So, if they don't have a method to teach, they are likely to waste all that [instinctive knowledge]. Same as in Spanish, I'm sure you and me know how to conjugate lots of verbs. But if we don't have a didactic method to share this knowledge, we would end up wasting it. (Interview participant 5-Agree)

It is interesting to note that the two interview participants who disagreed referenced the same NEST at their school who is able to speak Spanish fluently, while the two other interview participants who agreed resorted to generalities. This begs the question as to how diverse and ample the participants' experience with each type of teacher is. Have they had an equal amount of experience with each type of teacher, or only a few months' experience with NESTs, while many years of experience with NNESTs? The amount of experience, or lack of it, with either type of teacher is a relevant factor that could influence participants' ultimate answer to Q6.4.

Results so far suggest that a NEST strength does not necessarily equate to a NNEST weakness and, vice-versa, a perceived NNEST strength does not necessarily translate into a NEST weakness according to students.

5.3.1.2 NEST/NNEST stereotypical strengths prevail for each type of teacher

I now turn to report on specific characteristics attributed to NESTs/NNESTs. Below, I present a table with results of Q21 and Q23 indicating mean, median, mode, Standard Deviation and NA responses. As a reminder, the means range from 1 to 5 and represent the answers 1=*Strongly Agree*, 2=*Agree*, 3=*Neither Agree Nor Disagree*, 4=*Disagree*, 5=*Strongly Disagree*.

Table 8

Characteristics Attributed to NESTs/NNESTs

Q21//Q23	NESTs (Q21)					NNESTs (Q23)				
	mean	median	mode	SD	NA	mean	Median	mode	SD	NA
1-is good at pronunciation teaching	4.53	5	5	0.60	2	3.75	4	4	0.93	2
2-is good at grammar teaching	3.79	4	4	0.88	3	4.35	4	4	0.64	2
3-is good at vocabulary teaching	4.5	5	5	0.64	4	3.94	4	4	0.81	3
4-can usually speak their students' native language	2.9	3	3	0.93	6	4.22	5	5	0.97	3
5-has expert command of the English language	4.43	5	5	0.71	1	3.71	4	4	1.05	4
6-has good rapport with students	3.66	4	3	0.95	5	3.96	4	5	0.95	5
7-is creative	3.62	3	3	0.95	5	3.84	4	4	0.93	6
8-is flexible (i.e. adjusting to needs/level of students)	3.66	3.5	3	1.00	6	4.01	4	5	0.97	3
9-knows teaching methodology	3.67	4	4	0.89	7	4.11	4	4	0.84	3
10-can motivate students	3.73	3	3	0.99	7	3.90	4	4	0.97	4
11-is good at teaching conversation classes	4.49	5	5	0.63	3	3.78	4	4	1.05	4
12- in general, has formal English teacher qualifications	3.51	3	3	0.85	9	4.30	4	4	0.70	4
Overall mean	3.87					3.99				

Even though 72.22% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with statement Q6.2 regarding NNESTs' weaknesses, Table 8 shows how NNESTs, still, come behind NESTs regarding stereotypical strengths assigned to NESTs: *1-is good at pronunciation teaching*, *3-is good at vocabulary teaching*, *5-has expert command of the English language*, *11-is good at teaching conversation classes*. All these items also present a standard deviation of 0.71 or less,

which is among the lowest standard deviation values in the table. This means respondents had the lowest rates of disagreement when answering these questions.

If we refer back to Q6.4- *Students' belief that NESTs have inherent weaknesses*-, where there was clear disagreement among respondents regarding NESTs' weaknesses, with a mean of 3.06. Even if the mean in Q6.4 indicates a value equivalent to *Neither Agree Nor Disagree*, Table 8 shows that NESTs fall behind NNESTs regarding stereotypical strengths assigned to NNESTs: 2-*is good at grammar teaching*; 4- *can usually speak their students' native language*. 23.2-*is good at grammar teaching*- presents a standard deviation of 0.64, which is comparatively as low as the NEST-related items described in the paragraph above. However, 23.4- *can usually speak their students' native language*- presents a standard deviation of 0.97, implying higher disagreement among respondents.

As mentioned in the methods chapter (*Data collection* section), Q21 and Q23 delve into stereotypical views of NESTs/NNESTs to see to what extent students subscribe to these stereotypical views. It is noteworthy to see that respondents chose NA for several of the questions in both sections with a minimum of two NAs in some questions to a maximum of nine NAs in Q21.12. Potential reasons for this phenomenon will be further explored after presenting the qualitative data.

5.3.1.2.1 Qualitative data on NEST/NNEST stereotypical strengths following table 8

I will now present qualitative data to complement and add depth to the quantitative data reported in Table 8 as to the potential reasons behind the answers given by participants in the survey. Answers presented below will follow the order per teaching characteristic. Both columns in the table (Q21.1, Q21.2, etc., corresponding to NESTs, and Q23.1, Q 23.2, etc., corresponding to NNESTs) will be presented. I will also include the score means from Table 8 for better ease

reading. Each sub heading will follow the following format: 21.X & 23.X: *a NEST* [score mean]/NNEST [score mean] *is good at* _____.

Q21.1 & Q23.1: *a NEST* [4.53]/NNEST[3.75] *is good at pronunciation teaching*:

One of the reasons why NESTs could have received a higher score points to their perceived stronger pronunciation ability, and the fact that they seem to pay more attention to, and focus more on, pronunciation teaching:

(Interview participant 7- Q21.1 ***Strongly Agree***, Q21.3 ***Agree***): So, once I had classes with native teachers, and they taught me something I'd been taught before [with non-native teachers] but just like skimming through, because for these [non-native] teachers, it was like it was difficult for them to produce. So, they [NESTs] taught me, like, words that were similar, but actually different using these little symbols. And they were very precise and put a lot of emphasis on that, compared to when I had non-native teachers. [On the other hand, with non-native teachers], so, if they are qualified, then, this is part of their major and they have to know how to teach this. From being able to teach this to having perfect pronunciation, these are two different things.

We can see how interview participant 7 points out that NNESTs can also teach pronunciation but might have more difficulty due to their pronunciation skills.

(Interview participant 6- Q21.1 ***Strongly Agree***, Q23.1 ***Disagree***): In general, if you compare them [NESTs and NNESTs], there are differences. There is a difference in their speed, abbreviation of certain words and, above all, their rhythm: how they talk, how they take certain pauses, and their fluency. [...]They [NESTs] are really on top of teaching pronunciation.

Interview participant 6 also points to a difference in ability and to how much attention NESTs pay to pronunciation teaching.

Even if some participants show admiration and respect for NNESTs' capacity to teach pronunciation, the lower score NNESTs received appears to be justified by participants in terms of NNESTs' perceived lower pronunciation skills vis-à-vis NESTs:

(Interview participant 1-Q21.1 ***Strongly Agree***, Q23.1 ***Agree***): I can't remember which [non-native] teacher, but she gave me excellent instruction. First, her pronunciation was spectacular and, second, she taught me pronunciation. We did targeted practice of certain words with a lot of emphasis. I have also had others [NNESTs] who have good pronunciation, but perhaps as good pronunciation as mine. So, that's why *Agree*.

Interview participant 1 recognizes there are excellent NNESTs, but also other NNESTs who do not have such a good pronunciation.

(Interview participant 3- Q21.1 ***Strongly Agree***, Q21.3 ***Agree***): Many of the teachers I had that were non-native, when you pronounced something wrong, they would correct you. And, well, they can teach you to pronounce. In a native [speaker], this ability is amplified, though.

Interview participant 3 points, as well, to the differential ability between NESTs and NNESTs, even if she recognizes that students can learn pronunciation with a NNEST.

(Interview participant 8- Q21.1 ***Strongly Agree***, Q21.3 ***Agree***): Yes, they do not have to be native [speakers] to teach pronunciation. And it happened to me that teachers that were from here [Argentina], or Colombia, they taught, 'transmitted' this pronunciation, and many times it so happened that they had lived some time in an anglophone country.

Interview participant 8 recognizes NNESTs can teach pronunciation, but references long stays in Anglophone environments for these NNESTs.

Interviewee participant 11, exceptionally, points solely to a teacher's training in phonetics to be able to teach pronunciation, rather than referencing perceived pronunciation skills or native ability.

(Interview participant 11- Q21.1 **Agree**, Q23.1 **Agree**): I think pronunciation has, more than Spanish, a lot of phonetics. So, if both the native and non-native teachers had excellent phonetics training, they can do all that. They can teach you how to pronounce well.

It is noteworthy that interview participants 7 and 6 mentioned the fact that NESTs seemed to put more emphasis on pronunciation teaching in comparison with NNESTs. Also, Interview participants 7, 6, 1 and 3 pointed to NESTs' and NNESTs' pronunciation skill levels as another differentiator.. Exceptionally, interview participant 11, who gave equal scores to both types of teachers in the survey, limited his comment to pronunciation teaching as a skill teachers learn, regardless of (non-)native status.

Q21.2 & Q23.2: a NEST[3.79]/NNEST[4.35] is good at grammar teaching:

(Interview participant 11- Q21.2 **Disagree**, Q23.2 **Strongly Agree**): I took this, perhaps, I did not think of it as a qualified [native] teacher. I thought of a random person, even if they are a native speaker, might not know how to teach grammar. And here I chose *Strongly agree* because if you are not a native speaker, you had to have learned this, so you know it.

Interview participant 11 states that being a native speaker is not enough to be able to teach grammar. In contrast, he states that a NNEST must have learned grammar.

(Interview participant 5- Q21.2 *Neither Agree Nor Disagree*, Q23.2 *Strongly Agree*):

Again, he can know a lot, I mean, I am sure they [NESTs] know a lot about their own native language grammar. But, in order to be able to share this, they need to have an understanding of the local's [Argentine] way- of thinking. If not, it's like I can just tell you 'if you want to learn grammar, read these three books.' And then, you just memorize stuff. If you have someone that understands the way of thinking of an Argentine, or a Latino, they could tell you 'this in English is like this because we try to be more synthetic and more direct in contrast to Spanish speakers that...' and so on.

Interview participant 5 points to a NEST's potential lack of knowledge of their students' lingua culture to be able to explain grammar.

Both interview participants here doubt NESTs' ability to teach grammar, in contrast to NNESTs. These opinions seem to concur with the quantitative results i.e. 21.2- *A Native English Speaking Teacher is good at grammar teaching*, with a mean of 3.79/5, and 23.2 *A Non- Native English Speaking Teacher is good at grammar teaching*, with a higher mean of 4.35/5.

Q21.3 & Q23.3: *a NEST[4.5]/NNEST[3.94] is good at vocabulary teaching*:

(Interview participant 1- Q21.3 *Strongly Agree*, Q23.3 *Strongly Agree*): Well, they [NESTs] know a lot of vocabulary. I don't know if they are that good teaching it, though. And the opposite might happen with the non-native. They might lack a few words, but the ones they know, they know how to teach them better than the natives.

Interview participant 1 sees NESTs and NNESTs equally strong for different reasons. NESTs possess a broad vocabulary reservoir, but NNESTs are better at teaching vocabulary, even if their reservoir is not as extensive.

(Interview participant 11- Q21.3 *Strongly Agree*, Q23.3 *Strongly Agree*): I think the native teacher has a much more extensive vocabulary because they know all the words, because they are native speakers. And the [non-native] one who studied to become a teacher, and I think I thought of you [the author of this thesis] when doing this. I think you have the same amount of vocabulary, and you can teach it in the same way as one who was born there [anglophone country] because there is a reason why you studied, so you should have the same capacity as any other [native speaker]. I just mentioned you because of the teaching training college...The way I thought about this is, if I was in a situation in which I have to become a language teacher of a language that is not mine, I would try to, at ast, know the words they [native speakers] use on a regular basis.

Interview participant 11 sees NESTs and NNESTs as equally strong for different reasons. Even though he acknowledges the NEST superiority, he points out that NNESTs can also have a very respectable vocabulary reservoir.

These first two interview participants' data do not entirely agree with quantitative data, as NEST are perceived as stronger compared to NNESTs according to the mean scores. However, interview participant 7 present a point of view that follows the quantitative data trend, as she sees NESTs as superior compared to NNESTs for vocabulary teaching.

(Interview participant 7- Q21.3 *Strongly Agree*, Q23.3 *Disagree*): So, when I was there [England] I had two classes, and it was learning a lot of vocabulary. And I learned a lot,

because here [Argentina], they don't teach you how to say *banco de plaza* [bench], something like that. I learned how to say *rotonda* [roundabout]. I didn't know how to say this in English. So, it's those things. It's like there, I felt I was learning more casual, more everyday vocabulary.

Here interview participant 7 points out that she learned a lot with NESTs, as, according to her, there is some more casual, every-day vocabulary that NNESTs do not teach in Argentina.

Relevant points of view are expressed here. All interview participants agree that what makes a NEST good at teaching vocabulary is their vast vocabulary repertoire,. Interview participant 7 pointed out this aspect as most relevant and as the factor that makes NESTs stronger. However, interview participants 1 and 11, despite acknowledging NESTs' extensive vocabulary repertoire as their strength, explained why NNESTs are comparatively as strong in their own right. Interview participant 1 pointed out NNESTs' pedagogical strengths, while interview participant 11 expressed a strong faith in NNESTs' comparative knowledge of a vast amount of vocabulary based on the fact that they trained to be teachers.

Q21.5 & Q23.5- a NEST[4.43]/NNEST[3.71] has expert command of the English language:

All the following four accounts point to the superior language command of NESTs. The first two accounts (interview participants 4 and 7) state that the reason for this is that NESTs are born in, or have lived in, Anglophone countries:

(Interview participant 4-Q21.5 ***Strongly Agree***, Q23.5 ***Neither Agree Nor Disagree***):

Well yes, because he was born there [Anglophone country]. Like, I know Spanish cause I was born here [Argentina]. As for non-natives, it could be that they don't have an expert command of the English language, but they make up for it with their teaching

methodology. I've always had non-native teachers that didn't know some word or phrase. They are not infallible, they are human. Many times they'd look it up on the internet and get back to me on that. Perhaps, the native just says 'oh this is like this' and gives you the vocabulary.

(Interview participant 7- Q21.5 *Strongly Agree*, Q23.5 *Non Applicable*): Well, Non-Applicable because of what I said about vocabulary. My aunt is an English teacher, and sometimes she asked for my notes when I was studying in England. And she did teacher training and has really good English, and most times she speaks to me in English. But, you know these things, to have a good command of X language, English in this case, you need to live overseas for a while. Like live with the other, the other people that speak English.

(Interview participant 12- Q21.5 *Strongly Agree*, Q23.5 *Neither Agree Nor Disagree*): Generally, the native teacher is the one that knows the most. As for non-natives, I suppose there can be teachers that know a lot, and others who know and have a harder time.

(Interview participant 1-Q21.5 *Strongly Agree*, Q23.5 *Strongly Agree*): Any teacher, native or non-native, has to have a good command. It could be true that that a non-native has a lower command level, but it also happens that non-natives do not have bad habits in connection to the use of idioms, slang that natives do, which is an inappropriate use of the language. Like, if I taught Spanish, I could teach something appropriate to use among friends, but perhaps not appropriate to someone who's learning the language for the first time.

We can see all four interview participants agree with NESTs' strength in this aspect, while also explaining why (interview participants 12 and 4) NNESTs are not at the same level in comparison to NESTs. This concurs with the quantitative data (Q21.5 mean = 4.43 and Q23.5 mean = 3.71). Interview participant 1 is the exception here, who takes a different point of view, and explains how the use of slang in idioms, inappropriately used by NESTs, can be detrimental to beginner students. Two interview participants attribute this superior command of English specifically to living in a Anglophone environment.

Q21.6 & Q23.6- a NEST[3.66]/NNEST [3.96] has good rapport with students:

(Interview participant 5- Q21.6 *Nether Agree Nor Disagree*, Q23.6. *Strongly Agree*):

When it comes to understanding the student's way of thinking, the non-native teacher has an advantage. For example, Maria, school North's coordinator, understands the way of thinking of the average Argentine. I mean, she knows Argentines have a very warm, and not cold, personality; she knows Argentines enjoy informality much more than formality. She knows the average Argentine is more unpunctual than punctual. So, it is probable that by attending to those different factors, every non-native teacher is able to understand their students better. In contrast, say, a Londoner, an English person, someone who is more structured, or North Americans, who are all about 'check the box'. They take the textbook and go 'step 1, step 2, step 3. I start with 10 minutes of grammar, then 20 minutes of video, and I wrap up with reading' and like that following a structure, that *has to be like that* according to them.

(Interview participant 6- Q21.6 *Strongly Agree*, Q23.6 *Agree*): I think, with the native teacher, as we said earlier, they embody their country's culture and.... they are natives. So, they have all that extra information that are not in the books or that you can't get studying but in their life experience, so there is a differential in terms of the interest that can generate in people. For example, we talked about politics and I asked them about certain laws, such as gun ownership. Even though the class was geared towards talking about that topic, my main interest was to listen to the point of view of someone who lives this and really knows this. So, subjectively speaking, it's more interesting to talk to someone who is in that situation, a situation that is completely unknown to me. With a non-native, I feel he/she is more like a peer, a person who might surprise less at the time of talking about certain topics.

The two interview participants express two very different points of view. While interview participant 5 favors NNESTs by assuming they can better understand Argentine culture and, hence, attend to their Argentine students' needs better, interview participant 6 favors NESTs as he believes they can bring to the class opinions/knowledge based on lived experience. Also, he points out these opinions/knowledge makes NESTs more interesting as they come from contexts unknown to him.

Q21.8 & Q23.8- a NEST[3.66]/NNEST[4.01] is flexible (i.e. adjusting to needs/level of students):

(Interview participant 11- Q21.8 *Agree*, Q23.8 *Strongly Agree*): So here I tried to think 'what would happen if it was me?' Maybe, if you know too much, because it's your [native] language, maybe you find it hard to understand how a person does not know [your language]. So, with someone who says 'heshow' instead of 'hello', you say 'come on, you can't say it like that'. So, perhaps, with beginners it's more difficult to be flexible

because you might not be able to comprehend how it is they can't understand something so simple. However, when that [the language] is not yours by nature, but you had to study it, learn it, then you say to yourself 'I was at one moment that person who said heshow'. That is why you have more flexibility in the face of students' errors, and their need to listen to an audio recording many times.

Here, in this one opinion, the interview participant points to NNESTs as being more flexible because they can be more empathetic with students and understand their difficulties, since they might have been in that same situation at one point in their own language learning journey.

Q21.9 & Q23.9- a NEST[3.67]/NNEST[4.11] knows teaching methodology:

Interview participant 7 gives credit to NESTs on their pedagogical knowledge, but points out that there can be challenges for them since the English language is so natural to them, which is not the case for NNESTs.

(Interview participant 7- Q21.9 *Agree*, Q23.9 *Strongly Agree*): They [NESTs] know a lot about teaching because for me, if you are a native speaker you have to learn how to teach the language. So, when I had classes with native teachers, there were students from other countries such as Portugal and Germany. When we reviewed *in*, *on*, *at*, it was really difficult to the ones who spoke Spanish because that doesn't exist for us, but to the Germans it was easy because they have that in their language.... So it was hard for them [NESTs] to come up with better explanations because for them it's something so natural. So, they need to know there are things that are more difficult for some other students than others. So, that's why I didn't choose *Strongly Agree*, but they know how to teach it

because, at the end of the day, I ended up understanding we [students] all got it thanks to the teachers trying to figure out how to help us understand.

Interview participant 6, who gave the same scores to NESTs and NNESTs (Agree=4), claims NESTs and NNESTs make use of different types of methodology.

(Interview participant 6- Q21.9 **Agree**, Q23.9 **Agree**): For a native teacher, their methodology stems from communication. You only speak the [English] language, questions are asked in the language and explanations are given in the language.[...] The methodology relies on communication and speaking. I think that's the substantial difference between the [native and non-native] teachers. With non-native teachers, in my experience, it happened that the methodology revolved solely around grammar and it was more about understanding grammar rules to make the language work, but there was no communication whatsoever. So, that's the biggest difference I see.

For interview participant 7, the NEST methodology revolves around communication and speaking, while the NNEST methodology, according to him, revolves around the teaching of explicit grammar rules without any communicative practice whatsoever.

Q21.10 & Q23.10- a NEST[3.73]/NNEST[3.90] can motivate students:

(Interview participant 6- Q21.10 **Strongly Agree**, Q23.10 **Neither Agree Nor Disagree**): The difference is that in one case [with NESTs], one is actually communicating and you create a bond with that. When you talk you can see your short-comings and your improvement vs. a situation when that doesn't happen [NNEST class]. It's easy to feel stuck if you can't communicate or have this bond that motivates you. And in the case of the native-teacher, I think it's motivating all the time because you try to communicate,

and when you're able to get your message across, that's a gratifying experience.

Sometimes you want to know their opinions too, so having communication and this bond is the motivator.

Interview participant 6 states that there is real communication taking place with NESTs, in contrast with NNESTs, and that is motivating in and of itself. Via this communication, he claims that students are able to see their shortcomings and improvement, which is also motivating.

(Interview participant 7- Q21.10 *Strongly Agree*, Q23.10 *Agree*): I think it has to do with the interaction in class, because if it's the teacher talking all the time, that exhausts you. You say 'I don't wanna come here anymore'. Interaction is not just asking 'what's your opinion' because sometimes you don't want to give your opinion if you're afraid to make a mistake. So, games, or videos, like a more indirect interaction without an 'obligatory' interaction. This is what I saw with natives, and they carry out classes in a more casual way.

Interview participant 7 also points to the positive communicative experience she has had with NESTs, with the added value that the class is more casual. These two interview participants give stronger scores to NESTs in the survey based upon arguing that NESTs are able to carry out more interactive and casual lessons. Interview participant 6 recounts his experience with NNESTs as devoid of such communication/interaction. It should be mentioned here that these two opinions do not necessarily portray the majority opinion based on quantitative results, as answers provided by participants in the survey show Q21.10's mean is 3.73 (NESTs) while Q23.10's mean is 3.90.

Q21.11 & Q23.11- a NEST[4.49]/NNEST[3.78] is good at teaching conversation classes:

(Interview participant 7- Q21.11 **Strongly Agree**, Q23.11 **Agree**): In general, I really enjoyed the conversation classes I had with non-native teachers because, it's not like they don't know how to teach. And, all my language foundation, I acquired it with non-native teachers, and I honestly learned a lot.

(Interview participant 6- Q21.11 **Strongly Agree**, Q23.11 **Disagree**): I think it [conversation] just doesn't happen. The context doesn't help. I think it's just 10% of the class, or sometimes no conversation whatsoever.

Here both interview participants agree on NESTs' strength at teaching conversation. However, they express two different points of view on NNESTs' capacity to teach conversation. Interview participant 7 attributes her positive assessment of NNESTs to all the good conversation classes she has had that have been foundational for her language proficiency. Interview participant 6 attributes his negative assessment to the sheer lack of conversation he said was prevalent in his classes with NNESTs.

Q21.12 & Q23.12- a NEST[3.51]/NNEST[4.30], in general, has formal English teacher qualifications:

(Interview participant 9- Q21.12 (N)ot (A)ppllicable, Q23.12 **Agree**): I chose *Agree* because if you're not a native speaker, in order to teach English, you generally get some training in the language and, usually, a teacher training college. That's why, the people I know who are not native speakers who teach, usually have teacher training, or some sort of training. This doesn't mean they are necessarily good teachers, though. A native speaker, perhaps, does not necessarily have training because, since he/she is a native-

speaker, he/she already knows [the language] and they [NESTs] think that because of that they are going to be able to teach.

Interview participant 9 says that, in her own experience, all the NNESTs she knows do have, at least, some type of teacher training. In contrast, she stated she chose NA for Q12.12 in the survey since there are NESTs that could decide to teach without any training whatsoever.

(Interview participant 11- Q21.12 *Agree*, Q23.12 *Agree*): That one was difficult to answer because nowadays there are lots of websites offering tutoring sessions with native people on the internet. In reality, it could be someone who is very articulate, with good conversation skills, good education, and then these people explain things to you, they talk to you, but they might not have any teacher training whatsoever. So, in that sense, they should have training if they introduce themselves as teachers, but it could happen that they don't and they still offer English classes. For non-native speakers, it could be the same case. Someone who has a knack for the language and, for instance, my ex brother-in-law had perfect English cause he learned it at school, and he helped me quite a bit with it, he explained things to me and everything, but he was definitely no teacher.

Even though interview participant 11 chose *Agree* in the survey for both types of teachers, he did give a similar explanation as interview participant 9, in that native speakers could be teaching without training in certain contexts. However, he differed from interview participant 9 (she pointed out that all the NNESTs she knew had undergone teacher training) in that he stated that proficient non-native speakers could also teach without any training whatsoever. Most important, both interview participants seem to agree that proficient speakers (native speakers only, in the case of participant 9, and both native or non-native speakers, for participant 11) might not necessarily need or have formal qualifications.

I now turn to interview participants that expressed difficulty in answering some of the survey questions in Q21 and Q23. These are the questions that compare specific, stereotypical, traits associated with NESTs/NNESTs (e.g.: 21.2- *A Native English Speaking Teacher is good at grammar teaching* vs. 23.2- *A Non- Native English Speaking Teacher is good at grammar teaching*). These interview participants, in the survey, decided to answer either *NA* or *Neither Agree Nor Disagree*:

(Interview participant 1- *Neither Agree nor Disagree* in Q21.6-Q21.10; Q23.6-Q23.10): I chose *Neither Agree nor Disagree* because I don't think this has to do with nationality at all. It's more a question of personality, rather than whether they are native or non-native.

For interview participant 1, some teaching qualities are related more to personality rather than (non-) native-status.

(Interview participant 2- *NA* in all Q21 and Q23): In general, it depends on the type of teacher. They could be native, but this is independent of their ability to share knowledge. So, it could be they are not good teachers. I mean, being a native or not does not entail being good at teaching grammar or generating rapport with students [this first part is an extract from Q22 in the survey. What follows was gathered in the interview]. I used to have a bias against or in favor of certain teachers. I think this change can come about after having a very good Hispanophone teacher, or a really bad native teacher. In my case, I had a native teacher, who I was really looking forward to having because I thought I was going to learn so much more than what I had learned until then. In reality, I think I didn't really learn anything, but just encouraged me to dare to talk more. Talking more

does not mean actually improving, but just bridging this gap you had with the same tools you had before, not acquiring any new tools to bridge that gap.

Interview participant 2 completely rejects the ideas that (non-) native status confers any advantage for any aspect of teaching, but he attributes it to a teacher's capacity to share knowledge. He also points out the eye-opening experience that led him to this realization, as he mentioned that he was biased until he had an experience that shattered his beliefs about stereotypical NEST/NNEST strengths.

Interview participants 4 and 9 also reject the notion of (non-) native status conferring teachers with specific advantages. However, these interview participants limited this rejection to certain qualities, not all of them as did interview participant 2.

(Interview participant 4- *Neither Agree Nor Disagree* in Q21.6-Q21.12; Q23.7, Q23.10):
[Regarding Q21] I based all my answers off the fact that I don't care about the teacher's [country of] origin but, rather, whether he is knowledgeable or not. So, the fact that he is a native speaker, does it mean he is going to be more creative, or that he will know more methodology? Not really. That's why I chose *Neither Agree Nor Disagree*.

(Interview participant 9- *NA* in Q21.6-Q21.12; Q23.6-Q23.11): I was between *NA* and *Neither Agree Nor Disagree*. What I wanted to express by choosing *NA* is that being a native or non-native speaker is not a pre-requisite for any of the statements laid out there. Being a native-speaker means being creative? Not really, I don't know. That's what I meant.

All interview participants agree that (non-)native status does not always endow a teacher with strengths or weaknesses in specific domains. Participants 2 and 4 referred to knowledge as a

relevant factor, while participant 1 referred to personality. Specifically, participant 2 strongly rejected the notion of (non-) native status conferring any (dis) advantages at all.

5.3.2 RQ1a Results Conclusion

This section has reported on the answer to RQ1a, *What attributes do students ascribe to each type of teacher?* The answer to this question has explored what students believe about English teachers' native status and whether they believe this status endows teachers with any inherent strengths or weaknesses. The quantitative data provided via survey questionnaires was complemented with qualitative data obtained via semi-structured interviews which explored students' reasoning behind the answers provided in the surveys. Even though a few students rejected the notion of (non-)native status endowing NESTs/NNESTs with strengths/weaknesses in stereotypical domains where NESTs/NNESTs are perceived to be stronger or weaker, quantitative data shows that NESTs/NNESTs obtained higher scores in their stereotyped strengths. For example, NESTs obtained the highest score in *is good at pronunciation teaching*, *is good at teaching conversation classes*, *is good at vocabulary teaching*, and *has expert command of the English language*, all with a score above 4. On the other hand, NNESTs obtained the highest score in *is good at grammar teaching* and *can usually speak their students' native language*, both with a score above 4. Results will be further analyzed in the discussion section of this thesis.

5.3.3 Research Question 1b: Overall, do they prefer NESTs or NNESTs? What factors could influence their preference?

To answer RQ1b, *Overall, do they prefer NESTs or NNESTs? What factors could influence their preference?*, I will report on answers to (Q)uestions 2 in the survey, which deal directly with students' preferences for NESTs/NNESTs. The Q2 battery asks students what time

of teacher (NEST or NNEST) they prefer. Then, I will report on Q3 (which covers the level of English quality students perceive they can learn from each type of teacher), revisit parts of Q6 (which covers students' beliefs about perceived strengths and weaknesses of NESTs and NNESTs) from Part 1, report on Q32 and Q34 which relate to students' satisfaction with NESTs and NNESTs, and report on Q31 which recorded students' self-perceived level of proficiency. The questions outlined in Q3, Q31, Q32 and Q34 were factors investigated as potentially influencing students' preference for NESTs/NNESTs.

5.3.3.1 Students' overall preference for NESTs/NNESTs

Below, I present the results of Q2.

Table 9

Different Aspects of Students' Preference for NESTs/NNESTs

Q2-statement	mean	median	mode	SD
1)I prefer to have classes with NES teachers.	3.66	3.5	3	1.08
2) I prefer to have classes with both NES and NNEST teachers.	3.57	4	4	.14
3) My teacher's mother tongue is important.	3.25	3	3	1.15
4) I prefer to have classes with NNEST teachers.	2.57	3	3	1.06

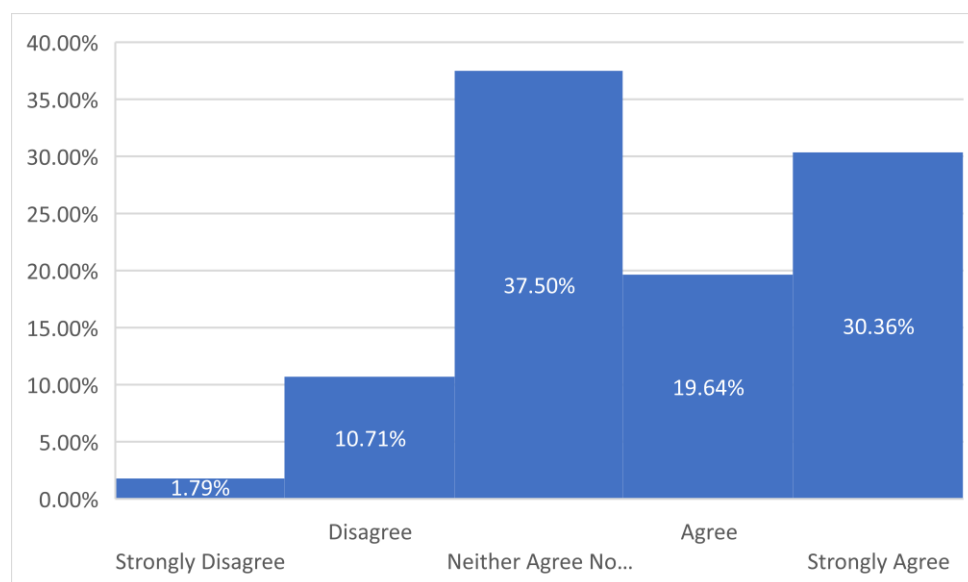
The Q2 battery has a Cronbach alpha of 0.79, which indicates good internal consistency. In Q2.1, the mean, 3.66, shows a slight preference for NESTs on the part of the students. The median is at 3.5 which indicates good distribution in this dataset. Q.2 also shows that students have a slight preference for having classes with both teachers, with a median at 4. Q.3 indicates students might attribute slight importance to the teacher's mother tongue with a mean at 3.25. However, the median is a 3. Finally, Q2.4 shows students have a light disinclination to have classes with

NNESTs, with a mean at 2.57, and a median of 3. It is important to highlight that responses to all questions present a standard deviation of at least 1, which is no small margin in a 5-point Likert scale.

I will now present histograms to analyze the distribution of agreement in each question.

Figure 5

Students' Preference for NESTs (Q2.1)



While 37.5% neither agree nor disagree, 50% agreed or strongly agreed with statement Q2.1-I *prefer to have classes with NES teachers*. I now turn to qualitative data to explore the reasoning behind students' answers in the questionnaire.

(Interview participant 1- ***Strongly Disagree***): In my experience, the native teachers I've had...I mean, first I can't really say they are teachers, even if they played a teaching role because they gave me classes. I'm not sure whether they are actually qualified.

Consequently, the classes focused mostly on speaking. We didn't see much grammar or

language structures. It happened a lot that with native teachers, they make less of an effort to be understood, while a non-native teacher went through the ‘student of English’ stage. So, they know what it’s like to have difficulty understanding an accent. Also, many times when I asked grammar questions, their answers really didn’t offer any substance.

Interview participant 1 doubts whether the NESTs he has had are qualified teachers. He mentioned that classes lacked any focus on grammar or specific language structures, NESTs might not offer any effective answers for his questions about grammar, and that NESTs could be less empathetic towards students. On the other hand, interview participant 1 appreciates NNESTs’ empathy for students as they are former learners themselves. It is important to point out this interview participant represents a very small percentage of the responses on a quantitative level.

(Interview participant 10- *Agree*): I remember that some time ago at school North, I had the chance to have a native teacher. I’d already had one or two years of classes with non-native teachers. But when I had this class with this native teacher, it was hard to understand his accent at the beginning, it was quite challenging. Sometimes I had to ask him to speak more slowly, or sometimes I didn’t know some word, and, since he wasn’t able to speak Spanish to immediately translate what I didn’t understand, he continued explaining in English so... so, sometimes I understood, or sometimes it got more complicated. In a way, I had to think more, because there was no way out. We couldn’t resort to Spanish. So, two things, overall: getting my ear used to different accents, and not having the chance to resort to Spanish.

Interview participant 10 points directly to the advantage of not being able to use Spanish with a NEST as well as hearing a different accent. Interview participant 7 also agrees that NESTs do not translate words into Spanish, but explain these in English:

(Interview participant 7- ***Strongly Agree***): The only reason, for the most part, is because when you don't know a word, they know how to explain it in English. It's only because of that. They don't translate it [the word], and even if they struggle explaining it, they don't try to explain it in Spanish.

Hence, not resorting to Spanish for clarification is seen as a NESTs strength for interview participant 7.

(Interview participant 3-***Strongly Agree***): Maybe it's the objective I have, which is to be able to talk to a native speaker in a business environment to get more opportunities. Also, the accent, sometimes, is so different from what you study in a grammar textbook compared to a real situation with a native speaker. So, the closest context that can help is to practice English with a native speaker. At school South, I've had the chance to talk to several natives and comparing that with the non-native, the difference is big.

Interview participant 3 also mentions accent as an advantage and the fact that having classes with NESTs approximates to the "real situations" he will encounter at work.

(Interview participant 12-***Strongly Agree***): As I said before, it's their [NESTs'] virtues which are that they know a lot of slang, they know a lot about the culture. Non-native teachers can also learn it but not live it. And *Strongly Agree*, mostly, because I get along with my current teacher and I have a great time with her, so I know it's subjective based on my current experience.

Interview participant 12 refers to slang and cultural knowledge that NESTs know a lot and differentiates them from NNESTs.

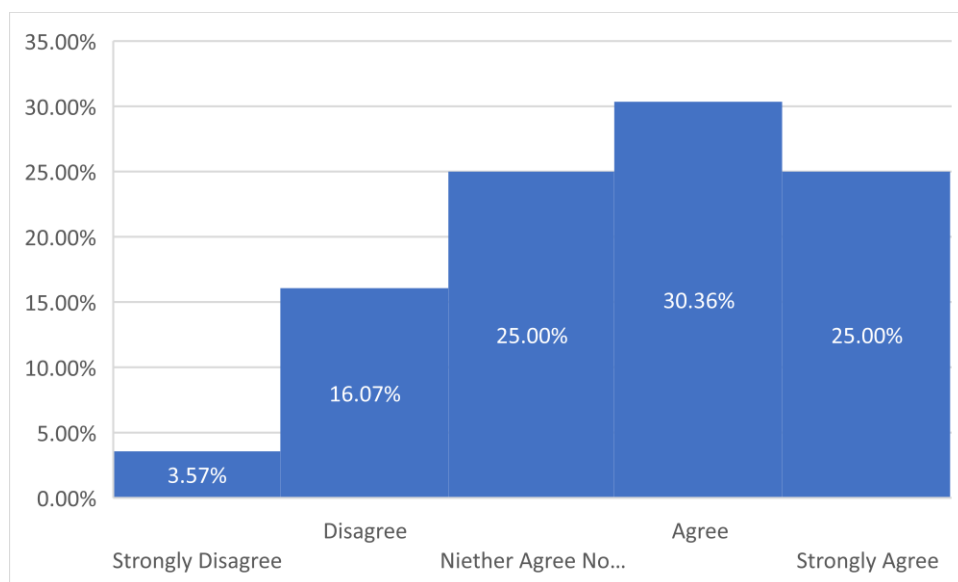
(Interview participant 6-***Strongly Agree***): Mainly because when I was younger, 12,13 years old, I had classes with non-native teachers, and they used a conventional teaching methodology, which included grammar learning, but no speaking or oral skills which were the weakest points. Now that I'm learning with Sarah, who is an American teacher, the difference in pronunciation, speaking, in understanding are noticeable.

Interview participant 6 refers to pronunciation and practicing speaking as the advantages he sees in his NEST.

Among the ***Strongly Agree*** and ***Agree*** answers, some themes recur: three interview participants mentioned accent/pronunciation as a relevant aspect of NESTs. Another interview participant also mentioned cultural knowledge and slang. Accent/pronunciation, cultural knowledge and slang, or vocabulary, are some of the items in Q6.1-*NES teachers have inherent strengths such as vocabulary and cultural knowledge, fluency, perfect pronunciation-* and Tau Kendall correlation showed a strong positive correlation between Q6.1 and Q2.1 ($\tau=0.42$, $P=0$). Interview participant 12 made direct reference to NNESTs' weakness by saying "Non-native teachers can learn it but not live it". This exemplifies Tau Kendall strong positive correlation between Q6.2- *NNES teachers usually lack vocabulary and cultural knowledge, fluency and perfect pronunciation-* and Q2.1 ($\tau=0.31$, $P=0.01$).

Figure 6

Students' Preference for Having Classes with Both NESTs and NNESTs (Q2.2)



55.36% of participants prefer to have classes with both NESTs and NNESTs. Tau Kendall correlation test indicates a strong negative correlation between Q2.1 and Q2.2 ($\tau = -0.39$, $P = 0$). This means students who prefer to have classes with both types of teachers are less likely to indicate preference solely for NESTs (Q2.1).

I now turn to the qualitative data gathered regarding Q2.2:

(Interview participant 5- **Strongly Agree**): I think it's their knowledge of cultural context. The native, be it British, North American, the native can give you those tips that the non-native... it's not like the non-native doesn't know them, depending on their training, but the native can tell you in a very natural manner something like 'in the US, in informal language, this expression means' this or that. And the non-native has this added value that, by knowing the local culture, can tell you 'this [in Spanish] is said in such and such a

way abroad, and we usually think about this in this way'. So, through that contrast, the non-native gives you this added value.

Interview participant's 5 statement and choices in Q2.1 and Q2.2 agree with the Tau Kendall correlation stated above, as Interview participant 5 Strongly agrees with having both types of teachers (Q2.2) while he neither agrees nor disagrees with having a NEST (Q2.1).

Interview participant 5 recognizes the strengths of both NESTs and NNESTs in their own right. Part of interview participant 5's statement regarding NNESTs' strengths mentions NNESTs' capacity to speak their students' native language (Spanish in this case), which concurs with Tau Kendall moderate positive correlation between Q6.3- *NNEST teachers have inherent strengths such as grammar teaching, capacity to use their students' native language if necessary*- and Q2.2-*I prefer to have classes with both NES and NNEST teachers*- ($\tau=0.25$, $P=0.03$). The correlation suggests that students who agree with the fact that NNESTs have inherent strengths are more likely to prefer classes with both NESTs and NNESTs (Q2.2). Interview participant 5 strongly agrees with having both types of teachers (Q2.2) while he neither agrees nor disagrees with having a NEST (Q2.1).

Figure 7

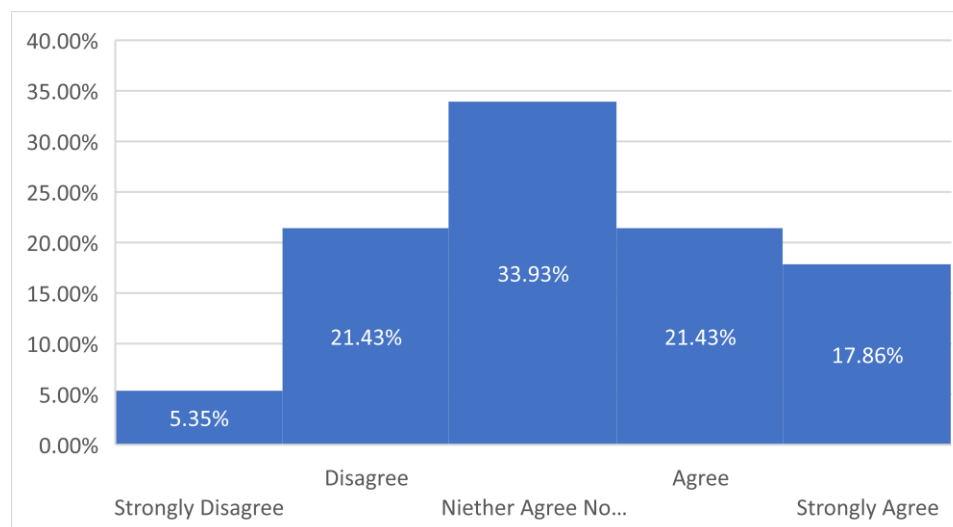
Importance Assigned to Teacher's Mother Tongue (Q2.3)

Figure 7 shows disagreement among respondents, with 26.78% disagreeing or strongly disagreeing with statement Q2.3-*My teacher's mother tongue is important*- and 39.29% agreeing or strongly agreeing. The same number of students agree and disagree with the statement, the difference lying in the greater number of students who strongly agree (17.86%). Tau Kendall correlation shows a strong positive correlation between Q2.1 and Q2.3 ($\tau=0.35$, $P=0$), which indicates students who assign higher importance to their teacher's mother tongue are likely to have a higher preference for NESTs. Also, a strong negative correlation was found between Q2.3 and Q2.2 ($\tau=-0.43$, $P=0$), which indicates students who assign more importance to their teacher's mother tongue (Q2.3) are less likely to prefer having classes with both types of teachers (Q2.2). I now turn to report on the qualitative data gathered in the interviews. Qualitative data representing agreeing and strongly agreeing students confirm this correlation.

(Interview participant 6-**Strongly Agree**): Having it as your mother tongue, the substantial difference I see is that this person's culture is reflected by their language and

the country they come from. When you try to submerge yourself in the language the [native] teacher can recommend you to read certain articles, watch certain newscasts, certain books. This comes with ease and it's so natural to them because they live in that country, so this person can give you real tools. You can connect with this teacher because they really come from that country, they belong there, they belong to that language, that culture and the interaction becomes so much more enriching.

Interview participant 6 mentions the perceived benefits of having English as a mother tongue for a teacher and directly connects it to the advantages of taking classes with a NEST. The student points to a much more enriching experience with a NEST, as he perceives a NEST has a real connection with the language and culture from the Anglophone country they come from.

(Interview participant 10- *Agree*): Yes, in the sense of whether it is a native teacher or not. It is important in the sense...the accent, their explanations will always be given in English, since we can't resort to Spanish. In that sense it's important.

Interview participant 10 considers mother tongue important as well, but points out other reasons. For her, a native accent and her belief that Spanish cannot be resorted to in class with a NEST, and all interactions need to be carried out in English, are the important factors. For both interview participants 6 and 10, a teacher's mother tongue is relevant, this mother tongue being English. The interview participants opinions in Q2.1 and Q2.3 reflect the correlation data, as interview participant 6, who strongly agrees with Q2.3, also strongly agreed with Q2.1. And Interview participant 10, who agreed with Q2.3, also agreed with Q2.1.

Figure 8

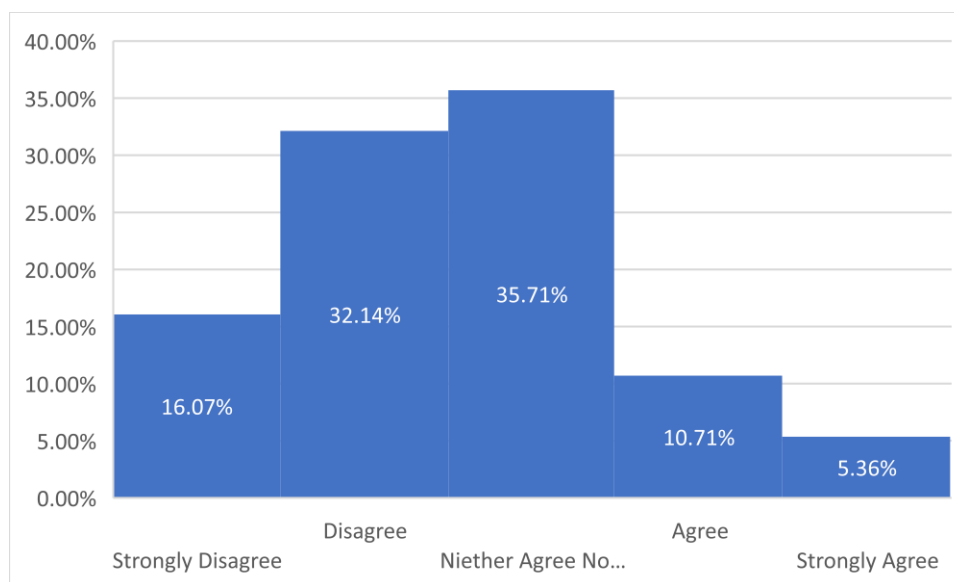
Students' Preference for NNESTs (Q2.4)

Figure 8 shows that 48.21% of students disagreed or strongly disagreed with Q2.4-*I prefer to have classes with NNEST teachers-*, and 16.07% agreed or strongly agreed. Tau Kendall correlation shows a strong positive correlation between Q2.4 and Q2.2 ($\tau=0.31$, $P=0.01$). This means students who express preference for both types of teachers are more likely to express preference for NNESTs as well. Also, a strong negative correlation was found between Q2.4 and Q2.3 ($\tau=-0.32$, $P=0$), which indicates that students expressing preference for NNESTs are less likely to assign importance to their teacher's mother tongue. Finally, Q2.1 and Q2.4 show a strong negative correlation ($\tau=-0.76$, $P=0$).

I now turn to analyze the qualitative data gathered for this question.

(Interview participant 1-***Strongly Agree***): This related to what I said before [Q2.1]. I feel that the non-native teacher has been a student at some point, they put themselves in the student's shoes, they can empathize with them and with their not-understanding

something. They went through all that technical learning related to grammar and everything related to what they are teaching, and they probably chose to dedicate their life to this, with passion. I felt that when I had native teachers, it as just people who happened to speak English, as it was their native language, they were living in some other country and their easy career opportunity was to teach English.

Interview participant 1's statement represents a minority of responses to the question. This participant points out that NNESTs have gone through all the technical learning related to grammar, which can potentially point to a teacher's language awareness, as in Q12 of this survey. This student seems to appreciate the language awareness NNESTs develop as former language learners. However, this statement disagrees with the quantitative data in the sense that Tau Kendall shows a moderate negative correlation between Q12-*an effective teacher has high language awareness i.e. knowledge of how the language works*- and Q2.4 ($\tau=-0.23$, $P=0.05$). The correlation indicates that the more students care about a teacher's language awareness, the less likely they are to prefer NNESTs, hence agree with statement Q2.4.. However, interview participant 1 asserts the opposite by showing a preference for NNESTs and indicating that one of the reasons is that NNESTs have been through all that 'technical learning related to grammar'.

No data relating to the *Disagree* or *Strongly Disagree* options is available. It should be noted that Q6.1-*NES teachers have inherent strengths such as vocabulary and cultural knowledge, fluency, perfect pronunciation* showed strong negative correlation with Q2.4-*I prefer to have classes with NNESTs*-($\tau=-0.32$, $P=0.01$), which indicates that the higher the level of agreement respondents express with NNESTs having inherent strengths (Q6.1), the lower the level of preference they will express for having classes with NNESTs (Q2.4) .

5.3.3.2.1 Lack of extreme preference for NESTs or NNEST

This section is dedicated to exploring the significant number of *Neither Agree Nor Disagree* answers provided for Q2 in the survey. As a reminder, the Q2 battery consisted of four statements:

1) I prefer to have classes with NES teachers.
2) I prefer to have classes with both NES and NNEST teachers.
3) My teacher's mother tongue is important.
4) I prefer to have classes with NNEST teachers.

Qualitative data for Q2 was analyzed in the previous section above with a focus on agreeing and disagreeing answers on the part of participants. However, if we check the answer distribution for each statement Q2.1-Q2.4 (Figure 5-8), we can see *Neither Agree Nor Disagree* makes up the highest percentage of all choices in Q2.1 with 37.5 %, Q2.3 with 33.93%, and Q2.4 with 35.71%. Indeed, this shows respondents did not express extreme positions in preference for NESTs (Q2.1), importance for a teacher's mother tongue (Q2.3) or preference for a NNEST (Q2.4).

Four interview participants provided overarching reasons why they chose *Neither Agree Nor Disagree* (NAND) in at least two out of the four statements in the Q2 battery. One participant chose NAND in two statements, two participants chose NAND in three out of the four statements, and one participant chose NAND in all four statements. I present below qualitative data on participants' reasoning behind their NAND responses in the survey:

The first thing I took into account when answering is 'at the moment of furthering my language learning, does the teacher's nationality, native status or mother tongue represent a relevant factor?' And the answer is no. I don't really prefer anything. If he's English, then, he's English. If he's Argentine, then, he's Argentine. If he's Spanish, then, he's

Spanish (...) I think the important factor is the ability and knowledge to share this knowledge by the teacher rather than any native language. I'm telling you because I've had not-so-good Anglophone teachers and really good Hispanophone teachers. (Interview participant 2, NAND answer in Q2.1, Q2.2, Q2.3, Q2.4)

Interview participant 2 disregards mother tongue, nationality, or native status as important. He prioritizes a teacher's skill to share knowledge. In the following extract, interview participant 4 also points out that he does not care about a teacher's country of origin or native status, but whether a teacher knows how to teach:

More than where they were born or what their native language is, I'm interested in the teacher knowing how to teach the topic. I want them to know how to explain it so that I can understand regardless of whether they are British, Indian, Australian or were born in Buenos Aires. (Participant 4, NAND in Q2.1, Q2.3, Q2.4)

Interview participant 9 describes how she has compared her English with other people she knows that have classes with NESTs, and she has not noticed significant differences:

Based on how I feel I express myself in the language compared to other people I know that have had classes with native teachers, it is of no importance for me. It is not something relevant I would consider at the time of choosing an institution or a teacher to study [English] with. (Interview participant 9, NAND in Q2.1, Q2.2, Q2.3)

Hence, for her, native status is not a factor at the time of choosing a teacher.

Interview participant 5 simply rejects the notion that (non-)native status can confer any advantages to the teacher:

I've had classes with both types. And what I tried to convey with my answer is that there is no specific advantage that stands out. (Interview participant 5, NAND in Q2.1, Q2.4)

Overall, all four participants reject the notion that (non-) native status as a relevant factor in their choice. Two of the participants also point out that the most important factor for them is a teacher's skill/knowledge on how to teach or explain language.

5.3.3.2 Students' overall preference for NESTs/NNESTs vis-à-vis perceived teacher's English quality

Turning to Q3, I investigated whether students associate learning better or worse English to the type of teacher they learn with. Below, I present the general results of students' answers.

Table 10

Perceptions of English Learnt with NESTs/NNESTs

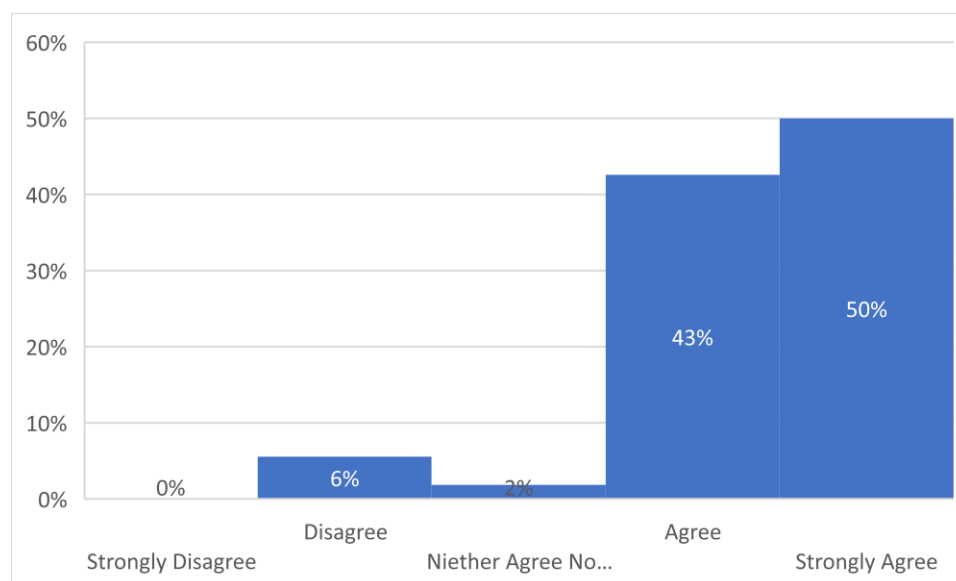
Q3-statement	mean	median	mode	SD
1- You will learn good English both from a NES and a NNEST teacher.	4.37	4.5	5	0.78
2- You will learn bad English from a NNEST teacher.	1.74	2	2	0.82
3- A NES teacher will teach you better English than a NNEST teacher.	2.79	3	2	1.07
4- You will learn good English from a NNEST teacher.	3.87	4	4	0.88

The Cronbach alpha for the Q3 battery is 0.752 which indicates good internal consistency. Q3.1 presents a mean of 4.37 out of 5 with a median of 4.5. Q3.2 presents a mean of 1.74 with a median of 2. Q3.3 presents a mean of 2.79 with a median of 3. And Q3.4 presents a mean of 3.87 with a median of 4. The difference between all means and medians is of 0.26 or less. The only

standard deviation above 1 is Q3.3 with a value of 1.07. The other three questions' standard deviations present a value of 0.88 and below. I now present histograms with the distribution of answers for each question.

Figure 9

Students' Opinions of Learning Good English with both NESTs and NNESTs(Q3.1)



93% agree or strongly agree with statement Q3.1- *You will learn good English both from a NES and a NNEST teacher*-. Tau Kendall correlation shows a strong negative correlation between Q3.1 and Q2.1 ($\tau=-0.45$, $P=0$), which indicates students that agree/strongly agree that they will learn good English with both types of teachers are less likely to prefer taking classes solely with NESTs (Q2.1). Also, a strong positive correlation was found between Q3.1 and Q2.2 ($\tau=0.36$, $P=0$) and Q2.4 ($\tau=0.36$, $P=0$), which means the higher the students' level of agreement with statement Q3.1, the more likely they are to prefer classes with both types of teachers (Q2.2) or the more likely they are to prefer taking classes with NNESTs (Q2.4).

Figure 10

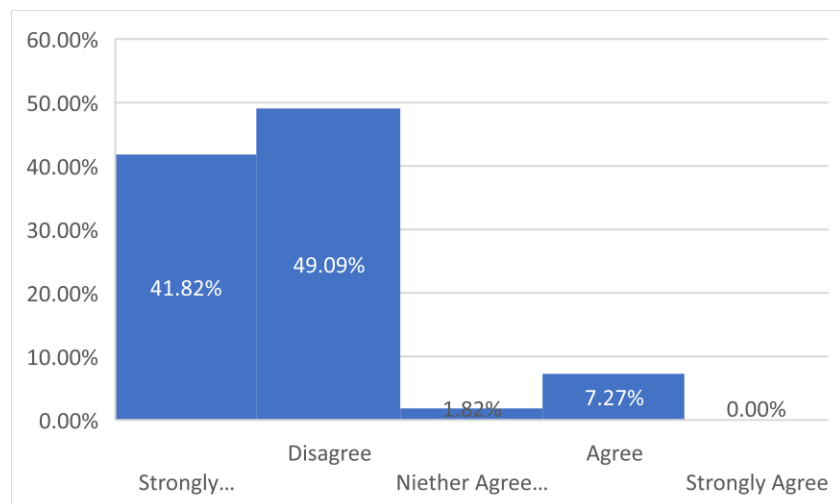
Students' Opinion of Learning Bad English with NNESTs(Q3.2)

Figure 10 shows 90.91% of respondents disagree or strongly disagree with statement Q3.2-*You will learn bad English with a NNEST teacher*- with only 7.27% agreeing. Tau Kendall correlations indicate a strong positive correlation between Q3.2 and Q2.1 ($\tau=0.4$, $P=0$), which indicates that the more participants agree with Q3.2, the more likely they are to agree with Q2.1. Also, a strong negative correlation was found between Q2.4 ($\tau=-0.33$, $P=0.01$) which indicates that the more participants agree with statement Q3.2, the less likely they are to agree with Q2.4-*I prefer to have classes with NNEST teachers*-. Here, interview participants explained:

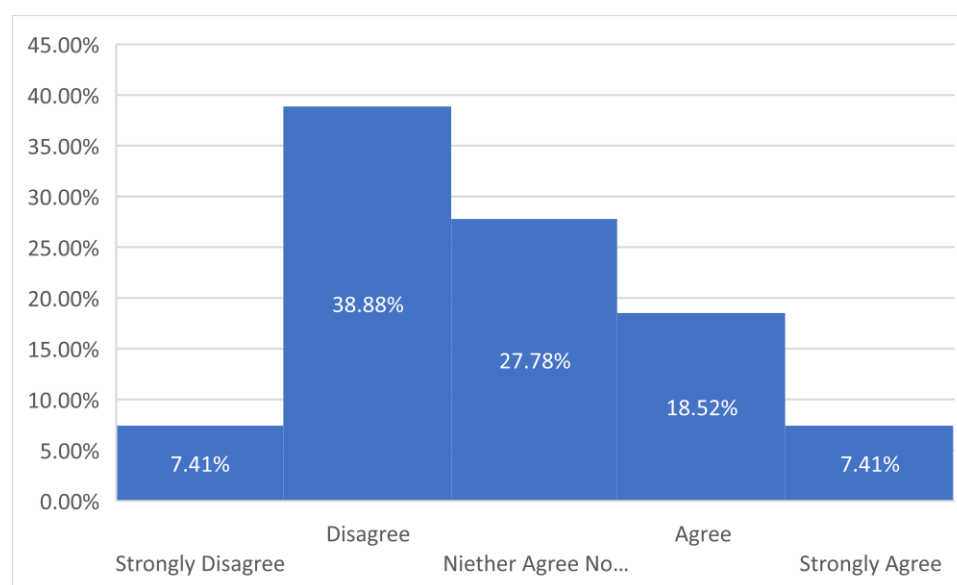
(Interview participant 7-**Strongly Disagree**): That's just separating them [NESTs and NNESTs]. Like, 'if you're a non-native, you're bad', and that's not a good thing to say.

(Interview participant 4-**Disagree**): Well, let me reiterate. Being a good or bad teacher is independent of whether the teacher is a native or not. So, if you assert 'you're going to have good English cause they are natives or non-native', I disagree. I'm gonna have good English because the teacher knows how to explain this to me.

For interview participant 7, the mere act of teacher type separation is something she believes is not good in and of itself. Furthermore, she clarifies that for her, being a NNEST does not entail teaching bad English. In the case of interview participant 4, he reiterates that the native status factor is irrelevant for him. The one factor he cares about is the teacher's pedagogical skills.

Figure 11

Students' Opinions of NESTs Teaching Better English Than NNESTs (Q3.3)



As for Q3.3, 46.29% disagree or strongly disagree with the statement - *A NES teacher will teach you better English than a NNEST teacher*-, 25.93% agree or strongly agree, and 27.78% neither agree nor disagree. Tau Kendall correlation shows strong positive correlation between Q3.3 and Q2.1 ($\tau=0.57$, $P=0$). In other words, the higher the rate of agreement with Q3.3, the more likely students are to agree with Q2.1- *I prefer to have classes with NES teachers*-. Strong negative correlation was found between Q3.3 and Q2.2 ($\tau=-0.31$, $P=0.01$) and Q2.4 ($\tau=-0.57$, $P=0$). In other words, the more respondents agree with Q3.3, the less likely they are to prefer classes with

both types of teachers (Q2.2) or prefer classes with NNESTs (Q2.4). I now turn to present the qualitative data gathered for this question:

(Interview participant 2-***Disagree***): One thing [native status] does not ensure the other [good English learning].

(Interview participant 3-***Neither Agree nor Disagree***): You could have a good non-native teacher. For the native speaker, it really helps them that they talk to you and they are already teaching you, just by talking. But a non-native speaker can compensate for that lack with a good attitude and a passion for teaching.

(Interview participant 7-***Neither Agree Nor Disagree***): I might actually agree a bit, due to my [advanced] level. But at a beginner level, I don't think it matters, because it's just starting to learn the language. And if you're a teacher, it's because you know quite a bit about the topic. So, like, from a low to intermediate level, they can both give you the same education.

(Interview participant 10-***Neither Agree nor Disagree***): I chose *Neither Agree nor Disagree* because it doesn't mean that a teacher who is a native speaker will teach me better. That will depend on their teaching methodology, and mainly...that. I mean, for example, I couldn't be a teacher because I don't know how to teach Spanish, even if I speak Spanish.

(Interview participant 13-***Agree***): I think it depends on the situation, in a way. If I had classes with a native teacher and I want to focus on the things I need for work, if that teacher has experience in administrative or director-level positions, they could give me better examples as to the technical words appropriate in my field. In this case, for me,

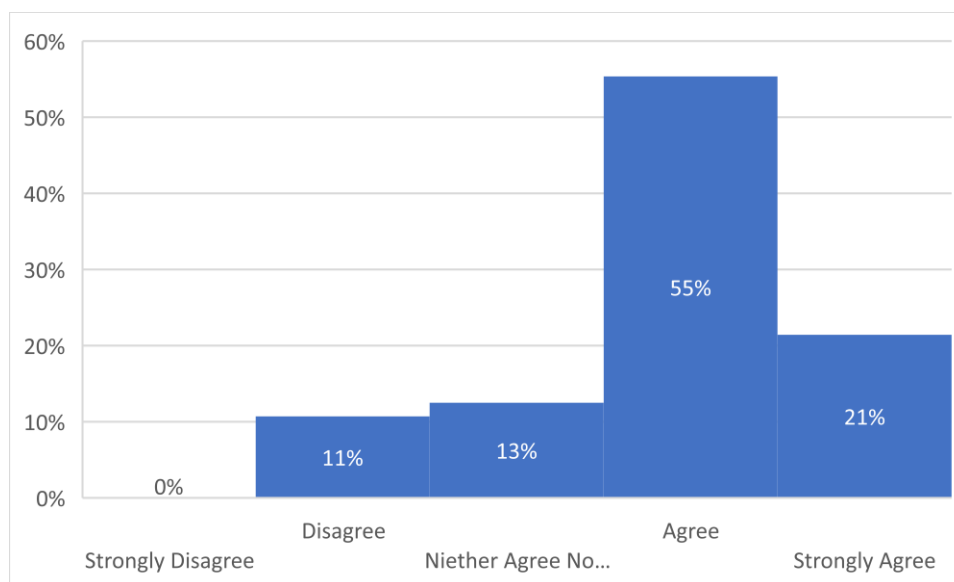
that I'm looking to talk in a more fluent, more confident way in my field of work, hopefully in another country, it would be great if someone told me 'these are the terms used in this situation'.

(Interview participant 11- *Agree*): I consider that if a person was born there, knows all the grammar, knows slang, then, natives should be better teachers in that respect.

(Interview participant 6- *Strongly Agree*): I think here there is something significant that is that native teachers have this pronunciation, this speed, and an understanding of the language that is much more robust. However, I'm still grateful to those non-native teachers and that institution that taught me grammar. It was like the foundation of the house. Grammar was important so that when you find a native teacher you can build upon that solid base. The difference is in that the native person has the culture embedded in themselves, and can actually recommend you content they have consumed themselves.

The interview participants offer a variety of points of view that have, in some cases, already been mentioned in previous questions. Interview participants 10 and 2 question the relationship between native status and teaching good English, interview participant 10 clarifying that teaching pedagogy is a significant factor. Interview participants 3, 6, and 11 do claim native status allows NESTs to teach better English, reiterating factors related to pronunciation, speaking and culture. Interview participant 3 mentions how NESTs 'talk to you and are already teaching you'. To interview participant 7, it's a matter of what level the student is, which is a common argument recorded in the literature (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Perez Canado & Madrid, 2004; Liaw, 2012).

Figure 12

Students' Opinions of Learning Good English With NNESTs (Q3.4)

76% of students agree or strongly agree with statement Q3.4- *You will learn good English from a NNEST teacher*. However, no strong or even moderate correlations were found between Q3.4 and any of the sub-questions in Q2. Ultimately, this indicates that students' level of agreement with this statement does not bear any relationship with students' levels of agreement in Q2, whose questions delve into students' preferences for NESTs and/or NNESTs and importance attributed to teacher's mother tongue.

Overall, students' beliefs about learning good English with both NESTs and NNESTs (Q3.1), learning bad English with NNESTs (Q3.2) and learning better English with NESTs than NNESTs (Q3.3) correlate with their preference for either/or even both types of teachers. However, their belief about learning good English with NNESTs (Q3.4) does not correlate with their preference for NESTs/NNESTs.

5.3.3.3 Students' overall NEST/NNEST preference vis-à-vis their belief of NEST/NNEST stereotyped strengths and weaknesses

I now turn back to questions Q6.3- *NNES teachers have inherent strengths such as grammar teaching, capacity to use their students' native language if necessary*-, Q6.2- *NNES teachers usually lack vocabulary and cultural knowledge, fluency and perfect pronunciation*- and Q6.4- *NES teachers usually lack grammar knowledge and capacity to use their students' native language if necessary* to further analyze them in light of students' preference for NESTs/NNESTs (question battery Q2).

Overall, students' stereotypical beliefs as to NESTs' strengths (Q6.1), NNESTs' weaknesses (Q6.2), and NNESTs' strengths (Q6.3) all correlate with students' NEST/NNEST preference as shown in the correlations detailed throughout Q2 above. However, neither strong nor medium or even weak correlations were found between Q6.4- *NES teachers usually lack grammar knowledge and capacity to use their students' native language if necessary* and Q2.1, Q2.2, Q2.3, or Q2.4, which indicates respondents' beliefs about NESTs' weaknesses bear no relation to their preference for either type of teacher (Q2).

5.3.3.4 Students' overall NEST/NNEST preference vis-à-vis previous learning experiences with NESTs/NNESTs

I now turn to Q32 and Q34 to analyze students' previous experience with NESTs and NNESTs, and to see whether previous experience with either teacher bears a relationship to students' preference for either type of teacher (Q2). For Q32 and Q34, I first present tables with general results. Then, Figures 13 and 14 show the distribution of answers for each teacher. Options to answer these questions were *Very Pleased, Pleased, Neither Pleased Nor Displeased, Displeased, Very Displeased, I've never had a NES/NNES teacher*. For the tables presentation

the options were transformed into numerical data *Very Pleased*, being a 5 and *Very displeased* being a 1.

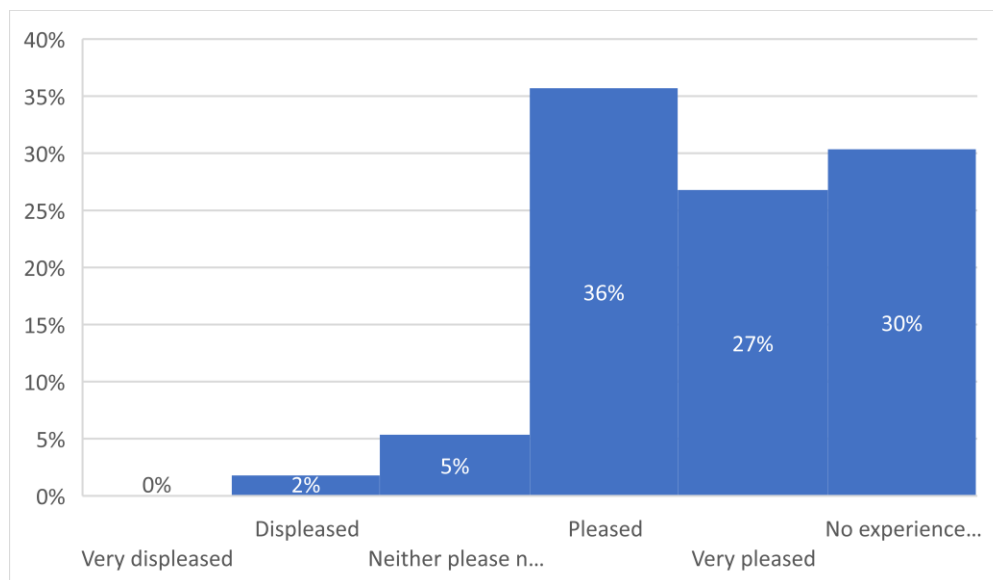
Table 11

Students' Experience With NESTs (Q32)

Q32	mean	median	mode	SD
How would you describe your experience so far with native English speaker teachers?	4.26	4	4	0.72

Figure 13

Students' experience learning with NESTs: answer distribution



For Q32- *How would you describe your experience so far with native English speaker teachers?*-

63% of students stated that they were *Pleased* or *Very pleased*. However, it is important to highlight that 30% of students have not had any experience with NESTs. Tau Kendall correlation shows a strong positive correlation between Q32 and Q2.1- *I prefer to have classes with NES*

teachers- ($\tau=0.61$, $P=0$). This suggests that students' experience with NESTs bears a strong relationship with their preference for taking classes with them (Q2.1). Also, a strong negative correlation was found between Q32 and Q2.2-*I prefer to have classes with both NES and NNEST teachers*- ($\tau=-0.33$, $P=0.02$) and Q2.4- *I prefer to have classes with NNEST teachers*- ($\tau=-0.51$, $P=0$). This suggests that a more pleasing experience correlated with a lower preference to have classes with both types of teachers (Q2.2) and a lower preference to have classes solely with NNESTs (Q2.4)

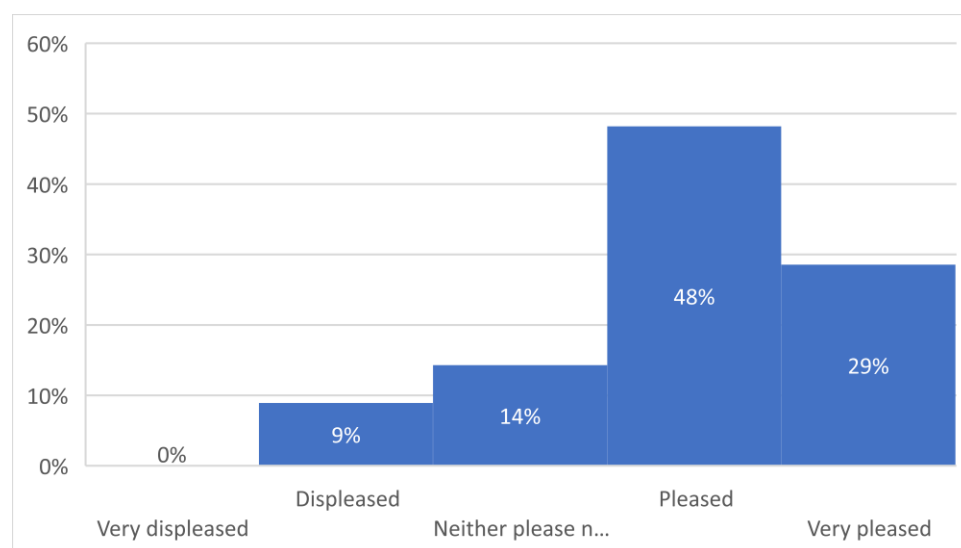
Table 12

Students' Experience With NNESTs (Q34)

Q34	Mean	median	mode	SD
How would you describe your experience so far with non-native English speaker teachers?	3.96	4	4	0.89

Figure 14

Students experience learning with NNESTs: answer distribution



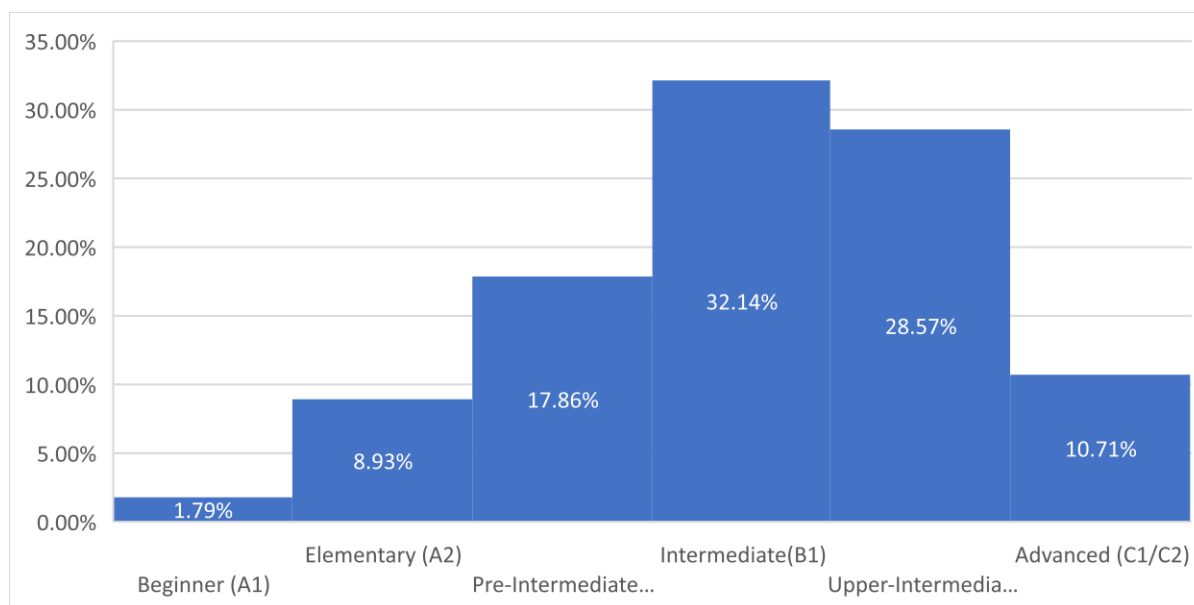
For Q34- *How would you describe your experience so far with non-native English speaker teachers?* - 77% of students were *Pleased* or *Very Pleased* with NNESTs. Tau Kendall shows strong positive correlation between Q34 and Q2.2- *I prefer to take classes with both NES and NNEST teachers*- ($\tau=0.4$, $P=0$) and Q2.4 ($\tau=0.41$, $P=0$), which indicates that the more pleased students are with NNESTs (Q34), the more likely they are to prefer to take classes with both teachers (Q2.2) and also to prefer to take classes with NNESTs (Q2.4). Also, Q34 shows a strong negative correlation with Q2.1- *I prefer to take classes with NES teachers*- ($\tau=-0.45$, $P=0$) which indicates that the more pleased students are with NNESTs, the less likely they are to prefer having classes solely with NESTs (Q2.1). Clearly, students' experience with both NESTs and NNESTs appear to bear a relationship to their overall preference for NESTs, NNESTs, or whether they are open to having classes with both types of teachers.

5.3.3.5 Students' overall NEST/NNEST preference vis-à-vis students' proficiency level

Finally, I turn to Q31 which enquires about students' level of English proficiency via students' self-report at the time of taking this survey, since this is a common variable studied (Kiczkowiak, 2018) when investigating students' preferences for NESTs/NNESTs. Figure 15 shows the distribution of students from both schools and their self-reported level of English proficiency.

Figure 15

Students Level of English Proficiency From Both Schools (Q31)



Tau Kendall correlation shows no relevant correlation between students' level of English (Q31) and their preference for NESTs/NNESTs. For example, the highest value found is a weak correlation between Q31 and Q2.1-*I prefer to have classes with NES teachers*- ($\tau=0.14$, $P=0.23$) whose P value is extremely high, which means there is a 23% chance the Tau Kendall value presented happened simply by chance. Thus, no connections can be observed between students' level of English and their preference for NESTs/NNESTs. The same can be said of correlations between Q31 and questions regarding students' beliefs about NESTs/NNESTs teaching good/bad/better English (question battery Q3), with all correlations having a P value higher than 0.15. Overall, the level of English among the population in this study bears no connection with their preference for NESTs/NNESTs (Q2) and their beliefs about whether either type of teacher teaches better English (Q3).

5.3.4 RQ1b Results Conclusion

This section of the chapter reported on the answer to **RQ1b, *Do students prefer NESTs or NNESTs? What factor could influence their preference?*** The answer to this question explored students' overall preference for NESTs/NNESTs and factors that could influence their overall preference (Q2), such as their belief about the quality of English each type of teacher would teach them (Q3), their past experiences with NESTs (Q32) and NNESTs (Q34), and their level of English proficiency (Q31). The results of this section and their implications will be further discussed in the discussion section of this chapter.

5.3.5 Research Question 1c: *What traits does an effective teacher have according to students?*

This question set out to investigate what characteristics effective teachers (should) have according to students' opinions. This question sought to go beyond the NEST/NNEST dichotomy by making *being a native speaker* one characteristic only, among many other characteristics students could choose from. In Part 2 of the student survey (Appendix A1), students were presented with the following statement: *An effective teacher...* followed by 12 statements such as *is creative, has good rapport with students*, etc. Students were asked to rate all these 12 characteristics from 1 to 10, 1 being *Not important at all* and 10 being *Very important*. Table 13 below presents all 12 characteristics with the corresponding scores they received.

Table 13

Characteristics in Effective Teachers According to Students

An effective English teacher...	mean	median	mode	SD
Q7- ...has good rapport with students	8.48	9	10	1.33
Q8-...is creative	8.34	8	8	1.28
Q9-...is a native speaker	4.47	5	5	3.04
Q10-...can motivate students	9.18	9	10	0.94
Q11-...has an intelligible accent	8.25	8	8	1.49
Q12- ...has high language awareness i.e.: knowledge of how the language works	8.71	9	10	1.26
Q13-...is flexible (i.e. adjusting to students' needs/levels)	8.99	9	10	1.14
Q14-...knows teaching methodology	9.18	9	10	0.96
Q15-...has expert command of the English language	8.11	8	9	1.69
Q16-...is fluent in their students' native language	5.27	5	5	2.61
Q17-...has a native-speaker accent	5.77	6	6	2.70
Q18-...has formal English teacher qualifications	7.98	8	9	1.68

Table 14 below displays the items ranked by mean value from highest to lowest.

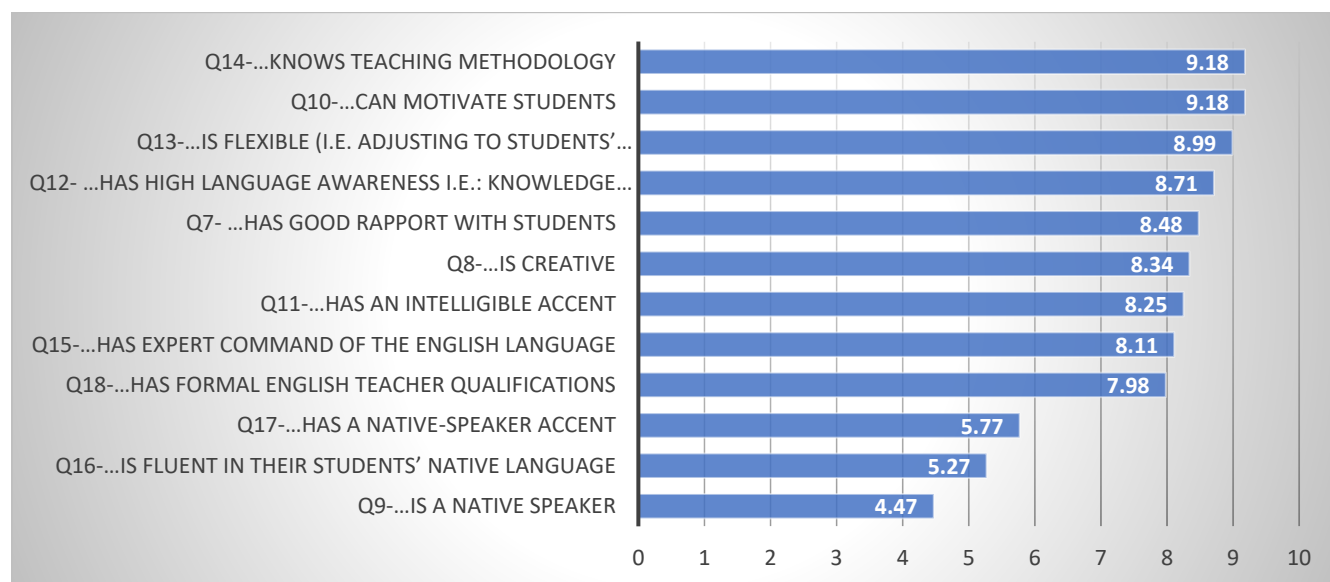
Table 14

Characteristics of Effective Teachers Ranked By Mean

An effective English teacher...	Rank	mean	median	mode	SD
Q10-...can motivate students	1	9.18	9	10	0.94
Q14-...knows teaching methodology	2	9.18	9	10	0.96
Q13-...is flexible (i.e. adjusting to students' needs/levels)	3	8.99	9	10	1.14
Q12- ...has high language awareness i.e.: knowledge of how the language works	4	8.71	9	10	1.26
Q7- ...has good rapport with students	5	8.48	9	10	1.33
Q8-...is creative	6	8.34	8	8	1.28
Q11-...has an intelligible accent	7	8.25	8	8	1.49
Q15-...has expert command of the English language	8	8.11	8	9	1.69
Q18-...has formal English teacher qualifications	9	7.98	8	9	1.68
Q17-...has a native-speaker accent	10	5.77	6	6	2.70
Q16-...is fluent in their students' native language	11	5.27	5	5	2.61
Q9-...is a native speaker	12	4.47	5	5	3.04

Below in Figure 16 I show a horizontal histogram of the items ranked in order of mean.

Figure 16

An Effective Teacher...

I will now analyze all characteristics from Table 14/Figure 16 following the ranking order. I will describe each characteristic's relevant correlations with other variables and I will present qualitative data that supports the quantitative data in an explanatory manner.

The two characteristics ranked first are Q10-*An effective teacher can motivate students*- (mean=9.18) and Q14-*An effective teacher knows teaching methodology*-(mean=9.18). I now turn to qualitative data to delve deeper into these quantitative results:

5.3.5.1 Q10-An effective teacher can motivate students (mean=9.18)

I present below statements from three interview participants followed by an analysis of shared themes:

(Interview participant 9- 10 points): I think this depends on the students, specifically. For example, I am very practical about things, so if I have to study something and I don't like

it very much, and I don't understand why I'm studying this, that demotivates me because I have to find the reason or functionality behind everything. If a teacher can convey where I can apply this or can teach me by applying interesting techniques, other than reading a book or staring at the whiteboard, this definitely motivates me because it's new information and presented in an innovative way (...) I believe the pedagogical training of a teacher should be tied to this thing about helping someone want to or be interested in knowing more or at least not to detest it because you're presenting a topic.

(Interview participant 5- 10 points): With Silvina¹¹ [teacher] we have a good relationship. We can sort of detect when the other is demotivated or tired. We both know how to handle the class and we have reached a point at which we try activities to sort of break the mold, such as improvisation. For example, in the 'free talk' section we start talking about something and we may end up looking up a song whose lyric references something, a vocabulary item, we were talking about.

(Interview participant 10- 9 points): Motivation is a word that is related to a certain adaptability on the part of the teacher around the student's objective. It's not the same to teach English to a kid and intend the kid not to get bored in class in comparison to teaching an adult, who already has a motivation to learn. But, in that case, it can be even more difficult because if the class turns out to be boring, or if expectations are not met, or maybe you can't understand them because they have no aptitude for teaching. So, that will be demotivating. So that teacher needs to know that motivation that's driving you and has to collaborate based upon your motivation. For example, now I'm job-hunting

¹¹ Silvina is a pseudonym to protect the teacher's identity

and my teacher tells me ‘if you want we can role-play interviews. If you want we can check your CV to see if it’s well-written.’ Those are all things that go beyond traditional teaching and that is gratifying and motivating.

The three statements point out a variety of themes with some similarities. In all three statements, interview participants point out that teachers require a certain flexibility (Q13) in order to successfully motivate students. It is noteworthy that Q10 and Q13 present a strong positive correlation ($\tau=0.47$, $P=0$), concurring with interview participants’ statements. Also, interview participant 9 states that pedagogical training should be tied to helping someone be motivated, and this concurs with the strong positive correlation between Q10 and Q14-*knowing teaching methodology*- ($\tau=0.38$, $P=0$). Ultimately this suggests that certain effective teacher characteristics are interrelated.

5.3.5.2 Q14-An effective teacher knows teaching methodology (mean=9.18)

I present below statements by two interview participants followed by an analysis of shared themes:

(Interview participant 3- 7 points): Obviously it’s a plus if they know teaching methodology, if they have any academic training related to that. But, the native speaker compensates for that lack with, as I said before, they start talking and I submerge in that conversation, and I’m already learning. In fact, I have a teacher who you can tell she has no experience as a teacher. She is now having her first experience as a teacher, is a native speaker, she has an excellent attitude, loves chatting, and those two are the key: she has the attitude and loves chatting.

(Interview participant 5- 10 points): In my opinion, this is related to what I said before. So, usually a native speaker, whose English is natural to them, might know a lot, but if they don't have a teaching methodology, then, that knowledge ends up going to waste. Like, in Spanish, which has lots of types of verb conjugations and more variants than English, you could know all conjugation of possible verbs, but if you don't know how to share that knowledge on how to put the conjugation together, then, that knowledge is also wasted.

These two points of view reflect two very different stances. On the one hand, interview participant 3 suggests that knowing teaching methodology is a plus, and that NESTs can be exempt from that, since he automatically learns when conversing with a NEST. Interview participant 3 states that a NEST who has a good attitude and loves chatting has the essential characteristics. On the other hand, interview participant 5 conveys that the wealth of knowledge a NEST might have could simply go to waste if they do not know how to teach it. He emphasizes teaching as a skill fundamental to share knowledge.

5.3.5.3 Q13-An effective teacher is flexible (i.e. adjusting to students' needs/levels) (mean=8.99)

I present below statements by two interview participants followed by an analysis of shared themes:

(Interview participant 6-10 points): It [flexibility] is really important since learning a language is difficult. Flexibility is important on all levels to have a more pleasant learning experience. If you stick to hard and fast rules to keep a sort of standardized way to do things, you may lose people who cannot adjust to that standard and give up on learning the language. I also think it's good when the teacher asks the students about the

activities the students do and which of these activities relate to English. For example, I am a musician, I play the guitar, so most of the tutorials I watch are in English. So, my everyday interaction with English is through music.

(Interview participant 11-10 points): For me it's fundamental. If a teacher cannot adapt to their students' needs, they are not good teachers because it's the student the one who is learning, the one who doesn't know, the one who doesn't have the tools. So, it's not the student who should adapt to the teacher, who is the one that has all the tools and the capacity to help the student understand.

These two statements share one feature in common. Both are against students having to adapt to the teacher, or a fixed standard fixed by the teacher. They also mention negative aspects of the absence of flexibility. One interview participant qualifies the teacher as a bad teacher, while the other interview participant states that the teacher would lose those students who cannot adapt to the teacher's standard.

5.3.5.4 Q12- An effective teacher has high language awareness i.e., knowledge of how the language works (mean=8.71)

Here I present statements by two interview participants follow by an analysis of shared themes:

(Interview participant 3- 7 points): Here I'm thinking of my kid. I have an 11-year-old kid who goes to a bilingual school, and they see a lot of grammar. And I think grammar is important, I don't dismiss grammar. I think it's important to have a good grammar foundation. But then you have others who say 'forget about grammar. That's not the way. You should use conversation and learn in a different way because the brain works in a different way. But I don't know, I think it depends a lot on the person. We are all

different and absorb knowledge in a different way. So, for me grammar is useful and I like to learn it, though it is less fun, as I prefer conversation more and find this type of class more engaging.

(Interview participant 9- 7 points): I think it is important, quite a bit. I don't think it [language awareness] merits a 10. I think, what I look for in a teacher is a combination of many things, not just this technical aspect.

Both interview participants consider language awareness important. While interview participant 9 justifies that she looks for a combination of features in a teacher, not just technical knowledge, interview participant 3 seems to have questions about its importance based on other arguments against grammar he has heard. He ultimately considers that learning grammar might depend on the person. Overall, it is noteworthy that these two interview participants gave Q12 scores that are not only below the average, but also the median and mode. This means these opinions might not reflect the majority opinion based on the quantitative data (Q12 mean=8.71, median=9, mode=10).

5.3.5.5 Q7-An effective teacher has good rapport with students (mean=8.48)

I present below statements by two interview participants followed by an analysis of shared themes:

(Interview participant 1-10 points): At any age, if you go to a class that's one and a half or two hours a couple of times a week, if you don't enjoy it, and you don't feel you have a teacher that tries to prepare an interesting class, you won't care how important English is to you, you'll just end up dropping out. 2, 4 or 5 hours is just too much during the week to have a bad time in class. That relationship [of rapport] that can be created is more

important than having a teacher with excellent pronunciation. I prefer a 10 in this relationship [of rapport] with a teacher that pronounces at a score of 6/7 or that may have some pedagogical shortcomings, rather than having an ‘excellent teacher’ whose class makes me want to shoot myself in the head.

(Interview participant 9- 5 points): I just don’t feel it is a factor that has to be present. I believe that with a formal and cordial relationship and good vibes without getting too deep or personal, I think that’s sufficient. However, to have a more relaxed class, for a group or individual class, sometimes there are people who are very shy to speak in another language in front of others. So, a comfortable environment helps, rather than a very rigid and cold environment. This doesn’t mean that if a teacher is not great at creating interpersonal relationships they are a bad teacher. This goes hand in hand with general pedagogy, but this doesn’t mean that if the interpersonal relationship is great, then your knowledge of the language is going to be great. I do not think there is a connection there.

Two opposing points of view are presented here, with interview participant 1 having a score that concurs with Q7’s mode (10 points). Interview participant 1 points out that rapport is more important than the teacher’s pedagogical capacity or pronunciation to some extent. On the other hand, interview participant 9 questions the significance of rapport to have a successful class and effective learning. Even though she agrees that a baseline rapport for better comfort in class can be of assistance, she states that great rapport does not guarantee great learning.

5.3.5.6 Q8-An effective teacher is creative (mean=8.34)

I present below a statement by one interview participant followed by an analysis of relevant themes:

(Interview participant 5- 10 points): Well, creativity does not mean being a clown in class. Creativity, I think, is really tied to whoever you have in front of you. So, you know there are categories in perceptive terms: the person who is more auditory, or more visual. Those are the two I always remember. If you detect that the person in front of you has this specific characteristic and you know how to exploit this by giving them classes and materials targeting those aspect, you can amplify the learning. In my case, I'm very visual, so vocabulary best sticks with me through anything I can see, rather than what I hear.

It is apparent that this student's statement relates to this teacher's capacity to tap into students' strengths with flexibility, as a teacher needs to be flexible to adapt their teaching to a specific student's style. Tau Correlation shows a moderate positive correlation between Q8 and Q13-*an effective teacher is flexible*-($\tau=0.26$, $P=0.02$), which establishes a moderate connection between these two variables.

5.3.5.7 Q11-An effective teacher has an intelligible accent (mean=8.25)

I present below statements by four interview participants followed by an analysis of relevant shared themes:

(Interview participant 4-10 points): How can I expand my vocabulary if I don't understand the teacher when they talk because they have a really *cerrada*¹²[unclear] pronunciation which makes it difficult for me to connect what I hear with the written words. We are talking about a person who is learning, right? If I knew already the language, or had an advanced level, then when I hear that *cerrado* [unclear] language or those abbreviations, then that's good to train your ear. But to learn that, then, if you say a word and I don't understand what you're saying...

(Interview participant 9- 9 points): I believe that saying you have a native accent is not equal to saying you have an intelligible accent, especially when you are teaching students who are learning this language. In particular, it happened to me in South Africa, and I've been to Texas, Australia, and when talking to native speakers, sometimes it's hard. And when I went to South Africa, which sort of signified the pinnacle of my English learning journey, I felt desperate at the beginning cause I couldn't understand anything, and this was two months prior to taking the First [Certificate Cambridge exam]. It really depends on where you go, like, there are specific accents that....for instance, if someone is learning Spanish, they get lectured by someone from Buenos Aires, or Cordoba. There are accents, local expressions and other things that might make it more difficult for a non-native speaker. I believe it [the language] should be taught through the most neutral way possible because, if it gets mixed up with local expressions, and like in South Africa,

¹² I was compelled to use the original word in Spanish used by participants here, as I was unable to find any accurate equivalent in English. The word *cerrado* [closed] in Argentine Spanish refers to what is perceived to be unintelligible speech spoken by someone who does not articulate their words clearly as they do not open their mouth broadly enough to produce clear sounds.

Afrikaans and 12 other dialects were very present, so it was impossible to understand, and that was English.

(Interview participant 11- 10 points): I consider that a good teacher needs to have an intelligible accent for beginner students or even now for me. Like if you talk to me in a more *cerrado* [unclear] way, perhaps I'd say 'hey, wait a second, I'm not following here'. That's why a good teacher needs to offer an intelligible accent.

(Interview participant 5- 6 points): I think it's more about articulating your words. The other day we listened to an NBC or BBC podcast, and the newscaster would not really open her mouth. She really seemed to have a jaw-related problem, like those who have surgery and can't open their mouths. And perhaps, someone who articulates a bit more, regardless of their accent, is clearer.

Two interview participants point out the importance of an intelligible accent particularly for students who don't have an advanced level or who are beginners. Tau Correlation shows a moderate positive correlation between Q11 and Q31-*students' level of English* ($\tau=0.29$, $P=0.01$), just 0.01 point from being a strong correlation. This correlation indicates a connection between students' overall level of English and that the lower their level is, the more likely they are to give a higher score for Q31.

Finally, interview participant 9 provided some interesting insights. She stated that a native accent does not necessarily mean an intelligible accent, something she learned by her own experience in her travels. Perhaps more indirectly, this same opinion was mirrored by interview participant 5 by indicating that a BBC newscaster (most likely a highly proficient or native speaker of English) was not intelligible either. This opinion deserves further future exploration as

to students' perceptions of the difference between native accent vs intelligibility, the importance of each and the epistemological understanding students have of each concept.

5.3.5.8 Q15-An effective teacher has expert command of the English language

(mean=8.11)

I present below statements by two interview participants followed by an analysis of relevant themes:

(Interview participant 4- 8 points): You can have expert command in the language but if you don't have the methodology, you can still be good, but not that good. In contrast, you can know quite a bit about the language, not have expert command, not be a native speaker, but if you have a good methodology you can actually teach better than someone with expert command or a native speaker. Having expert command is not an exclusionary condition to be a good teacher.

(Interview participant 6- 10 points): When I refer to expert command, I think it's related not only to having the technical or theoretical language, but also being able to communicate effectively in any context, and that can enrich the classroom. For example, talking about tv series, news stories. I remember we talked about gun ownership, *The Office*, etc. Since they are natives, they are immersed in the culture and speak perfect English, that broadens the possibility of topics available for discussion.

Interview participant 4 offers a potential explanation as to why Q14-*An effective teacher knows teaching methodology*-obtained more points than Q15. In his opinion, someone without complete expert command of the language with good methodology can be a better teacher than the opposite case, an expert speaker without enough teaching methodology. Interview participant 6

provides a separate insight as to the connection some respondents might make between having expert command and being a native speaker. He spoke about the importance of having expert command and how this can enrich the topics tackled in class, and how the NESTs in School South embody this concept. Indeed, Tau Kendall correlation shows a positive moderate correlation between Q15 and students' preference for NESTs ($\tau=0.2$, $P=0.07$).

5.3.5.9 Q18-An effective teacher has formal English teaching qualifications

(mean=7.98)

Below I present statements by four interview participants followed by an analysis of relevant shared themes:

(Interview participant 8- 7 points): Well, I don't care so much about it [teacher qualifications], I mean, I like it if they do have them, I prefer that. But if they don't have teaching qualifications, it doesn't mean I won't take their class. When they have qualifications, they do have more [teaching] tools, but it's not like someone who doesn't have teaching qualifications and wants to teach won't give a good class.

(Interview participant 12- 5 points): while it's not the most important, it does help quite a bit pedagogically speaking. You know how to plan a class, and you know how to teach the topics.

(Interview participant 7- 7 points): Most do, but the people who have lived for a long time abroad and they have a really high level of English, but they haven't done any teacher training or translator training, but they live, for example, 15 years abroad, and, well, this person knows (...). This aspect [teacher training] can be important for me but if

I know someone lived for a long time abroad and I have a class and they were able to explain everything perfectly, then, it's all good, I can attend this class.

(Interview participant 6- 6 points): With my current experience here [at School South] with Cat and Sarah [native speakers], I know they haven't got any pedagogical training. They put together a program and a way of working that is intuitive, or natural, for them to work with. They don't have an academically-related pedagogical training from university in this case, but I don't think this it is an essential requirement. If it [pedagogical training] is there, it's probably useful. But the contrary [no pedagogical training] I don't think it would keep you from learning.

It is noteworthy that three interview participants concur they could/do take classes with individuals who do not have formal teaching qualifications. All interview participants expressed, more or less indirectly, that formal qualifications can help, but are not essential. Interview participant 7 emphasizes how a highly proficient individual could teach her if this person can explain things successfully, while interview participant 6 states how his native teachers have found a methodology that works for them in a natural, intuitive way. These opinions indicate that not needing qualifications when being a NEST or highly proficient speaker concurs with the Q18 correlation with students' preference for NESTs (Q2.1), students' preference to have classes with both types of teacher (Q2.2), and students' preference for NNESTs (Q2.4). Q18 has a moderate negative correlation with Q2.1 ($\tau=-0.28$, $P=0.01$), a moderate positive correlation with Q2.2 ($\tau=0.25$, $P=0.02$) and a moderate positive correlation with Q2.4 ($\tau=0.22$, $P=0.05$).

5.3.5.10 Q17-An effective teacher has a native-speaker accent (mean=5.77)

It is worth mentioning that there is a 2.21 point difference between Q17, ranked 10th with 5.77 points, and Q18 ranked 9th with 7.98. points. This 2.21-point jump between Q18, ranked 9th, and

Q17, ranked 10th is the biggest in all the ranking. From Q10, ranked 1st to Q18, ranked 9th, there is only a 1.20 point difference, which shows that the first nine effective teacher characteristics do not show extremely broad differences in score until Q17, ranked 10th. The last three items, ranked 10th, 11th and 12th received significantly lower scores, which suggest their much lower perceived importance. I now report on the qualitative data.

(Interview participant 3- 6 points): The accent is important because you appreciate how it [the accent] puts you in a more real situation.

(Interview participant 8- 0 points): this does not define a good teacher. Besides, teachers usually use a more neutral accent. Any person, who might not be a good teacher, could have a native accent.

(Interview participant 9- 5 points): You can make a mistake because you can, if you choose someone before having heard them, you are choosing them based on a pre-conception and a visual/auditory imagery of how the other is going to sound. Sometimes, that matches reality, and sometimes it doesn't. This is based on a bias that 'if they told me he's a Londoner, then he's gonna sound like this'. Then, you go, he speaks super *cerrado* [unclear] and, yes, he has this Londoner accent but you don't understand anything. So you say 'he has the accent I like, but I don't understand anything' so that's not a good trade-off.

(Interview participant 11- 0 points): To me, a native accent is not a factor as to whether they are a good teacher or not (...) You are Argentine, right? So, you're not gonna have a [English] native accent because your native accent is Spanish. But you can be an excellent teacher without having a native accent. That will not make you less of a good

teacher. And if I had to rate you, I'm not gonna give you a 9 instead of 10 because you don't have a native accent. This is not important to me at all.

(Interview participant 7- 5 points): If you have it, it's great, but I don't think it's essential to be a good teacher (...) I find it pretty discriminatory to go up to a teacher and say 'you don't have a native accent, I don't want you here'.

(Interview participant 5- 0 points): The first thing that came to mind was Texan people. Texans are really *cerrado* [unintelligible] speakers and I have had a Texan teacher. He tried his best but...they [Texans] are difficult to understand. So, having a native accent does not ensure he'll be a good teacher. Perhaps, a native accent can add slightly in terms of small regional dialects. A silly example: those who say 'twenty' vs 'twenny', or these jokes about the British accent being so formal vs the American accent that's more informal. But, really, I don't think I'm gonna learn much more with a native accent.

Interview participants express a variety of points of view behind the scores given. Interview participant 3, giving the highest score (6 points) points out that a native accent can simulate a real-life situation. However, Interview participant 9, who gave 5 points, warns against choosing a native accent over an intelligible accent, a point that resembles interview participant 5's idea to some extent. For interview participant 7, it is a useful quality, but not necessarily exclusionary. She opposes discriminating against teachers based on their accent. There is a big discrepancy between interview participants' answers in the survey, some giving 0 points, 5 points, and 6 points in the case of one participant. This is reflected as well in the standard deviation of 2.70, which is a significant value in a scale spanning 1-10. This shows the high level of disagreement between participants. However, the three interview participants that gave 0 points explicitly state that a native accent is not related to being an effective teacher.

5.3.5.11 Q16-An effective teacher is fluent in their students' native language(mean=5.27)

I present below statements by three interview participants followed by their respective analysis:

(Interview participant 3- 3 points): So, this depends a lot on the student's level. For example, it is important for my kid that the teacher understand if my kid asks them a question in Spanish. But, for example, from an Intermediate level, I think it's good for you to have no option other than to communicate solely in English. You need to find the way, make the effort, and try to listen, understand and express yourself in English.

(Interview participant 4- 6 points): I didn't want to choose any end of the spectrum because I think it's important the teacher know their students' mother tongue, but it's not an essential requirement. You can have a native teacher, and perhaps they know how to teach really well and they know little to no Spanish. But, when the student's proficiency level is lower, perhaps it's going to be more difficult for the teacher to teach that student, rather than when the student has a higher level of proficiency.

(Interview participant 13- 5 points): For example, in this case, the guy I'm learning from now doesn't know much Spanish. So, when it comes to clarifying certain words, it's a bit hard for him with English only. I don't think it is really necessary, so as long as he understands the basics, that would be enough.

Two interview participants state that the students' level of proficiency is an important factor at the time of deeming whether the teacher should speak their students' native language or not. They both clarify that for students with a lower level of proficiency, a teacher that speaks their mother tongue would be good. Interview participant 9 also states it might be more difficult to

teach for a teacher that does not speak Spanish to teach lower-level students, which coincidentally concurs with interview participant 13's statement of her teacher's experience in her class, given that she is at an elementary level based on her survey questionnaire. The idea of a teacher who speaks their students' native language being more important for students with lower levels of proficiency is supported by Tau Kendall correlation between Q31-*students' proficiency level*- and Q16, with a moderate negative correlation ($\tau=0.29$, $P=0.01$) with just a 0.01 short of being a strong negative correlation. This shows that in this survey, the higher the level of students responding to the survey, the moderately higher chance they will choose a lower value for Q16. Finally, it is important to highlight the high level of variability among participants' survey answers in Q16 with a 2.61 standard deviation.

5.3.5.12 Q9-An effective teacher is a native speaker (mean=4.47)

Q9 is at the bottom of the ranking with a mean of 4.47 points, and a standard deviation of 3.04 points, the highest standard deviation among all the characteristics presented in the table. It is noteworthy that Q9, in the 12th position, has a 3.51 difference, with Q18 ranked 9th, while there is a 1.01 difference between Q18, ranked 9th, and Q13, ranked third. This shows a considerable leap in the score assigned to characteristics between 12th and 9th position. However, the score differential between 9th and 3rd position is much smaller. I now turn to report on the qualitative data:

(Interview participant 9- 0 points): In my experience, all the teachers I've had, who all were non-native, were really good. And, a person being a native speaker of a language doesn't mean they'll be a good teacher of that language. I'm a native speaker of Spanish, and I don't know if I could teach Spanish to someone because you have all this implicit knowledge that you don't know how to conceptualize, where to start from, etc.

(Interview participant 13- 5 points): I think, it could be that a native speaker is a good teacher, but not necessarily. If you don't have the right tools to provide your students with the information they need in such a way so they can understand and learn the language in the right way, then regardless of whether you're a native speaker or not, you won't be successful.

(Interview participant 11- 0 points): So, for example, Alexis, who I have classes with on Monday, and then the teacher that helped me to like English. Ale, lives in Capital Federal, and the other teacher 20 blocks from here. For me both of them were excellent teachers, and neither of them were native speakers, so that's why I don't think it's a relevant characteristic.

(Interview participant 12- 2 points): It could make it easier for you to be a teacher if you are a native speaker (...) It is not an essential requirement to be a good teacher, but it helps.

(Interview participant 7- 0 points): It is not necessary to be a native speaker to be a teacher because if you are a teacher it's because you know about your field and you're qualified to do this.

All interview participants concur that being a native speaker is not an essential requirement to be an effective teacher. Interview participants 9 and 11 reference good past experiences with NNESTs as their arguments to support why being a native speaker is not an essential requirement. These two opinions concur with the quantitative data, as Tau correlation between Q9 and Q32— *How would you describe your experience so far with non-native English speaker teachers?*—show a strong negative correlation ($\tau=-0.34$, $P=0$). In other words, the better the

experience respondents have with NNESTs, the lower the likelihood that respondents will assign a high score for Q9.

Interview participants 13 and 7 referred to knowledge and qualifications as important aspects of teaching rather than native status. Tau Kendall correlation shows a moderate negative correlation between Q18-*An effective teacher has formal teaching qualifications*- and Q9 ($\tau=-0.24$, $P=0.02$). This means participants who assigned a higher score to Q18 are moderately more likely to assign a lower score to Q9. However, Q14-*An effective teacher knows teaching methodology*- and Q9 have a very weak correlation ($\tau=0.03$, $P=0.76$) with an extremely high P value, which indicates no relevant connection between these variables.

It is noteworthy that Q9 correlates with students' preference for NESTs (Q2.1), NNESTs (Q2.4), students' importance attributed to mother tongue (Q2.3), and preference for both NESTs and NNESTs (Q2.2). Tau Kendall shows that Q9 and Q2.1 have a strong positive correlation ($\tau=0.51$, $P=0$); Q9 and Q2.2 show a moderate negative correlation ($\tau=-0.24$, $P=0.03$); Q9 and Q2.3 show a strong positive correlation ($\tau=0.33$, $P=0$); and Q9 and Q2.4 show a strong negative correlation ($\tau=-0.41$, $P=0$).

5.3.6 RQ1c Results Conclusion

This section of the chapter has reported on results to answer question RQ1c-*What traits does an effective teacher have according to students?* This section reported on the quantitative results regarding the overall scores of all the effective teacher traits. Then, qualitative data was presented to delve deeper into students' understanding of these traits as well as their reasoning regarding the importance of said traits. Relevant correlations between variables were presented, particularly when these bore a connection with the qualitative data. The implications of these results will be further discussed in the discussion section.

5.4 Discussion

In this section of the chapter, I discuss the results presented above for each RQ. Hence, this discussion section will consist of four sections, RQ1a, RQ1b, RQ1c, and a conclusion.

5.4.1 Research Question 1a: *What attributes do students ascribe to each type of teacher?*

5.4.1.1 Perceived NESTs'/NNESTs' strengths and weaknesses are not mutually exclusive

The low value of internal consistency potentially suggests that when it comes to NESTs'/NNESTs' strengths and weaknesses, these do not behave in an exclusionary manner, but pertain to different domains. An aspect that is a strength in NESTs is not, by default, a weakness for NNESTs. The internal consistency revealed that the discussion of NNESTs' and NESTs' strengths and weaknesses are independent constructs.

5.4.1.2 NEST/NNEST stereotypical strengths prevail for each type of teacher

Respondents mostly agreed with Q6.1 that refers to NESTs' strengths. This question also presents the lowest standard deviation of all questions in Q6, indicating the high level of agreement among respondents. The strength of agreement is confirmed by the qualitative data as well, where interview participants recognized NESTs as having certain inherent strengths. This agreement concurs with previous scholarship on students' perceptions of NESTs' strengths (see Chapter 3: Literature review, section *Students' attitudes towards NEST/NNESTs*).

As for question Q6.2, students mainly disagreed with the statement claiming NNESTs' inherent weaknesses, with an overall mean of 2.31. However, even if respondents overall disagreed with Q6.2, NNESTs still came behind NESTs when compared head-to-head (Q21 & Q23) in skills that are stereotypically considered a NEST domain. Qualitative data in Q6.2, Q21

and Q23 suggests that, indeed, NNESTs are not perceived to be inherently weak in these aspects, but they still fall short when compared to NNESTs.

Students also agreed overall with statement Q6.3 about stereotypical NNEST strengths, concurring with much of the literature. However, the score for Q6.4 regarding NESTs' weaknesses, 3.06, is equivalent to *Neither Agree Nor Disagree*. Qualitative data shows that two interview participants from school South who disagreed with the statement justified their disagreement by referencing the same teacher at school South who they perceive knows how to teach grammar and who can also speak Spanish. This coincidence begs the question: at the time of this study, how much experience had students had with each type of teacher? How many teachers had they had? How many years of experience? In some of the interviews, some interview participants from school South mentioned that their experience at said school was their first and only experience with NESTs. At school North, some interview participants had not had any experience with NESTs, while others had had multiple experiences with many NESTs and NNESTs. The importance of experience with different types of teachers points to Moussu's (2010) study, which confirmed that contact time with different types of teachers could influence students' attitudes.

Despite the score of 3.06 in Q6.4, NESTs still come behind NNESTs when it comes to direct comparison with NNESTs in Q21 and Q23 when it comes to stereotypical NNEST strengths. Results in Q21 and Q23 showed that characteristics stereotypically attributed to NESTs and NNESTs held true for this study, agreeing with previous scholarship (Chang, 2016; Chun, 2014; Díaz, 2015; Grubbs, Jantarach & Kettem, 2012; Liu, 2018). However, it is worth mentioning that the value differences between NESTs and NNESTs are not extreme. In fact, they were high for both teachers, as neither type of teacher received less than a 3.51 mean in any of

the characteristics stated in Q21 and Q23. This is somewhat different in comparison to previous scholarship where (student) respondents gave answers that reflected a bigger gap between teachers (e.g.: Chun, 2014; Huang, 2018; Liaw, 2012). Qualitative data in this study suggests that the reasons for the smaller difference in this study could be the high level of respect and trust students have in general for NNESTs, or the belief that teaching skills are, indeed, a skill and not something NESTs or NNESTs are endowed with based on their place of birth or mother tongue.

Also, the qualitative data shows that some students considered certain characteristics not attributable to any teacher, as these are not inherent NEST/NNEST characteristics. This is also reflected by some of the quantitative results in Q21 and Q23. For example, Q21/23.6-*has good rapport with students*-, Q21/23.7-*is creative*-, Q21/23.10-*can motivate students*- all of which presented a mean difference of 0.3 points or less. This is a pattern that has also been present, to a greater or lesser degree, in other questions throughout the study. This is the first time that it is recorded in a study that participants push back on the interpretations of NESTs'/NNESTs' strengths. Previous studies where similar types of questions were posed such as *run fun classes* (Huang, 2018) or *is patient* (Benke & Medgyes, 2005) did not question at all the fact that differences between a NEST or NNEST being patient or running a fun class might lie in sheer personality or cultural differences, rather than native status.

5.4.2 RQ1a Discussion conclusion

Conclusively, students expressed that NESTs' strengths are not necessarily NNESTs' weaknesses, and vice versa (Q6). However, the stereotypical strengths attributed to each type of teacher, and covered in previous scholarship, prevailed in this study. Students' responses indicated NESTs and NNESTs were stronger than each other in the stereotypical characteristics usually attributed to each. However, it is important to point out that even when comparing the

perceived strengths of NESTs/NNESTs with their counterpart's score, for example 21.1 (mean=4.53) vs. 23.1 (mean=3.75), the score differential is never greater than 0.8, with the exception of 21/23.4- *can usually speak their students' native language*-. This suggests that, in general, perceived differences between NESTs and NNESTs are not extreme in comparison to other studies.

5.4.4 Research Question 1b: Overall, do they prefer NESTs or NNESTs? What factors could influence their preference?

5.4.4.1 Students' overall preference for NESTs/NNESTs and stereotyped strengths and weaknesses

There is, overall, a slight preference for NESTs (Q2.1), with 3.66/5 points. Fifty percent of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that they prefer NESTs. The percentage of students in this study agreeing or strongly agreeing (50%) is lower compared to Alseweed's (2012) 78%, Brown's (2013) 52%, Grubbs, Jantarach and Kettem's (2010) 65%, Lasagabaster and Sierra's (2005) 60.6%, Liu's (2018) 65.9%, and Phothongsunan's (2017) 80.6%. If we compare this study's Likert value of 3.66/5, students' preference for NESTs is lower compared to Atamturk, Atamturk and Dimililer's (2018) 3.88/5. Overall, students' preference for NESTs in this study is among the lowest found so far in the literature, with the exception of Ling and Brain (2007) in Hong Kong, Channy and Ogunniran (2019) in Cambodia, and Chang (2016) in Taiwan, where at least 58% of students expressed preference for NNESTs in each study.

According to the qualitative data, students who prefer NESTs referred to NESTs' strengths, such as accent, pronunciation, slang, and cultural knowledge, as significant virtues of NESTs. This was backed by quantitative data as well via correlation analysis. Correlation analysis suggest that the more the learners believe in NESTs' strengths (Q6.1) and NNESTs'

weaknesses (Q6.2), the more likely they are to prefer NESTs. For students who did not prefer NESTs, “teaching skills” constituted a significant theme, based on qualitative data. This is partially supported by correlation analysis, as Q18- *An effective teacher has formal English teacher qualifications*- showed a negative correlation with NEST preference and a positive correlation with NNEST preference. This indicates that students who consider teacher qualifications to be important are less likely to prefer NESTs and more likely to prefer NNESTs. The connection between teaching skills as explained by the interview participants and Q18 could lie in the fact that students might believe qualifications entail having teaching skills. However, a variable that would refer more directly to teaching skills, Q14-*knows teaching methodology*-, did not show any significant positive or negative correlation with Q2.1, which begs the question as to how Q14 vs. Q18 were interpreted by respondents. The discussion of teacher training, Native-speakerism, and students’ awareness of teacher training/qualifications vis-à-vis native status is not extensive in the literature. This is a discussion that is much more common from the recruiters’ standpoint, where many recruiters acknowledge that they are ready to accept NESTs or highly proficient English speakers, even if these are less pedagogically qualified (Alenazi, 2012; Bryant, 2016; Liu, 2018).

Another factor that correlates with students’ preference for NESTs (Q2.1) is students’ regard for their teacher’s mother tongue (Q2.3). Overall, students assigned some importance to it (mean= 3.57/5). Correlation analysis showed that this variable correlates with students’ preference for NESTs and disinclination to have classes with both types of teachers (Q2.2). In other words, the more students care about their teacher’s mother tongue, the more likely they are to solely prefer NESTs.

As regards students' preference for NNESTs (Q2.4), there is a slight disinclination for NNESTs, with a mean of 2.57/5. The quantitative data shows that students who regard mother tongue (Q2.3) as an important factor are less likely to prefer NNESTs, and students who do not prefer to have classes with both teachers (Q2.2) are also less likely to prefer NNESTs (Q2.4). Also, quantitative data showed a moderate negative correlation between Q12-*an effective teacher has high language awareness i.e. knowledge of how the language works*- and students' preference for NNESTs, while this same variable, Q12, showed a moderately positive correlation with Q2.1. This begs the question as to how respondents interpreted this variable. Qualitative data showed one interview participant whose opinion disagreed with the correlation data, as this interview participant stated one of the NNESTs' strengths is their technical knowledge, but this is just one opinion. As for the interview participants who expressed preference for NESTs (Q2.1) in the survey, they justified their answer based on NESTs' general knowledge of the language (e.g., vocabulary, pronunciation, etc.) among other characteristics. If they consider this type of knowledge as the one expressed in Q12, this reasoning does concur with the correlation between Q12 and Q2.1 and Q2.4. This could mean many participants interpreted *language awareness* as a general knowledge of the language rather than a more technical knowledge (e.g. explicit grammar knowledge) of the language. If we take students' potential interpretation of Q12 as a more general understanding of the language tied to language proficiency, the literature has indicated that students perceive NESTs as more knowledgeable.

Ultimately, and most interestingly, Tau Kendall correlation showed strong positive correlation between students' preference for both types of teachers (Q2.2) and students' preference for NNESTs (Q2.4). This suggests that students who have a preference for both types of teachers or who value having classes with both types of teachers also have a preference for

having classes with NNESTs. Furthermore, students' preference for both types of teachers (Q2.2) and preference for NNESTs (Q2.4) showed a strong negative correlation with students' preference for NESTs (Q2.1). This means students who are open to having classes with both types of teachers and/or prefer having classes with NNESTs are disinclined to have classes solely with NESTs. It is interesting, as the correlations show, that students who prefer having classes with NESTs, seem to prefer having classes solely with NESTs. However, students open to having classes with both teachers, are also open to having classes with NNESTs and vice-versa.

5.4.4.2 Students' overall preference for NESTs/NNESTs vis-à-vis perceived teacher's English quality

Another correlative factor with students' preferences for NESTs/NNESTs was the quality of English they thought they would learn with each type of teacher. Participants who believed they would learn good English with both teachers (Q3.1) were more likely to prefer having classes with both types of teachers (Q2.2) or NNESTs (Q2.4) but were less likely to prefer classes solely with NESTs (Q2.1).

Students who believed NNESTs would teach worse English than NESTs (Q3.2) were more likely to prefer having classes solely with NESTs (Q2.1). Even though this connection was shown by the strong correlation between questions Q3.2 and Q2, it is important to point out that 90.91% of students disagreed or strongly disagreed with Q3.2- *You will learn bad English from a NNEST teacher*- for an overall mean of 1.74.

Q3.3- *A NEST teacher will teach you better English than a NNEST teacher*- is another variable that correlates with students' preferences for NESTs/NNESTs. The more students agreed, the more they preferred classes with NESTs (Q2.1), and the less they preferred having classes with both types of teachers (Q2.2) or classes with NNESTs (Q2.4). Students mostly

disagreed with Q3.3, for an overall mean of 2.79. The qualitative data shows two main themes in explanations given by agreeing and disagreeing interview participants. Interview participants that disagreed or neither agreed nor disagreed (in the survey) spoke about skill, teaching methodology and in some cases completely rejected native status as a significant factor. Interview participants who Agreed or Strongly Agreed (in the survey) pointed to NESTs' language repertoires as the significant factor, and how native status endowed teachers with this seemingly superior repertoire. As for this latter point, students' opinions have been extensively covered in the literature. When speaking about the perceived quality of English they think NESTs will teach them, students refer to this as a more authentic English (Liu, 2018; Rao, 2010; Yanaprasart & Melo-Pfeifer, 2019). In the literature, the same as in the agreeing cases in this study, students referred to the quality of English to be learned regardless of the pedagogical skill of their teacher.

Q3.4-*You will learn good English from a NNEST teacher*-obtained a mean of 3.87, close a 4 which is equivalent to *Agree*. Most interestingly, Tau B correlations showed no correlation between Q3.4 and any questions in the Q2 battery. This suggests that the students' belief about how good the English is that they can learn with NNESTs has no bearing whatsoever on their preference for any type of teacher.

5.4.4.3 Students' overall preference for NESTs/NNESTs vis-à-vis previous learning experiences with NESTs/NNESTs

Students' experience with NESTs (Q32) showed as correlative with students' preference. The more pleasing the experience respondents had had with NESTs, the greater their preference was for NESTs (Q2.1) and the more disinclined they were to have classes with both types of teacher (Q2.2) and to have classes with NNESTs (Q2.4). The overall mean, 4.26, shows that respondents

have had a pleasing experience with NESTs. However, it is important to point out that 30% of participants stated in the survey they did not have any experience with NESTs.

As for respondents' experience with NNESTs (Q34), this variable correlated with students' preference as well. Tau B correlation showed Q34 positively correlates with Q2.2 and Q2.4, and negatively with Q2.1. This suggests students who had a more pleasing experience with NNESTs were more likely to prefer classes with NNESTs (Q2.4) or both types of teachers (Q2.2), and were more disinclined to have classes solely with NESTs (Q2.1). The overall mean for Q34 is 3.96, fairly close to 4 which equates to Pleased.

Students' experience as correlative with their preference was previously studied by Moussu (2010), where students' preference was affected by their experience with the teachers they had. The results from my study differ from Kiczkowiak's (2019), where a similar approach was carried out to measure whether students' preference for teachers was affected by previous experience. In Kiczkowiak's (2019) study, students' preference for NESTs was positive regardless of their experience with NESTs.

Results regarding students' experience with NESTs/NNESTs and how this correlates with their opinion are compelling. A question that was not asked is how many years of experience students have had with NESTs and/or how many NESTs teachers they have had. Qualitative data suggests that students with vast experience with both NESTs and NNESTs seem to have more nuanced opinions (e.g.: Interview participants 2 and 5) than students that expressed very positive views of NESTs but stated throughout the interview that it was at school South that they had had their first or second experience with NESTs (e.g.: Interview participants 6 and 3). This begs the question as to what students' opinion would be had they had extensive and similar amounts of

experience with both NESTs and NNESTs. Unfortunately, there are no studies that have investigated this question.

5.4.4.4 Students' overall preference for NESTs/NNESTs vis-à-vis students' proficiency level

Tau Kendall correlation shows that in this study there is no relation between students' level of English proficiency and their preference for NESTs/NNESTs. This contradicts some interview participants who stated that advanced students might better benefit from NESTs, or that for beginner students, native status might not be a relevant factor since they are just starting to learn the language. However, the quantitative data has shown no correlation between students' reported level of proficiency and their preference for a specific type of teacher. This suggests that students had certain preferences for NESTs/NNESTs independent of their own level of English proficiency. The correlation here highlights the difference between what interview participants claimed about NESTs'/NNESTs' suitability to teach lower or more advanced levels vis-à-vis their actual preference and whether their level of English proficiency is correlative. Some scholarship has delved into students' opinion of what types of teachers would be more suitable for lower or higher levels (Chun, 2012; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2002; Liaw, 2012). However, this scholarship did not investigate whether students' level of proficiency was correlative with students' preference for NESTs/NNESTs. This study is the first one in this regard.

5.4.5 RQ1b Discussion Conclusion

To conclude, students expressed an overall, slight preference for NESTs, had a slight preference for having classes with both types of teachers, and had a slight disinclination to have classes with NNESTs. It is noteworthy that when students prefer NESTs, they are disinclined to prefer both types of teachers and/or NNESTs. This is not the case when students prefer NNESTs,

in which case they are also likely to prefer/be open to both types of teachers. Factors that correlate with students' preference for either or both types of teachers are: students' regard for the teacher's mother tongue, the quality of English they perceive they will learn with either type of teacher, and different features they perceive to be NESTs' strengths and NNESTs' weaknesses. Also, teaching skills, language awareness and native status are factors relevant in relation to students' teacher preference. As for students' backgrounds, there is a clear relation between their preferences and their previous experiences with NESTs and NNESTs. However, students' level of English proficiency is not a correlative factor in their teacher preference.

5.4.6 Research Question 1c: What traits does an effective teacher have according to students?

5.3.6.1 The three most important effective teacher qualities are inter-related, but do not influence students' preference for NESTs/NNESTs

Survey respondents scored 8 teaching features with at least eight points out of ten, which means they found at least eight out of 12 teaching features to be important. According to students, the two most important features are Q14-*knows teaching methodology*- and Q10-*can motivate students*- both with 9.18 points out of 10. Quantitative and qualitative data suggest that Q-14, Q10 and Q13-*is flexible*- are interrelated features. It seems that one is usually present if the other/s is/are present as well. Based on interview participants' statement, being flexible or being able to motivate students is, or should be, part of the methodological teaching toolbox. This concurs with the strong correlations found among these teaching characteristics.

Based on the aforementioned results, further questions arise regarding students' opinions. Q14, Q10, and Q13 are the top three teacher characteristics selected by students. When these characteristics were given a score in questions Q21 and Q23 as to whether students associate 21/23.9-*knows teaching methodology*-, 21/23.8-*is flexible*-, and 21/23.10-*can motivate*

students-, NNESTs received a higher score in all three. And yet, students' overall preference sways towards NESTs. However, it is important to mention that none of these three characteristics correlates with students' preference for NESTs/NNESTs, which suggests that at the time of choosing a type of teacher, students do not actually consider any of these characteristics, or might not strongly associate any of these characteristics to NESTs or NNESTs.

5.4.6.2 The significant influence of Q9-An effective teacher is a native speaker-on students' preference for NESTs/NNESTs

Even though Q9-*is a native speaker-* correlates strongly with students' preference, it received the lowest score from survey respondents as to its importance in an effective teacher, which means that, intuitively speaking, even if Q9 is correlative with students' preference, it should not, overall, be a very influential variable in and of itself based on the score it received (score of 4.47). However, I show the following figure to explain the relevant nature of native status with students' preferences for NESTs (Q2.1). Below, I present a scatterplot which helps better visualize the Tau B correlation:

Figure 17

Scatterplot of Correlation Between Q9 and Q2.1

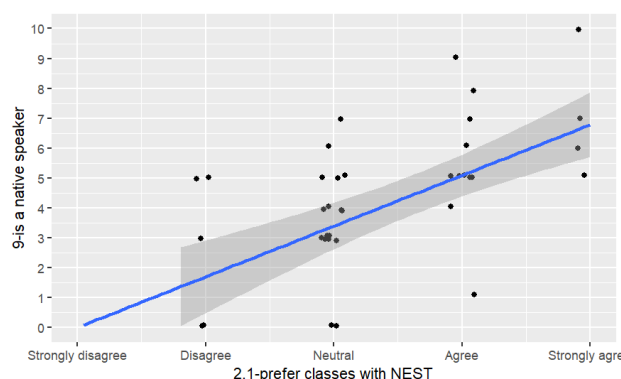


Figure 17 shows that the majority of survey respondents who chose *Neither Agree nor Disagree* for Q2.1 chose a value of three or four for Q9, while survey respondents who chose a value 5 and up out 10 for Q9 tended to respond *Agree* in Q2.1. Taking this into account, we can infer that any respondent choosing 5 for Q9 would also potentially choose *Agree* in Q2.1, which perhaps is counter-intuitive if we consider 5 as a *somewhat important* characteristic. We can hypothesize that Q9 is strongly correlative with students' preference for NEST/NNESTs even at the relatively low value of 5. This means that students might prefer NESTs even if they consider native status is only somewhat important.

5.4.6.3 A teacher's language proficiency and students' association of it with native status

Q15-*has expert command of the English language*- which received 8.11 points, does bear a moderate correlation with students' preference. Expert command also was attributed as a strength in relation to NESTs in Q21 and Q23. Quantitative data, along with qualitative data, suggests there is an association between expert command of a language and native status. This insight concurs with Kiczowskiak (2019) whose participants also seemed to associate language proficiency with native status, even if participants indicated in their survey that native status was among the least important items selected.

When comparing this study to results obtained in Kiczowskiak (2019) where a similar type of measurement was used to study characteristics considered important in an effective English teacher, several differences arise. One example is the most important item in Kiczowskiak (2019) that scored 98 out of 100 points, *knows English well*, which equates to this study's Q18-*has expert command of the English language*, which scored 8.11 out of 10. *Knows teaching methodology* was ranked 5th with 80 out 100 points in Kiczowskiak (2019), while it

scored 9.18, ranking it first in this study. The most important item for participants in Kiczowskiak (2019) revolved around the teacher's language proficiency, while in this study, students' main concerns about an effective teacher revolved around pedagogical skills and the capacity to motivate students. This could potentially indicate one reason behind why students' preference for NESTs in this study is lower than in Kiczowskiak (2019).

5.4.6.4 Students' mixed opinions on whether a teacher fluent in their L1 is advantageous

Q16- *is fluent in their students' native language*- was ranked 11th out of 12 with a score of 5.27.

This result disagrees with much of the scholarship recorded (see Literature review section *Perceived strengths attributed to NNESTs*) where participants considered this trait a strength among NNESTs (Chang, 2016; Gurkan & Yuksel, 2012; Huang, 2018). The overall opinion expressed in this study agrees with studies such as Mahboob and Lipovsky (2010), where students expressed mixed opinions as to whether this is a strength, and with Walkinshaw and Oanh (2014) where a majority of students pointed out that teachers' not being fluent in their students' L1 was actually a strength, as this would encourage students to use the target language. This opinion concurs with some of the qualitative data in this study, where interview participants pointed out that having a NEST that does not speak Spanish poses a better challenge in terms of communicating solely in English. Other interview participants pointed out that Q16 is not significantly important, although it can help when students are not proficient enough to follow the teacher in English 100% of the time. This latter opinion concurs with the quantitative data, where a moderate positive correlation was found between the students' level of English and importance assigned to whether a teacher speaks the students' native language.

5.4.6.5 Differences between intelligibility and native accent according to students

Turning to Q11- *has an intelligible accent*- (ranked 7th with 8.25 points) vs. Q17-*has a native-speaker accent*- (ranked 10th with 5.77), participants expressed that there is a clear difference and level of importance. The qualitative data indicates that students made a clear distinction between an intelligible and a native accent. They indicated that having a native accent does not guarantee an intelligible accent, and interview participants resorted to criticism of NESTs who they perceived did not have a clear accent or who spoke with a specific regional accent (e.g. Texans). Ultimately, they pointed out that a clear accent is important for learning, regardless of the native status of this accent. The qualitative data hinted at a clear accent being particularly important for learners who do not speak or listen at an advanced level. Indeed, the quantitative data concurred with this interpretation, where students with a lower level of English were more likely to give higher importance to an intelligible accent.

5.4.6.6 Students' disregard for teaching qualifications and its connection with teaching methodology

Q18-*has formal English teacher qualifications*-obtained 7.98 points out of 10, ranking it 9th. The qualitative data shows that for many interview participants, this characteristic is helpful, but not essential. Some interview participants expressed that language proficiency or native status can make up for the lack of qualifications. This qualitative data is supported by quantitative data, as Q18 correlates negatively with students' preference for NESTs and positively with students' preference for NNESTs. This suggests that participants who care less about qualifications are more likely to prefer NESTs, while participants who care more about qualifications are less likely to prefer NESTs, and are more likely to prefer NNESTs.

A noteworthy observation is the score discrepancy between Q14-*knows teaching methodology*- and Q18, the former obtaining 9.18 vs. the latter with 7.98. The weak correlation between the two ($\tau=0.19$, $P=0.08$) could suggest that some respondents consider these concepts are (somewhat) interrelated, while others might not necessarily consider that teacher training correlates with good teaching methodology. A good example of this hypothesis is exemplified by interview participants 6's statement where he points out that the NESTs at school South put together "a program and a way of working that is intuitive or natural", or interview participant 7 who stated that a highly proficient individual with experience abroad that knows how to explain things can also be an acceptable teacher without qualifications. These are only two statements among others where interview participants state that teacher training is not essential, and highly proficient individuals are able to either craft a methodology of their own or just compensate for that with sheer proficiency, which begs the question as to what it is that students understand by *teaching methodology* (Q14) and why they consider that this is (not) connected to *teaching qualifications* (Q18).

Some other interview participants criticized the lack of knowledge of teaching methodology on the part of NESTs, based on the activities done in class or language explanations provided, and pointed to NNESTs as having more knowledge of teaching methodology, which is what, in these interview participants' views, should be the most important factor at the time of choosing a teacher to learn English with. Contrary to the example provided in the previous paragraph, these interview participants did not see language proficiency as compensatory for a lack of teaching methodology. This further points to the question of what exactly is understood by *teaching methodology* on the part of students, both for students who

consider it as a trait which requires training, or not, or for whom this methodological knowledge or lack thereof can (not) be compensated for with sheer language proficiency.

5.4.7 RQ1c Discussion Conclusion

Conclusively, respondents chose many characteristics they consider important for effective English teachers, some of which bear a higher or lower correlation with their preference for NESTs/NNESTs. Native status (Q9) has been shown to be a variable highly correlative with students' preference even when this characteristic is only considered somewhat important. The qualitative data provided a window into diverse opinions that helped further explicate the quantitative results. Overall, participants in this study provided diverse and nuanced opinions, some of which deserve to be further explored in an Argentine context where Native-speakerism has been under-investigated.

5.5 Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, I will answer the overarching question RQ1, *What are students' overall perceptions of NESTs/NNESTs and beliefs about effective teaching?*

As for NESTs' and NNESTs' strengths and weaknesses, students did not agree that each type of teacher had a definite weakness. However, they did agree to a great extent on stereotypical strengths attributed to each type of teacher. It is noteworthy that students did not treat the NEST/NNEST construct as "NESTs' strengths are NNESTs' weaknesses" and vice versa, but as two independent constructs with their own characteristics.

Stereotypical perceived strengths for each type of teacher concurred with the available scholarship. However, when assigning specific scores to NESTs' and NNESTs' strengths (Q21 and Q23) the difference in score was not extremely great in comparison with other studies. Also,

some students pointed out that some skills in this survey section are not inherently related to NESTs/NNESTs but depend on the teacher at an individual level.

Overall, students show a slight preference for NESTs and also for having classes with both types of teachers, but a disinclination to have classes with NNESTs. It is interesting that students open to having classes with both types of teacher are usually also open to having classes with NNESTs. However, students who prefer classes with NESTs are less likely to prefer classes with both types of teachers or NNESTs. Their opinion bears a relation to how much importance they give to their teacher's mother tongue and the quality of English they believe they can learn with each type of teacher, as well as the students' previous experience with NESTs and NNESTs. Formal qualifications are another variable that bears a relation with students' preference, potentially connected to teaching skills, and this issue warrants further exploration. Another variable that showed some contradictions is language awareness, and the understanding of how students interpret this aspect, whether it is as general knowledge of the language, or a deeper understanding that includes technical knowledge of the language system.

As for characteristics of effective English teachers, students scored at least eight items out of twelve in the survey with a score of 8 or more out of 10. The two most important points are *knows teaching methodology* and *knows how to motivate students*, which differs from Kiczkowiak (2019), a study where English proficiency was the most important characteristic of an effective English teacher. This is the only study prior to this project that investigates students' perceptions by going beyond either-or questions of the NEST vis-à-vis NNEST nature.

Many of the *effective teacher* features covered do not show relevant relations with students' choice of NEST/NNEST. This could indicate that students do not associate these features to any type of teacher. *Q9-is a native speaker-* is the one variable that, even though it is

not very important, does relate very strongly to students' opinion. Even if this variable is considered *somewhat important*, Tau Kendall showed Q9 correlates strongly with students agreeing that they prefer classes with NESTs.

Students also made it clear that an intelligible accent is more important than a native speaker accent, clarifying that being a NEST does not equate to having an intelligible accent. This is another aspect not studied in the literature on students' perceptions, which most times enquires about NESTs vs. NNESTs accents only.

Finally, students in this study did not consider a teacher's ability to speak their students' mother tongue an essential characteristic. Different students pointed to different levels of importance, from not important at all, to somewhat important, and students pointed out that the level of importance could vary depending on the proficiency level of students learning with the teacher.

This chapter has analyzed students' perceptions of teachers: what characteristics they attribute to NESTs, NNESTs; what type of teacher they prefer and what factors can correlate with that preference; and what characteristics students consider important in effective teachers. The next chapter answers RQ2-*What are the general requirements for teacher applicants based on online job advertisements? Do such requirements encourage Native-speakerism, if at all? How?* and also present a Results followed by a discussion section.

Chapter 6: Research Question 2 Results and Discussion

6.1 Research Question 2: What are the general requirements for teacher applicants based on online job advertisements? Do such requirements encourage Native-speakerism, if at all? How?

I would like to make a clarification as to the length of this chapter. Originally, this chapter was meant to provide a general panorama of the different requirements recruiters demand of English teacher applicants via the job ad analysis. This macro point of view was to be connected to data collected from two school recruiters that would provide a more micro and precise point of view as to recruiters' requirements and beliefs of and preferences for NESTs/NNESTs. As already mentioned, due to logistical limitations that affected the data collection right in the middle of the collection process, this data and any subsequent analysis had to be left out. Consequently, part of this chapter was left out and, hence, its brevity.

6.1.1 Introduction

The investigation to answer RQ2 provides a general overview of the general ELT market in the city of Buenos Aires. To answer RQ2, this study looks to investigate what the general requirements are that are found on online job advertisements for ELT positions, whether any of the requirements included in these job ads encourage Native-speakerism, and if so, how. To carry out the investigation to answer RQ2 (as explained in the Methods chapter, phase B), I used content analysis that focused on the requirements specified in the job ads, following strategies similar to those used by Selvi (2010), Mahboob and Golden (2013) and Mackenzie, (2020). The main three categories under which sub-categories were counted were personality characteristics (sub-categories, e.g. energetic, creative, outgoing), linguistic characteristics (e.g. proficiency level, native speaker), and professional characteristics (e.g. degrees, certificates, years of

experience). The category “other” was added, as a few relevant requirements did not fall under any of the three previously mentioned categories. I surveyed three types of job ad sources: two local job boards, <https://ar.computrabajo.com/> and <https://www.linkedin.com/>, two Facebook groups that post job ads for English teachers, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/eltargentina/> and <https://www.facebook.com/groups/612046062196061/>; and two Instagram accounts that share a collection of job ads from diverse sources, @bolsadetrabajo_docente and @elartedeserdocente. The websites/groups/accounts were monitored for two months, recording new ads daily and checking for duplicates. Valid ads to be considered had to fall within the ESL/EFL teaching field. Also, the positions offered in the ads had to be to teach adult students in Buenos Aires.

Twenty-three unique job ads from the six sources mentioned above were analyzed using Content Analysis (CA). I counted the number of times that different hiring requirements appeared in the ads. However, if a hiring requirement was mentioned more than once in the same job ad, the repeats were not counted, which means that regardless of whether a hiring requirement was mentioned once or five times in a job ad, this would be counted as one instance. Also, I must clarify that instances of “English teacher”, “teacher”, “language professionals” or “professionals” appearing in the ads were excluded from the analysis. My reasoning is as follows: in most ads analyzed to answer RQ2 for this chapter, I found applicants were initially addressed as “English teachers”, “teachers”, “language professionals” or “professionals” before going on to provide an explanation of requirements for those applicants. However, “English teachers”, “teachers”, “language professionals”, and “professionals” are abstract labels that do not provide any concrete meaning in terms of professional characteristic requirements. For example, when addressing English teachers in job ads within the Chinese, Korean or Japanese

ELT market, the interpretation of an English teacher in these contexts usually entails someone with a university degree in any major, and a passport from an “English speaking country” (Alvarez, 2020). This understanding of English teacher can vary depending on the sociopolitical context, as is the case in the city of Buenos Aires’s public school system, where English teachers that are allowed to enter the public school system and hold tenure need to have an EFL teaching degree from a teacher training college, as I explained in chapter 2, section “Entering the ELT system in the City of Buenos Aires.” The polysemy attached to “English teacher”, “teacher”, “language professional” or “professional” renders these words devoid of any concrete, specific meaning. Furthermore, the aim of this chapter is to ascertain what requirements are demanded of EFL teacher applicants, and this is another reason why considering instances of “English teacher”, “teacher”, “language professional” or “professional” in the analysis is redundant. In other words, it is redundant to say that an English teacher applicant is required to be an “English teacher” or “teacher”. However, it does make sense to say, for example, that an English teacher applicant should be a graduate English teacher (=licensed teacher) as it clearly means a graduate from a teacher training college.

6.1.2 Results

Figures 18, 19, 20 and 21 present a summary of the requirements found in the 23 job ads. Each figure presents one of the main requirement categories mentioned above. When I talk about “number of instances” this refers to the number of ads in which a requirement appeared. For example, *responsible/responsibility* (Figure 18) presents five instances, which means this requirement appeared in five job ads.

Figure 18

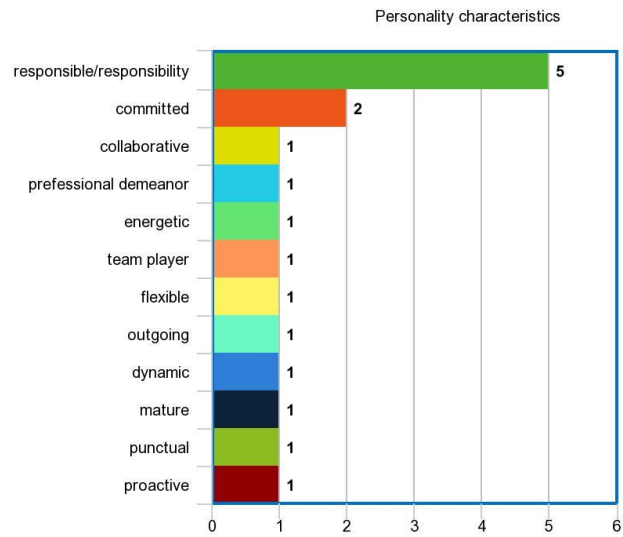
Job Ads Requirements-Personality Characteristics

Figure 19

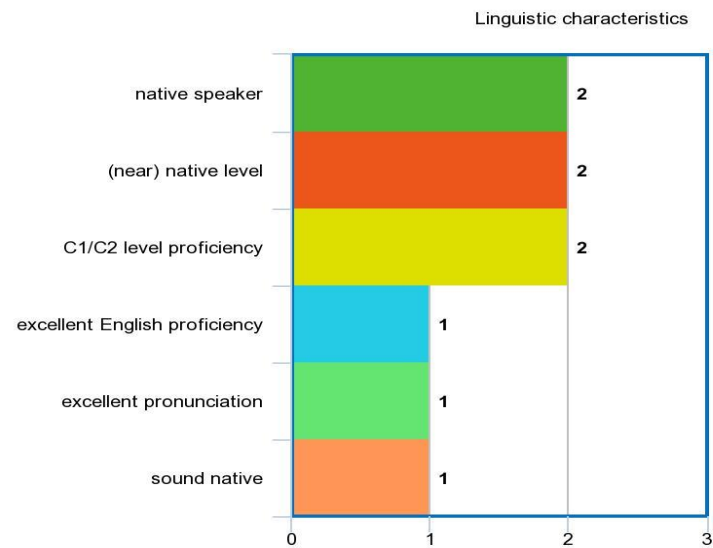
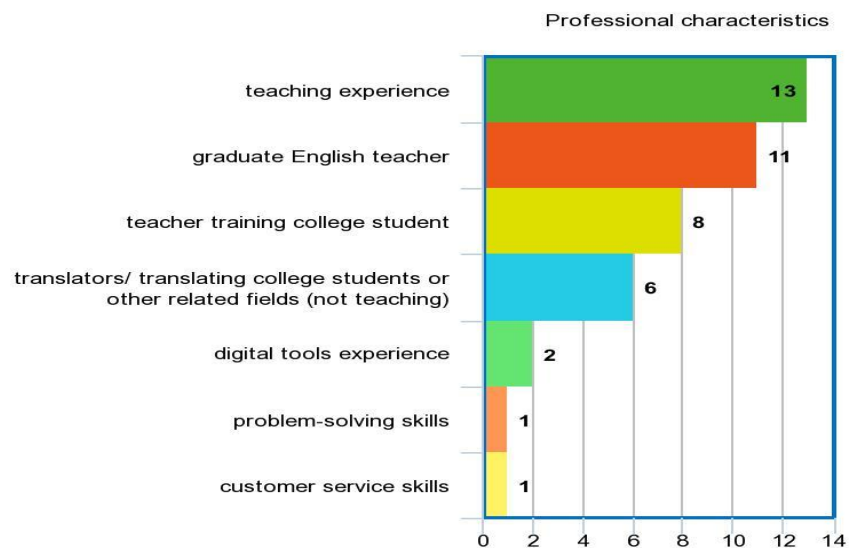
Job Ads Requirements-Linguistic Characteristics

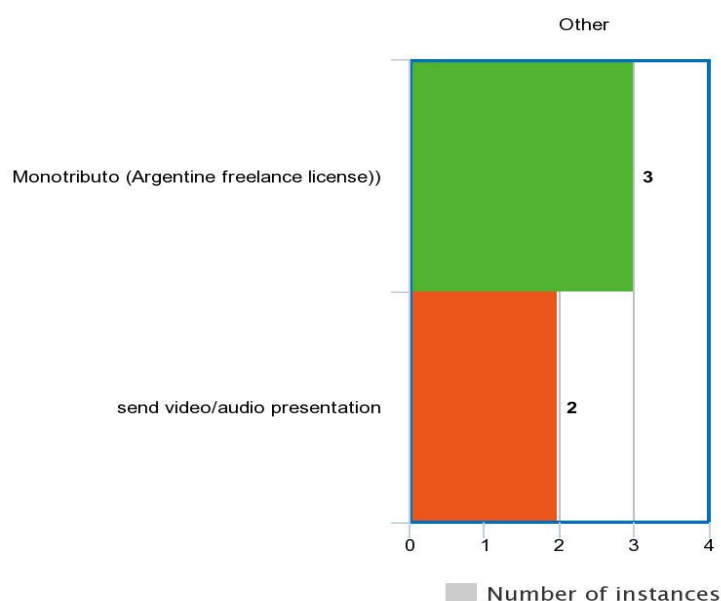
Figure 20

Job Ads Requirements- Professional Characteristics

Teaching experience: three ads mentioned business English or experience in corporate settings

Teacher training college student: this requirement applies to applicant that are not graduate (=licensed) English teachers.

Figure 21

Job Ads Requirements-Other

Overall, the requirement appearing most frequently is *teaching experience* with 13 instances (Figure 20). Second is *graduate English teachers* (in Argentine English, this term refers to a properly licensed teacher, a graduate from a teacher training college) with 11 instances (Figure 20), followed in third place by *teacher training college students* with eight instances (Figure 20), and *translators/translating college students or other related fields* in fourth place with 6 instances (Figure 20). The four requirements appearing most frequently all come from the *professional characteristics* category. The fifth most frequent requirement is *responsible/responsibility*, with 5 instances, categorized within *personality characteristics*.

Also, the *professional characteristics* category has the greatest number of instances among all categories with 42, *personality characteristics* in second place with 18 instances, *linguistic characteristics* in third place with 9 instances, and *other* in last place with 5 instances.

Only seven job ads included linguistic characteristic requirements. Eight job ads included personality characteristic requirements and 19 included professional characteristics. In fact, twelve ads included the professional characteristic requirement only, hence no linguistic/personality characteristics at all. Most interestingly, four ads had no explicit requirements whatsoever. In those ads (*English teachers* or *professionals*) were directed to send their CVs to a specific e-mail address, or to fill in a form.

It is apparent that *Graduate English teachers* (11 instances) and *Teacher training college students* (8 instances) amount to almost half of the instances in professional characteristics. Eight out of eleven ads that included *graduate English teachers* had no linguistic characteristic requirements whatsoever. Seven out of eight ads that included *teacher training college students* did not include any linguistic requirements either.

Finally, as to the seven ads that included linguistic requirements, Table 15 presents a specific description of each linguistic requirement they include:

Table 15

Job Ads With Linguistic Requirements

Ad/ling. requirement	Native speaker	(near)native-level	C1/C2 proficiency level	Excellent Eng. proficiency	Excellent pronunciation	Sound native
1		X				
2	X					
3			X			
4		X	X			X
5				X		
6					X	
7	X					

- a) Ads 2 and 7, which require *native speakers*, also require university degrees. In ad 2, *teaching degree* is specified, but not in 7 where *university degree* is required but no major is specified. Both ads also require teachers to have previous teaching experience.
- b) Both ads 1 and 4, which require *(near) native level*, also require applicants to have at least two years of teaching experience. Ad 1 requires applicants to have a certificate or degree in *language teaching, education, instructional design, writing, language, linguistics, second-language acquisition, or related field*. Ad 4 requires applicants to have at least a community college degree, but it is not specific about which major. Ad 4 also requires applicants to have experience *living in the USA or any other English-speaking country*.
- c) Ad 3, which requires *C1/C2 proficiency level in English*, also requires candidates to have at least one year of experience and a community college degree (no major specified).
- d) Ad 5, which requires *Excellent English proficiency*, also requires the applicant to have a community college degree (no major specified), and no previous experience is needed.
- e) Ad 6, which requires *excellent pronunciation*, also requires applicants to be *graduate teachers or teacher training college students*, and they should have previous teaching experience. Candidates without experience are advised to refrain from applying.

Of the seven ads analyzed above, only one does not require teaching experience. Four out of the seven ads are not specific about the degree major applicants should have. Ad 1 is flexible about applicants having a certificate or a degree in different related fields. Only Ad 1 and 6 are specific about applicants being licensed teachers (Ad 6 also accepts students from teacher training colleges).

This brief chapter has provided a description of the results from job ads analysis, providing specific details in terms of the distribution of instances of different hiring requirements among ads, and relevant characteristics of the ads that had *linguistic characteristics* requirements. The answers proper to question Q3 will be provided in the discussion section below.

6.1.3 Discussion and conclusion

Out of 23 job ads, only four (17%) refer to native speaker status (two ads) or (near)native-level (two) requirements. This native status/(near)native-level count is, by far, the lowest count ever recorded when compared to other studies that analyzed job ads (see Chapter 3: Literature review section *ELT school hiring practices*). This 17% is followed by Mackenzie's (2021) recording of 23.1% (21 out of 91 ads) of job ads with native speaker-related requirements in Colombia, followed by 33% (180 out of 532 ads) in Selvi (2010) (ads from multiple continents), 79% (61 out of 77 ads) in Mahboob and Golden (2013) in the Middle East and East Asia, and 81% (48 out of 59 ads) in Rucker and Ives (2015) on multiple East Asian and global websites. Even though these four ads show flexibility regarding the formal qualification requirements (only one requiring a teaching degree, one a certificate or degree in TESOL or related fields, and two of them requiring university degrees without specifying field), it is worth noting that all these four ads require teaching experience besides (near) native status. This shows a different trend from previous analyses where native status was the sole or most important requirement (see Chapter 3: Literature review, section *ELT school hiring practices*) and teaching experience was widely disregarded.

This analysis also shows the second highest percentage of total ads, 56%, that explicitly state that teaching experience is a requirement to apply for the job, second to Mahboob and

Golden's (2010) section of ads in the Middle East with 89% requiring previous teaching experience. In Selvi (2010), 48.3% of ads did not require teaching experience, or stated explicitly that experience was not required; in Ruecker and Ives (2015), only 14% required previous teaching experience; in Mackenzie (2021), 34.7% ads indicated that experience is required while 61.1% do not specify whether experience is needed.

One finding unlike those of any other studies conducted so far lies in the *graduate English teacher* and *teacher training college students* instances (in many ads these two requirements were written next to each other). This study shows the highest percentage of ads (47%, 11 ads) where being a *graduate English teacher* is a requirement. It is important to also clarify what is usually understood in Argentina by *graduate English teacher*: usually, this means someone who has graduated from a teacher training college whose course takes at least four years of study. These courses usually focus on different aspects of the English language and the pedagogy required to teach the language (see chapter 2 for a more extensive description). This requirement makes it clear that teaching certificates such as the well-known 120-hour CELTA are not comparable to the education received at local teacher training colleges.

Furthermore, unlike the findings of any other extant study, eight ads (34.7%) allow *teacher training college students* to apply if they are not yet *graduate English teachers*. This is a requirement that has not been recorded before in any study. The fact that this is a requirement that comes in place for applicants when these are not yet *graduate English teachers* (i.e., licensed teachers who have finished their degree) speaks to the confidence and respect professionals in the ELT market have towards local teacher training colleges in the city of Buenos Aires.

Overall, to answer RQ2, most ads do not resort to Native-speakerism (83%). According to these ads, applicants are required to have teaching experience, to be qualified teachers, and

sometimes to be teacher training college students in the case that they are not yet licensed teachers. Ads resorting to Native-speakerism, by requiring applicants with (near) native status, are a minority (four ads=17%). It is worth mentioning that these Native-speakerist ads require better-prepared teachers in comparison to Native-speakerist ads found in previous studies, where native-speaker applicants were not required to have any teaching experience.

The answer to RQ2 in this chapter has provided an overall overview of the predominant requirements in job ads from different language schools in the city of Buenos Aires's ELT market. The results presented in this chapter will now be used to answer RQ3, which entails triangulating requirements shown in job ads (RQ2) with students' (RQ1) perceptions of NESTs/NNESTs and their beliefs of effective teacher characteristics.

Chapter 7: Research Question 3 Results and Discussion

Research Question 3: Can any parallels be drawn between job ads hiring requirements and students' perceptions of NESTs/NNESTs, their beliefs about effective teaching and hiring practices as shown in job ads? How do these align with teaching effectiveness literature?

7.1 Introduction

As the last research question indicates, all the results reported in Chapter 5 (RQ1) and Chapter 6 (RQ2) were compared to ascertain similarities and/or contrasts between students' beliefs about effective teaching and job ads hiring requirements. It is necessary to point out that comparison is not possible for all variables from Phase A1 and A2, as I was not able to collect the same type of data for both questions. Originally, RQ3 was going to include additional data collected from recruiters following the same data collection structure as with students, in which case a more comprehensive cross-comparison would have been possible. However, the data collected will still be presented in the manner originally intended. Since the data presented will be analyzed in light of effective teaching scholarship to ascertain to what extent students' beliefs (and job ads requirements where available) align with the literature, presenting the data in the manner described in Table 16 provides the reader with the data to refer back to for clear understanding of the analysis.

Table 16

Convergent Phase Explicative Table

Phase A1 QUAN data from survey	(data displayed here)
Phase A2 QUAL data from interviews (and open-ended questions)	(data displayed here)
Phase B QUAN data from job ad analysis	(data displayed here)

To present my data, I follow the three steps of Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie's (2003) model described in Creswell and Plano Clark (2018):

1. Data reduction—reducing data collected through statistical analysis of quantitative data or writing summaries of qualitative data
2. Data display—reducing the quantitative data to, for example, tables and the qualitative data to, for example, charts and rubrics
6. Data comparison—comparing data from different sources

As regards data reduction, quantitative data does not need any reduction, but qualitative data will be presented in relevant snippets from interview participants. These snippets comprise verbatim statements from interview participants which encapsulate the gist of the most relevant qualitative data needed for comparison. In terms of data display, results are shown in joint display for data comparison. However, instead of following Creswell and Plano Clark's (2018) recommendation of a side-to-side display, I will follow a vertical up-and-down display due to display limitations.

Most importantly, due to the difference in nature of the data collected in phases A and B, there are many instances where there is simply no data to be compared. In many cases, where I present data from phase A, there might not be data available from phase B to compare. In those cases I analyze only the data from phase A in light of the teaching effectiveness literature.

The chapter will be divided into sections following different effective teacher constructs analyzed throughout Chapter 5 RQ1c (Figure 16). All the data presented in the *data* section will include a page or figure/table number at the end that indicates where in this thesis the reader can refer to locate the data.

7.2 Results and discussion

7.2.1 An effective teacher knows teaching methodology(Q14).

First, I present below a table with all the pertinent data from all sources to be analyzed:

Table 17

An Effective Teacher Knows Teaching Methodology (Q14)

Data source	Data
Phase A1 (RQ1)- students' survey- <u>Quan</u> data	9.18/10 points. (=very important) (Chapter 5, Figure 16)
Phase A2 (RQ1)- students' interview- <u>Qual</u> data	(interview participant 5-10 points): "So, usually, a native speaker, whose English is natural to them, might know a lot, but if they don't have a teaching methodology, then, that knowledge ends up going to waste" (p.155)
Phase B (RQ2) Job ads Quan data	(Data unavailable)

Students consider knowing teaching methodology a very important trait in an effective teacher.

Interview participant 5's statement specifically states that a lack of teaching methodology can render a teacher ineffective, even if this person has expert command of the target language. The quantitative and qualitative data presented agree with teacher effectiveness scholarship (Lamb & Wedell, 2013; Muijs & Reynolds, 2001; Pachler, 2007) in that an effective teacher needs to know teaching methodology.

7.2.2 An effective teacher can motivate students(Q10).

Table 18

An Effective Teacher Can Motivate Students(Q10)

Data source	Data
Phase A1 (RQ1)- students' survey- <u>Quan</u> data	9.18/10 points (=very important) (Chapter 5, Figure 16); strong correlation with <i>An effective teacher is flexible</i> (Q13) ($\tau=0.47$, $P=0$); strong correlation with <i>An effective teacher is creative</i> (Q8) ($\tau=0.47$, $P=0$)
Phase A2 (RQ1)- students' interview- <u>Qual</u> data	<p>(interview participant 9-10 points): "I think this depends on the students, specifically (...) I believe the pedagogical training of a teacher should be tied to this thing about helping someone want to or be interested in knowing more or at least not to detest it because you're presenting a topic. (p. 152-153)</p> <p>(interview participant 5-10 points): "With Silvina [teacher] we have a good relationship. We can sort of detect when the other is demotivated or tired. We both know how to handle the class and we have reached a point at which we try activities to sort of break the mold" (p. 153)</p> <p>(interview participant 10- 9 points): "Motivation is a word that is related to a certain adaptability on the part of the teacher around the student's objective (...) if the class turns out to be boring, or if expectations are not met, or maybe you can't understand them because they have no aptitude for teaching. So, that will be demotivating." (p.153-154)</p>
Phase B (RQ2) Job ads Quan data	(Data unavailable)

Students agree on the level of importance given to motivation. The importance given by them agrees with the literature, as Dörnyei (2007, 2014) states that motivation is one of the key factors in foreign language success. Furthermore, students express, via qualitative data, a close

connection between motivation (Q10) and flexibility (Q13). This data concurs with students' correlation data between motivation (Q10) and flexibility (Q13). The literature establishes a close connection between motivation and flexibility on the part of an effective teacher. For example, Dörnyei (2014) states that creating materials relevant to students' needs is one factor that contributes to helping to motivate students. Differentiating learning materials to cater to students' needs clearly calls for adaptability on the part of the teacher. Indeed, Dörnyei and Csizér (1998) have stated, in one of their ten commandments for motivating language learners, that teachers need to "Personalize the learning process", which clearly calls for flexibility on the part of the teacher.

Interview participants 9 and 10 point out a relevant connection between being able to motivate students and a teacher's pedagogical capacity/aptitude for teaching (*-knows teaching methodology-Q14*). This connection is supported by quantitative data, as Kendal Tau correlation shows a strong positive correlation between Q10 and Q14. Teaching effectiveness scholarship has also established a close connection between these two aspects of teaching, as many scholars have stated that the capacity to motivate students is (or should be) part of any effective teacher's methodological toolkit (Dörnyei, 2014; Dörnyei & Csizér, 1998; Omar, Azim, Nawi & Zaini, 2020; Ushioda, 1998).

Finally, interview participant 5 indirectly points to the connection between motivation (Q10) and creativity (Q8) when he mentions how he does activities that *break the mold* in his class. This connection agrees with student quantitative data, since there is a strong positive correlation between motivation (Q10) and creativity (Q8). Teacher effectiveness literature also points to the influence of creativity over student motivation (Dörnyei, 2001; Maley & Kiss,

2018). The creativity construct will be further explored later when I cover *An effective teacher is creative* (Q8).

7.2.3 An effective teacher is flexible (i.e., adjusting to students' needs/levels) (Q13).

Table 19

An Effective Teacher is Flexible (Q13)

Data source	Data
Phase A1 (RQ1)- students' survey- <u>Quan</u> data	8.99/10 points (Chapter 5, Figure 16)
Phase A2 (RQ1)- students' interview- <u>Qual</u> data	<p>(interview participant 6-10 points): "Flexibility is important on all levels to have a more pleasant learning experience. If you stick to hard and fast rules to keep a sort of standardized way to do things, you may lose people who cannot adjust to that standard and give up on learning the language. I also think it's good when the teacher asks the students about the activities the students do and which of these activities relate to English". (p. 155-156)</p> <p>(interview participant 11- 10 points): "If a teacher cannot adapt to their students' needs, they are not good teachers because it's the student the one who is learning, the one who doesn't know, the one who doesn't have the tools. So, it's not the student who should adapt to the teacher, who is the one that has all the tools and the capacity to help the student understand" (p. 156)</p>
Phase B (RQ2) Job ads Quan data	Mentioned in one out of 23 ads.

Students consider flexibility (Q13) an important characteristic of an effective teacher. Teacher effectiveness literature highlights the importance of flexibility on the part of the teacher as to catering to students' needs and goals, learning styles, content-relevant activities, students' linguaculture and proficiency level (Brown & Lee, 2015; Ellis, 2012; Mullock, 2003; Hinkel,

2014; Richards & Lockhart, 1994). Interview participant 6 pointed out the importance of teachers asking students about what activities the students do for which English would be necessary, which connects to understanding students' needs and goals.

Interview participant 11 makes an important point in that the teacher is responsible for being flexible with respect to their students' needs, and not the other way about. Although some might consider flexibility in one's teaching style a matter of personal choice or personality, teacher effectiveness scholarship shows a clear connection between a teacher's (lack of) training and (lack of) experience and their capacity to adapt to different teaching contexts. Numerous research studies have analyzed novice teachers' difficulty in adapting to certain teaching contexts. For example, many authors have criticized the CELTA 120-hour certification course for their Western-centric approach to teaching (Anderson, 2020; Stanley 2013; Sulaimani & Elyas, 2015) with a focus on a learner-centered, communicative approach that disregards non-Western contexts with a stronger teacher-centered and less communicative approach. Scholars who have scrutinized CELTA coursework have also stated that trainees do not develop a critical approach to EFL, since most of the course load is oriented to learning pre-packaged teaching techniques, without any Second Language Acquisition or language-pedagogical foundations (Barnawi, 2016; Gulcan & Dollar, 2016; O'Connor, 2011). Consequently, teachers lack the flexibility to adapt to contexts where students are not motivated adults within a culture that is receptive to CLT.

Finally, flexibility was mentioned in one ad out of 23. This does not mean this is a criterion completely disregarded by employers, but it might be considered less relevant at the time of hiring before interviewing applicants. As was shown in chapter 6, other characteristics are more often mentioned in job ads. Furthermore, the job ad asking for "flexibility" in the

applicants did not specify the specific nature of this “flexibility,” whether it be teaching-related or in terms of being able to adapt to the schedule required by the school (as sometimes the class schedule can be rather inconvenient).

7.2.4 An effective teacher has high language awareness (Q12).

Table 20

An Effective Teacher Has High Language Awareness (Q12)

Data source	Data
Phase A1 (RQ1)- students' survey- <u>Quan</u> data	8.71/10 points (Chapter 5, Figure 16)
Phase A2 (RQ1)- students' interview- <u>Qual</u> data	<p>(Interview participant 3-7 points): “And I think grammar is important, I don’t dismiss grammar. I think it’s important to have a good grammar foundation. But then you have others who say ‘forget about grammar. That’s not the way. You should use conversation and learn in a different way because the brain works in a different way. But I don’t know, I think it depends a lot on the person. We are all different and absorb knowledge in a different way. So, for me grammar is useful and I like to learn it, though it is less fun, as I prefer conversation more and find this type of class more engaging.” (p. 156-157)</p> <p>(Interview participant 9-7 points): “I think it is important, quite a bit. I don’t think it [language awareness] merits a 10. I think, what I look for in a teacher is a combination of many things, not just this technical aspect.” (p. 157)</p>
Phase B (RQ2) Job ads <u>Quan</u> data	(Data unavailable)

The quantitative data indicates that the participants consider language awareness as an important characteristic. However, two interview participants considered language awareness to be less important. Interview participants somewhat question the importance of language awareness on the part of the teacher. Interview participant 9 justifies their score choice as looking for an all-

around teacher with well-balanced skills, rather than knowledge of technical aspects only, with a lack of other skills.

Interview participant 3 justifies his score choice based on his belief that grammar might be important for some students, but not for other students. He gives himself as an example of someone who prefers to learn English via conversation. Based on interview participant 3's statement, if a teacher were to give conversation classes without an explicit focus on grammar (as he and other students might find it less fun should the teacher give this class with a more explicit grammar focus), then it would not be as important for this teacher to have a strong grasp of grammar awareness (Q12). This is an erroneous perception because an effective teacher needs to have a strong grasp of language awareness regardless of whether grammar is explicitly or implicitly taught in class (Brown & Lee, 2015; Keck & Kim, 2014). Even if a class were to revolve around the speaking skill and did not tackle specific grammar points, an effective teacher needs to make the necessary consideration regarding vocabulary and/or grammar that might be relevant factors, even if implicit, in any given class (Ellis, 2012; Keck & Kim, 2014).

7.2.5 An effective teacher has good rapport with students (Q7).

Table 21

An Effective Teacher Has Good Rapport with Students (Q7)

Data source	Data
Phase A1 (RQ1)- students' survey- <u>Quan</u> data	8.48/10 points (Chapter 5, Figure 16)
Phase A2 (RQ1)- students' interview- <u>Qual</u> data	<p>(Interview participant 1-10 points): "At any age, if you go to a class that's one and half or two hours a couple of times a week, if you don't enjoy it, and you don't feel you have a teacher that tries to prepare an interesting class, you won't care how important English is to you, you'll just end up dropping out. 2,4 or 5 hours is just too much during the week to have a bad time in class. That relationship [of rapport] that can be created is more important than having a teacher with excellent pronunciation. I prefer a 10 in this relationship [of rapport] with a teacher that pronounces at a score of 6/7 or that may have some pedagogical shortcomings, rather than having an 'excellent teacher' whose class makes me want to shoot myself in the head." (p. 157-158)</p> <p>(Interview participant 9- 5 points): "I just don't feel it is a factor that has to be present. I believe that with a formal and cordial relationship and good vibes without getting too deep or personal, I think that's sufficient. However, to have a more relaxed class, for a group or individual class, sometimes there are people who are very shy to speak in another language in front of others. So, a comfortable environment helps, rather than a very rigid and cold environment. This doesn't mean that if a teacher is not great at creating interpersonal relationships, then he/she is a bad teacher. This goes hand in hand with general pedagogy, but this doesn't mean that if the interpersonal relationship is great, then your knowledge of the language is going to be great. I do not think there is a connection there." (p. 158)</p>
Phase B (RQ2) Job ads <u>Quan</u> data	(Data unavailable)

The quantitative data showed that students considered rapport an important effective teaching characteristic. Even though the two interview participants had differing opinions on the importance of rapport, interview participant 9 still recognizes that a minimum foundation of rapport is needed for successful learning. The importance given to rapport is reflected in the literature as well. For example, Batten et al. (1993) and Brown and McIntyre (1989) stated that good rapport and mutual trust between students and their teachers are one of three major factors in a successful class. Dörnyei and Csizér (1998) include two rapport-related commandments as well: *Create a pleasant, relaxed atmosphere in the classroom* (2nd commandment) and *Develop a good relationship with the learners* (4th commandment). Harmer (2015) goes as far as to state that “[i]n classes with good rapport, anything is possible because the students think their teacher is a good teacher” (p. 114). Although the literature suggests that rapport is an essential component of an effective class, this does not mean it is not the only component required. Equating good rapport to a successful class would be tantamount to Stanley’s (2013) description of *fun classes* in China (as I described in the *An effective teacher can motivate students* (Q10) section, p. 227-229). A class with excellent rapport can allow for great learning (Harmer, 2015) but it is not enough on its own without other effective teaching characteristics, as interview participant 9 also states.

7.2.6 An effective English teacher is creative (Q8).

Table 22

An Effective English Teacher is Creative (Q8)

Data source	Data
Phase A1 (RQ1)- students' survey- <u>Quan</u> data	8.34/10 points (Chapter 5, Figure 16), moderate positive correlation with Q13- <i>an effective teacher is flexible</i> - ($\tau=0.26$, $P=0.02$); strong correlation with <i>An effective teacher can motivate students (Q10)</i> ($\tau=0.47$, $P=0$)
Phase A2 (RQ1)- students' interview- <u>Qual</u> data	(Interview participant 5- 10 points): "Well, creativity does not mean being a clown in class. Creativity, I think, is really tied to whoever you have in front of you. So, you know there are categories in perceptive terms: the person who is more auditory, or more visual. Those are the two I always remember. If you detect that the person in front of you has this specific characteristic and you know how to exploit this by giving them classes and materials targeting those aspects, you can amplify the learning. In my case, I'm very visual, so vocabulary best sticks with me through anything I can see, rather than what I hear." (p. 159)
Phase B (RQ2) Job ads Quan data	(Data unavailable)

Quantitative data (8.34 points) shows that students consider creativity important for effective teaching. Qualitative data also shows that interview participant 5 expresses that creativity relates to flexibility, in that an effective teacher should apply creativity to best adapt to a student's learning style. This qualitative data also agrees with students' quantitative data that shows a moderate positive correlation with Q13-*an effective teacher is flexible*- ($\tau=0.26$, $P=0.02$).

The point of view expressed by interview participant 5 above agrees with teacher effectiveness literature in that “[f]lexibility is another feature we often observe in the lessons of creative teachers.” (Richards & Cotterall, 2016, p. 104). Not only the flexibility dimension, but also creativity, is a multi-dimensional concept that interacts with various aspects of teaching effectiveness, such as material preparation/adaptation, lesson planning, approach/method application, use of teaching strategies and techniques, and reflective teaching about professional development, among many other aspects of effective teaching (Alkhaldi, 2021; Arifani et al., 2019; Jones & Richards, 2016; Maley & Kiss, 2018; Richards & Cotterall, 2016; Tin, 2022).

The importance of creativity is further reaffirmed by several studies that have confirmed the correlation between creativity and teacher effectiveness in terms of student achievement (Fishman et al., 2003; Lovett, Meyer & Thille 2008; Vescio, Ross & Adams, 2008; Vogt & Rogalla, 2009). Previously, in *An effective teacher can motivate students* (Q10), I mentioned the indirect connection a student made between motivation and creativity, which is also supported by the strong correlation found in the quantitative analysis. In this sense, it is important to clarify what creativity is *not*, in effective teaching. As interviewee participant 5 would put it, “creativity does not mean being a clown in class”. Creativity is a multi-dimensional concept that goes beyond having students laugh in class. Creativity interacts with several aspects of teacher effectiveness that go beyond the use of humor or other tools used to have a *fun class*. As Richards and Cotterall state, “Real creativity is not merely decorative—it brings about valuable and concrete outcomes that are linked to the pedagogical knowledge and plans of teachers and the goals of learners” (2016, p. 5). In other words, the term *creativity* in language teaching effectiveness goes far beyond any superficial meaning of creativity, such as when associating creativity to *fun classes*. The problem with *fun classes*, as interpreted by Stanley, is that *fun*

classes, although engaging for students, did not bring about any valuable and concrete language learning outcome.

7.2.7 An effective teacher... has an intelligible accent (Q11) vs. has a native-speaker accent (Q17).

Table 23

Intelligible Accent (Q11) vs. a Native-Speaker Accent (Q17)

Data source	<i>An effective teacher has an intelligible accent (Q11)</i>	<i>An effective teacher has a native-speaker accent (Q17)</i>
Phase A1 (RQ1)- students' survey- <u>Quan</u> data	8.25/10 points (Chapter 5, Figure 16); moderate positive correlation between Q11 and Q31- <i>students' level of English</i> ($\tau=-0.29$, $P=0.01$)	5.77/10 points (Chapter 5, Figure 16)
Phase A2 (RQ1)- students' interview- <u>Qual</u> data	<p>(Interview participant 4-10 points): "How can I expand my vocabulary if I don't understand the teacher when they talk because they have a really <i>cerrada</i> [unclear] pronunciation which makes it difficult for me to connect what I hear with the written words. We are talking about a person who is learning, right? If I knew already the language, or had an advanced level, then when I hear that <i>cerrado</i> [unclear] language or those abbreviations, then that's good to train your ear. But to learn that, then, if you say a word and I don't understand what you're saying..." (p. 160)</p> <p>(Interview participant 9- 9 points): "I believe that saying you have a native accent is not equal to saying you have an intelligible accent, especially when you are teaching students who are learning this language. In particular, it happened to me in South Africa, and</p>	<p>(Interview participant 3- 6 points): "The accent is important because you appreciate how it [the accent] puts you in a more real situation." (p. 165)</p> <p>(Interview participant 8- 0 points): "This does not define a good teacher. Besides, teachers usually use a more neutral accent. Any person, who might not be a good teacher, could have a native accent." (p. 165)</p> <p>(Interview participant 9- 5 points): "You can make a mistake because you can, if you choose someone before having heard them, you are choosing them based on a pre-conception and a visual/auditory imagery of how the other is going to sound. Sometimes, that matches reality, and sometimes it doesn't. This is based on a bias that 'if they told me he's a Londoner, then he's gonna sound like this'. Then, you go, he speaks super <i>cerrado</i> [unclear] and, yes, he has this Londoner accent but you don't understand</p>

	<p>I've been to Texas, Australia and, when talking to native speakers, sometimes it's hard. And when I went to South Africa, which sort of signified the pinnacle of my English learning journey, I felt desperate at the beginning cause I couldn't understand anything, and this was two months prior to taking the First [Certificate Cambridge exam]. It really depends on where you go, like, there are specific accents that (...) I believe it [the language] should be taught through the most neutral way possible." (p. 160-161)</p> <p>(Interview participant 11- 10 points): "I consider that a good teacher needs to have an intelligible accent for beginner students or even now for me. Like if you talk to me in a more <i>cerrado</i> [unclear] way, perhaps I'd say 'hey, wait a second, I'm not following here'. That's why a good teacher needs to offer an intelligible accent." (p. 161)</p> <p>(Interview participant 5- 6 points): "I think it's more about articulating your words. The other day we listened to an NBC or BBC podcast, and the newscaster would not really open her mouth. She really seemed to have a jaw-related problem, like those who have surgery and can't open their mouths. And perhaps, someone who articulates a bit more, regardless of their accent, is clearer." (p. 161)</p>	<p>anything. So you say 'he has the accent I like, but I don't understand anything' so that's not a good trade-off." (p. 165)</p> <p>(Interview participant 11- 0 points): "To me, a native accent is not a factor as to whether they are a good teacher or not (...) You are Argentine, right? So, you're not gonna have a [English] native accent because your native accent is Spanish. But you can be an excellent teacher without having a native accent. That will not make you less of good teacher. And if I had to rate you, I'm not gonna give you a 9 instead of 10 because you don't have a native accent. This is not important to me at all." (p. 165-166)</p> <p>(Interview participant 7- 5 points): "If you have it, it's great, but I don't think it's essential to be a good teacher (...) I find it pretty discriminatory to go up to a teacher and say 'you don't have a native accent, I don't want you here'." (p. 166)</p> <p>(Interview participant 5- 0 points): "The first thing that came to mind was Texan people. Texans are really <i>cerrado</i> [unintelligible] speakers and I have had a Texan teacher. He tried his best but...they [Texans] are difficult to understand. So, having a native accent does not ensure he'll be a good teacher. Perhaps, a native accent can add slightly in terms of small regional dialects. A silly example: those who say 'twenty' vs 'twenny', or these jokes about the British accent being so formal vs the American accent that's more informal. But, really, I don't think I'm gonna learn much more with a native accent." (p. 166)</p>
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Phase B (RQ2)-job ads document analysis	<i>Excellent pronunciation</i> -1 ad (1 out of 23 ads) (Chapter 6, Fig. 19)	<i>Sound native/(near)native-like</i> - 1 ad <i>Excellent pronunciation</i> - 1 ad <i>Native speaker</i> (accent assumed)- 2 ads <i>Near-native level</i> -1 ad (5 out of 23 ads) (Chapter 6, Fig. 19)
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As regards *An effective teacher has an intelligible accent* (Q11), students agree it is an important characteristic (8.25/10 points). Qualitative data shows that students clearly separate intelligibility (Q11) from native accent (Q17) by stating that native speakers can also have an unintelligible accent (interview participants 5 and 9). Intelligibility was potentially referenced in one job ad (out of 23) where *Excellent pronunciation* was mentioned.

It is interesting to note that interview participants 5 and 9 seem to be indirectly pointing to the difference between intelligibility and accent uncovered in Munro and Derwing's seminal (1995) article. In their article, the authors conclude that "a strong foreign accent does not necessarily reduce the comprehensibility or intelligibility of L2 speech." (p. 74). In other words, a non-native accent in itself does not lead to less intelligibility. This issue has also been tackled in the English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) paradigm (Jenkins, 1998) to which I will be referring later in this section.

As regards *An effective teacher has a native-speaker accent* (Q17), students consider it somewhat important (5.77/10 points). Qualitative data provided by students shows that five interview participants consider that a native accent does not make an effective teacher, with the exception of interview participant 3 who considers a native accent important as it "puts you in a more real situation."

When looking at the data from Phase B, only four ads (out of 23) required native (like) pronunciation with *Excellent pronunciation* (as mentioned before) calling for either intelligibility or native-like pronunciation, as this requirement is worded in a fairly vague fashion. Whether it be 4 or 5 ads (out of 23), this reflects 17.4% to 21.7% of ads that require native (like) pronunciation. Conclusively, native-like or intelligible pronunciation do not seem to be relevant hiring factors mentioned in job ads.

As for intelligibility vs. native-like pronunciation within a framework of effective teaching, this is a complex issue. First, different students have different pronunciation goals. Walker (2010) breaks down these goals into three: 1) sounding like a native speaker; 2) sounding intelligible and comprehensible with an audience that consists of mostly native speakers; 3) international intelligibility, which entails a majority of non-native speakers in the audience. These three different goals require a differentiated approach on the part of the teacher. If all students at school North and South intended to attain goal 1 (or even goal 2), this goal would, to a certain degree, justify interview participant 3 's statement of considering a native accent important. Interview participant 3 might envision a "real situation" as one in which he interacts mainly with native speakers.

On the other hand, five interview participants consider a teacher's native accent a non-factor as to their teacher's effectiveness. Furthermore, interview participant 11 emphasizes that a native-like accent is simply not attainable for many non-native speakers, echoing much of second language acquisition theory as well as ELF theory (Harmer, 2015; Jenkins, 1998). Two potential explanations can justify this opinion. The first one is that these students might interact mostly with non-native speakers of English, making Walker's (2010) goal number 3 -international intelligibility- very relevant here. However, data regarding the nationalities (or native status) of the people participants interact with on a regular basis is unavailable. The second explanation lies in that these students, as interview participant 5 and 9 pointed out, do not equate a native accent to an intelligible accent. If this is the case, then, achieving an intelligible accent is independent of the *native* factor and, hence, having a native accent is not important in an effective teacher according to these students.

It is a fact that, nowadays, most speakers of English are non-native speakers (Harmer, 2015; Jenkins, 1998), which adds to the likelihood that many students will be interacting with non-native speakers. The prevalent bias by some in favor of native speaker accent variants (Jenkins, 2007) is rooted in colonialism (Jenkins, 2015; Phillipson, 1991) and globalization (Orelus, 2017). It is also likely that concerns over accent dialects stem from fear of facing accentism. Accentism is defined as “discrimination based on an individual’s use of an accent and pronunciation” (Dovchin, 2021). Even though research in the past decade has suggested that overt instances of accentism are less frequent (Roessel, Schoel & Stahlberg, 2019), accentism is still a prevalent phenomenon (Lev-Ari & Keysar, 2010; McKenzie & McNeill, 2023; Timming, 2016). Conclusively, even though notions of native-like pronunciation arise from theoretically unfounded biases, some students might adhere to these due to accentist-related concerns as well as colonialist and globalization-related influences.

7.2.8 An effective teacher has expert command of the English language (Q15).

Table 24

An Effective Teacher Has Expert Command of the English Language (Q15)

Data source	Data
Phase A1 (RQ1)- students' survey- <u>Quan</u> data	8.11/10 points (Chapter 5, Figure 16)
Phase A2 (RQ1)- students' interview- <u>Qual</u> data	<p>(Interview participant 4- 8 points): "You can have expert command in the language but if you don't have the methodology, you can still be good, but not that good. In contrast, you can know quite a bit about the language, not have expert command, not be a native speaker, but if you have a good methodology you can actually teach better than someone with expert command or a native speaker. Having expert command is not an exclusionary condition to be a good teacher." (p. 162)</p> <p>(Interview participant 6- 10 points): "When I refer to expert command, I think it's related not only to having the technical or theoretical language, but also being able to communicate effectively in any context, and that can enrich the classroom. For example, talking about tv series, news stories. I remember we talked about gun ownership, <i>The Office</i>, etc. Since they are natives, they are immersed in the culture and speak perfect English, that broadens the possibility of topics available for discussion." (p. 162)</p>
Phase B (RQ2)-job ads document analysis Qual data	<p><i>C1/C2 proficiency level</i>- 2 ads (in one of these two ads, <i>(near)native-level</i> is also written)</p> <p><i>Excellent English proficiency</i>- 1 ad</p> <p><i>Excellent pronunciation</i>- 1 ad</p> <p>(Chapter 6, Fig. 19)</p>

The quantitative data showed that students considered this aspect important for effective teaching (8.11/10 points). However, interview participant 4 expressed that having expert command alone is not enough, as he believes a teacher with a lesser expert command but with

greater methodological knowledge can be better. This provides a potential justification as to why the overall average of Q14-*An effective teacher knows teaching methodology*— with 9.18/10 points—is higher than Q15- *An effective teacher has expert command of the English language*— with 8.11/10 points.

Interview participant 6, giving a score of 10/10, almost 2 points over Q15's average, seems to be equating expert command to native status, especially when he says “Since they are natives, they are immersed in the culture and speak perfect English”. Equating proficiency to native-status also takes place in one of the 23 job ads analyzed where *(near)native level* and *C1/C2 proficiency level* were requirements included together, alongside, in the job advertisement, potentially suggesting that C1/C2 proficiency equates (near) native level according to the recruiting school. Associating expert command of English with native speaker status is a frequent topic recorded in the literature. Studies show that students usually consider native speakers to be language authorities (Gurkan & Yuksel, 2012; Huang, 2018; Ma, 2012; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005). In contexts where students consider *expert command* to be the most important effective teacher characteristic (which is not this study's case), rather than pedagogical skills, students have been shown to have a strong preference for NESTs over NNESTs (Kiczowski, 2018).

The teacher effectiveness literature points that expert command in the target language is part of the necessary teaching toolkit (Lamb & Wedell, 2013; Muijs & Reynolds, 2001; Pachler, 2007; Richards, Conway, Roskvist, & Harvey, 2013). Indeed, Peter Medgyes, one of the first scholars to start studying NEST/NNEST issues, emphasizes that NNESTs should continuously work on their language proficiency as part of their professional development (Medgyes, 2017). This seems to be reasonable advice, since the quality of input students receive can affect their

future output (Keck & Kim, 2014; Marinova-Todd, 2003; Nel & Swanepoel, 2010). However, Tsang (2017) argues that once a certain linguistic threshold is met, other factors such as rapport and effective pedagogy play a more important role for effective teaching. This last point partly echoes interview participant 4's opinion, where he points out the importance of methodological knowledge on the part of the teacher. Expert command in the language is just one among other characteristics that is necessary to be an effective teacher.

Finally, regarding job ads (Phase B), only four ads out of 23 referenced language proficiency requirements. Here I exclude three ads that required native speakers (two ads) and one ad that required (near)native level. These three ads did not make reference to language proficiency levels.

7.2.9 An effective teacher has formal English teacher qualifications (Q18).

Table 25

An Effective Teacher Has Formal English Teacher Qualifications (Q18)

Data source	Data
Phase A1 (RQ1)-students' survey- <u>Quan</u> data	7.98/10 points (Chapter 5, Figure 16)
Phase A1 (RQ1)-students' interview- <u>Qual</u> data	<p>(Interview participant 8- 7 points): “Well, I don’t care so much about it [teacher qualifications], I mean, I like it if they do have them, I prefer that. But if they don’t have teaching qualifications, it doesn’t mean I won’t take their class. When they have qualifications, they do have more [teaching] tools, but it’s not like someone who doesn’t have teaching qualifications and wants to teach won’t give a good class.” (p. 163)</p> <p>(Interview participant 12- 5 points): “While it’s not the most important, it does help quite a bit pedagogically speaking. You know how to plan a class, and you know how to teach the topics.” (p. 163)</p> <p>(Interview participant 7- 7 points): “Most do, but the people who have lived for a long time abroad and they have a really high level of English, but they haven’t done any teacher training or translator training, but they live, for example, 15 years abroad, and, well, this person knows (...). This aspect [teacher training] can be important for me but if I know someone who lived for a long time abroad and I have a class and they were able to explain everything perfect, then, it’s all good, I can attend this class.” (p. 163-164)</p> <p>(Interview participant 6- 6 points): “With my current experience here [at School South] with Cat and Sarah [native speakers], I know they haven’t got any pedagogical training. They put together a program and a way of working that is intuitive, or natural, for them to work with. They don’t have an academically-related pedagogical training from university in this case, but I don’t think this it is an essential requirement. If it [pedagogical training] is there, it’s probably useful. But the contrary [no pedagogical training] I don’t think it would keep you from learning.” (p. 164)</p>
Phase B (RQ2)-job ads document analysis	<p><i>Graduate English teacher</i> (11 out of 23 job ads)</p> <p><i>Teacher training college student</i> (8 out of we job ads)</p>

	<p><i>Translators/translating college students or other related fields</i> (not teaching) (6 out of 23 job ads)</p> <p>(Chapter 6, Fig. 20)</p> <p>[Eight out of eleven ads that included <i>graduate English teachers</i> had no linguistic characteristic requirements whatsoever. Seven out of eight ads that included <i>teacher training college students</i> did not include any linguistic requirements either.]</p>
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According to the qualitative data, students expressed that formal qualifications are not essential to be able to teach. In their opinion, formal qualifications are not a “deal-breaker” at the time of deciding whether to take a class with or to hire a teacher. However, the explanations following their reasoning differ considerably. For students, someone who is proficient in the language, or a NEST, and can give good explanations, is potentially a sufficiently good teacher. Overall, for students, formal qualifications are a plus, but not necessarily a big one.

Phase B shows that formal teaching qualifications at the teacher training college level were a requirement in 47.8% of the ads (11 out of 23). In some cases, these ads also added that they admitted applications from teacher training college students (34.7%= 8 out of 23 job ads). From the 11 ads asking for formal teaching qualifications, three ads also admitted teaching certificates (e.g.: CELTA), translators or applicants with related degrees in the field. This means that in eight (34.7%) ads out of 23, being a qualified teacher at the teacher training college level was an exclusionary requirement. In contrast, 65.3% (= 15 out of 23 ads) showed flexibility with regard to formal teaching qualifications at the teacher training college level. Among the six ads that included the requirements *translators/translator college students or other related fields (not teaching)*, *translator/translator college students* was explicitly mentioned in one ad.

On the students' side (Phase A) *An effective teacher knows teaching methodology* (Q14) was scored 9.18/10 while *An effective teacher has formal English teacher qualifications* (Q18) was scored 7.98. It is interesting to see that knowing teaching methodology is seen as more important than formal qualifications. However, if teachers are not formally qualified, this begs the question as to how they acquired their knowledge of teaching methodology. Was it self-taught? Learning on the job? The statements given by students suggest that unqualified individuals can somehow become successful non-expert teachers with sufficient knowledge to teach.

Formal qualifications, many times, provide concrete proof of the training teachers go through to become qualified, which in the city of Buenos Aires entails approximately 3000 hours of a combination of classes covering SLA, language pedagogy, and language awareness foundations, apart from a professional practicum (explained in detail on pages 35-38). Even though there are no studies on the effectiveness of the teacher training programs delivered at the three prestigious institutions in Buenos Aires, the high regard expressed by countless professionals (Banfi & Day, 2009) in ELT towards these institutions does at least give credence to the high quality of these colleges' training.

Appropriate preservice teacher education is one significant element that helps teachers achieve teaching effectiveness. Quality teacher education usually provides trainees with the SLA, language pedagogy and language awareness foundations that enable them to make pedagogically informed decisions (Brown & Lee, 2015; Richards & Rodgers, 2014; Stanley & Murray, 2013). Along with an extensive practicum (or *professional practice* as mentioned in chapter 2, section *Why are English teachers from teacher training colleges in the city of Buenos Aires so highly regarded?*), these prestigious teacher training colleges set up novice teachers

with sufficient tools to embark on their teacher expertise journey. Hence, if formal qualifications are not exclusionary requirements as done in 65.3% (= 15 out of 23 ads) of job ads, institutions may be likely to hire potentially less effective teachers.

Making formal qualifications a non-exclusionary requirement could potentially be a result of smaller language schools not expecting to receive applications from (prestigious) teacher training college graduates, since the demand for English teachers, in general, might surpass the offer of graduates from these three teacher training institutions. Furthermore, in the case of graduates from prestigious teacher training colleges, they usually attain jobs in the public school sector or at expensive private bilingual schools. Hence, smaller language schools might be compelled to make teacher qualification requirements non-exclusionary in order to receive applications, even if these applicants are potentially underqualified.

7.2.10 An effective English teacher is fluent in their students' native language (Q16).

Table 26

An Effective English Teacher is Fluent in Their Students' Native Language (Q16)

Data source	Data
Phase A1 (RQ1)- students' survey- <u>Quan</u> data	5.27/10 points (Chapter 5, Figure 16); moderate negative correlation between Q16 and Q31- <i>students' proficiency level</i>
Phase A2 (RQ1)- students' interview- <u>Qual</u> data	<p>(Interview participant 3- 3 points): "So, this depends a lot on the student's level. For example, it is important for my kid that the teacher understand if my kid asks them a question in Spanish. But, for example, from an Intermediate level, I think it's good for you to have no option other than to communicate solely in English. You need to find the way, make the effort, and try to listen, understand and express yourself in English." (p. 167)</p> <p>(Interview participant 4- 6 points): "I didn't want to choose any end of the spectrum because I think it's important the teacher know their students' mother tongue, but it's not an essential requirement. You can have a native teacher, and perhaps they know how to teach really well and they know little to no Spanish. But, when the student's proficiency level is lower, perhaps it's going to be more difficult for the teacher to teach that student, rather than when the student has a higher level of proficiency." (p. 167)</p> <p>(Interview participant 13- 5 points): "For example, in this case, the guy I'm learning from now doesn't know much Spanish. So, when it comes to clarifying certain words, it's a bit hard for him with English only. I don't think it is really necessary, so as long as he understands the basics, that would be enough." (p. 167)</p>
Phase B (RQ2)-job ads document analysis	Data unavailable

. The students' score of 5.27/10 indicates they consider this characteristic somewhat important.

Two interview participants (participant 3 and 4) point out that the proficiency level of the student is a relevant factor to consider at the time of deeming knowledge of the student's L1 necessary or

not. This qualitative data agrees with the moderate positive correlation between Q16 and Q31—*students' proficiency level*. The correlation shows that the lower the level of the student who answered the survey, the moderately higher possibility that they would assign a higher score to Q16.

A teacher who is fluent in the students' L1, especially in EFL settings where students are more likely to share the same L1 (or be functionally proficient in the majority language), such as Argentina, provides substantial benefits. First, knowing the students' L1 can help a teacher better understand their students' needs and be more empathetic toward their learning (Swan, 2015), which includes anticipating and/or understanding instances of crosslinguistic differences to better serve their students (Brown & Lee, 2015). In EFL settings, a principled use of the L1 at lower levels can help teachers clarify grammar points, clarify instructions, and establish a better rapport with students (Brown & Lee, 2015; Ellis, 2012; Harmer, 2015), among others.

7.2.11 An effective English teacher is a native speaker (Q9).

Table 27

An Effective English Teacher is a Native Speaker (Q9)

Data source	Data
Phase A1 (RQ1)-students' survey- <u>Quan</u> data	4.47/10 points (Chapter 5, Figure 16)
Phase A2 (RQ1)-students' interview- <u>Qual</u> data	<p>(Interview participant 9- 0 points): "In my experience, all the teachers I've had, who all were non-native, were really good. And, a person being a native-speaker of a language doesn't mean they'll be a good teacher of that language. I'm a native speaker of Spanish, and I don't know if I could teach Spanish to someone because you have all this implicit knowledge that you don't know how to conceptualize, where to start from, etc." (p. 168)</p> <p>(Interview participant 13- 5 points): "I think, it could be that a native speaker is a good teacher, but not necessarily. If you don't have the right tools to provide your students with the information they need in such a way so they can understand and learn the language in the right way, then regardless of whether you're a native speaker or not, you won't be successful." (p. 169)</p> <p>(Interview participant 11- 0 points): "So, for example, Alexis, who I have classes with on Monday, and then the teacher that helped me to like English. Ale, lives in Capital Federal, and the other teacher 20 blocks from here. For me both of them were excellent teachers, and none of them were native speakers, so that's why I don't think it's a relevant characteristic." (p. 169)</p> <p>(Interview participant 12- 2 points): "It could make it easier for you to be a teacher if you are a native speaker (...) It is not an essential requirement to be a good teacher, but it helps." (p. 169)</p> <p>(Interview participant 7- 0 points): "It is not necessary to be a native speaker to be a teacher because if you are a teacher it's because you know about your field and you're qualified to do this." (p. 169)</p>
Phase B (RQ2)-job ads document analysis	<p><i>Native speaker or (near) native-level</i> in 4 ads out of 23 (17.4%)</p> <p>(Chapter 6, Fig. 19)</p>

Q9 received the lowest score of 4.47/10. According to qualitative data, all students agree that being a native speaker is not a necessary characteristic to be an effective teacher. Interview participants 7, 9 and 13 state that effective teachers handle a body of knowledge/tools that is necessary for them to be effective in class. They emphasize that effectiveness stems from other characteristics independent of native speaker status.

Phase B indicates that Native *speaker* or (*near*) *native-level* is a requirement in 4 out of 23 job ads (=17.4%) which makes it an uncommon practice in the Buenos Aires ELT market.

As has been shown in the Literature review chapter, above, associating native speaker status with more effective teaching is a fallacy rooted in theoretically unfounded beliefs, many of them originating or influenced by Chomskyan linguistic views on the supposedly homogenous monolingual speaker (Ortega, 2019). Other relevant factors favoring the fallacy include British colonialism (Phillipson, 1992) and ELT methodologies (some of which lacked proper theoretical foundations) such as The Direct Method, which further propelled Native-speakerism, with long-lasting effects in the contemporary communicative approach (May, 2014; Cook, 2001; Cummins, 2007).

The hiring of underqualified NESTs can lead to less successful outcomes in teaching. I have discussed comparative research in the literature review chapter, above (*Studies on teacher effectiveness/performance: always perceiving the NEST as superior, even if the reality of the classroom indicates otherwise*, pp. 76-80). In that section, I reviewed investigations that have carried out comparative research to ascertain how effective NEST/NNEST teachers were in different ESL/EFL settings. For example, Fuangkarn and Rimkeeratikul (2020) in Thailand, Adıgüzel and Özüdoğru (2017) in Turkey, Li and Zhang (2016) in China, and Shin and Kellog (2007) in Korea have shown that NNESTs' students had better learning outcomes than their

NEST counterparts. In Shin and Kellog (2007), and Adıgüzel and Özüdoğru (2017), the authors suggest that the teachers' expertise (or lack thereof) can be a potential factor in the results obtained. To conclude, I would like to quote a phrase by Phillipson (1992) that has been extensively quoted as well by Marek Kiczowski (2018) who is an emerging, yet seasoned scholar and NNEST advocate: "Teachers are made rather than born" (p. 72).

7.3 Summary and answer to RQ3

This chapter has compared students' beliefs (phase A) about NESTs/NNESTs and major aspects found in the job ad analysis from phase B where possible. Notably, aspects from phase A and B compared were *An effective teacher is flexible; An effective teacher has an intelligible accent vs has a native-speaker accent; An effective teacher has expert command of the English language; An effective teacher has formal English teacher qualifications; An effective English teacher is a native speaker*. Also, all aspects of teaching effectiveness, regardless of whether they underwent data comparison between Phase A and Phase B, were analyzed in light of the teacher effectiveness literature.

Among relevant effective teaching factors, students' opinion on the importance or not of native(-like) pronunciation or native(-like) status partially aligned with findings from the job ad analysis, since these are not common teacher applicant requirements (below 20%) in the Buenos Aires ELT market according to job advertisements. Furthermore, qualitative data indicated that students did not consider teaching qualifications to be very important, which begs the question as to how students can ensure they are taught by pedagogically proficient individuals if these do not have the required qualifications.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis is the first study of its kind that has tackled the issue of Native-speakerism in the context of Buenos Aires, Argentina. This study investigated students' perspectives on NESTs/NNESTs and their beliefs about effective teaching practice at two language schools. Also, perceptions of NESTs/NNESTs and effective teaching were investigated via job advertisement analysis to understand the general reality of ELT hiring practices in the city of Buenos Aires. In this conclusion, I recapitulate the major findings of this thesis, their practical implications, and the study's limitations. I also provide suggestions for future research.

8.2 Major findings

The opinions and preferences conveyed by students in this study avoid, in general, extreme positions such as those conveyed by students in previous scholarship (e.g., Alseweed, 2012; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Liu, 2018; Phothongsunan, 2017). Even though students did consider that NESTs have certain strengths over NNESTs, such as better pronunciation, richer vocabulary, and greater oral language fluency (perceived as inherent to the native status), students did not equate these perceived NEST strengths to NNEST weaknesses, as has happened in much of the extant scholarship (Alviaderi, 2018; Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Chun, 2014; Gurkan & Yuksel, 2012; Huang, 2018). On the contrary, students expressed significant appreciation and respect for NNESTs in general, including in the aforementioned domains of pronunciation, vocabulary, and general oral language fluency. This respect and appreciation did not, in my opinion, stem from feelings of charitable compassion, but from a clear belief that NNESTs can truly be effective in all aspects of teaching, echoing Ling and Braine's (2007) and Chang's (2016) participants' opinion that NNESTs can teach just as effectively as NESTs.

This respect and admiration for NNESTs among participants are reflected in their overall perceptions. Students showed a noticeable openness to receiving education from any type of teacher, an openness previously recorded in Atamturk, Atamturk and Dimililer (2018), Benke and Medgyes (2005), Brown (2013), and He and Miller (2011) but, most significantly, one of the lowest preferences for NESTs among much of the available literature (refer to Chapter 3).

Reasons that can explain students' respect for NNESTs, and their more nuanced opinions far from any extreme, are many-fold. First, as shown in this study, students' previous experience with NESTs/NNESTs was influential on their opinions/preferences. Overall, students expressed a satisfactory experience with NNESTs. Students' satisfactory experience with NNESTs, who are likely the teachers with whom they have had most of their EFL instruction, could be potentially explained by the high quality of education NNESTs have received in teacher training colleges in Buenos Aires.

A second reason that could explain students' respect for NNESTs is students' beliefs about teaching effectiveness. The quintessential NEST characteristics such as accent and *native* status per se were only considered moderately important and ranked among the least important effective teaching characteristics by students. Characteristics of effective teaching considered most important by students do not bear a correlation to students' preference for either type of teacher. This could hint at the fact that a great number of participants cared mostly about a teacher's skills. As one participant put it: "I don't really prefer anything. If he's English, then, he's English. If he's Argentine, then, he's Argentine. If he's Spanish, then, he's Spanish (...) I think the important factor is the ability and knowledge to share this knowledge by the teacher rather than any native language." Hence, if a NNEST, or any teacher from any L1 background, receives good ESL teacher education, such as the education provided in Buenos Aires teacher

training colleges, it follows that students would be satisfied by the teacher's instruction. This interpretation is also present in one of the only studies I know where students expressed the importance of "teaching per se" (Melo-Pfeifer, 2019, p.338), i.e., pedagogical capacity, as the heart of the matter.

Participants in previous research have suggested that NESTs are chosen due to the impossibility of finding NNESTs that can teach successfully using a communicative language approach, as a consequence of their lack of language proficiency (Keany, 2016; Liu, 2018; Wang & Lin). This does not seem to be the case in the context of this study, at least for most participants. This can be attributed to Buenos Aires's trained teachers' high language proficiency in English. As teachers trained in the most English-proficient country in Latin America, with a B2 level, surpassing some European Union countries, (EF Education First, 2022) it would not be unreasonable to expect Argentinian teachers to have at least a B2 level if not a higher proficiency (C1, or C2 = language mastery) than that of the country's average. Thus, this contextual factor further contributes to the participants not associating NNESTs to deficient English speakers.

The analysis of job ads in this thesis provided a macro-perspective on certain aspects of recruiters' hiring practices. Most job ads surveyed, 83% (19 out of 24), did not take a Native-speakerist stance in requiring native(like) status. Thus, these results suggest that these discriminatory practices are characteristic of a minority of schools. In fact, this study has recorded the lowest count of discriminatory job ads within extant Native-speakerism job ad analysis scholarship (previous scholarship: Mackenzie, 2021; Mahboob & Golden, 2010; Ruecker & Ives, 2015; Selvi, 2010). Furthermore, this study recorded the highest count in ads requiring licensed ESL teachers and the second highest count for teaching experience as a requirement in extant studies. Clearly, the results indicate that many schools consider teaching

qualifications and experience as qualities significantly more important than native (like) status. Also, this is the first study to record ads encouraging teacher-training college students to apply for teaching positions. This fact points to two potential reasons: first, the respect many local recruiters may have for Buenos Aires's teacher training colleges, as some recruiters are teacher training college graduates themselves; second, a demand that cannot be sufficiently met by hiring licensed teachers only. Finally, even in the four job ads that resort to Native-speakerism, these schools' ads indicate that they require better-prepared teachers in comparison to some of the Native-speakerist ads found in previous studies (e.g., Ruecker & Ives, 2015), where a great number of native-speaker applicants were not required to have any teaching experience whatsoever.

The city of Buenos Aires presents a different EFL context in contrast to other EFL contexts, which are rife with Native-speakerism. The current educational eco-system in Buenos Aires, Argentina, offers a system that, according to different measurements (EF Education First, 2022; IELTS, 2022; ETS, 2022) positions the country's proficiency as the highest in Latin America, even surpassing some European Union countries, as mentioned above. One potential factor for the high English proficiency level of the country can be attributed to the highly-skilled English teachers trained at the different teacher training colleges in the region. The city of Buenos Aires is a concrete example, as analyzed and described in Chapter 2.

As also discussed in Chapter 2, the public and private education sectors in Buenos Aires, in general, showcase built-in safeguards that prioritize teaching qualifications and experience and protect the ESL teacher workforce against Native-speakerist hiring practices. The medium-smaller size language school context which was originally presented as the *grey area* (as

described in Chapter 2), with a potential breeding ground for Native-speakerism, does not seem to present major concerns at the present moment within the context of this study.

I would dare to suggest that Buenos Aires modestly positions itself as a context where skilled Non-Native-English-Speaking teachers are highly respected by their students and, for the most part, enjoy fairness in the ELT market, a market that does not, in general, resort to Native-speakerist practices. Buenos Aires offers a relevant example of how even an EFL context within a developing nation can develop a language-educational ecosystem that does not show major signs of Native-speakerism. The Buenos Aires context can help remind the ELT audience that “teachers are made rather than born” (Kiczkowiak, 2018, p. 72).

With the prevalence of Native-speakerism in different contexts around the world, and the lack of research on it in Latin America, this research project has filled a substantial gap in expanding the body of literature on Native-speakerism in Latin America, as the first study carried out in the context of Argentina. Results of the research suggest that the context of research in Buenos Aires, the capital city of Argentina, presents specific characteristics in its educational eco-system, i.e., highly respected ELT training colleges, proficient and properly trained teachers, that can further discourage Native-speakerism in the local context. Thus, this study has provided a substantial foothold for further understanding of Native-speakerism and future research within the Argentine and, potentially, the Latin American context.

8.3 Limitations

The student participant sample of this thesis was relatively small and, thus, the findings cannot be generalized. Furthermore, I had intended to include recruiters’ perspectives in the same way as that of students. However, logistical limitations impeded data collection from recruiters. Even though job ads analysis can provide a limited window into potential opinions espoused by

recruiters, collecting data directly from recruiters via questionnaire surveys and/or interview would provide a more comprehensive panorama of recruiters' perspectives. Specifically, collecting data directly from recruiters in this study could have helped to elucidate whether recruiters share similar opinions as students or espouse differing points of view, and to what extent these views materialize in teacher applicant job ads requirements.

One variable in this study, Q12—*an effective teacher has high language awareness i.e. knowledge of how the language works*—seemed to be associated with general knowledge of the language rather than technical knowledge. This calls for further exploration to look into the whether a broader participant sample would also interpret Q12 as general knowledge of the language, rather than as technical knowledge of the language.

8.4 Suggestions for further research

As there was no research on Native-speakerism in Buenos Aires and the rest of Argentina prior to this investigation, there is broad ground that needs to be covered in this regard. First, replication studies can be carried out for any of the research questions, be it students' beliefs/preference or job advertisement analysis in Buenos Aires or in other Argentine provinces. Moreover, as the recruiter point of view was not included in this project, research into language school recruiters' attitudes towards NESTs/NNESTs and their beliefs of effective teaching practices should be pursued.

Furthermore, since studying ethnic/racial-related issues within Native-speakerism was beyond the scope of this project, research within the context of Buenos Aires and/or Argentina delving into racial/ethnic issues and how these operate within a Native-speakerism theoretical framework is also worth pursuing, since research on these issues is non-existent in Latin

America. Overall, this small-scale study could function as a springboard for potential further exploration on Native-speakerism in Buenos Aires and Argentina.

In a broader context, this type of research can be replicated in the rest of Latin America, since research on Native-Speakerism is scant. Since my research suggests, in part, that Native-speakerism is less likely to affect contexts that are sufficiently equipped with local English language teaching facilities and human resources (i.e. proficient and properly trained local English teachers, well-developed ELT education colleges), it would be interesting to replicate this research in different contexts to gauge the prevalence of Native-speakerism vis-à-vis the context's availability of locally developed ELT resources (i.e. ELT training facilities, teachers and their overall ELT local ecosystems). Since Gonzalez and Llurda (2016) have suggested that Latin America, in general, is "fertile ground for native-speakerism" (p.90) it is worth exploring in which specific contexts and in relation to what other variables it is that Native-speakerism can proliferate.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A1: student survey

Part 1

For the questions in Part 1, choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements. Remember there is no wrong or right answer so please be as honest as possible. Your opinion is very important.

-**NES** stands for Native English Speaker

-**NNES** stands for Non-Native English Speaker Teacher

Q2	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	N/A
1-I prefer to have classes with NES teachers.						
2-I prefer to have classes with both NES and NNES teachers.						
3- My teacher's mother tongue is important.						
4- I prefer to have classes with NNES teachers.						

Q3	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	N/A
1- You will learn good English both from a NES and a NNES teacher.						
2- You will learn bad English from a NNES teacher.						
3- A NES teacher will teach you better English than a NNES teacher.						

4- You will learn good English from a NNES teacher.						
Q4	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	N/A
1-If money was no object, I would take more classes with NES teachers.						
2-I take classes with NNES teachers because I can't afford to pay for classes with NES teachers.						
3- My financial situation keeps me from having classes with NES teachers.						
4-If my financial situation was better, I would take more classes with NES teachers.						

Q5	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	N/A
1- There are people who sometimes assume teachers of Anglo-Saxon ethnicity are NES teachers.						
2- There are people who sometimes assume teachers of African ethnicity are NES teachers.						
3- There are people who think a teacher might be a NES or NNES teacher based upon their ethnicity.						
4- There are NES teachers whose nativeness goes unnoticed as their ethnic background is similar to that of the general population in Buenos Aires.						

Q6	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	N/A
1- NES teachers have inherent strengths such as vocabulary and cultural knowledge, fluency, perfect pronunciation.						
2- NNEST teachers usually lack vocabulary and cultural knowledge, fluency and perfect pronunciation.						
3- NNEST teachers have inherent strengths such as grammar teaching, capacity to use their students' native language if necessary.						
4- NES teachers usually lack grammar knowledge and capacity to use their students' native language if necessary.						

Part 2

In this part of the questionnaire, you will answer questions about what makes an effective English teacher. Look at the list below and decide how important these attributes are to be an effective English teacher. You can do so by moving the slider into the appropriate position. If you keep the slider at '0', your answer will count as 'Not important at all', '10' is 'very important', and 5 'moderately important'. Remember there is no wrong or right answer so please be as honest as possible. Your opinion is very important.

If you think you don't have an opinion on the question asked, just leave the question blank.

Q7- An effective English teacher has good rapport with students.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not important at all									Very important	

Q8- An effective English teacher is creative.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

Not important at all		Very important
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Q9-An effective English teacher is a native speaker.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not important at all									Very important	

Q10-An effective English teacher can motivate students.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not important at all									Very important	

Q11-An effective English teacher has an intelligible accent.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not important at all									Very important	

Q12-An effective English teacher has high language awareness i.e.: knowledge of how the language works.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not important at all									Very important	

Q13-An effective English teacher is flexible (i.e. adjusting to students' needs/levels).

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not important at all									Very important	

Q14-An effective English teacher knows teaching methodology.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not important at all									Very important	

Q15-An effective English teacher has expert command of the English language

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not important at all									Very important	

Q16-An effective English teacher is fluent in their students' native language.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not important at all									Very important	

Q17-An effective English teacher has a native-speaker accent.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not important at all									Very important	

Q18-An effective English teacher has formal English teacher qualifications.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not important at all									Very important	

Q19-Other (if you think there is any other characteristic worth adding).

Q20-Other (if you added any extra characteristic, please, indicate how important it is below).

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not important at all									Very important	

Part 3

Read the following statements about teachers' characteristics. In your opinion, are these characteristics predominant to Native English Speaker Teachers (NEST)? Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements.

Q21-A Native English Speaker Teacher...	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	N/A
1-Is good at pronunciation teaching						
2-Is good at grammar teaching						
3-Is good at vocabulary teaching						
4-Can usually speak their students' native language						
5- Has expert command of the English language						
6- Has good rapport with students						
7- Is creative						

8- Is flexible (i.e adjusting to needs/level of students)						
9- Knows teaching methodology						
10- Can motivate students						
11- Is good at teaching conversation classes						
12- in general, has formal English teacher qualifications						

Q22-Do you think there is any other characteristic which is predominant in Native English Speaker Teachers? Please, indicate below.

Part 4

Q23-A Non Native English Speaker Teacher...	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	N/A
1-Is good at pronunciation teaching						
2-Is good at grammar teaching						
3-Is good at vocabulary teaching						
4-Can usually speak their students' native language						
5- Has expert command of the English language						
6- Has good rapport with students						
7- Is creative						
8- Is flexible (i.e adjusting to needs/level of students)						
9- Knows teaching methodology						
10- Can motivate students						
11- Is good at teaching conversation classes						
12- in general, has formal English teacher qualifications						

Q24-Do you think there is any other characteristic that is predominant in Non-Native English Speaker Teachers? Please, indicate below.

Part 5

Q25- Gender

Male
Female
Non-binary

Q26-Age

18-22
23-26
27-32
33-40
41-49
50-59
60-69
70 or older

Q27-Which term describes you best:

Native speaker of Spanish
Native speaker of English
Native speaker of another language
Bilingual

Q28-If you are a native speaker of another language or bilingual, specify which language/s here

Q29-What is your education level?

High school diploma
Associate's degree (2-3 years of education)
Bachelor's degree
Masters Degree
Doctorate

Q30-How long have you been studying English?

Less than a year
1-3 years

4-6 years
7-9 years
More than 10 years

Q31-What is your current level of English? The levels listed below follow the Common European Framework. You can read more about them [here](#).

Beginner (A1)
Elementary (A2)
Pre-Intermediate (A2)
Intermediate (B1)
Upper-Intermediate (B2)
Advanced (C1)
Proficiency/Mastery (C2)

Q32-Have you had classes with a native English speaker before?

Yes
No

Q33-How would you describe your experience so far with native English speaker teachers?

Very pleased
Pleased
Neither pleased nor displeased
Displeased
Very displeased

Q34-Below, please briefly explain your answer to the previous question.

Q35-Have you had classes with a non-native English speaker before?

Yes
No

Q36-How would you describe your experience so far with non-native English speaker teachers?

Very pleased
Pleased

Neither pleased nor displeased
Displeased
Very displeased

Q37-Below, please briefly explain your answer to the previous question.

Q38-If you saw two English teachers teaching a class and one of them was a native speaker, would you be able to tell who the native English speaker is? If so, how would you be able to tell who the native speaker is? Please, explain.

Q39-What is your primary motivation for studying English?

To improve my job prospects
To emigrate to an English-speaking country
To do my degree in English
To be able to communicate better when traveling
To talk to and to understand native speakers
To communicate with my business partners
Other

Q40-If you chose "other" in the previous question, please clarify here:

Q41-In here please write any comments you have, if any, about any of the topics, questions or answers in this survey:

Q42-As a follow-up to this questionnaire, you can choose to take part in a 1-1 interview where you will get a chance to discuss in more detail some of the topics from this questionnaire with the researcher. The interview will be arranged at a time and place convenient to you, and will take approximately 20-30 minutes. Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary, and all the collected data will be confidential. Volunteers will be offered a 20 Canadian dollar voucher for their time. If you are interested in participating in an interview and would like more information, please click 'Yes'. You will be sent a consent form with more detailed information. If you are not interested in participating in an interview, please click 'No'.

Yes
No

Q43-Please leave your contact details below: First name, e-mail address, phone number (optional)

Q44-If you would like to accept a 5 CAD voucher for completing this survey, please leave a phone number associated to a *MercadoPago* account:

Appendix A2: Students interview schedule -(Themes/questions)

Theme 1: background information-questions/prompts

- Please, tell me a bit about your job and/or studies.
- What is your main motivation for learning English?
- What languages do you speak, and at what level?

Theme 2: NEST vs NNEST- potential questions/prompts

- Do you have any preference for NESTs/NNESTs when taking classes? Explain the reasoning behind your preference.
- Do you believe NESTs and NNESTs differ in the way they teach? If so, how? And why?
- Do you think NESTs and NNESTs have inherent strengths and weaknesses as English teachers? What are they?
- Has your financial situation ever kept you from taking classes with a NES teacher? If so, how?
- Do you think language schools should have more NES teachers? If so, why?
- How much do you think NESTs appeal as English teachers to students, if at all?
- Do you think it is possible to tell NES and NNEST teachers apart when looking at them? How so?
- What was your reasoning for strongly agreeing/agreeing/neither agreeing nor disagreeing/disagreeing/strongly disagreeing with QX?

Theme 3: Skills for effective teaching-potential questions/prompts

- (Show participant their answers from Part 2 in the survey and ask) Anything you would like to add about this section?

- In your opinion, why/how important is L1/English proficiency over other characteristics?
- What was your reasoning behind the score you gave in QX?

Appendix B: Recruiting letter to the head of the school or English department coordinator

To whom it may concern,

I am Hector Sebastian Alvarez and I am doing a PhD program at McGill University's Department of Integrated Studies in Education. My PhD project is supervised by Dr. Caroline Riches and Dr. Mela Sarkar, both Associate professors at McGill University. I am writing to you to ask for permission and your assistance to distribute surveys to English language students, English teachers and personnel in charge of English teacher recruiting at your school.

As my part of my doctoral work, I am conducting a study to better understand students' and recruiters' attitudes towards native and non-native English speaker teachers, and also their beliefs about effective language teaching. I hope the results of this study will help me understand whether students/recruiters in Buenos Aires, Argentina, have a preference for native or non-native English-speaking teachers and how their beliefs about effective language teaching might affect hiring practices of native/non-native English speaker teachers.

I would like to invite all students, recruiters and teachers at your institution to participate in my research by filling in an online questionnaire. (via Microsoft Forms). Students and recruiters will respond questions about their attitudes towards native/non-native English-speaking teachers and their beliefs about effective language teaching. Filling out the questionnaires will take approximately 20 minutes. Students and recruiters will be awarded (should they consent to) with a 5 CAD voucher for successfully completing the questionnaire. Students and recruiters will also be invited to volunteer to take part in an individual online interview. Should they wish to participate in said interview, they can fillout a section in the questionnaire that asks them whether they would like to take part in the follow-up interview in relation to the topic they had been surveyed on. Teacher participants will fill out an online survey (via Microsoft Forms) regarding their professional background and teaching experience. The questionnaire will take no more than 20 minutes. Teachers will be awarded (should they consent) with a 5 CAD voucher for successfully completing the questionnaire. No follow-up interview will be carried out with teachers. Participants may skip any question in the questionnaire, and they may quit the survey if they wish. If participants do not formally submit their survey responses, or decide to exit the browser, partial answers will not be saved and thus they will not receive the 5 CAD voucher.

Students and recruiters who volunteer for the follow-up interview will be interviewed on Microsoft Teams about topics similar to those surveyed in the questionnaire they completed. The interview will take 20-30 minutes. I will ask participants for their consent to audio-record our conversation for accuracy during data analysis. I will assign pseudonym; thus, their identities will not be associated with the interview transcripts. Interview participants will be awarded (should they consent to) a 20 CAD voucher upon completion of the interview.

I do not foresee any potential risks to participants as a result of participating in this study. To mitigate any discomfort, the researcher will clarify in the survey questionnaire and the interview that respondents are not being judged in any way. As for the interview, the researcher

will reassure the participant that their honest opinion is extremely important and that they are not being judged in any way. The researcher will strive for rapport and a continuous amicable, relaxed environment during the interview. Participation is entirely voluntary.

This study will be conducted completely online, and every effort will be made to ensure that participants' confidentiality and privacy are protected. The participants' names, personal, and institutional information will not be disclosed in my dissertation and published articles. Any identifiable information will be stored separately in a password-protected folder on One Drive.

I will be more than happy to share my findings with participants, and my results will be submitted for peer review and publication in academic and professional journal(s) and/or newsletters, and/or an academic presentation. Thank you for considering this request. I would greatly appreciate your cooperation in this endeavor. If you have any questions about this study or future related studies, please contact Hector Sebastian Alvarez via e-mail at hector.alvarez@mail.mcgill.ca.

Sincerely,

Hector Sebastian Alvarez

PhD Candidate, Department of Integrated Studies in Education,

McGill University

3700 McTavish Street 3801 University Street

Montreal, QC Canada H3A 1Y2

hector.alvarez@mail.mcgill.ca

Appendix C: Survey questionnaire consent form for students

Researcher:

Hector S. Alvarez

PhD Candidate

McGill University, Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Phone: (438) 880-5564

Email: hector.alvarez@mail.mcgill.ca

Supervisors:

Dr. Caroline Riches

Associate Professor

McGill University, Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Phone: (514) 398-4527 Ext. 00539

Email: caroline.riches@mcgill.ca

Dr. Mela Sarkar

Associate Professor

McGill University, Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Phone: (514) 398-4527

Email: mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca

Title of Project: Native-speakerism: Students' and recruiters' perceptions in Buenos Aires, Argentina

Sponsor(s): none

Purpose of the Study: This is an invitation to participate in a research study that explores recruiters' and students' attitudes towards native and non-native English speaker teachers as well as their beliefs on effective teaching practices, and whether these attitudes and perceptions affect recruiters' hiring practices of English teacher in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Potential discrimination against English teachers has been studied from different angles in different contexts, but there is practically no available scholarship on this topic within the Argentine context. Hence, this study intends to shed light on the current situation within Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Study Procedures (questionnaire section): Recruiter and student participants will complete an online questionnaire (via Microsoft forms) mainly about their attitudes towards native/non-native English speaking teachers and their beliefs on effective language teaching. At the end of the questionnaire, recruiters and students will be invited to take part in a follow-up interview with the researcher (Hector S. Alvarez). Completing the questionnaire will take recruiters/students around 20 minutes. Teacher participants will also complete an online questionnaire mainly on their background in terms of their language learning experiences as well as their teaching experience. Completing the questionnaire will take teachers around 15 minutes. Teachers will

not be invited to participate in a follow-up interview. Participants who complete the questionnaire and submit it will be entitled to a 5 CAD voucher for their time. Should participants fail to submit their survey, they will not be entitled to a 5CAD voucher. To pay participants their 5 CAD voucher, they will be asked to leave any phone number (not necessarily theirs) associated to a MercadoPago account.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate in this study entirely, you may decline to answer any question in the questionnaire, and you may withdraw from the study at any time, for any reason. Whether you choose to participate will not affect you in any way whatsoever. If you only take part in the survey questionnaire (without volunteering for an interview) your identity will remain anonymous, as the phone number you leave for the MercadoPago account will be deleted as part of the data upon payment of the voucher. If you do not wish to accept the 5 CAD voucher, your identity will remain anonymous all along. If you provide information to be contacted about participating in a follow-up interview, identifiable data will remain strictly confidential, and should you desire to withdraw from this study, I am able to find and destroy the data from your questionnaire (and follow-up interview).

Potential Risks: No risks foreseen.

Potential benefits: participation in this study will benefit the current understanding of students'/recruiter's attitudes towards native/non-native English teachers, their beliefs on effective language teaching, and whether these affect hiring practices. Students and recruiters will potentially benefit from this study as the questions posed in survey questionnaire will foster reflection upon certain discrimination-related issues that are not usually talked about or that are taken for granted within the English Language learning community.

Compensation: All participants get a 5 CAD voucher upon completion and successful submission of the questionnaire. The voucher will be sent via the MercadoPago application.

Confidentiality: All the data collected will remain in a secure password-protected folder on my university OneDrive 365 account. For survey participants who decide to accept the 5 CAD voucher, I will destroy that data upon payment of the voucher. For survey participants who decide to participate in the follow-up interview, any identifiable information will remain strictly confidential and secured in a password-protected folder on my university OneDrive 365 account. I will use pseudonyms for the interviews. Identifiable information will be removed from any reporting and dissemination of findings such as my thesis or potential publications in scientific journals. The only person with access to identifiable data will be me, Hector Sebastian Alvarez, the Principle investigator.

Questions: If you have any questions or need any clarifications about the study, please do not hesitate to contact Hector S. Alvarez at +1(438)-880-5564 or hector.alvarez@mail.mcgill.ca or my doctoral supervisors Dr. Caroline Riches at caroline.riches@mcgill.ca or Dr. Mela Sarkar at mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca . If you have any ethical concerns or complaints about your participation in this study, and want to speak with someone not on the research team, please contact the Associate Director, Research Ethics at 514-398-6831 or lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca citing REB file number 22-03-126.

Please sign electronically below if you have read the above information and consent to participate in this study. Agreeing to participate in this study does not waive any of your rights or release the researchers from their responsibilities. To ensure the study is being conducted properly, authorized individuals, such as a member of the Research Ethics Board, may have access to your information. Please save or print out a copy of this consent letter for your files.

Please, check the box "Accept" if you consent to participate.

☐

Accept

☐

Decline

Appendix D: Consent form-interviews with students**Participant Consent Form for interview – Recruiters/Students****Researcher:**

Hector S. Alvarez

PhD Candidate

McGill University, Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Phone: (438) 880-5564

Email: hector.alvarez@mail.mcgill.ca

Supervisors:

Dr. Caroline Riches

Associate Professor

McGill University, Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Phone: (514) 398-4527 Ext. 00539

Email: caroline.riches@mcgill.ca

Dr. Mela Sarkar

Associate Professor

McGill University, Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Phone: (514) 398-4527

Email: mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca

Title of Project: Native-speakerism: Students' and recruiters' perceptions in Buenos Aires, Argentina

Sponsor(s): none

Purpose of the Study: This is an invitation to participate in a research study that explores recruiters' and students' attitudes towards native and non-native English speaker teachers as well as their beliefs on effective teaching practices, and whether these attitudes and perceptions affect recruiters' hiring practices of English teacher in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Potential discrimination against English teachers has been studied from different angles in different contexts, but there is practically no available scholarship on this topic within the Argentine context. Hence, this study intends to shed light on the current situation within Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Study Procedures (interview section): Following an initial survey questionnaire, recruiter/student participants who volunteered will be contacted to set a date/time for the follow up interview with the researcher (Hector S. Alvarez). The interview will take 20-30 minutes and it will be conducted via Microsoft Teams. During this interview, you will be asked follow-up questions to dig deeper into some of the previous questions asked in the questionnaire about your attitudes towards native/non-native English speaking teachers and your beliefs on effective language teaching. Only audio will be recorded from the interview. You can, however, decide whether you want to keep your camera on or off. I will use the audio of this interview for data analysis purposes. The audio will also be transcribed. A pseudonym will be used during the interview and any identifying information will be removed from transcripts.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate in this study entirely, you may decline to answer any question, and you may withdraw from the study at any time, for any reason. Whether you choose to participate will not have any impact on your employment/involvement at the participant school. If you decide to withdraw from the study, your data that has already been gathered will be destroyed, unless you give permission otherwise. Once findings are published, data may not be destroyed upon withdrawal; however, it will be removed from further analysis and future publication. Upon successful doctoral defense, any identifiable data, linking participants' identities to interview/survey data, will be destroyed. Audio recordings will also be destroyed upon passing my doctoral defense.

Potential Risks: No risks foreseen. You might feel some of the questions comparing native/non-native English speaking teacher might make you feel a bit of discomfort or awkwardness, and you might want to answer with political correctness. Remember your honest answer is really important, and no judgement is passed on your opinion. I'm interviewing you to listen to your honest opinion. Finally, although all reasonable precautions are taken, there is always the possibility of third-party interception when using communications through the internet.

Potential benefits: participation in this study will benefit the current understanding of students'/recruiter's attitudes towards native/non-native English teachers, their beliefs on effective language teaching, and whether these affect hiring practices. Students and recruiters will potentially benefit from this study as the questions posed in the interview will foster reflection upon certain discrimination-related issues that are not usually talked about or taken for granted within the English Language learning community.

Compensation: All participants get a 20 CAD voucher for participating in the interview. The voucher will be sent via the *MercadoPago* application.

Confidentiality: All the data collected will remain in a secure password-protected folder on my university OneDrive 365 account. For interview participants, any identifiable information will remain strictly confidential and secured in a password-protected folder on my university OneDrive 365 account. I will use pseudonyms for the interviews. Identifiable information will be removed from any reporting and dissemination of findings such as my thesis or potential publications in scientific journals. Only I (Hector Sebastian Alvarez), the principal investigator, will have access to identifiable data.

Questions: If you have any questions or need any clarifications about the study, please do not hesitate to contact Hector S. Alvarez at +1(438)-880-5564 or hector.alvarez@mail.mcgill.ca or my doctoral supervisors Dr. Caroline Riches at caroline.riches@mcgill.ca or Dr. Mela Sarkar at mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca. If you have any ethical concerns or complaints about your participation in this study, and want to speak with someone not on the research team, please contact the Associate Director, Research Ethics at 514-398-6831 or lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca citing REB file number 22-03-126.

Please sign electronically below if you have read the above information and consent to participate in this study. Agreeing to participate in this study does not waive any of your rights or release the researchers from their responsibilities. To ensure the study is being conducted properly, authorized individuals, such as a member of the Research Ethics Board, may have access to your information. Please save or print out a copy of this consent letter for your files.

By checking this box and typing my name below, I am electronically signing this consent form.

(To check the box, double click the box and change the ‘default value’ to ‘checked’)

Participant’s Name: (please type) _____

Date: _____