



Is native speakerism a privilege in TESOL employment? A comparative study of self-reported hiring discrimination in native and non-native ESL teachers across Spain and the UK.

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MSc in Applied Linguistics for Language Teaching, 2023

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Is native speakerism a privilege in TESOL employment? A comparative study of self-reported hiring discrimination in native and non-native ESL teachers across Spain and the UK.

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Abstract

A quarter of a century has passed since the launch of The NNEST Movement, a consequential movement deriving from years of discrimination towards NNESTs, yet it appears very little has changed in the world of TESOL. This study examines whether TESOL employment and hiring practices are still subjected to native speakerism ideologies in Spain and the UK. This comparative mixed methods study examines self-reported discrimination of NESTs and NNESTs in Spain and the UK to temperature check experiences in 2023. A questionnaire was administered to n=210 ESL teachers across Spain and UK (n=134 NEST, n=76 NNEST), with 17 Likert-scaled statements and one optional qualitative question. Then, four follow-up semi structured interviews were conducted to gather further qualitative data from NEST and NNESTs. A principal component analysis was conducted, followed by independent samples t-tests, showing that participating NNESTs suffer significantly more ($p < .001$) self-reported discrimination when hired as an ELT than NESTs. Findings further show that NNESTs in Spain suffered significantly more ($p < .001$) discrimination than NNESTs in the UK. Thematic analysis was conducted on the qualitative data, which further triangulated this data and showed parallel findings. Suggestions to shape the future of hiring for TESOL teachers are made with calls to action for teachers, recruiters, and policymakers.

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List of abbreviations and acronyms

- TESOL -Teaching English to speakers of other languages
- ESL - English as a second language
Please note: For simplicity, I will use ESL throughout the dissertation to embody anything related to English as a secondary or foreign language. I do, however, understand the nuances between the all the ESL-related acronyms (ESL, EFL, ESOL, ESP, EL etc.).
- ELT – English Language Teaching
- L1 - First Language
- L2 - Second Language
- NS – Native Speaker
- NNS – Non-Native Speaker
- NEST - Native English-speaking teacher
- NNEST - Non-native English-speaking Teacher
- RQ - Research Question

Chapter One - Introduction

1.0. Introduction

There is a rising demand for English teachers in an ever-globalised and connected world. With

English as the lingua franca of the world, we now live in a society where non-native speakers (NNS) indisputably dominate the population of English speakers. According to Ethnologue, there are currently 1.4 billion speakers of English in the world, with just 373 million (25.67%) of these holding native speaker status (Eberhard et al., 2022). Consequently, English is now "the most commonly spoken foreign language, language of media, language of technology, and language of science" (Devrim & Bayyurt, 2010).

This globalisation of English triggers exigency for teachers. In a workforce of c.17 million ESL teachers, it is thought that only 20% of those teachers are Native English-Speaking Teachers (NEST) (Freeman et al., 2015). The increasing growth of L2 English speakers generates an urgent demand for more ESL teachers, yet all these teachers cannot be **and should not be** NEST.

Despite non-native English-speaking teachers (NNEST) exponentially outweighing their native peers in the population of ESL teachers, they have historically suffered the most prejudice, marginalisation and discrimination. Galloway (2018) notes that native speakers (NS) "despite having no teaching qualifications or experience, represent a yardstick of competence and are considered as target interlocutors". Furthermore, in defiance of decades of literature, this common misconception remains: the most superior English teacher is a native English speaker, which has led to inequitable and unfair hiring practices for NNESTs. Non-native speakers (NNS) have been thought to have lower status in the ESL world for some time (Mahboob, 2010). Nevertheless, while this misconception still exists, does native speakerism (Holliday, 2005) remain a privilege in TESOL employment? Moreover, does this equate to NNESTs suffering more discrimination in hiring in 2023?

This paper takes stock 25 years after the launch of the NNEST movement and evaluates if NNESTs are still experiencing discrimination in the UK and Spain. Amongst the backdrop of the NNEST movement and advancement in employment policies in the UK, Spain and the EU, it is

hoped that we have made progress in anti-discrimination. This study is designed to fill a gap in the research by understanding the real-life and lived experiences of NNESTs and comparing those experiences to their NEST peers. The study further aims to test the temperature of how hiring and recruitment experiences differ for NNESTs in Spain vs The UK.

1.1. Research Aims

This paper outlines the theoretical underpinnings of the NS/NNS dichotomy, which comprises the rationale behind this study. I designed and conducted a comparative mixed methods study of self-reported hiring discrimination in native and non-native ESL teachers across Spain and the UK. This study aimed to analyse if NS and NNS have contrasting recruitment experiences in Spain and the UK, dependent on their speaker status, and compare if NNESTs have differing experiences in the UK compared to Spain. The study hopes to raise awareness of any discriminatory hiring practices in the ESL job market in Spain and the UK, and if so, eliminate discrimination and create a safer, more inclusive and skilled workplace.

1.2. Research Questions

The current study aims to answer the following research questions:

- RQ1: Do NESTs or NNESTs perceive nativeness to be most important in the eyes of parents and students?
- RQ2: Do NNESTs experience higher levels of self-reported hiring discrimination than their NEST peers across Spain and the UK?
- RQ3: Do NNESTs have differing experiences of self-reported hiring discrimination experiences comparatively in Spain and the UK?
- RQ4: Do NESTs have an advantage in the ESL teacher job market compared to NNEST
- RQ5: Do NNESTs vs NESTS believe that native teachers are better at teaching ESL skills?

1.3. Outline of Dissertation

This dissertation has six chapters in total. Chapter two outlines the relevant literature that formed this study's basis and rationale. Chapter three details the study's methodology, including research methods and data analysis. Chapter Four introduces quantitative and qualitative

findings from a questionnaire and follow-up interviews. Chapter Five presents the discussion & interpretation of the findings concerning existing literature and discusses possible implications for the TESOL field. Chapter six concludes the dissertation with final remarks about the study's findings and finishes with a call to action for linguistic researchers and TESOL professionals.

Chapter Two - Literature Review

2.0. Introduction – The NS & NNS Dichotomy

Theoretical and empirical debates surrounding the NS and NNS dichotomy have plagued the field of linguistics for decades. In 1965, linguist Noam Chomsky released a statement that led to

the genesis of marginalisation towards NNESTs. His view was that only native speakers of a language could act as reliable sources of linguistic information, which led to native teachers becoming highly advantaged in the TESOL landscape, ricocheting into decades of unfair hiring practices and discrimination (Selvi, 2010). For many years, NNESTs have been cast as deficient teachers compared to native teachers (Philipson, 1992), with many suggesting that they be treated as "two different species" due to their apparent linguistic discrepancy (Medgyes, 1994). Firth & Wagner (1997) also remarked that NESTs are competent users of English, yet NNESTs are 'defective'. These stances have created a hurtful and inaccurate perception of L2 users of the language.

Since these damaging ideations began, researchers have been trying to increase the target language in the classroom, with many teachers, institutions and policymakers foreboding L1s in the L2 classroom leading to L2 exclusivity (Atkinson, 1993; Rolin-lanziti & Brownlie, 2002). Some linguists argue that L2 exclusivity is politically charged and motivated without empirical evidence (Butzkamm, 2003; Medgyes, 1994) and has undertones of post-colonialism, nativism, power imbalances and linguistic imperialism (Amin & Kubota, 2004; Philipson, 1992). Nevertheless, L2 exclusivity has perpetuated the notion in attitudes that NEST are better teachers and furthered discrimination in the TESOL field.

2.1. General Concepts – What is a Native Speaker?

Davies (1991) claims that the first usage of the term native speaker was by Bloomfield in 1933, where they said, "The first language a human being learns to speak is his native language; he is a native speaker of this language" (p. 43). Being a native speaker is thought by some researchers to be an "unalterable historic fact" (Cook, 1999), yet other researchers believe the term 'native' is simply a "figment of a linguist's imagination" (Paikeday, 1985, p. 25).

Despite this ongoing and never-ending debate, Davies (2003, 2013) defines native speakers by six key features:

1. Language is learnt from being a child.
2. NS have grammatical intuition for the standard version of a language.
3. NS have grammatical intuition for their idiolectal grammar too.
4. NS have a creative communication range.
5. NS have the capacity for spontaneous discourse.

6. NS can translate and interpret into their own language fluently.

Davies, however, argues that NNS can achieve most of these milestones in their language learning journey with the only exception of acquiring the language from childhood. Therefore, Davies coined the term 'native user' to encompass both NS and NNS with a native-like language command and may embody features 2-6 listed above.

Many argue that the NS/NNS definitions are too binary, restrictive, and negatively (or positively) loaded. Several researchers tried to combat this by suggesting alternative phrases to describe NNS, who historically received the brunt of harmful discrimination. Such phrases have included "proficient speakers," "multicompetent speakers," "near-native speakers," and "expert speakers" (Davies, 1991; Paikeday, 1985). Further researchers have lobbied for removing the label NNEST altogether due to its 'othering' nature and posit moving towards labels such as 'bilingual' or 'multilingual' teachers (McKay, 2002). Even more recently, suggestions have included Bilingual English-Speaking Teacher, Legitimate Teacher of English, Translinguistic English Teacher, and Diverse English-Speaking Teachers (Motha, 2012).

One apparent aspect is that defining native vs non-native speakers has always been a contentious issue in the field of linguistics, and a solution is yet to be found. For the purpose of this study and to ease data collection/analysis in a short time span, I asked participants to selfidentify themselves into the category they fit into best by offering a loose definition ¹of native

speaker from the Dictionary of Linguistics (Crystal, 2008, pp. 321-322), notwithstanding, that I understand the complicated nature of language identity and the complexities of binaries vs. presentation of identity on a spectrum.

¹ "native-speaker (n.) A term used in linguistics to refer to someone for whom a particular language is a first language or mothertongue. The implication is that this native language , having been acquired naturally during childhood, is the one about which a speaker will have the most reliable intuitions , and whose judgements about the way the language is used can therefore be trusted. In investigating a language, accordingly, one is wise to try to obtain information from native-speaking informants, rather than from those who may have learned it as a second or foreign language (even if they are highly proficient). Many people do, however,

2.2. Specific Concepts

2.2.1. Native Speakerism & The Native Speaker Fallacy

In 2005, Holliday coined the term native speakerism to describe the existing ideology that NNESTs are the perfect teachers based on their knowledge of Western culture, teaching practices and nativeness. Native speakerism appears in many areas in the field of TESOL, notably hiring & recruitment, assessment, language, and education policies (such as L2 exclusivity) (Galloway, 2018). The native speakerism ideology is closely related to Phillipson's idea of linguistic imperialism (1992), which centres Western culture as the sun in the English language-speaking solar system. Selvi (2010) found that native speakerism is more important to employers than education status and years of teaching experience. Moreover, native speakerism has posed as a vehicle for NS to be used as a marketing tool to attract students and parents alike and leverage for language schools to position themselves in an overcrowded market competitively.

Kachru (1985) depicts this with three circles of English, as illustrated in Figure 1 and spoke to the power dynamics and differences between the circles. Canagarajah (1999) further this by conceptualising the NNEST vs NEST imbalances with the centre being 'technologically advanced' countries where English is the primary language. In contrast, the outer circles are post-colonial countries where English is spoken as a second or international language.

develop a 'native-like' command of a foreign language, and in bilingualism one has the case of someone who has a native command of two languages (see bilingual). The term has become a sensitive one in those parts of the world where native has developed demeaning connotations." (Crystal, 2008, pp. 321-322)

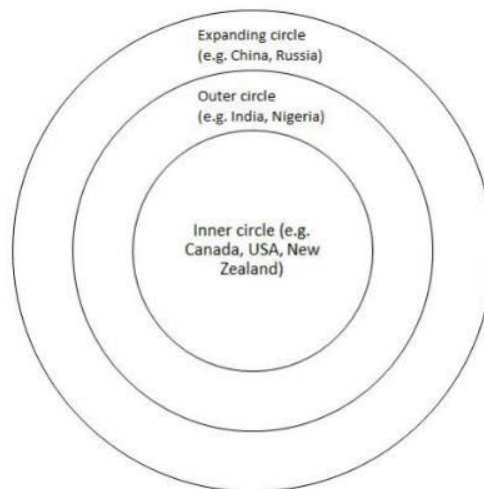


Figure 1. Kachru's three concentric circles model (1985)

Holliday (2018) discourages the use of distinct labelling of NNEST and NESTs as it deflects from teachers of ESL being a makeup of linguistic & cultural experience. Holliday also notes that "native-speakerism is a neo-racist ideology that has 'wide-ranging impact on how teachers are perceived by each other and by their students. By labelling teachers as separate "native speakers" and "non-native speakers," it falsely positions them as culturally superior and inferior with separate roles and attributes. This native speakerism has unsurprisingly led to confidence problems and imposter syndrome in NNESTs (Bernat, 2008).

Phillipson (1992) challenged native speakerism before the term was coined and conceived the Native Speaker Fallacy concept, which highlighted the unfair & unprofessional treatment of NNS and began to challenge the assumption that NS make better teachers. Despite these widely seen assumptions, it appears that students do not necessarily buy into the native speaker fallacy themselves (Mahboob, 2005).

Researchers have fought back against the native speaker fallacy and native speakerism, shining a very bright light on the advantages of being taught by NNESTs which include: having more effective language learning strategies, possessing higher levels of empathy and anticipation for learning difficulties, and armed with the ability to use of L2 to facilitate language learning and teaching (Medgyes, 2001, p. 436). Braine (1999) argued that NNESTs make better-qualified language teachers because they have undergone the language learning process. Floris & Renandya (2020) also make suggestions to promote the value of NNESTs, including the backing of professional associations, teacher training programs, school administrators, classroom teachers, researchers and social media advocates.

NNESTs are frequently reminded of their so-called deficiencies, but NESTs are protected from theirs, living in a bubble-wrapped world of privilege. It is rare to see a NEST being called out for their lack of empathy for learning a language and their lack of L1 knowledge which can aid second language acquisition, or their lack of posing as an imitable role model (Medgyes, 1994).

Selvi (2010) argues that due to a long history of native teacher preference, it has led to a perception in society that native English speakers have a birthright to be an ESL teacher, whereas NNESTs are always deficient. Unfortunately, due to linguistic imperialism, native speakerism and the native speaker fallacy, the discrimination against NESTs has been legitimatised for three decades, continuing to this day (Kiczkowiak & Wu, 2018).

2.2.2. The history of NNEST

In 1998 The Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) International Association established a movement for NNEST to promote non-discriminate teaching environments for ESL teachers, and thus The NNEST Movement was born. Led by Braine (1999, 2005, 2010), the movement was designed to empower and promote the rights of NNEST in the global teaching sphere. Selvi (2009) promoted that NNESTs must become more active by "raising awareness, building advocacy and demonstrating activism". This birth of The NNEST Moment was pivotal in TESOL history and would pave the way for non-native teachers to finally have a voice, be heard and fight for their rights as legitimate ESL teachers.

The NNEST movement has progressed substantially, with the caucus within TESOL International transitioning to the Interest Section in 2008 (NNEST Interest Section, 2014). Caucuses are mainly for advocacy, whereas Interest Sections are more concerned with professional issues (Braine & Selvi, 2018, p. 3). This transition demonstrated that the concerns of NNESTs had reached a status of legitimised area of research, and by 2008, The NNEST Movement had 1700 members (Braine & Selvi, 2018; Kahmi-Stein, 2016).

Selvi describes The NNEST Movement: "Theoretically, it builds a more inclusive intellectual space defined by a shift from the traditional monolingual, monocultural, native-speakerism approach to teaching, learning, and teacher education in TESOL. Practically, it brings together and supports a wide spectrum of threads from the research, teaching, and advocacy realms to promote and institutionalise discourses of multilingualism, multiethnicism, and multiculturalism" (Selvi, 2014, pp. 574-575).

Fithriani (2018) argued that the dichotomy between NEST and NNESTs has led to discriminatory hiring practices in giving preferential treatment to NESTs and found that there were inequitable academic qualifications required and inequity of pay. They also found that racist hiring practices occur, with the superior teacher being white. Generally, NNESTs are thought to suffer more due to native speakerism and the native speaker fallacy (Selvi, 2014). This type of discrimination has driven and continues to drive The NNEST Movement, despite some researchers trying to remove the concept of NNEST due to its othering and selfdestructing nature. Nevertheless, it is hard to imagine a world where The NNEST Movement does not need to exist as apparent native speakerism and native speaker fallacy plagues the field of ELT.

2.2.3. Employment discrimination towards NNESTs

A wealth of linguistic research demonstrates that harmful discrimination is present in TESOL employment, overwhelmingly showcasing the unfair exclusion of NNESTs in job advertisements (e.g. Fithriani, 2018).

Often job advertisements place a higher preference on naiveness than qualifications or experience. Crump (2007) for example, investigated ESL job adverts online in Asia and found that the requirement for many was that they are NESTs rather than qualified ESL teachers (p.12). Correa (2018) Found that 81% of adverts in Spain required native speakers, which increased to 88% on Indeed.com.

Selvi (2010) found that even over a decade after The NNEST Movement was founded, so-called native English-speaking teachers were still being prioritised for ESL jobs, with the majority of jobs stating that NNEST "need not apply", demonstrating the immediate block NNS face when finding work due to the limited pool of job openings they can apply for. Selvi (2010) also found that job adverts discriminated based on the variety of English spoken, passport status and where education was obtained.

Mahboob & Golden (2013) analysed 77 adverts in East Asia and the Middle East, and findings showed that nativeness, nationality, race, gender, and age were used to discriminate against candidates in the market. Mahboob & Golden (2013) found that 79% of job adverts required nativeness, and even further discrimination was found in that 49% of those adverts also stated inner-circle countries they must be from (Kachru, 1992). Mahboob (2003) found that 58.9% of programme administrators in the US request native speakers when conducting hiring decisions.

Even more recently, empirical findings show almost no progress is being made in terms of tackling the discrimination towards NNESTs. In 2021, Alshammari analysed 25 job adverts in Saudi Arabia, finding that the primary requirement for all adverts was nativeness. In the same year, Mackenzie (2021) conducted a content analysis on 95 job adverts from two Facebook groups for ESL teachers in Colombia, resulting in almost 50% including discriminatory language based on nativeness, nationality, gender, variety of English and location where a teacher gained their qualifications with a preference for universities from inner-circle countries. Domingo (2022) conducted a content analysis of 31 private online school websites in Asia to investigate their hiring practices and found that schools required native speaker criteria alongside nationality, residence and proficiency. Daoud & Kasztalska (2022) analysed 53 online job adverts in the

UAE using Legitimisation Code Theory and found that teachers were being benchmarked on their native speaker status.

Alongside NS being prioritised for jobs, particularly from an inner circle country, evidence also shows that job advertisements use sales tactics to ensure that NS apply. For example, Ruecker & Ives (2014) reported results from a critical discourse analysis across 59 recruitment websites in China, Korea, Taiwan, Thailand and Japan which found that the ideal candidate is 'overwhelmingly' seen as a young white and enthusiastic native speaker from an inner-circle country. They also found that adverts included job benefits such as 'living abroad' and 'free travel tickets', with as few as 14% of job adverts requesting relevant experience as a requirement. NESTs also appear to be frequently used as a marketing tool for private language schools, with preference from external stakeholders for native accents (Kelch & Santana-Williamson (2002) and further favouring of British and American accents. Öztürk and Atay (2010) highlighted that private language schools prefer employing native teachers so they can be used as a USP.

Further to this, empirical research showcases that recruiters and administrators hold dangerous views concerning NNESTs. For example, Clark & Paran (2007) carried out a questionnaire on 90 ESL teacher recruiters in the UK and found that 72.3% of the respondents thought being a native speaker was moderately or very important. More recently, Liu (2021) conducted a 4person case study on ESL administrators in China and found that three out of four considered it 'totally reasonable' to give favour and advantage to native-speaker teachers in terms of payment. Selvi (2014, p. 591) notes that "Program administrators and other gatekeeping stakeholders unfortunately often accept and operate under the paradigms of native speakerism and the native speaker fallacy, which by definition categorise NNESTs as less qualified and less linguistically competent than their NEST counterparts". With these kinds of opinions at the recruiter and administrative level, there is a long way to go before The NNEST Movement has reached its goals.

But what exactly is causing this demand in the TESOL field? It is thought that one of the major driving factors for this is external demands due to the native speaker fallacy. Holliday (2008) spotlighted these external demands noting that he has spoken to many directors in the UK "while they would abolish the discriminatory differentiation between 'native speakers' and 'nonnative speakers' tomorrow, they can't because their customers demand it" (Holliday, 2008, p. 121).

2.2.4. NEST vs. NNEST - does it really matter for our students?

From the empirical evidence presented in this paper, it is clear that discrimination exists in TESOL hiring, particularly in job advertisements. However, do ESL students really care if their teacher is native or not?

Some research points to students preferring NESTs (e.g., Lasagabaster & Manuel Sierra, 2005), but this has been reported in circumstances such as when they go abroad to learn English, they expect to have a native teacher (Pacek, 2005). However, several research papers have resulted in students having no clear preferences for ESL teachers based on nativeness alone and instead students put greater emphasis on other skills, such as good pedagogical skills and clear accents (Liang, 2002; Lipovsky & Mahboob, 2010). Research has also shown that students with higher proficiency levels coincided with higher positivity to NNESTs (Moussu, 2006).

Elyas & Alghofaili (2019) conducted a pre-test, post-test experiment on ESL students in a Saudi university to test whether students' performance differed depending on whether they had a native teacher or not. The findings showed that there were no significant differences between students speaking and listening skills, and students performed equally against their native/nonnative teachers. Furthermore, Aslan & Thompson (2016) conducted a semantic assessment of 76 university ESL students split into two groups: those with NEST and those with NNEST. Independent t-tests were conducted to test whether students' perceptions of their teachers differed. Findings showed that there was no statistical difference between perceptions of NESTs and NENSTs, promoting further need for employment equality.

Colmenero & Lasagabaster (2023) conducted a study on 507 students, parents and teachers to better understand the preferences of ESL teachers. Findings showed that students taking extracurricular classes with NESTs had a higher preference for NESTs, whereas those with only experiences NNEST in school presented neutral preferences. Parents' preferences were inconclusive, with no clear preference for NEST/NNEST being found.

The findings demonstrated here suggest that discriminatory hiring practices and the unjust prioritisation of NESTS are unfair and not based on empirical evidence of student's preferences.

2.3. Context: Employment Laws in UK and Spain and the EU

Advancements in law, policy and position statements have laid the groundwork for a fairer employment practice within and outside ESL teaching. Four significant moments are outlined below to provide contextual background:

1. In 2000, the EU formed Article 21, a non-discrimination policy in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, which states that "Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation shall be prohibited." and that "Within the scope of application of the Treaties and without prejudice to any of their specific provision, any discrimination on grounds of nationality shall be prohibited." (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2015).
2. In March 2006, TESOL International, the largest community dedicated to TESOL with over 13,000 global members, released two position statements condemning discriminatory hiring practices that led to the NNEST movement (TESOL, 2006). Their statement read: "TESOL strongly opposes discrimination against non-native English speakers in the field of English of English language teaching" and that "all educators

should be evaluated within the same criteria", followed with: "Rather, English language proficiency, teaching experience, and professionalism should be assessed along on a continuum of professional preparation. All English language educators should be proficient in English regardless of their native languages, but English language proficiency should be viewed as only one criterion in evaluating a teacher's professionalism. Teaching skills, teaching experience, and professional preparation should be given as much weight as language proficiency."

3. In 2010, the UK launched its Equality Act 2010, which states that anyone in the UK with protected characteristics is legally protected from work discrimination (Legislation.gov.uk, n.d). Such protected characteristics include race, nationality, ethnicity or national origin. This means that it is against the law in the UK to discriminate against anyone because of these characteristics in the ESL job market.
4. In 2022, Spain passed Law 15/2022, which sits within Article 14 of the Spanish Constitution (BOE.es, 2022). The law promotes fairness in employment and prohibits discrimination based on nationality, ethnicity or national origin.

Given these four measures, a rightful and fair assumption would be that discrimination should have been eliminated for non-native speakers of English in Spain and the UK as they are protected by characteristics of their nationality and language.

2.4. Summary and gaps this research will fill

It is comprehensible that due to deep-rooted linguistic imperialism and decades of discrimination, we find ourselves in a situation where NNESTs continue to feel inferior in their field. "These challenges are often disempowering, destroying a NNS teacher's self-confidence, self-efficacy, and even self-worth" (Liang, 2009, p. 163), yet we know that a great deal of talented, experienced and passionate NNESTs exist across the globe. From the evidence presented, it is clear that discrimination exists in job adverts towards NNS and that we have tried to tackle native speakerism and the native speaker fallacy by implementing several notions such as The NNEST Movement/Interest Section, The TESOL position statement, Spain's Law 15/2022, UK Equality Act 2010, and EU's article 21. However, there is little empirical evidence of

self-reported discrimination in the field, and therefore almost no lens into the real-life experiences of ESL teachers.

This study aims to fill a gap in the research and bring empirical enlightenment to the self-reported discrimination of NNESTs, scrutinising if the UK and Spain's TESOL market is still subjected to the native speaker fallacy (Phillipson, 1992) and native speakerism ideologies (Holliday, 2005). This will be the first study comparing the experiences of NEST and NNESTs in Spain and the UK and further examining if NNESTs have differing hiring experiences across Spain and the UK. This paper hopes to bring essential insights to the field of linguistics and to improve the equity of hiring teachers in the future.

Chapter Three - Methodology

3.0. Introduction

Chapter three presents the research methodology and design for this study alongside details of data collection instruments and the data collection process. It also includes details of the participants of the study and data analysis conducted. The chapter concludes with the limitations and ethical considerations of the study.

3.1. Research Design

This study compares the experiential differences between native and non-native ESL teachers in hiring and recruitment processes. The study took a comparative mixed method approach, which took place in three phases. I chose a mixed methods research design to “focus on the meaningful integration of both quantitative and qualitative data, [which] can provide a depth and breadth that a single approach may lack by itself” (Ivankova & Cresswell, 2009). The study's quantitative phase took place first to gather experiences of self-reported discrimination and perceptions from NEST and NNEST. Later, in phase 3, qualitative data were conducted through semi-structured follow-up interviews based on criteria taken from the questionnaire.

3.2. Research Participants & Sampling

This study used convenience sampling in combination with voluntary response sampling and purposive sampling to recruit native and non-native ESL teachers across Spain and the UK. Out of n=223 respondents to the survey, n=13 null responses had either not completed the survey in full or not responded about which country they are based in or whether they are NEST or NNEST - therefore, irrelevant for the data analysis. Thus, I removed the null responses from the data. This left a total of n=210. The below table (Table 1) illustrates details and the number of participants per phase of the study, and more detail on the phasing of the study is included further in the paper.

Phase	Number of participants			Sampling Technique
Phase 1 Pilot Testing	3			Convenience Sampling
	Teacher	Spain	UK	Sampling Technique
Phase 2	NNEST	42	34	

Quantitative Online Survey	NEST	84	50	Convenience Sampling & Voluntary Response Sampling
	Total	126	84	
	Overall n	210		
Phase 3 Optional Qualitative Online Question via survey	NNEST	19	15	Voluntary Response Sampling
	NEST	40	26	
	Total	59	41	
	Overall n	100		
Phase 4 Follow-up Semistructured Interviews	NNEST	1	1	Purposive Sampling
	NEST	1	1	
	Total	2	2	
	Overall n	4		

Table 1: Numbers of Participants in Three Phases

Of the 210 participants, 53 were male, 150 were female, three were non-binary, three preferred not to say, and one identified as Gender Indifferent (Figure 2). The respondents' ages are represented in Figure 3 and ranged from 21 to 66. Eighty-four respondents were based in the UK, and 126 were based in Spain (Figure 4).

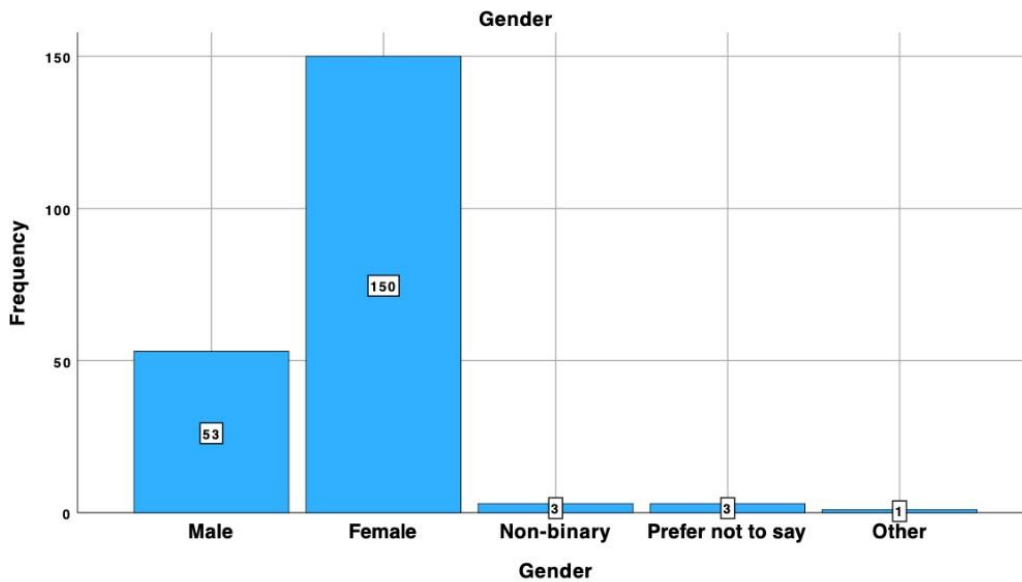


Figure 2. Demographics Graph: Gender

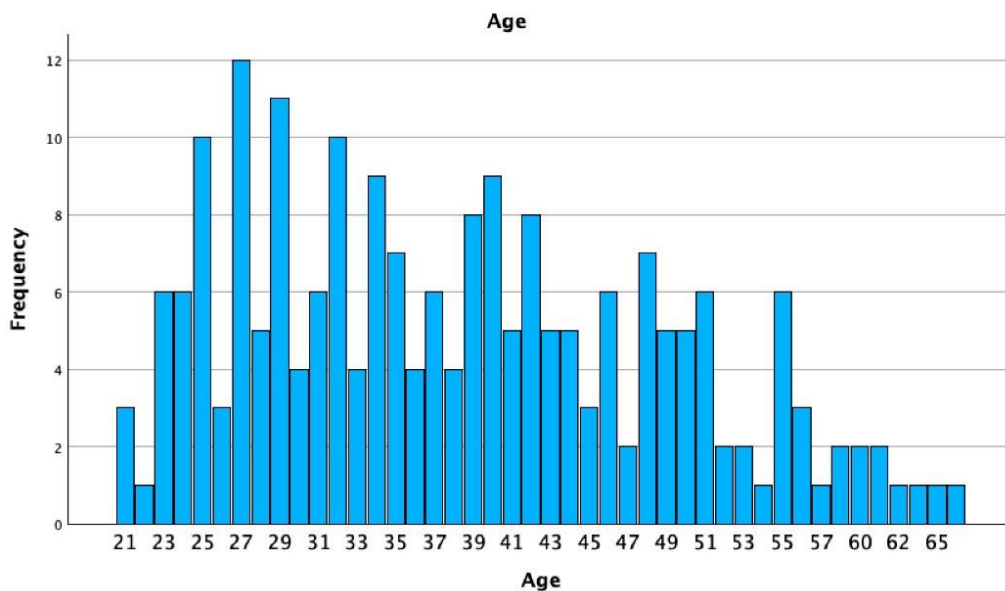


Figure 3. Demographics Graph: Age

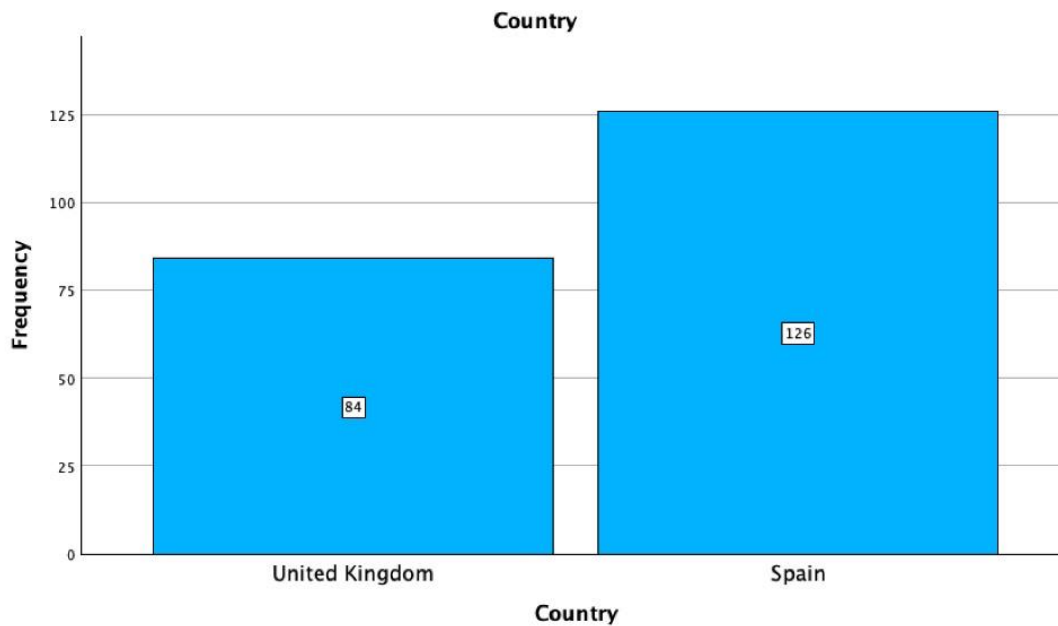


Figure 4. Demographics Graph: Country

Of the 210 respondents, 134 were NEST, and 76 were NNEST (Figure 5). The non-native speakers boasted a variety of native languages: Spanish, Tagalog, Portuguese, Hindi, Polish, Romanian, Catalan, Estonian, Greek, Italian, Russian, German, Cantonese, Persian, Arabic, French, Latvian, Slovene, Hungarian, Slovak, Assamese, Turkish, Bulgarian, Urdu.

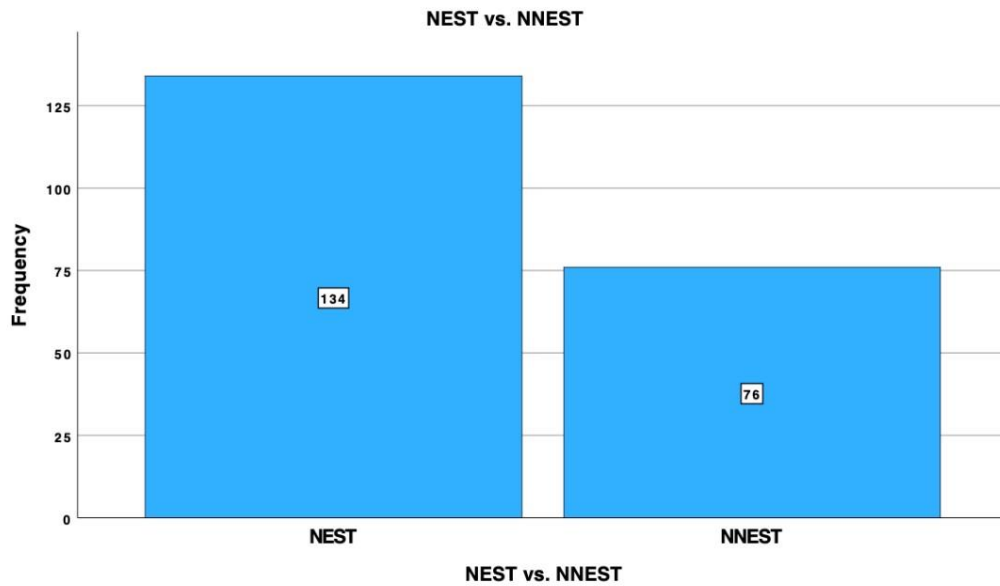


Figure 5. Demographics Graph: NEST vs. NNEST

Of those who wished to identify their region in Spain, I have demonstrated the breakdown in Figure 6. There were participants from all 17 autonomous regions in Spain. Similarly, of those who wished to identify their region in the UK, I have demonstrated the breakdown in Figure 7. There were participants from all 12 regions in the UK.

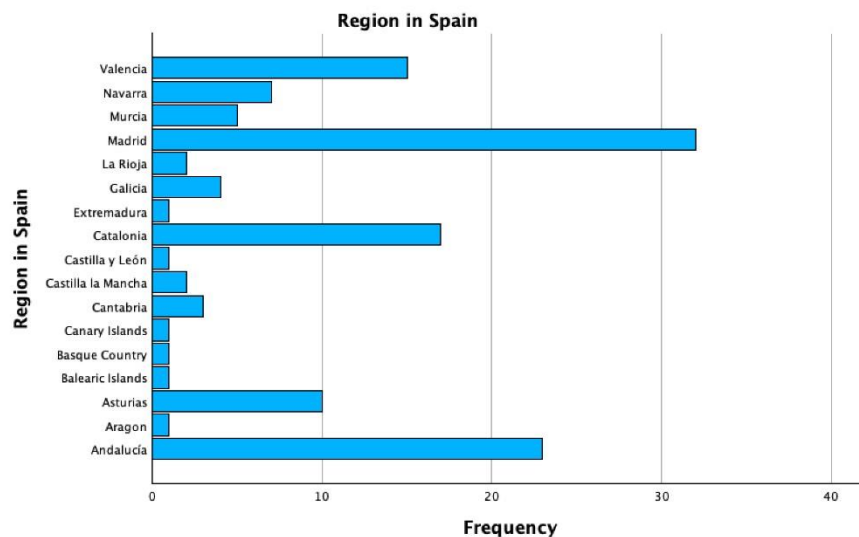


Figure 6. Demographics Graph: Region in Spain

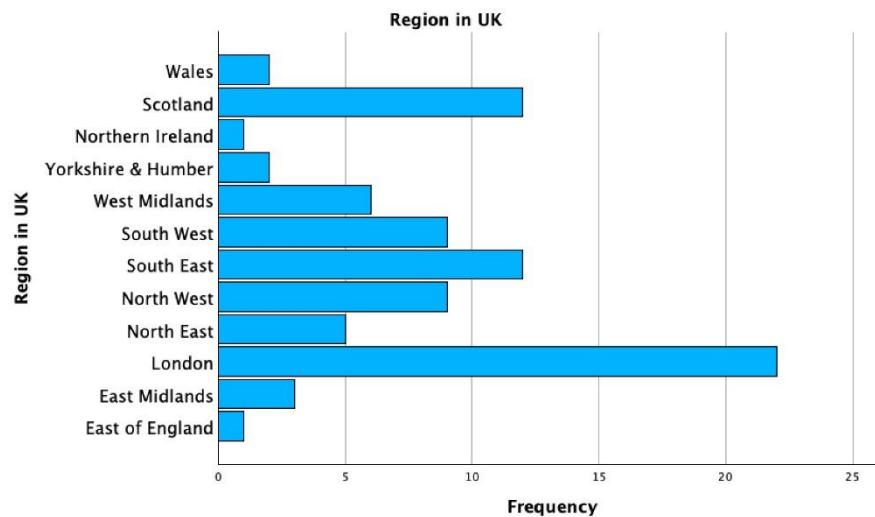


Figure 7. Demographics Graph: Region in UK

Participants came from a multitude of ethnic groups: White (74.76%), Asian (10%), Other including Berber (6.19%), Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Groups (3.81%), Hispanic/Latino (1.9%), Arab (1.9%), Black (1.43%). They also taught in a myriad of teaching settings such as extracurricular or private schools/academies (29.81%), a mixture of multiple settings (22.6%), primary school (13.46%), online (12.5%), university (10.10%), secondary school (9.13%), 1:1 teaching (2.4%).

3.3. Data Collection Stages & Procedures

The below table (Table 2) provides my suggested timeline for stages of procedures and data collection that could be followed in a replication study.

Stage	Procedures	March 2023	April 2023	May 2023	June 2023
1	Faculty Permission & CUREC Application	x	x		

2	Pilot Testing			x	
3	Participant recruitment & Questionnaire Administration			x	x
4	Semi-Structured Interviews				x

Table 2: Data Collection Timeline

3.3.1. Stage 1: Faculty Permission & CUREC Application

Stage 1 took place between March and April 2023. All ethical considerations have been made for this study, and Ethical Approval was received from the CUREC panel on 15th May 2023 (Research Ethics Reference: **EDUC_C1A_23_198 - See Appendix A**).

3.3.2. Stage 2: Pilot Testing

Stage two took place upon CUREC approval in May 2023. The questionnaire was tested by three ESL teachers for question legibility, ambiguity, timing, ease of use and general feedback. The pilot test found that the core part of the questionnaire took five minutes, with an optional extra five minutes for qualitative input if the participant wished to do this. The questionnaire, therefore, met essential criteria in that it was 'Short to avoid participant fatigue (Dörnyei, 2003) and "Brief; easy to understand; reasonably quick to complete" (Munn & Drever, 1999, p.13). From feedback from the pilot sample, it was found that 1 question was ambiguous and was therefore changed before being published. Otherwise, feedback demonstrated that the questionnaire was easy to use and not off-putting.

3.3.3. Participant Recruitment & Questionnaire Administration

Phase three took place throughout May and June, with the questionnaire published on 25th May and terminating on 25th June. The survey was administered through Qualtrics, and the

distribution of the questionnaire, along with the recruitment of participants, took place remotely via social media on Facebook and LinkedIn (see example recruitment post Appendix B). I also incorporated emailing language schools in the UK, driven by difficulty recruiting for this demographic through social media. All participants were provided with a participation information sheet (Appendix C) outlining the study's aims in the social media post/email, and this was then also included on the first page of the Qualtrics Survey when gaining consent. Subsequently, participants decided to complete the study. At the end of the questionnaire, participants had the option to fill out an optional qualitative answer on their experiences with hiring and recruitment. Also, they had the opportunity to leave contact details to be contacted for a follow-up interview.

3.3.4. Semi-Structured Interviews

Phase four took place during two weeks in June 2023. The criteria for invitation to interview included:

1. Must have provided consent to be contacted for a follow-up interview and include an appropriate way of making contact (Email, WhatsApp, LinkedIn).
2. Alongside number 1, four participants were then selected based on the following criteria:
 - a) Must have selected they were a NEST teaching in Spain.
 - b) Must have selected they were a NEST teaching in the UK.
 - c) Must have selected they were an NNEST teaching in Spain.
 - d) Must have selected they were an NNEST teaching in the UK

I contacted the potential list of candidates, offered timeslots for interviews over Teams, and administered written consent forms (See appendix D) to respondents. All interviews lasted 1520 minutes and were audio recorded and digitally transcribed with manual edits for accuracy.

3.4. Data Collection, Measures and Analysis

I devised the instruments for this study, and Dr Heath Rose, a current dissertation supervisor in Applied Linguistics at the Department of Education, University of Oxford, provided commentary on drafts of measures. The final draft was approved by the CUREC panel at The University of Oxford on 15th May 2023 (Ref: **EDUC_C1A_23_198**)

Table 3 provides an overview of data collection instruments and analysis techniques, which will be detailed in the following sections. To achieve triangulation (Haq, 2014, p. 11) of data, three sources of data were used: 1) a questionnaire, 2) an optional qualitative question in the questionnaire, and 3) follow-up semi-structured interviews.

Data Collection Instruments	Data Analysis
Online Questionnaire Independent variables: 1) NEST or NNEST 2) Living in UK or Spain Dependent Variables: Question items.	Principal Component Analysis & Independent Samples T-Test
Optional Qualitative Question within Questionnaire Follow-Up Interviews	Thematic Analysis

Table 3: Data Collection and Data Analysis

3.4.1. Quantitative Data Collection – Questionnaire

The questionnaire on 'A comparative study of ESL teacher recruitment and teaching experiences in Spain and the UK' was devised and administered online through Qualtrics, containing five main parts (Appendix E). The design was thought out in line with Krosnick's (2018) recommendations. Part 1 included consent and eligibility criteria confirmation to ensure all participants were over the age of 18 and were an ESL teacher based in either Spain or the UK. It was clear that you could be either a native or non-native speaker to participate. Part 2 consisted of collecting demographic information such as age, gender, ethnicity, location of teaching, and teaching setting. Part 3 included 17 Likert (1932) style questions split into three subcategories (jobs, teacher preferences and stereotypes) aligned with the research questions. The response scale for all items in part 3 was a numbered 5-point scale for each dependent variable, coded as 1 - Strongly Agree, 2 - Agree, 3 - Neither Agree nor Disagree, 4- Disagree, 5- Strongly Disagree. I added numbers 1-5 before each response to ensure participants understood that each item was equidistance apart in order to improve the validity of their answers. The continuous numerical data combined with 17 questions were designed to ensure suitability for Principal Component Data analysis.

Finally, the questionnaire also included Parts 4 & 5, designed to screen for participants who could participate in qualitative data collection. This will be discussed more in the next paragraph.

3.4.2. Qualitative Data Collection - Questionnaire & Semi-Structured Interviews

In order to enhance the depth of quantitative data, the study design also incorporated qualitative data collection to provide an Emic perspective. In part 4 of the questionnaire, there was an optional textbox where participants could add qualitative data, sharing their experiences of being hired as a non-native or native teacher. This textbox had no word limit, so input ranged in size and detail.

Lastly, in Part 5 of the questionnaire, participants could opt-in to be contacted for a follow-up interview. I opted for a semi-structured interview format to enrich the qualitative data with real-life perspectives. I preferred semi-structured interviews rather than structured due to the “primary benefit of the semi-structured interview is that it permits interviews to be focused while still giving the investigator the autonomy to explore pertinent ideas that may come up in the course of the interview, which can further enhance understanding of the pharmacy service being assessed.” (Adeoye-Olatunde & Olenik, 2021). I set out to conduct four semi-structured interviews for the study to align with Miles and Huberman's (1994) recommendation that limiting the number of cases to less than 12 is preferential. The Interview Protocol (Appendix F) consisted of a selection of open-ended and semi-structured questions that allowed participants to share their experiences on recruitment and hiring practices while giving the researcher flexibility to probe further into interesting themes that arose. The four interviews took 15-20 mins each and were transcribed digitally directly after the interview and manually edited for accuracy.

While over 40 participants offered to participate in a follow-up interview, I used a purposive sampling method to select and ensure the real-life experiences of each sub-group were encapsulated in the study. Through this sampling method, I recruited: one NNEST based in the UK, one NNEST based in Spain, one NEST based in the UK and one NEST based in Spain.

3.5. Data Analysis

This section divides data analysis into two parts: quantitative and qualitative. As mentioned, to provide triangulated and valid findings, data analysis was conducted on three types of data: a questionnaire (quantitative), an optional question in the questionnaire (qualitative), and follow-up interviews (qualitative).

3.5.1. Quantitative Data Analysis

For the quantitative data analysis, descriptive graphs of the demographic information of samples were created. Principal Component Analysis was conducted in order to reduce the items of the questionnaire into smaller variables (Conway & Huffcutt, 2003) and “define which combination of data best represents the concept the people want to measure.” (Labrín & Urdinez, 2020).

The dataset was deemed appropriate for PCA due to the ratio of variables to participants being in line within recommended ranges (Plonsky & Gonulal, 2015), $k = 17$, $n = 210$. Then, once the

PCA was finished, I conducted independent sample t-tests on each construct from the PCA in order to compare the means of two independent variables, NNEST vs NEST, and NNEST in Spain vs. NNEST in the UK (Ross & Willson, 2017).

3.5.2. Qualitative Data Analysis

A thematic analysis approach was taken to group data into themes for the qualitative data analysis. “Thematic Analysis is an accessible, flexible, and increasingly popular method of qualitative data analysis. Learning to do it provides the qualitative researcher with a foundation in the basic skills needed to engage with other approaches to qualitative data analysis” (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

In the first instance, all audio recordings were transcribed digitally through Audacity, and then manually edited for accuracy. Subjective themes from the data were made based on the number of occurrences in the dataset.

3.6. Ethical Considerations

When conducting this study, ethical considerations needed to be factored in. The primary ethical considerations that needed to be accounted for were:

1. Transparency
2. Anonymity/ Pseudonymity
3. Confidentiality of data

To overcome these ethical considerations, the following steps were taken:

- 1) Transparency - All participants were provided with an information sheet for the study outlining all research procedures and aims. Every participant had the right to consent to

the study and equally withdraw from the study at any time without the need to give a reason.

- 2) Anonymity/Pseudonymity - Participants of the follow-up interviews were pseudonymised, and any revealing data of their location in the interviews was removed from the transcript. Furthermore, any qualitative data from the optional question in the online survey remained completely anonymous when quotations were used.
- 3) Confidentiality of data - All data containing personal/identifiable information were kept until the receiving the final marks and then destroyed, with any anonymised/pseudonymised data being retained for use by academic researchers indefinitely. Any files saved with data were saved with a pseudonym, not their real name.

3.7. Limitations

Some limitations must be taken into account in this study's methodology; firstly, the sample size. While the recruited participants are not insignificant; it cannot be assumed that the sample size is large enough to justify empirically based generalisations without further replication studies. Therefore, to make wider generalisations, it would be recommended to replicate this study with higher sample sizes and sample sizes across a multitude of countries; this study for example, only worked with two countries.

Secondly, the pilot test could only be conducted on three individuals due to the difficulty in recruiting ESL teachers to test the study; it would have been better to have more people testing the study.

Thirdly, within the questionnaire, it could be problematic to ask participants to self-identify as a native or non-native speaker. For example, participants may have grown up bilingual or as polyglot and not neatly fit into one category. For the purpose of this study and to recruit enough teachers within the short MSc timeline, I asked participants to allocate themselves into a category where they felt most comfortable.

Finally, thematic analysis for qualitative data could be prone to observer bias if one was to look at it from a positive researcher's perspective due to its subjectivity. However, given that I have

implemented a triangulated data collection model inclusive of qualitative data, assurance can be made that bias is removed and backed up with other data.

Chapter Four - Results & Analysis

4.0. Introduction

In this chapter, findings are presented from the data collection and split into two parts: quantitative and qualitative results. For the quantitative components, the results from the PCA are presented and independent samples t-test, alongside reliability analysis. For the qualitative data, the data is presented alongside thematic analysis.

4.1. Principal Component Analysis

The data set was suitable for PCA due to the ratio of variables to participants being in line with most recommended ranges ($K=17$, $n=210$) (Plonsky & Gonulal, 2015). Alongside this, conducted via SPSS, the KMO value of 0.84 indicated that the data were meritorious. Moreover, Bartlett's test of sphericity had an associated p-value of <0.001 , indicating that the data was suitable for factor analysis. The data from the questionnaire were analysed through a Principal Component Analysis (PCA), which was necessary to reduce the 17 questions into a smaller number of constructs (Conway & Huffcutt, 2003). The PCA was conducted through SPSS software, resulting in five clear constructs demonstrated in the rotated component matrix (see table 4, appendix G). All red items on the matrix were not included within the constructs due to their low-value results, and only items that resulted in .6 or above were considered.

PCA	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5
Q4.4	.845				
Q4.5	.824				
Q4.1	.824				
Q4.3	.804				
Q4.2	.792				
Q4.6	.628				
Q1.3	.607	-.344			
Q2.3		.820			
Q2.1		.768			
Q2.2		.645		.377	
Q3.2			.867		
Q3.1			.744		
Q3.3			.651		
Q1.2				.907	
Q1.1				.814	
Q4.7					.741
Q4.8		.343			.680

Table 4 – PCA results, Rotated Component Matrix

When looking at the PCA results, there were four clear constructs and one inconclusive construct illustrated in the rotated component matrix, described in depth below.

- **Construct 1 - Stereotypes.**

All questions included in this construct are shown below, and it was clear the theme was surrounding teacher stereotypes, so it was labelled "Stereotypes". It is unclear why Q1.3 landed in this category through the PCA as it does not appear as aligned as Q4.1-Q4.6.

However, a decision was made to keep Q1.3 in the construct to maintain the reliability of the study (see section on Cronbach's Alpha).

Q4.1. Native teachers are better at teaching speaking than non-native teachers.

Q4.2. Native teachers are better at teaching pronunciation than non-native teachers

Q4.3. Native teachers are better at teaching vocabulary than non-native teachers

Q4.4. Native teachers are better at teaching reading than non-native teachers

Q4.5. Native teachers are better at teaching listening than non-native teachers

Q4.6. Native teachers are better at teaching culture than non-native teachers

Q1.3. There should not be any discrimination between native and non-native teachers as far as employment opportunities is concerned.

- **Construct 2 - The NEST advantage**

All questions included in the second construct are shown below, and the theme here was explicitly surrounding the potential advantage native teachers have around pay, elite roles, and ease of access to employment. Therefore, construct 2 was labelled "The NEST advantage".

Q2.1. It's harder for non-native speakers to get English teaching jobs compared to native speakers.

Q2.2. There are more job advertisements for native English teachers.

Q2.3. Higher paid and elite jobs are more available for native ESL teacher than nonnative ESL teachers.

- **Construct 3 - Native Teacher Preferences**

All questions included in the third construct are shown below, and it was clear the theme here was surrounding preferences of native teachers from students, parents, and employers, so it was labelled it "Native Teacher Preferences".

Q3.1 My students would prefer a native English teacher

Q3.2 My student's parents/guardians would prefer a native English teacher Q3.3

My employer would prefer a native English Teacher

- **Construct 4- ESL Job Discrimination**

All questions included in construct four are listed below, and it was logical that the theme here was surrounding job discrimination in the ESL sector via adverts and interviews, so was labelled "ESL Job Discrimination".

Q1.1. I have experienced negative discrimination through job advertisements.

Q1.2. I have experienced negative hiring discrimination through interviews.

- **Construct 5 - Inconclusive Construct**

However, for construct five, there was no lucid link between the below two statements, and therefore required further analysis to look into the reliability of this construct.

Q4.7 Native teachers are better to teach grammar than non-native teachers. Q4.8 A non-native English teacher can empathise better with students because they know what it's like to learn English as a second language

4.2. Reliability Testing & Analysis

In order to test the internal consistency and reliability of the five constructs from the Principal Component Analysis, I conducted Cronbach's Alpha on each construct (see table 5). Following Tavakol & Dennick (2011), I sought to use any construct with a sufficient reliability rating of .7 or above.

The reliability statistics found that the following three constructs had high or extremely high internal reliability and, therefore, appropriate to retain as constructs for further analysis: C1 Stereotypes (.892), C2 The NEST Advantage (.726), and C4 Job Discrimination (.796). Construct 5 resulted in extremely low reliability (.288), so it was removed entirely from further data analysis. This finding was unsurprising given the fact that there was no clear link between the statements in this construct. Finally, when looking at the result of C3 Native Teacher Preference construct, it initially resulted in low reliability (.657) when it included all three items

from the PCA (Q3.1, Q3.2, and Q3.3 - see below). However, upon further analysis of Cronbach's Alpha, the internal reliability could be increased to .765 with the removal of Q3.3.

So, I investigated closer to see if it made contextual sense within the study to remove Q3.3.

Considering that Q3.1 and Q3.2 are highly related to students and their guardians, keeping these statements together is justified as they are highly aligned. There is also logical justification for removing Q3.3., not only to increase internal reliability of the construct via Cronbach's Alpha but also because employers' preferences may differ significantly from those of students/parents. For example, an employer may be more likely to select a type of English teacher based on their visa status and other logistical matters that a student/parent would not need to consider when choosing an ESL teacher. Due to this rationale, Q3.3 was removed from the construct of native teacher preferences and reliability was increased to .765.

<u>Construct</u>	<u>No. of Items</u>	<u>Cronbach's Alpha</u>	<u>Conclusion</u>	<u>Action</u>
C1 - Stereotypes	7	.892	Extremely High Reliability	Keep construct
C2 - The NEST Advantage	3	.726	High Reliability	Keep construct
C3 - Native Teacher Preference	3	.657	Low Reliability	Action required to increase reliability (see appendix H).

	2	.765	High Reliability	Action: Remove Q3.3. to increase reliability and keep construct (see Appendix H)
C4 - Job Discrimination	2	.796	High Reliability	Keep construct
C5 - Inconclusive Construct	2	.288	Extremely Low Reliability	Remove construct entirely from study

Table 5 – Table of Cronbach's Alpha

4.3. Quantitative Findings

4.3.0. Independent Sample t-test findings

All data matched the assumptions for independent sample t-tests for SPSS: the dependent variable was on a continuous scale, the independent variable had two categories, there was independence of observations between independent variables, there are no significant outliers, the dependent variable was normally distributed for each group of the independent variable (See distribution graphs in Appendix I), and variances were homogeneous.

Below is a table (Table 6) showing mean, standard deviation, t-test and significance results.

Then each RQ is broken down and explained in full.

	Teacher Type	Country	Construct	n	Mean (m)	Standard Deviation (SD)	t	Significance (p)
RQ1	NEST	Spain & UK	3	129	7.8062	1.68670	3.436	<.001

	NNEST	Spain & UK	3	73	6.9041	1.96613		
RQ2	NEST	Spain & UK	4	132	5.2045	2.36301	-6.567	<.001
	NNEST	Spain & UK	4	74	7.3919	2.16332		
RQ3	NNEST	UK	4	33	6.7576	2.26426	-2.278	<0.26
	NNEST	Spain	4	41	7.8780	1.96463		
RQ4	NEST	Spain & UK	2	128	11.3359	2.60005	-3.474	<.001
	NNEST	Spain & UK	2	73	12.6027	2.27144		
RQ5	NEST	Spain & UK	1	126	16.0159	5.28543	4.418	<.001
	NNEST	Spain & UK	1	71	12.9014	3.60220		

Table 6 - A table of quantitative results for each research question.

4.3.1. RQ1: Do NESTs or NNESTs perceive nativeness to be most important in the eyes of parents and students?

An independent-samples t-test was conducted on construct 3 “Native Teacher Preferences” to compare NESTs and NNESTs opinions of their students/guardians' preferences of ESL teachers. The results found that there was a significant difference in the scores for NEST

($M=7.8062$, $SD= 1.68670$) and NNEST ($M= 6.9041$, $SD = 1.96613$) groups; $t(200) = 3.436$, $p<.001$. The findings illustrated that there was a higher mean score for the NEST group than the NNEST group. This shows that NESTs perceive nativeness in the classroom to be more important to parents and students than perceived by NNESTs.

4.3.2. RQ2: Do NNESTs experience higher levels of self-reported hiring discrimination than their NEST peers across Spain and the UK?

An independent-samples t-test was conducted on construct 4 "Job Discrimination" to compare NESTs and NNESTs hiring experiences through job interviews and advertisements. The results found that there was a significant difference in the scores for NEST ($M=5.2045$, $SD= 2.36301$) and NNEST ($M=7.3919$, $SD = 2.16332$) groups; $t(204) = -6.567$, $p<.001$, with the NNEST group resulting in a higher mean score. This result reveals that in this study, NNESTs reported significantly higher levels of hiring and recruitment discrimination compared to the NEST group.

4.3.3. RQ3: Do NNESTs have differing experiences of self-reported hiring discrimination experiences comparatively in Spain and the UK?

An independent-samples t-test was conducted on construct 4 "Job Discrimination" to compare if NNESTs in the UK and NNESTs in Spain had differing experiences regarding hiring discrimination through job adverts and interviews. There was a significant difference in the scores for NNEST in the UK ($M=6.7576$, $SD= 2.26426$) and NNEST in Spain ($M=7.8780$, $SD = 1.96463$) groups; $t(72) = -2.278$, $p<0.26$. The findings showed that NNESTs teaching in Spain reported a higher mean score than NNESTs teaching in the UK, illustrating that NNESTs in this study experienced higher levels of discrimination in Spain than in The UK.

4.3.4. RQ4: Do NESTs have an advantage in the ESL teacher job market compared to NNEST?

An independent-samples t-test was conducted on construct 2 "The NEST Advantage" to compare whether NEST have an advantage in the ESL job market in Spain and the UK regarding access to higher paid, more elite job and easier access to employment opportunities. There was a significant difference in the scores for NEST ($M=11.3359$, $SD=2.60005$) and NNEST ($M=12.6027$, $SD = 2.27144$) groups; $t(199) = -3.474$, $p<.001$. The NNEST group

resulted in a higher mean score, illustrating that NNESTs perceive being a native teacher is more of an advantage than NESTs perceive.

4.3.5. RQ5: Do NNESTs vs NESTs believe that native teachers are better at teaching ESL skills?

An independent-samples t-test was conducted on construct 1 "Stereotypes" to compare NESTs and NNESTs opinions on stereotypes of native teachers concerning certain skills (E.g. listening, reading, culture, speaking, pronunciation etc.). There was a significant difference in the scores for NEST ($M=16.0159$, $SD= 5.28543$) and NNEST ($M=12.9014$, $SD = 3.60220$) groups; $t(195) = 4.418$, $p<.001$. The NEST group reported a higher mean score indicating that they believe native teachers are better at teaching skills such as listening, grammar, speaking, reading than non-native teachers.

4.4. Qualitative Findings & Thematic Analysis

4.4.1 Questionnaire Responses

From the qualitative response box within the questionnaire, emic perspectives were collected. Using thematic analysis, I subjectively found nine recurring themes from the data: pay, interviews, advertisements, the NEST advantage, lying, positive discrimination, pressures for NEST, intersectional discrimination, and comparative comments between the UK & Spain.

<u>Themes (T)</u>	<u>No of instances</u> <u>NNEST</u>	<u>NNEST</u>	<u>No of instances</u> <u>NEST</u>	<u>NEST</u>

T1 - Discrimination in Pay	2	“Native speakers are paid a higher salary for the same job.” “I have even experienced discrimination regarding my salary, as in many places I would get paid less than native colleagues, even if I have better qualifications and more experience.”	2	“It’s much harder to get jobs, and to get higher paying jobs, as a native English speaker from South Africa.” “I’m a native English speaker but I’m from the Philippines, so no one actually considers me native despite having an indistinguishable American accent and being a writer (which means better command of grammar). I’ve gotten rejected from multiple jobs despite years of experience because I’m “not native” and in online teaching, was only able to land at most 7€ an hour. I see native speakers from the US/UK making 20+ an hour and they couldn’t even spell properly,
				which is outrageously unfair.”

T2 - Discrimination in Adverts	6	“Some positions are only open to native speakers of the language, therefore I am excluded from applying, even though I have completed extensive studies on the subject and have 5+ years of experience in teaching the subject.” “The only kind of discrimination I encountered was in job ads on platforms such as LinkedIn or Indeed, showing higher salaries for native speakers, or explicitly requesting native speakers for the role.” “I have encountered discrimination in advertisements mainly recruiting ESL teachers in countries where the language is not English (e.g., Europe, Asia). As a rule, I do not apply for jobs	9	“In my experience adverts for ELT teaching posts in the UK take care to avoid discrimination.” “Although, I am a native English speaker, I am South African and I have experienced discrimination in hiring- for example, job adverts not only requesting a native English speaker, but only accepting native English speakers from “white” countries- the UK, USA, Canada, Australia.” “As a 'native' English teacher I have seen some companies choosing to advertise for native / native like teachers.” “Many job listings now say “native level” instead
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				of “native speaker” but it is just coded language.
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		that mention native speakers.” “I notice that some employers advertise positions only for native speakers of English.” “Job ads may not say "native speakers only" because current legislation forbids it, but in real practice non-native speakers won't be hired. Teachers with Spanishsounding names will have less chances of being hired. This is mostly in private and international schools; for state schools, the situation is completely different, as candidates go through the recruitment process irrespectively of their first language.” “I have found that most academies will hire native		Most businesses and clients obviously prefer native speakers.” “My previous academy in Utrera, Sevilla had a sign in the window which read "Profesores nativos", I met someone on a course who was a nonnative speaker and he told me that his academy only allowed him to teach CLIL. More recently I worked for an online platform who advertised themselves as "English practise with native speakers", despite being a non-native speaker the owner of the company was obsessed with hiring only natives.” “I’ve never been negatively impacted personally, but often I see job advertisements stating that it must be a
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		speakers only, and those that do hire Spanish people, always prioritize		native speaker. In my school, however, there
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		giving more students and or older students to natives. I was discriminated against when visiting in person certain extracurricular English language academies and the owner directly asked me if I have a British or American passport.”	are just as many nonnative as native teachers. Students in general do tend to prefer a native speaker to sound more “correct”.” “Nowadays I see fewer job adverts for native teachers - more often the term native-like level of English.” “Many jobs specify they want native speakers, with many going as far as specifying the country they prefer.” “I’ve seen lots of job ads only wanting to hire those with an EU passport, which discriminates those wanting to work in Spain that don’t have an EU passport. It’s because the employers in Spain don’t want anything to do with visa process for their employees etc”
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<u>T3 - Discrimination in Interviews</u>	4	“I was told over the phone that since I am a nonnative speaker, I will not be considered for any job.” “I've had interviewers literally hanging up on me after asking where I was from.” “Mostly the academies usually prefer native speakers than non-native speakers. I felt it personally in many interviews.” “Most of the academies around Andalucía won't even interview you if you are not native. By my own experience there are a lot of natives that are not qualified to teach but they get hired with no experience on the account of being native.”	0	n.b. No reports of discrimination through interviews.
<u>T4 - The NEST advantage</u>	1	“It was impossible for me to be employed at academies in Spain. Therefore, I've left Spain.	4	“Having taught at all levels in most business and education sectors - companies, private

Candidate Number: 1060745

		Nativism there is just disgrace. In my new placement my teaching experience and work ethics are more important than being a native.”		language schools and universities in the UK and Japan, I can say with confidence that nativespeaking teachers of ESL/EFL are certainly given a preferential treatment in comparison to our non-native speaking colleagues. Whether this is fair or unjust is a completely subjective perspective from the hiring institution to the student body.” “I’ve been hired simply for being a native speaker, although I was qualified, the native aspect was more important for some employers” “Personally, I have obviously never had any issues with native speakerism, as I am a native speaker of English. However, I have seen it in multiple forms
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			over many years. I suggested a friend, who is a C2 level qualified teacher of English, and she was dismissed as she is not a native speaker. There were a number of teachers on the platform who were native speakers but not qualified.” “Other native teachers I've worked with did not have specific training for teaching English and they did not use proper grammar or pronunciation, but they are deemed "better" because they are Native.”
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<u>T5 - Positive Discrimination</u>	1	“My ESL career has taken place exclusively in the UK. In the time I have been working as an ESL teacher I have faced no discrimination; on the contrary, I have been offered a variety of opportunities.”	3	“I have always benefited from being native for job opportunities.” “I have never experienced negative discrimination when searching for a job in ESL, but have
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				experienced positive discrimination (in that I, as a native speaker, was preferred over non-native speakers) when searching for a job in EFL in Spain.” “As a white native speaker discrimination hasn't really affected me, though I have obviously seen it. I would say it is more of an issue abroad than in the UK (in some countries racial discrimination is also a real factor), though this is not to say it never happens in Britain.”
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<u>T6 -</u> <u>Pressures for</u> <u>NESTs from</u> <u>parents</u>	2	“There are loads of discrimination in Spain towards the do called non/ native teachers. Employers would rather hire a native with no qualification at all who’s backpacking through Europe, and will probably	5	“I also run an online teaching school and unfortunately students want native speakers. They would not pay for a non-native speaker.” “I have found that many my parents at the school
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		last 3 months tops, to hiring a well-qualified nonnative ESL teacher just to avoid narrow minded Spanish parents from complaining about their promise of a native speaker ESL teachers” “Academies themselves advertise extracurricular English lessons with native teachers, which leads parents to believe that native teachers are better than non-native teachers.”		where I work prefer their children to be taught by me versus my non-native colleagues.” “I’m moved around classes because I’m the only native teacher so that my boss can say students are being taught by a native. I don’t believe being native or non-native determines your ability to teach any area of teaching, it’s a combination of level of English and teaching ability that are most important. But the parents are currently driving a native market, albeit the children I don’t think notice/mind/understand (depending on age) and in my experience often prefer someone who speak Spanish.” “I have a small school in Spain. I am native but I
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				employ teachers from several countries. The kids and teens are happy to meet teachers from other countries ("nonnative"), but I have had parents complain about this and withdraw their kids for that reason. I will still continue to base my recruitment decisions on qualifications and experience rather than passport."
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<u>T7 - Lying about nativism</u>	5	“Here are some examples of discrimination which I’ve faced as a non-native English teacher in Spain: 1. Asked to lie that one of my parents in British, 2. Asked to lie that I am British, 3. Offered only lower level groups because apparently nonnative teachers can’t teach C1, 4. Told they I’m lucky that my first name is	0	n.b. No reports of lying.
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		Daniel because it sounds British.” “I was forced by my manager to lie about my origins. In the eye of my students, I was a native speaker.” “In one academy they made me lie and say I'm native (bilingual) so the students and parents wouldn't complain. It's just sad I've been studying all my life for this and specialising so much for no one to take me seriously only because of my passport.” “Even though I have an almost native level of English, my Hispanic name would be a something employers wouldn't love. In a few of my jobs, they've asked me to “change” my name to a more English		
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		sounding one. I've faced less		
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		discrimination with parents when my name sounded more English-speaking, even when having a Hispanic last name.” “I’ve had to hide where I actually come from because my accent masks it anyways.”		
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<u>T9 -</u> <u>Comments</u> <u>comparing UK</u> <u>& Spain</u>	3	“I’ve had the impression when looking for jobs the preference for a native speaker is higher in Spain than the UK. My partner, native speaker, was teaching in Spain in primary and secondary schools with no teaching qualification.” “I work in the UK where I have found discrimination to be less present. I have not encountered overt discrimination in interviews I attended. In the higher education setting where I work, I have not felt overt discrimination for teachers who speak English as a	1	“When I worked as a TEFL teacher in the UK, I didn’t feel like there was a negative attitude towards non-natives teaching English. On the contrary, they were often the most popular teachers. It seems to be much more of an issue in Spain, potentially because they allow people to teach English who don’t have a sufficient level, but I also feel that non-natives teachers are judged much more harshly than natives if they don’t know something.”
		second language.” “I’d like to mention that I’ve also got experience teaching English in the UK and I haven’t faced any discrimination over there.”		

Table 7 - A table of qualitative results from questionnaire

After splitting the data into themes, each was suitably paired with the relevant RQs they addressed. This is illustrated in the below table (Table 8)

<u>Research Questions</u>	<u>Themes that address the RQs</u>
RQ1: Do NESTs or NNESTs perceive nativeness to be most important in the eyes of parents and students?	T6 - Pressures for NESTs from parents
RQ2: Do NNESTs experience higher levels of self-reported hiring discrimination than their NEST peers across Spain and the UK?	T1 - Discrimination in Pay T2 - Discrimination in Advertisements T3 - Discrimination in Interviews T7 - Lying about Nativism
RQ3: Do NNESTs have differing experiences of self-reported hiring discrimination experiences comparatively in Spain and the UK?	T9 - Comments comparing UK & Spain
RQ4: Do NESTs have an advantage in the ESL teacher job market compared to NNEST?	T4 - The NEST Advantage T5 - Positive Discrimination

RQ5: Do NNESTs vs NESTS believe that native teachers are better at teaching ESL skills?	n.b. This RQ was not explored in this part of data collection.
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Table 8 - A table of themes related to RQ

Other interesting themes that were not related to RQs but closely related with the literature included:

1) Intersectional Discrimination for NESTs and themes arose surrounding “inner circle” (Kachru, 1985,1992):

- “I think you also need to consider that there is discrimination even within native ranks regarding accent etc. I’m Australian, and quite often, employers stipulate that they only want a British or North American teacher.”
- “I am Canadian, so I experience bias due to my status as an English colony and American speaker. Traditionally, students have valued British English. I was once refused a position because of my accent. In terms of hiring, natives are preferred always and there are often confrontations on job postings as employers try to find creative ways to avoid directly asking for native speakers.”
- “I consider myself a native speaker because I grew up in a bilingual community in the Philippines, but a lot of people only consider those who are within Kachru's inner circle as native circle so whenever recruiters see that I'm from the Philippines, I suppose they discard my CV because I've never gotten to an interview phase whenever I send applications to academies via their emails. And this is despite me having an MA and being part of a doctorate program in applied linguistics with a focus on language acquisition. My current workplace accepted me because I have an American accent and not because of my qualifications. I mean, my boss appreciates it but some of my coworkers do not have any specific training/education in this field. Discrimination, I've noticed, is worse in bigger cities like Madrid.”
- “Student’s often ask me where I’m from when I first meet them. Especially when they see that I have another flag on my name lanyard that’s not the UK.”

2) Perspectives from teachers who were also recruiters, who presented discriminatory views:

- 'I own a language academy and would hire native speakers - especially women, because my students request that their teachers be native.'
- "I'm an academy owner so it'd be me doing the discriminating. And I do because my USP is that all the teachers in the academy are not only native but also Celta-qualified.'
- "I am the director of a language school and I think teacher recruitment is much more based on the skills of the candidate than whether they are native or not. I wouldn't hire a non-native teacher who can write English perfectly but has terrible pronunciation."

3) Cases where employment was fair in Spain, posing to the notion that teaching setting could influence their hiring experiences:

- "As I teach ESL in Public High Schools in Spain, I cannot say I have suffered discrimination during the recruitment process (which is a competitive exam called "Concurso-Oposición")."

4.4.2. Case Studies

4.4.2.0 Introduction

I conducted four follow-up semi-structured interviews, to collect rich qualitative data. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. Please see Appendix J for example transcript and Appendix F for interview structure guidance. Below is an overview of the case studies conducted:

1. Richard - NEST in Spain
2. Sarah - NEST in the UK
3. Jakob - NNEST in Spain
4. Anna - NNEST in the UK

NEST Case Studies

4.4.2.1. NEST Case Studies in Spain - Richard

Richard is a native ESL teacher, originally from Australia and teaching in a major Spanish city. Richard teaches in a private language academy with students ranging in age from primary aged students to adults. Richard has a Bachelor of Music, a Master's in Applied Linguistics in TESOL, and a CELTA qualification. Richard has 6 years' experience teaching English as a foreign language and also speaks Spanish as his L2.

Richard spoke about the positive discrimination he has experienced as a native speaker in Spain, noting that it *"definitely makes it easier for [him] in terms of the hiring process."* He followed by saying: *"I would say most of my hiring experiences have been positive like in the sense that I didn't come away from that with a bad feeling. And I think it could have a lot to do with the kind of jobs that I was applying for. I think in my job searches I was looking for academies that did specify that they were looking for people who had at least like a minimum of CELTA or CELTA equivalent to kind of filter out some of the academies that would hire just based on like the fact that the person was a native speaker. For example, because I think that that potentially indicates maybe the quality or, you know, at least the mentality of the Academy."*

Richard reflected on adverts in the ESL market in Spain, noting some level of microdiscrimination towards native speakers from certain countries and/or with certain accents: *"I have seen for example, job advertisements where it will specify , you know, what you would call like the inner circle thing, which is UK, Canada, USA, Australia - as kind of the preferred candidates. But then I have also seen job advertisements where they're particularly looking for a US accent or a UK accent as well."*

Richard expressed feelings of being at an advantage for being a native speaker in Spain: *"I would say that I would still have no problems finding work with no qualifications or just like the basic online TEFL certificate and a native accent. I wouldn't have any problems getting a job, I reckon. It's true that if you have a native accent, it shouldn't be too difficult finding work."*

He also reflected on pay differences between NNEST and NEST in Spain through private online classes in Spain (tusclasesparticulares.com): *"I've looked at non-native speakers offering private*

lessons and generally speaking for example Spanish people with, a Masters in English Philology. And they're charging maybe between 10 to 15 euros an hour for private lessons and then you've got, for example, people who come here for the auxiliares de conversacion programme and they're charging 20 to 25 euros and they don't have any qualificationsand people will go to them first. That just seems to be the reality."

Richard stated that while he had not faced any hiring discrimination, he had faced discrimination within work as an ESL teacher due to him not having "a stereotypical Australian look". He followed, *"I imagine people think that they're blonde haired blue eyed, very white person"*. He continued with his story: *"I remember I was walking past one of the new students who is doing the placement test to come into the academy. And he takes one look at me, and he says to the director 'you told me that they were all native teachers here, right?' But because I look a slightly mysterious ethnicity there was already the question of all you know are these people native speakers? I would say that's the main kind of questionable thing'.* Richard felt comfortable to share he was Malaysian Australian and felt like Spain suffered from lack of multi-culturalism and ethnic diversity.

Richard also recalled working as a speaking examiner in Spain where he had witnessed NNESTs, having to mask part of their identity: *"During our induction training to be Cambridge examiner, the team leader told the Spanish people to basically try and anglicise their name, you know. So, for example, I don't know like Jose, I guess it would be Joseph. Basically, try and be less Spanish for the purposes of the of the exam, because of the perceptions of the examinees that they would feel like you, you know how can this Spanish person be examining my English?"*

4.4.2.2 NEST Case study in the UK - Sarah

Sara is a native ESL teacher, originally from South Africa and teaching in the UK. Sarah teaches face-to-face group-based classes in a private language school in a small town in the north of the UK. She also does some online 121 classes. Sarah has a Bachelor's degree in Linguistics, a TEFL certificate and is also working towards gaining her CELTA qualification. Sarah teaches beginner to advanced level classes, and typically delivers a 12-week course to sponsored students from the Middle East who are studying in university. All her students are of postgraduate age. Sarah is polylingual, speaking 4 total languages, English, Afrikaans, Zulu and French. She has been teaching ESL for 2 years.

Sarah reported on having a very mixed experience being hired as a NEST in the UK. *"In the UK my first teaching jobs were online, like 121 tuition. And I tried initially to apply on various platforms online, and I kept seeing the same kinds of things as a native speaker. Because I'm from South Africa, people assume that I won't sound like a native speaker. So, it's a slightly different experience. So, I kept seeing on all jobs they would say UK and American accents only or UK, America, Canada and Australian accents only. So, it wasn't just about your first language has to be English. It was like you also have to be from these specific countries. I just couldn't find honestly a lot of places online that would accept me."*

She shared her struggles of getting a face-to-face job in the UK, *"I didn't know this at the time, but after getting the job I applied for. It took maybe a few months before they actually responded and called me in for an interview. And I later found out that they had initially kind of buried my CV because it said I was from South Africa. And the receptionist admitted to me that she had actually been asked to call me in advance. So, I'd emailed in, and she'd been asked to call me to check if my accent sounded too bad or if it was OK. So, theya kind of vetting process for accents."* Sarah also reported now seeing recruitment from the other side with non-native teachers being treated differently, and even racial discrimination occurring in the hiring process.

She shared that in comparison to other NNEST candidates in the market, she had faced positive discrimination: *"mostly because like I said, I'm white and students and institutions tend to have this idea that, you know, my teachers will be perceived more favourably in some way and be seen as more English, so that helps. And the fact that English is my first language, even if people don't immediately realise that that it is my first language and that gives me as a native speaker an edge on a non-native speaker. And because I have a neutral accent in comparison*

to other South Africans. I think that it also has been an aspect of positive discrimination, in my favour because I've kind of consciously worked to neutralise my accent"

Sarah reflected on where she thinks the pressure for NESTs is coming from noting: *"It's kind of like a feedback loop. It's like I do think that students that come from non-English speaking countries expect a certain type of looking person and sounding person when they want to learn English. But I also think that the fact that they expect that comes from what they're being shown, if that makes sense. It's like this is what an English person looks and sounds like. So, then anything that deviates from that is not perceived as being real English and they want the model of a real English person. Because that has like a certain prestige attached to it. So, I think that's part of it. If you have a school and all the teachers are like non white and don't come from the UK or America, students will perceive that as being kind of like a less prestigious or lower value school in some way. That's what it seems like from the student perspective. And then also seeing the decisions being made on the other side by my bosses for example, who will say 'Oh yeah, students won't like someone who is like this or like that, so we should hire someone like this.'"*

Sarah mentioned she had faced a lot of ignorance towards her being from South Africa: *"my students when they found out I was from South Africa. You know, the response is always like, but you're white kind of thing. I think there is a lot of ignorance about South Africa as a country in general, which definitely plays into it. But then I also think that even if there was a general awareness that English is a widely spoken language in South Africa, that a lot of people do speak as native speakers. I still think there would be discrimination anyway, for a different reason. I think it would be because it's just perceived as a less prestigious dialect of English."*

Sarah shared that she had seen job adverts that *"openly advertise different pay rates for different countries that you come from. So if you come from like a Non-ideal country then yeah, your pay rate will be lower based on that."* She stated that South Africa is included in these

lower-paid countries. She also added: *“I’m more willing to accept lower paid work because I know how hard it is to find the higher paying jobs, the higher paying jobs usually go to people who come from either the USA or the UK as a priority. Not like they only go to those people, but those applicants are usually prioritised over like South African applicants I would say.”*

NNEST Case Studies

4.4.2.3. NNEST Case study in Spain – Jakob

Jakob is a non-native ESL teacher with 13 years' experience, originally from Poland and teaching in Spain. Jakob teaches in a university setting in a major Spanish city and focuses on senior classes with students aged 55 or above. Jakob teaches from beginner level to B2. He holds a Bachelor's degree in English Philology with a teaching specialism and has also completed an Masters in Teaching English as a Foreign Language at a London University. While Jakob is currently teaching in Spain, he also has experience teaching in the UK too, and usually spends his summer holidays teaching at summer camps in the UK. Jakob is bilingual speaking Polish as his native language and English as his L2.

Jakob reported on having more negative hiring experiences as a NNEST in Spain in comparison to the UK. However, Jakob began the interview by reporting some positive experiences that he had in Spain in the university setting noting: *“Nobody's ever questioned my origin, my nationality and they only looked at my qualifications. They looked at my experience and based on that I got the job. I don't know if it matters, but the person I was hired by was British. This can actually make a bit of a difference to be honest.”*

Jakob reported on many negative hiring discrimination experiences with regards to interviews and pay: *“I've had lots of interviews, worked for a couple of different schools as well. And in some of them, I was offered less money just because I was non-native. And this was like years ago, I remember I asked for ridiculously low €15 an hour net. And they said, oh, this is what we pay, but they're clear about it, they said this is what we pay native teachers. We can only give you that but gross.”* He reflected that native teachers had an advantage over him when it came to interviews - *“I've got a lot of British friends here and there were periods when all of us were*

applying for jobs. And I do remember applying for same positions as my British friends and they were offered an interview and I wasn't."

Jakob also reflected on experiences of being asked to lie by employers about his nonnaiveness: *"I also remember being told to tell my students that my mum is British. And so, yeah, I was asked to lie about it. Well, one of my parents. And they were like, oh, make sure you say it's your mum because your last name doesn't sound British at all."*

From Jakob's perspective, a combination of parents and employers were influencing the pressure for NESTs: *"The way they justified it is, they always say, well how can I explain to parents of the students that non-native teachers are equally good. Especially here I think in Spain, people have bad experience with Spanish teachers who taught English and I think this is where it might come from. Or when it comes to schools where they teach children, they always say it's the parents they've requested it. Like ... 'we don't mind non-native teachers. That's what they always say, 'but it's the parents that want that.'"*

Jakob reported on situations where NESTs have advantage over him: *"I have friends here, British friends, who have a degree. However, it's not a degree in teaching. It's a degree in anything else and they have, you know, a CELTA certificate, which I'm sure you're familiar with, so it takes a month to do it. I feel like they had a lot of advantage just because they were native. So, nobody really looks at qualification unfortunately."*

Jakob reported having a different experience as a NNEST in the UK: *"On the contrary, you know, I've not had any negative experience in the UK as an English teacher."*, *"It's been amazing. And the school I work for, they hire a lot of non-native teachers."* He also felt more valued as a teacher in the UK noting: *"after the first summer with them, they offered me an Assistant Director of Studies position. I feel like they valued me for my experience, for what I can do, for how I teach, what kind of teacher I am... rather than my Polishness."*

When I asked Jakob if he thought it would be easier for him to get a job if he was a native speaker in Spain, he simply responded “definitely” without hesitation or thought.

4.4.2.4. NNEST Case study in the UK - Anna

Anna is a non-native ESL teacher in the UK, originally from Spain. Anna teaches in a further education college; her students are all adult asylum seekers and refugees. She teaches entry level to pre-intermediate. Anna also has experience teaching in Spain. She has a Bachelors in English Philology, and then completed her Certificado de Adapcion Pedagogica which allowed her to qualify as a teacher. She has taught in both Spain and the UK.

Anna firstly reflected on her first job in the UK in 2009 as an ESL teacher and referenced that she thinks she got the job because the summer school was ‘desperate’ due to be hired so last minute. At this time, she noted that there weren’t many non-native teachers, but just 2 years later more NNESTs were coming to the UK to teach English. She also said her current team in the UK is very international with a third of the teachers being non-natives.

When I asked if Anna had experienced negative discrimination when being hired in the UK she said: *“Funny enough, I felt it more in Spain”*. She also shared experiences that there is a NEST advantage in Spain: *“I know Spanish teachers that teach English in Spain but also know native speakers that teach English in Spain, and they get jobs to work in state schools. Normally you need to pass an exam. And native speakers, they get in. Doing nothing, just an interview.”*

Anna also shared comparative experiences with regards to pay and qualifications: *“This past weekend we were talking to some friends here that had lived in Spain as well. And I was raging because he’s an architect and he said that the only job he could get in Spain was teaching English as a native speaker, but he had no teaching qualification, and he was getting like between €20 to €60 an hour. And when I was teaching in Spain, I was getting like €15 if I was lucky.”*

Anna stated that it would have been easier for her to get a job in Spain as a native speaker, and she experienced fairer job opportunities and rates of pay in the UK. Anna shared that in her

setting in the UK she had positive experiences and a manager who didn't discriminate based on nativeness. She also stated her non-nativeness was used as a benefit for her students in the UK noting *"we are kind of encouraging a way of saying "See I'm not a native speaker and I'm teaching English so you can do great with what you are learning here"*.

4.5. Summary of case studies

The below table (Table 9) illustrates which whether each interview aided the RQ with qualitative data.

	RQ1	RQ2	RQ3	RQ4	RQ5
NESTs					This RQ was not explored in the followup interviews.
Richard	✓	✓		✓	
Sarah	✓	✓		✓	
NNESTs					
Jakob	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Anna		✓	✓	✓	

Table 9 - A table demonstrating RQ themes in follow-up interview

Chapter Five - Discussion

5.0. Introduction

This chapter interprets the quantitative and qualitative findings presented in chapter four vis-avis the five research questions. Associated literatures are cross referenced to inform the interpretation and analysis of the results of this study.

5.1. Critical Examination of Findings and Relationship to the existing literature

5.1.1. RQ1: Do NESTs or NNESTs perceive nativeness to be most important in the eyes of parents and students?

From the quantitative data, a significant difference was found between NESTs and NNESTs, insinuating that NESTs perceive nativeness to be of higher importance to parents and students than NNESTs.

It is unclear why this is, but Jakob shed light on this from a NNEST perspective in his interview. Jakob mentioned that in schools, employers tend to state that parents have requested native teachers, but he had little belief that this was the reality. Like Jakob, other NNESTs believe that nativeness, in reality, is less important than his employer perceives.

Furthermore, NESTs could believe nativeness to be more important to parents and students than NNESTs due to their experiences of positive discrimination when being hired, which has left them with the perception that nativeness is paramount. There were three instances of NESTs discussing their experiences of positive discrimination from the questionnaire, and similarly, both Sarah and Richard noted their experiences of being positively discriminated against because of their nativeness. Further research would be required to understand this phenomenon better, but it could indicate that native speakerism ideologies are more common in the NEST community than in NNEST communities. A potential reason for this could be buy-in to the NNEST Movement being higher in the NNEST community than in NESTs, which could warrant more promotion of NNEST matters to native teachers.

From the qualitative data, it is clear that external pressures display native speakerism ideologies, with many participants suggesting that parents were driving market demand for native speakers. Other notable qualitative data came from teachers who were recruiters who stated that they discriminated against candidates when applying for jobs based on their nativeness. They commented that there is high pressure from parents and worry they would lose clients if they did not have native teachers in their schools. These attitudes mirrored those found in previous literature, for example, in Holliday (2008). It must be noted that we cannot

assume the findings apply to all settings, and it could be more plausible that these attitudes exist more in the private teaching market, where a consumerist mentality is more likely to occur.

Nevertheless, in answer to RQ1, NESTs perceive nativeness to be significantly more important in the eyes of parents and students than NNESTs. Further research could help understand why this perception exists in contrast to a myriad of existing literature and empirical evidence, which found that students and parents do not demonstrate clear preferences towards native or nonnative teachers (Aslan & Thompson, 2016; Colmenero & Lasagasbaster, 2003; Elyas & Alghofaili, 2019; Liang, 2005; Lipovsky & Mahboob, 2010)

5.1.2. RQ2: Do NNESTs experience higher levels of self-reported hiring discrimination than their NEST peers across Spain and the UK? & RQ4: Do NESTs have an advantage in the ESL teacher job market compared to NNEST?

For the discussion, I will combine RQ2 and RQ4 as there are many overlapping themes between discrimination and NEST advantage.

The findings of this study show that participating NESTs and NNESTs across various age ranges, teaching settings and countries have different experiences regarding recruitment and hiring. The quantitative data showed that NNESTs self-reported significantly higher levels of discrimination compared to NESTs across both Spain and the UK, illustrating that NESTs could be advantaged by their nativeness (RQ4). Sadly, it appears that the native speaker fallacy (Phillipson, 1992) and native speakerism ideologies (Holliday, 2005) ideologies persist and plague TESOL recruitment via pay discrepancies, discriminatory advertisements, interview asymmetry and forced lying. The quantitative findings were further consolidated with all four case studies reporting that nativism was problematic in the ESL hiring market.

Pay – A persistent issue highlighted in the study was the discrepancy in pay aligning with previous research such as Fithriani (2018). It is clear that NESTs are often offered higher pay

rates than NNESTs, with the UK and USA nationals having the highest rates in the market. Both NNESTs Jakob and Anna stated that they had experienced lower pay rates in Spain because of their speaker status while witnessing native peers getting paid much more. Anna specifically mentioned that she received 15€ an hour, whereas she had seen NESTs receiving between 20-60€ an hour. Jakob shared similar experiences of requesting higher amounts of pay but being rejected because higher rates of pay were dedicated to native teachers. One striking quote from an NNEST in the questionnaire was: *"I have even experienced discrimination regarding my salary, as in many places I would get paid less than native colleagues, even if I have better qualifications and more experience."* This was backed up with data from NESTs, too, with Richard noting *"[he's] looked at non-native speakers offering private lessons and generally speaking, for example Spanish people with, a master in English philology. And they're charging maybe between 10 to 15 euros for an hour for private lesson and then you've got, for example, people who come here for the auxiliares de conversacion programme and they're charging 20 to 25 euros and they don't have any qualificationsand people will go to them first. That just seems to be the reality."* This extreme form of overt discrimination towards NNESTs shows that NESTs are at a high advantage in the TESOL market. Further research to investigate the NEST/NNEST pay gap is crucial to shine more empirical light on this topic. However, this result is unsurprising when researchers like Liu (2021) have found that recruiters perceive it to be 'totally reasonable' to offer higher rates of pay to native teachers.

Adverts – Findings from this study highly correlated with existing literature in the field, with many NNESTs and NESTs witnessing/experiencing discrimination through job advertisements (e.g. Correa, 2018; Crump, 2007; Domingo, 2022; Mackenzie, 2021; Mahboob & Golden, 2013; Selvi, 2010 etc.).

Qualitative data from the study reflects that job adverts are now moving towards fairer language, such as 'native level' rather than 'native speaker'. However, it was evident that many participants felt this was due to legislation but not the reality in hiring practice. Furthermore, in contrast, many NESTs and NNESTs still reported seeing adverts asking for native speakers only. So even with equality legislation in place, there is still a presence of discrimination in advertisements for native speakers. One NNEST pinpointed, "The only kind of discrimination I encountered was in job ads on platforms such as LinkedIn or Indeed, showing higher salaries for native speakers, or explicitly requesting native speakers for the role."

Sarah (NEST) said that companies "*openly advertise different pay rates for different countries that you come from. So, if you come from like a non-ideal country shall we say then yeah, your pay rate will be lower based on that.*". She shared that this was reflected at a macro level between NS and NNS but then at a micro level concerning Kachru's inner circle countries. Richard (NEST) also said he had seen "*job advertisements where it will specify, you know, what you would call like the inner circle thing, which is UK, Canada, USA, Australia - as kind of the preferred candidates. But then I've also I have also seen.... Job[s] ...where they're particularly looking for a US accent or a UK accent as well.*" Highlighting even more micro-level discrimination based on native accents. Sarah also highlighted this by saying her students did not perceive a Northern English accent as a good standard of English.

Interviews – While this was not so present in the existing literature, discrimination throughout the interview processes was highlighted in the qualitative data in this study, with many NNESTs describing being rejected over the phone because they were a NNS, and even being hung up on when the employer found out where they were from. There were no reports of discrimination in interviews for NESTs, indicating this was a unique problem for NNESTs in this study's sample.

It also seems to be a recurrence that native teachers are not subjected to the same rigour when it comes to interviews and are prioritised for interviews even without formal teaching qualifications and/or teaching experience. NESTs showcased their advantage, with one NEST saying: "My current workplace accepted me because I have an American accent and not because of my qualifications.", highlighting the accuracy of Crump's (2007) findings which found that nativeness was more important than qualifications. Richard, a NEST, was also aware of his native privilege when he stated, "*I would say that I would still have no problems finding work with no qualifications or just like the basic online TEFL certificate and a native accent.*", demonstrating the NEST advantage to access employment in TESOL. This finding upholds similar findings in the literature, such as Galloway (2018), who noted that despite having zero qualifications, NS represent target interlocutors and the highest level of competence. This also

mirrors research such as Fithriani (2018), where participants expressed that the inequity of qualifications required to access employment in TESOL differs for NS compared to NNS.

Lying - An unforeseen theme due to gaps in literature but presented through the qualitative responses of his study was that both NESTs and NNESTs reported that NNESTs were highly discriminated against and frequently forced by their employers to lie about their origins, their passports and even change/anglicise their name to 'appear more native'. This finding was disturbing and uncomfortable, and it appears that employers are directly and overtly discriminating against NNESTs and lying to students and parents alike. Jakob, for example, mentioned he was asked to tell his students that his mum was English, and Richard noted that he had seen speaking examiners asked to anglicise their Spanish name. There were also five instances of this being mentioned in the questionnaire, all from NNESTs, further supporting that this is discrimination NESTs face. We should take note of this extremity and realise that this could be how employers are masking their discriminatory hiring practices on paper to authorities but still transcending discriminatory practices within the workplace. In a world where NNESTs feel marginalised and left behind, it is crucial that when NNESTs do land jobs, they are treated with respect and accepted for who they are.

This study's reported quantitative and qualitative results show that NNESTs perceive being a native teacher as more of an advantage than NESTs believe it to be (RQ4). Based on several qualitative accounts, there appears to be a clear advantage to being a native teacher in the market; for example, it seems that native teachers have access to higher levels of pay, lower levels of interview protocols, require fewer qualifications or less relevant qualifications, need no previous teaching experience. It appears that natives are prioritised for jobs over NNESTs, and NESTs from inner-circle countries or with specific accents are prioritised further. The findings illustrate that the job market is complex and rife with various layers of discrimination.

Given the statistical difference between NEST and NNEST, backed up with clear and detailed experiential evidence, it appears that NNESTs do experience higher levels of discrimination than their NEST peers across Spain and the UK. Suppose employers are imposing the types of practices illustrated in the findings; it shows that they are not abiding by TESOL's position statement, EU, Spanish and UK laws which protect employees from discrimination, driving an urgent need for regulation of laws and policies in Spain and the UK.

RQ3: Do NNESTs have differing experiences of self-reported hiring discrimination experiences comparatively in Spain and the UK?

This study aimed to investigate one level deeper and highlight if the experiences differ further when considering NNEST's experiences in Spain compared to the UK. The results of the quantitative data undeniably and sadly showed that NNESTs self-reported significantly higher levels of discrimination when teaching in Spain than NNESTs teaching in the UK. Within this study and sample, being an NNEST in Spain is the shortest straw to pick and could subject you to the most unfair treatment. These quantitative findings were triangulated with the findings in both parts of qualitative data collection. Jakob and Anna (both NNESTs) were good examples of having experience teaching in both countries so that they could offer unique and comparative perspectives at a granular level outside the questionnaire. Both Jakob and Anna reported that they had experienced higher levels of discrimination in Spain than in the UK as NNESTs, commenting that they received fairer treatment in the UK when applying for jobs. Jakob mentioned he had never experienced negative discrimination in the UK but could name many examples for Spain. Anna mentioned experiencing discrimination in the past in the UK but has noticed this has changed over time and now feels no level of discrimination, a potential indication of a change in attitudes following legislation such as the Equality Act 2010. Jakob also mentioned that his only positive experience being hired in Spain existed when his hiring manager was British. Another NEST in the questionnaire added that "ELT teaching posts in the UK take care to avoid discrimination.", another indication that the UK may be abiding by the Equality Act 2010.

This finding is perhaps unsurprising against the backdrop of previous research, such as Correa (2018), who found that an astounding 81% of job adverts in Spain required a native speaker, rising to a whopping 88% on Indeed.com. This statistic leaves less than 20% of opportunities for the 80% majority - a colossal struggle for the NNS population.

Equally, similar statements occurred in the questionnaire without prompt, showcasing that the issue in Spain vs other countries like the UK is a problem. For example, two NNESTs offered the following two statements: "I have had the impression when looking for jobs, the preference for a native speaker is higher in Spain than the UK. My partner, native speaker, was teaching in Spain in primary and secondary schools with no teaching qualification." and "I'd like to mention that I've also got experience teaching English in the UK and I haven't faced any discrimination over there."

Further research should be conducted to understand better why the level of discrimination is higher in Spain, at least overtly. Contextually, there are fairer practices in state schools in Spain, whereby candidates work towards a standardised state exam called 'oposiciones'. Due to this, unfairer hiring practices in Spain could be unique to the private sector in Spain, and there would be merit in conducting a deeper analysis into different settings in Spain to see if discrimination fluctuates in specific settings.

A potential reason for this higher level of discrimination in Spain could also be related to the employment laws in Spain vs the UK and the consequence of the lack of clear legislation until 2022. The picture could present highly different in a few years once legislation in Spain is embedded further into the makeup of employment in Spain. The UK has had an extra 12 years of working on this through the 2010 Equality Act. Nevertheless, Spain is still subject to native speakerism (Holliday, 2005) and requires work to remove NS from the employment pedestal and work towards equality.

5.1.3. RQ5: Do NNESTs vs NESTS believe that native teachers are better at teaching ESL skills?

Quantitative results showed statistically significant findings between NESTs and NNESTs. These findings suggest that native teachers rank themselves better at teaching pronunciation, vocabulary, reading, listening and culture than non-native teachers. While NNESTs do not perceive this to be true.

This shows that NESTs are potentially part of the problem in continuing their superior status as teachers and that they could be perpetuating the Native Speaker Fallacy. Due to a further lack of qualitative data on this topic, if this study were replicated, it would be interesting to add qualitative data around this RQ to understand better why native teachers feel superior to their non-native peers regarding the aforementioned skills.

5.2. Other Assumptions

Generally, the findings confirm that NNESTs receive more negative discrimination than NESTs in the ESL job market in Spain and the UK, with higher levels of self-reported discrimination occurring in Spain by NNESTs. All quantitative findings in the study were statistically significant, enriching with qualitative data. Methodologically, the triangulated data merits praise and offers robustness, validity and reliability to the results. Some other general assumptions are noted below.

Micro-discrimination within NESTs – It is important to note that NESTs were not immune to discrimination in the study, and themes of micro-discrimination were illustrated in qualitative data concerning accents, race and country of origin. Sarah, for example, talked about how she was not prioritised for ESL jobs because she was from South Africa, which was classed as a 'non-ideal' native country. She also shared her experiences of neutralising her accent to make it less South African and more employable. Race also presented as a concerning factor in employing ESL teachers, with Richard & Sarah commenting that their students commented on their race. Sarah was unexpectedly white because she was South African, and Richard was not white enough to be a native speaker. These were unexpected findings, but they shed light on a problem that there is more expectation for ESL teachers than nativeness, and importance can also be put on the accent they were born with, the colour of their skin, or the native country they were born in. This aligns with Ruecker & Ives's (2014) findings which illustrated that the ideal candidate for an English teacher is 'overwhelmingly' seen as a young white and enthusiastic native speaker from an inner-circle country (Kachru, 1985).

A core reason for these types of problems could be the perception of an English teacher in resources that use in the classroom, for example, textbooks, movies, films, listening activities etc., if students only see a white-blonde teacher with a received pronunciation accent in their materials, of course, there is an expectation that they would receive this in their ESL classroom these barriers need to be broken down. More representation must be included in all materials in

the ESL sector to reflect the broader population of teachers. Further research could be done into the micro-discrimination within TESOL.

Chapter Six - Conclusion

6.0. Introduction

This chapter will summarise the findings of the study and discuss implications for hiring and recruiting ESL teachers in Spain and the UK, making recommendations for future research areas and best practices.

6.1. Summary of Findings & Resulting Conclusions

We are in an unfortunate situation where an accident of birth controls the narrative and experiences of NNESTs in Spain and the UK.

→ **RQ1: Do NESTs or NNESTs perceive nativeness to be most important in the eyes of parents and students?**

The quantitative findings here suggest that NESTs perceive nativeness to be of significantly higher importance to students and parents than NNESTs do. However, it is unclear why this is. Further research should be conducted to understand better why NESTs think nativeness is more important in the eyes of parents and students.

→ **RQ2: Do NNESTs experience higher levels of self-reported hiring discrimination than their NEST peers across Spain and the UK?**

In this study, NNESTs experience significantly higher levels of self-reported hiring discrimination through interviews, adverts, compensation, and access to employment than NESTs, triangulated with qualitative data.

→ **RQ3: Do NNESTs have differing experiences of self-reported hiring discrimination experiences comparatively in Spain and the UK?**

In this study, results show that NNESTs in Spain are experiencing statistically significantly higher levels of self-reported hiring discrimination through interviews, adverts, compensation, and access to employment than NNESTs in the UK. This suggests that being an NNEST in Spain is a further disadvantage.

→ **RQ4: Do NESTs have an advantage in the ESL teacher job market compared to NNEST?**

NESTs remain highly advantaged in the ESL job market and are often prioritised for work based on their nativeness, passport status, country of birth and accent. The findings

show they have access to higher levels of pay, easy hiring processes and are subjected to less rigour with qualifications. There also appear to be micro-levels of discrimination occurring with preferential accents, races, and passport status within the native community.

→ **RQ5: Do NNESTs vs NESTS believe that native teachers are better at teaching ESL skills?**

Findings show that NESTs perceive native teachers to be significantly better at teaching ESL skills than NNESTs, potentially prolonging the narrative and ideology of native speakerism.

6.2. Limitations of Findings Research

There are limitations to this study which should be taken into account when interpreting the results and reading the discussion chapter of this paper. I have split these into methodological, contextual, and other considerations.

6.2.1. Contextual limitations

On reflection, one potential limitation of the questionnaire was the self-identification of speaker status and the difficulty some participants could have with the task. It could mean that the participants do not fit into ideal NS and NNS categories and are forced to choose whichever they feel most close to without feeling like it fits their speaker status well. Therefore, there would be merit in understanding if the experiences of those between the spectrum of NS and NNS self-report differently, for example, those who have been bilingual or multilingual from birth or those whose L2 has taken over their L1 due to moving countries at an early age. In contrast, I chose two distinct categories to aid data analysis and draw quicker assumptions. If I replicated this study again with fewer time restrictions, I might include a sliding scale of nativism where participants can select where they sit on the spectrum of nativeness.

Furthermore, a longitudinal methodology could be beneficial to understand if the effects of the 2022 Spanish law decrease discriminatory practices in a few years. It is hard to know if the law is having much effect, and a comparative longitudinal study could help us understand this better.

Finally, given that the study included diverse teaching settings, it might be better for future replication studies to focus on one setting, such as private teaching settings. Particularly given the contextual makeup of language teaching in Spain. It could show even higher levels of discrimination among NNESTs when focusing on private language schools, given the 'oposiciones' exam required for public schools and the fairness this brings. It could be easier to pinpoint the exact settings perpetuating discrimination and unethical practices.

6.2.2. Methodological limitations

Firstly, there were sampling restrictions with this study, and it would have been good to have a more even split of native versus non-native teachers within the study and have a high number of participants in both Nations. Naturally, the preference would be to collect data over a more extended period to gather more responses and better balance the NNEST vs NEST ratio. This could be taken into account by future researchers.

Furthermore, the study only included two countries, both within Europe. Therefore, we assume the results have a Euro-centric and Westernised lens. For a future replication study, it would be interesting to incorporate non-European countries to compare the results and see whether the same discrimination occurs better or worsens outside of Europe. We must only generalise these findings to some nations, continents and teaching settings, as nuances may exist across the TESOL field.

Finally, one could argue that a 5-minute questionnaire could lead to superficial data; however, I have tried to combat this by providing a qualitative answer question and through multiple case studies. Given the robustness of triangulation, we can assume some confidence that the quantitative results mirror that of the qualitative and demonstrate reliability.

6.2.3. Other considerations

Intersectionality is vital to consider when interpreting this study's findings, mainly as there appear to be several layers of discrimination taking place in the sphere of TESOL. For example, there is clear evidence of positive discrimination towards inner circle countries. Then, there is a layer of ethnic discrimination, with a preference towards Western and white ethnicities. Further evidence from the qualitative data shows that there is discrimination based on accent, too, even among native speakers of English. Given the multiple potential discrimination a TESOL candidate can face in the employment market, we must remember that participants may have also faced discrimination based on these factors and their native speaker status. Sarah is an excellent example of this who was a white native speaker of English but received discrimination based on her accent and home country of South Africa as they potentially assumed she would be black and have a strong accent.

6.3. Implications & Recommendations for Future

There is clearly enormous progress to be made concerning destabilising our assumptions about NS and NNS. Obviously, teachers should be praised, hired and judged based on their teaching experience, relevant qualifications, passion for the English language and their professional demeanour, not the status of the native language they were gifted with at birth. Based on the empirical findings of this study, recommendations for future include:

1. NESTs must recognise their privilege, take note and educate themselves on NNEST matters such as the NNEST Movement. Implementing mandatory modules on TEFL, CELTA courses etc., could highlight this and help the ESL teaching community become more educated, reducing perceptions illustrated in RQ5.
2. School directors, NNESTs and NESTs, educators and policymakers must come together and challenge negative attitudes towards non-native speakers. Critical stakeholders in hiring should take mandatory legislation and Equality, Diversity and Inclusion courses to reiterate employment legislation in their respective countries. This can include modules such as "How to write a non-discriminatory job advertisement" or "The importance of NNESTs in TESOL".

3. Future research should focus on longitudinal research to monitor if discrimination experiences decrease over time, particularly in Spain, where discrimination presented significantly higher, and their law was passed very recently. More nations should also be included in research to ensure fair employment practices are present globally, not just in Spain and the UK.
4. Tighter examination of laws and employment policies is required to ensure employers adhere to employment and discrimination laws. While efforts have been made to try and reduce discrimination in employment, it is clear that discrimination is occurring; therefore, a regulatory body could help monitor it. Similarly, a reporting system for teachers could help teachers to report discriminatory job adverts, overt discrimination in interviews or discrepancies in pay etc. A fining system could be implemented for any employer using discriminatory hiring practices to reduce harmful discrimination over time. The findings of this study urge hiring managers to ensure they are hiring within the local laws and realise that hiring based on native speakerism is unjust and illegal.
5. Finally, focus should be put on developing ESL materials that show various English speakers to illustrate to students and parents that English speakers come from various backgrounds, races, ethnicities and countries. More focus should also be put on encouraging a variety of accents in listening materials to avoid discriminatory attitudes towards native or non-native accents.

6.4. Concluding remarks

While the findings of this study show TESOL community has a long journey ahead to remove native speakerism, the hope is apparent for NESTs and NNESTs to have equal value in the ESL job market. ESL teachers will be hired based on professional experience, relevant qualifications,

strong work ethics and passion for teaching English only. NESTs should no longer hegemonise the world of TESOL, and we should all work towards a more respectful, equal, and diverse global workforce of English Language Teachers.

Chapter 7 – References

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Chapter 8 - Appendix

Appendix A – Research Ethics Approval

**SOCIAL SCIENCES & HUMANITIES
INTERDIVISIONAL RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
DEPARTMENTAL RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE**

Department of Education
15 Norham Gardens, Oxford OX2 6PY
student.curec@education.ox.ac.uk; staff.curec@education.ox.ac.uk



Amie Atkinson amie.atkinson@kellogg.ox.ac.uk
Department of Education, Social Sciences Division
University of Oxford

15 May 2023

Dear Amie,

Research ethics approval

Research title: A comparative study of ESL teacher recruitment and teaching experiences in Spain and the UK

Research ethics reference: EDUC_C1A_23_198

The above application has been considered on behalf of the Education Departmental Research Ethics Committee (DREC) in accordance with the University's procedures for ethical approval of all research involving human participants.

I am pleased to confirm that, on the basis of the information provided to the DREC, ethics approval has now been granted for this study.

Please note the following:

Personal data: It is the responsibility of the PI to ensure that all personal data collected during the project is managed in accordance with the University's [guidance and legal requirements](#).

In-person activities: Any data collection involving in-person interactions with participants must have an up-to-date fieldwork risk assessment in place; further guidance is available from the Safety Office's [website](#).

Amendments: Please notify the committee if you intend to make any amendments to the information in your ethics application as submitted at date of this approval, as all changes must receive ethical approval prior to implementation. The amendment form is available on the [SSH IDREC webpage](#).

We welcome feedback on your experience of the ethical review process and suggestions for improvement. Please email any comments to staff.curec@education.ox.ac.uk / student.curec@education.ox.ac.uk or ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'James Carroll'.

James Carroll
DREC member

cc: Dr Heath Rose heath.rose@education.ox.ac.uk

Appendix B – Example Recruitment Post



Amie Atkinson

29 May · 🌍



Hello I need your help!

My name is Amie and I am a MSc Student at The University of Oxford studying Applied Linguistics for Language Teaching.

I am looking for ESL (English Second Language) teachers in Spain and the UK to help me with a study for my dissertation. I am looking to investigate if discrimination occurs in recruitment and hiring across ESL teaching for native and non-native teachers. To take part:

- You can be a native or non-native speaker of English
- You can teach any age group
- You need to be 18 years or over
- All you have to be is a teacher of English as a second language in Spain or the UK!

If you want to read more about the study you can find out more here:

<https://drive.google.com/.../13NrjlwoFGx5rIP56zb9.../view...>

And you can take part in the study by following this link:

<https://oxfordeducation.eu.qualtrics.com/.../SV...>

Thank you in advance, and do let me know if you have any questions. Please spread far and wide among your ESL teacher friends.

Best wishes

Amie

Oxford University Email: amie.atkinson@kellogg.ox.ac.uk

Appendix C – Participant Information Sheet

DEPARTMENT CONTACT DETAILS

Principal Investigator: Dr. Heath Rose
heath.rose@education.ox.ac.uk

Primary researcher: Amie Atkinson - MSc Student
Oxford University telephone number: [01865 274024](tel:01865274024)
Oxford University email address: amie.atkinson@kellogg.ox.ac.uk



A comparative study of ESL teacher recruitment and teaching experiences in Spain and the UK dependent on their nativeness or non-nativeness in English.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Central University Research Ethics Committee Approval Reference: EDUC_C1A_23_198

1. Introduction

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information and make sure you take time to decide whether you wish to take part.

2. Why is this research being conducted?

The aim of this research is to better understand hiring and recruitment experiences of ESL (English Second Language) teachers based on whether they are a native speaker of English or not. Benefits of the research could include: a better understanding of how ESL teachers experience hiring & recruitment based on their nativeness, and to understand if any differences or discrimination occurs.

3. Why have I been invited to take part?

You have been identified as a potential participant because you are a English as a Second Language teacher in the UK or Spain. To take part in this study you:

- **Must** be an English as a Second Language teacher in the UK or Spain
- **Can** be either a native or non-native speaker of English
- **Can** teach any age group and in any setting (e.g. university, school, academies, personal tutoring etc.)
- **Must not** be teaching outside of Spain or the UK

I will be aiming to recruit 100 participants in Spain and 100 participants in the UK, all a mixture of native and non-native speakers of English.

4. Do I have to take part?

No. It is up to you to decide whether to take part. You can withdraw yourself from the research, without giving a reason, and without negative consequences, by advising me of this decision verbally or in writing. The deadline by which you can withdraw any information you have contributed to the research is 1st June 2023. If you decide to withdraw from the study, all of your data will be shredded using an online shredder and therefore be unretrievable.

5. What will happen to me if I take part in the research?

- This research will take place online exclusively via an online questionnaire. There will also be an optional opportunity for a follow-up interview which will take place via Microsoft Teams.
- I will take written consent from you to take part in the study. You are able to withdraw consent until 6th June 2023.

- The topics covered will be surround your experiences of being a native or non-native ESL teacher and how you have experienced recruitment processes.
- The research requires a one-off participation which consists of filling in an online questionnaire (approx 10-15 mins). This questionnaire will begin by asking you for your age, gender, location, native language, and your teaching environment. Then it will ask you to rate statements about your experience as an ESL teacher on a scale between Strongly Agree and Strongly Disagree.
- There will be optional follow up interviews to discuss experiences in more detail (approx. 20-30 mins). If you decide to do this, with your consent, I would like to audio/video record you so I can have an accurate record of our conversation.
- You can ask to pause or stop the research activities at any time;
- It is unlikely any follow up sessions will be required, but if you consent to do so, I may contact you to clarify any answers.
- The research will end by 31st August 2023.

6. What are the possible disadvantages and risks in taking part?

While the topics are not deemed sensitive for this study, there may be questions that you feel uncomfortable with. If there are any parts of the study you do not want to take part in, or if you wish to take a break, please let me know. There is no obligation to finish the questionnaire/interviews once started.

Participants who take part in the follow up interview or give optional written responses will be given the option to redact parts of the interview they do not feel comfortable being shared in the study.

All data from the questionnaire will be completely anonymised and therefore unidentifiable. If you wish to opt into a follow up interview or written questions, this data will be pseudonymised (e.g. P3 said "xxxxxx") so it is unlikely you can be identified.

7. Are there any benefits in taking part?

While there are no immediate benefits for those people participating in the research, it is hoped that this research will lead to a better understanding of the differences that native ESL teachers vs. Non-native teachers have in order to make recommendations for a fairer recruitment process in the future. There will be no direct or personal benefit to you from taking part in this research.

8. What information will be collected and why is the collection of this information relevant for achieving the research objectives?

Some personal data will be collected, only be when relevant for the study (e.g. Location, Age (not birth date), Gender, and Native Language. There will be no [*special category data*](#) collected for this study.

Identifiable data (including consent forms which will include your name) will be stored in a password protected file on my PC. Data will be retained only for the duration of my MSc degree. Prior to the end of the course, the data will be securely transferred to my supervisor's university files where it will be stored for 3 years after the publication of my thesis. Upon completion of my degree all data will be permanently destroyed from my PC using the app provided on filesrecovery.com.

Other research data will be stored for 3 years after publication or public release of the work of the research. The researcher and *supervisor* will have access to the research data.

If you opt-in to help with follow up interviews, the following process will be followed. As soon as the audio files are available, I will transcribe as quickly as possible and permanently delete the audio file.

9. Will the research be published? Could I be identified from any publications or other research outputs?

The findings from the research will be written up in a thesis and may be used in academic publications and presentations. It will not be possible to be identified in the research as all data from the questionnaire will be anonymised. If you decide to take part in the optional follow up interview, I would like your permission to use direct quotations but without identifying you in any research outputs. I will do this through pseudonymising your quote as illustrated in Question 6.

10. Data Protection

The University of Oxford is the data controller with respect to your personal data, and as such will determine how your personal data is used in the research. The University will process your personal data for the purpose of the research outlined above. Research is a task that is performed in the public interest. Further information about your rights with respect to your personal data is available from the University's Information Compliance website at <https://compliance.admin.ox.ac.uk/individual-rights>.

11. Who has reviewed this research?

This research has received ethics approval from a subcommittee of the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee. (Ethics reference: **EDUC_C1A_23_198**)

12. Who do I contact if I have a concern about the research or I wish to complain?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this research, please contact Amie Atkinson on [01865 274024](tel:01865274024) or amie.atkinson@kellogg.ox.ac.uk / Dr. Heath Rose on heath.rose@education.ox.ac.uk, and we will do our best to answer your query. We will acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how it will be dealt with. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the Chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford who will seek to resolve the matter as soon as possible:

The Chair, Social Sciences & Humanities Interdivisional Research Ethics Committee;

Email: ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk;

Address: Research Services, University of Oxford, Boundary Brook House, Churchill Drive, Headington, Oxford OX3 7GB

13. Further Information and Contact Details

If you would like to discuss the research with someone beforehand (or if you have questions afterwards), please contact:

Ms. Amie Atkinson
Department of Education,
University of Oxford,
15 Norham Gardens,
Oxford
OX2 6PY
University tel: [01865 274024](tel:01865274024)
University email: amie.atkinson@kellogg.ox.ac.uk

Appendix D – Consent Form Used



DEPARTMENT CONTACT DETAILS
Dr. Heath Rose
heath.rose@education.ox.ac.uk

Primary researcher details:
Amie Atkinson - MSc Student - Applied Linguistics for Language Teaching
Oxford University telephone number: 01865 274024
Oxford University e-mail: amie_atkinson@elliloge.ox.ac.uk

Consent to take part in a comparative study of ESL teacher recruitment and teaching experiences in Spain and the UK dependent on their nativeness or non-nativeness in English.

Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC) approval reference: EDUC-C1A-23-198

Purpose of Study: The aim of this research is to better understand hiring and recruitment experiences of ESL (English Second Language) teachers in Spain and the UK based on whether they are a native speaker of English or not.

	Please initial each box if you agree with the statement
Mandatory Fields:	
I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above research. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any point until 30th June 2023, without giving any reason.	
I understand who will have access to personal data provided, how the data will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the project.	
I understand that I will not be identifiable from any publications or presentations due to all data being anonymised.	
I give permission for you to contact me again to clarify information.	
I understand how to raise a concern or make a complaint.	
I agree to take part.	
I consent to being audio/ video recorded for transcription.	
I understand how audio recordings will be used in research outputs.	
I agree to the use of quotations in research outputs if I am not identifiable through pseudonymisation.	
I understand that I will not be identifiable from any publications or presentations due to pseudonymised data.	

Name of participant

Date (dd / mm / yyyy)

Signature

Name of person taking interview

Date of interview (dd / mm / yyyy)

Signature

Appendix E – Questionnaire used on Qualtrics

Part 1 – Consent & Eligibility

Please note that you may only participate in this survey if you are 18 years of age or over.

☐ I certify that I am 18 years of age or over and an ESL teacher in Spain or the UK.

If you have read the information above and agree to participate with the understanding that the data including any personal data you submit will be processed accordingly, please tick the box below to start.

☐ Yes, I agree to take part

Thank you in advance for your participation and helping us to learn more about the experiences of ESL teachers!

Page 2 - Personal Data:

All answers will be [anonymised](#) for this survey to protect your identity.

1) How would you best describe your gender:

- Male
- Female
- Non-Binary
- Prefer not to say
- Other _____ [optional]

2) What is your age?

[enter number]

3) Where are you currently teaching ESL?:

- Spain
- UK

4) Which Region do you teach in?

UK:

- East of England
- East Midlands
- London
- North East
- North West
- South East
- South West
- West Midlands
- Yorkshire and The Humber

- Northern Ireland
- Wales
- Scotland

Spain:

- Andalucía
- Aragon
- Asturias
- Balearic Islands
- Basque Country
- Canary Islands
- Cantabria
- Castilla La Mancha
- Castilla y León
- Catalonia
- Extremadura
- Galicia
- La Rioja
- Madrid
- Murcia
- Navarra
- Valencia

5) Are you a [native speaker of English?](#):

- Yes
- No

6) If you are not a native speaker of English, what is your native language?

7) How would you best describe your ESL teaching environment?

- Primary school
- Secondary school
- University
- 1:1 mentoring
- Online teaching
- Extracurricular schools (e.g. Academies)
- Other (please state) _____

8) Are your students mandated to take your classes or do they choose to do your class outside of school?

- Yes
- No

Part 3 - ESL teaching recruitment

1 – I have experienced negative discrimination through Job Advertisements. [this would include statements on job descriptions such as “must be a native English speaker”]

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

2 - I have experienced negative hiring discrimination through interviews.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

3 - There should not be any discrimination between native and non-native teachers as far as employment opportunity is concerned.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

Part 3- Jobs

1 – It's harder for non-native speakers to get English teaching jobs compared to native speakers

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

2 – There are more job advertisements for native English teachers

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree nor Disagree

4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

3 – Higher-paid and elite jobs are more available for native ESL teachers than for non-native.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

Section 3: Teacher Preferences

1 – My students would prefer a native English teacher

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

2 - My student's parents/guardians would prefer a native English teacher

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

3 - My employer would prefer a native English teacher

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

Part 3 - Stereotypes

1 – Native teachers are better at teaching speaking than non-native teachers.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree

3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

2 – Native teachers are better at teaching pronunciation than non-native teachers

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

3– Native teachers are better at teaching vocabulary than non-native teachers

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

4 – Native teachers are better at teaching reading than non-native teachers

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

5 – Native teachers are better at teaching listening than non-native teachers

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

6– Native teachers are better at teaching culture than non-native teachers

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

7 – Native teachers are better to teach grammar than non-native teachers.

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

8 – A non-native English teacher can empathise better with students because they know what it's like to learn English as a second language

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

Part 4 – Optional Qualitative Question

[optional] - If you would like to add more context about your experiences as an ESL teacher, please write them below.

These can include your experiences with recruitment, interviews, hiring processes, and any positive or negative discrimination.

Part 5 - Follow-up Interviews

1 - Would you be willing to be contacted for a follow-up interview to talk further about your experiences as a native ESL or non-native ESL teacher?

*This would be conducted via a Teams or Phone call and can be conducted in English or Spanish. Your answers will be **pseudonymised** to protect your identity. The interview will be recorded for transcription and then all recordings will be deleted.*

- Yes
- No

2 - How would you like to be contacted if you are willing to do a follow-up interview? By providing contact details you are consenting for me to reach out. If at any point you do not want to continue being contacted by me, please let me know.

- Email _____
- Whatsapp _____ • LinkedIn _____

Appendix F – Interview Protocol

Core Questions:

1. Could you please share your experience of being hired as a native ESL teacher?
Nonnative ESL teacher?
2. Do you feel like you have ever experienced discrimination because of your nativeness?
Non-nativeness?
3. Do you feel like you have ever had positive experiences because of your nativeness?
Non-nativeness?
4. Do you think it would be easier to get jobs if you were a native speaker? Non-native
speaker?
5. Why do you think you have experienced the things you have?
6. Is there anything else you would like to share before we end the interview?

Probing Questions:

1. Could you explain that further?
2. Could you add some more context as to why you feel that way?
3. Why do you think that?

Appendix G – PCA: Rotated Component Matrix

	1	2	3	4	5
Q4.4.	.845				
Q4.5	.824				
Q4.1	.824				
Q4.3	.804				
Q4.2	.792				
Q4.6	.628				
Q1.3	.607	-.344			
Q2.3		.820			
Q2.1		.768			
Q2.2		.645		.377	
Q3.2			.867		
Q3.1			.744		
Q3.3			.651		
Q1.2				.907	
Q1.1				.814	
Q4.7					.741
Q4.8		.343			.680

Appendix H – Cronbach's Alpha

Cronbach's Alpha for construct 1 and 2

Reliability

Q1Stereotypes

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	198	93.8
	Excluded ^a	13	6.2
	Total	211	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.892	.894	7

Reliability

Q2TheNestAdvantage

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	203	96.2
	Excluded ^a	8	3.8
	Total	211	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.726	.730	3

Cronbach's Alpha for Construct 3 and Cronbach's Alpha if item deleted**Reliability****→ C3NativeTeacherPreference****Case Processing Summary**

		N	%
Cases	Valid	203	96.2
	Excluded ^a	8	3.8
	Total	211	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.657	.669	3

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Q3.1	7.68	2.922	.480	.391	.543
Q3.2	7.17	2.873	.643	.455	.340
Q3.3	7.46	3.348	.317	.143	.765

Cronbach's Alpha for Construct 4 & 5**Reliability****→ Q5****→ C4 – Job Discrimination****Case Processing Summary**

		N	%
Cases	Valid	208	98.6
	Excluded ^a	3	1.4
	Total	211	100.0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.796	.799	2

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	198	93.8
	Excluded ^a	13	6.2
	Total	211	100.0

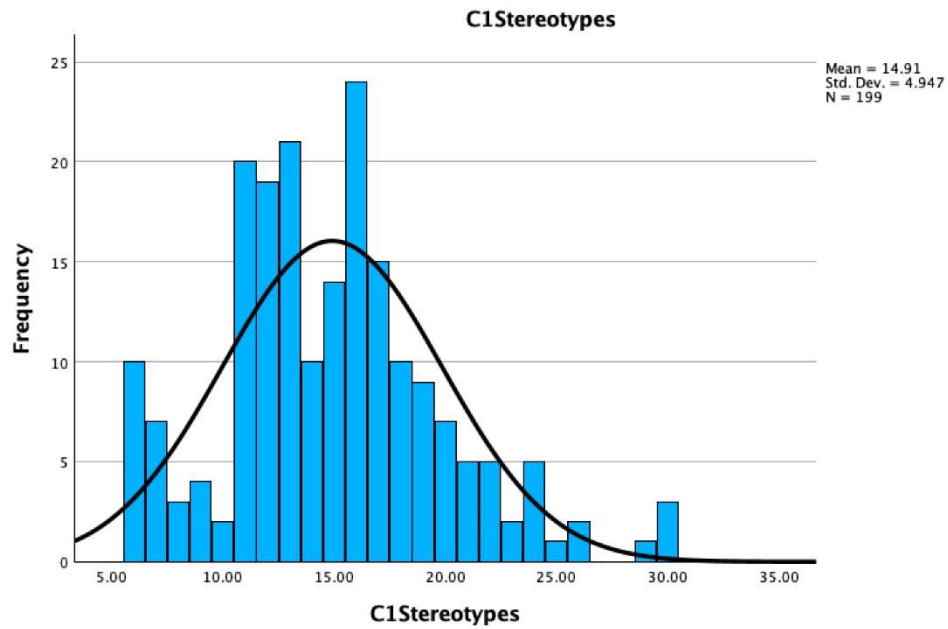
a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

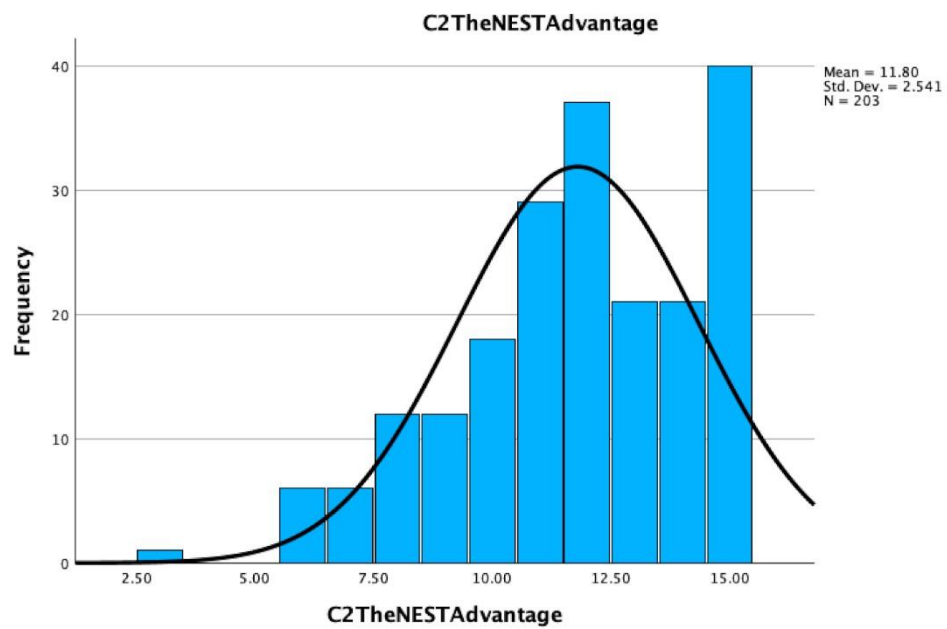
Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.288	.306	2

Appendix I – Distribution Graphs

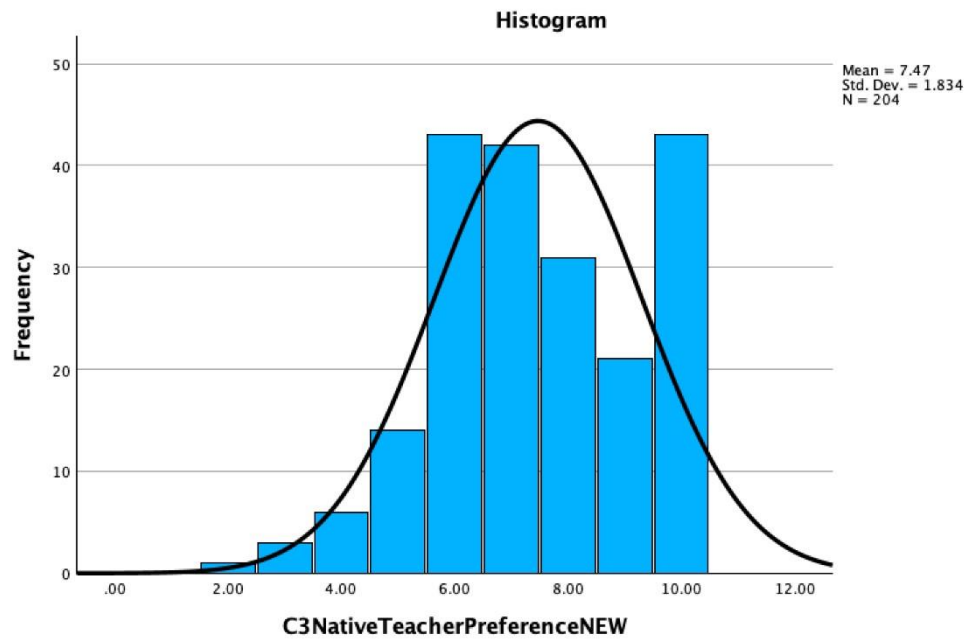
Distribution Histogram for Construct 1- Stereotypes



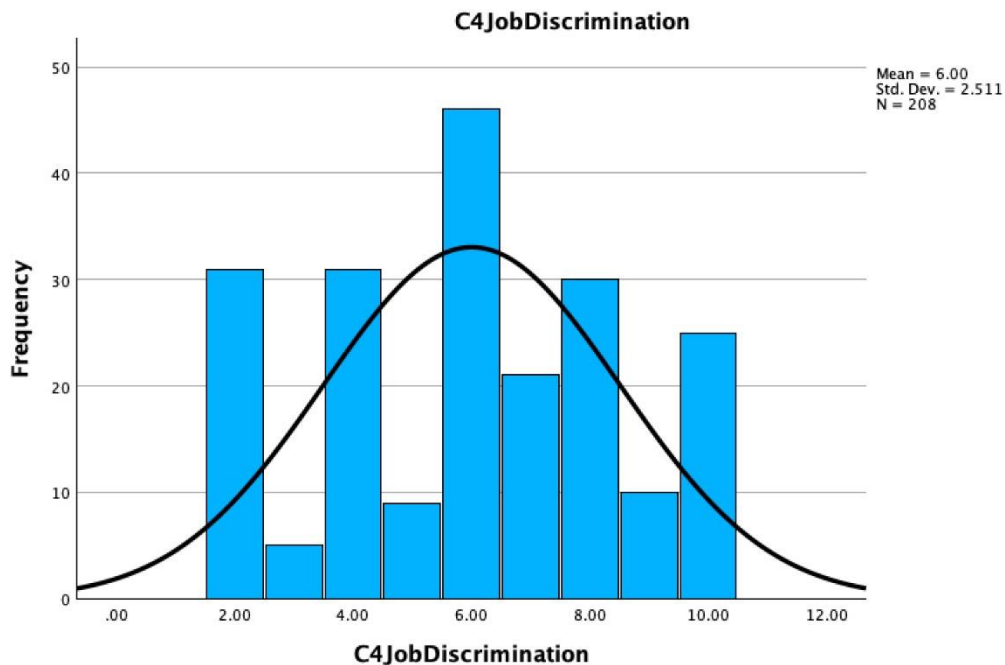
Distribution Histogram for Construct 2 -The NEST Advantage



Distribution Histogram for Construct 3 – Teacher Preferences



Distribution Histogram for Construct 4 – Job Discrimination



Appendix J – Example Transcript from Interview (Jakob's Interview)

Researcher - So just before we start, it would be great just to understand what type of teaching you do right now. Are you teaching secondary students, university students, and what kind of levels are you teaching?

Jakob - I teach at university, there is kind of like a separate entity that does languages. So, it's kind of like a language school and then the university. So, what I do is I mainly teach senior courses, so 55 and above. However, every now and then I ...well it depends on the year. This year I was actually only given senior courses but sometimes I'm also given some general English courses or university students. I also have to do exams and that's with university students. When it comes to levels, from starters to up to B2.

Researcher - OK, perfect. So, we've established you're a non-native speaker of English as well teaching in Spain. It would be great if you could share some of your experiences being hired as a non-native ESL teacher in Spain. What have been your experiences with the application process, interview processes and then landing jobs as well if you can share any information on that?

Jakob - So maybe I'll start with the Uni because let's start with something positive. So yeah, when it comes to uni, nobody's ever questioned my origin, my nationality and they only looked at my qualifications. They looked at my experience and based on that they got the job. I don't know if it matters, but the person I was hired by was British. This can actually make a bit of a

difference to be honest. And yeah, I've had lots of interviews, worked for a couple of different schools as well. And in some of them, I was offered less money just because I was non-native. And this was like years ago, I remember I asked for ridiculously low €15 an hour net. And they said, oh, this is what we pay, but they're clear about it, they said this is what we pay native teachers. We can only give you that but gross like, OK, so that was one thing. I also remember being told to tell my students that my mum is British. And so, yeah, I was asked to lie about it. Well, one of my parents. And they were like, oh, make sure you say it's your mum because your last name doesn't sound British at all. So that was that was my first job here though and, I just needed the job quickly. I accepted it. It wasn't too bad in the end. But you know, the way they justified it is, they always say, well how can I explain to parents of the students that non-native teachers is equally good, especially here I think in Spain and people have bad experience with Spanish teachers who taught English and I think this this is where it might come from. Yeah, so that was my mom. That was the money. Also, I remember, because, well, I've got a lot of British friends here and there were periods when all of us were applying for jobs. And I do remember applying for same positions as my British friends and they were offered an interview and I wasn't. Even though the school. You know, advertisers like 'Oh yeah, we hire non-native teachers too.' Well, that's clearly what they say but not what they do.

Researcher - OK, that's really interesting and I'm sorry to hear you've experienced that. That's not OK. I've got a couple of follow-up questions based on what you said. You said at the university, thankfully you were just hired based on the qualifications you had, which is how it should be. Would you mind telling me what qualifications you do have right now?

Jakob- OK, so in Poland, I did a bachelor's degree in English. In English, well, we call it in Poland English Philology, that was teaching specialization. And then I did an MA in teaching English as a foreign language in London and I think, this degree kind of helps me a lot here because when people say oh, he's a non-native but he studied in London. So, I feel like maybe they like it a bit more.

Researcher - OK, interesting. So, you are highly qualified for this job. That's amazing.

Jakob - So I have friends here, British friends, who have a degree. However, it's not a degree in teaching. It's a degree in anything else and they have, you know, a CELTA certificate, which I'm sure you're familiar with, so it takes a month to do it, so I feel like they had a lot of advantage just because they were native. So, nobody really looks at qualification unfortunately.

Researcher OK, and then you said when you were being hired by the university, you had a British person hiring, and you felt like that made a difference. Why do you think that is in your personal opinion?

Jakob- Well, I also work as a teacher in the UK, now. I lived in the UK for about five years, so I feel like British people are really aware of not discriminating since the law is so strict, and I feel like genuinely, I don't know. It's never happened to me though. And like in any kind of job, in a teaching job or any other kind of job, I was doing there. However, over here the situation is different. You know, they are maybe not even aware of the fact that they are discriminating and, you know, write a job ad and it then it says native only or things like that.

Researcher - OK, that's really interesting. I didn't know you also taught in the UK, so it's interesting that you had both experiences.

Jakob- Well, yeah, and I'm going to work in Cambridge on Friday in a summer school.

Researcher - Well, I hope that you have a positive experience in the UK.

Jakob- Yeah, I've been there already and like it's been amazing. And the school I work for, they hire a lot of non-native teachers. Well, not sure what it's gonna be like now since people from outside of the EU, and outside of the UK need a visa. Since I was there for like less than five years, I've been given the pre-settled status so I still have a right to go back and work until 2026. So, it's easy to be hired but also in that school after the first summer with them, they offered me an Assistant director of studies position. I feel like they valued me for my experience, for what I can do, for how I teach, what kind of teacher I am...rather than my Polishness.

Researcher -OK interesting. So, we've kind of touched on this a bit but you know you said you feel like you have experienced some discrimination based on your non-nativeness with pay and not receiving interviews and things like that. Is there any other examples that you feel like you've experienced, or do you think you've covered everything in what we've already discussed?

Jakob- Also in some schools they will hire non-native teachers, but they will only offer them low level groups. Like for example even at university where I work, sometimes it just depends on the client. Apart from the university bit, the school also does in company classes. Or I don't teach that, I don't teach in that part, but I am on a couple of WhatsApp groups when they look for subs, when they look for new teachers. And I do know that some of the companies that the university works with - they require native teachers for levels B2 and above.

Researcher - OK, interesting. Why do you think they think that's necessary?

Jakob- I don't know. I just feel like, you know, I feel like it's the Spanish people who have no idea about what English teaching looks like in other countries, have this kind of like strange image of, you know, natives not being able to communicate in English. I think they just had a really bad experience with studying English themselves, so they feel like a non-native want to be able to teach English. however, like if you asked me to teach you Polish I wouldn't be able to do it. A lot

of people ask why don't you teach Polish, it would be easier for you... I'm like it would not be easier.

Researcher – Yeah, and then flipping it. Do you feel like you've ever experienced positive discrimination based on your non-nativeness?

Jakob - From students sometimes, yeah. When students be like, oh, Daniel, you've been through what we're going through. So, I think you can understand this better.' And the students see that even though directors of studies say they want a Native teacher. Or when it comes to maybe, you know, pronunciation at uni we have lots of teachers, a couple of Irish guys, there's a couple of Scottish guys with quite a thick accent I must say, but they're amazing people, they're amazing teachers, but sometimes students do struggle to understand them. So, when I come in and cover for them, they say, 'oh, it's so much easier to understand you.'. There's nothing wrong about having an accent. I'm not saying that, but they, yeah, they don't tell me, 'oh, you don't have a British accent.' Doesn't matter. But it's, I don't know, Irish, Scottish or whatever. They just say it's very neutral.

Researcher - Yeah, which is helpful. OK, that's great. And then in your opinion, do you think it would be easier for you to get a job if you were a native speaker in Spain?

Jakob – Definitely.

Researcher - OK. And from my experience when I was living there, I saw job adverts claiming they required native speakers or sometimes they required UK passports or US passports. Have you experienced seeing this type of language in job adverts and you almost can't even apply for them based on this?

Jakob- Yeah definitely. I've seen that, especially the passport thing is really weird because many people have British passports but maybe they can't really speak English very well.

Researcher -And then this is very kind of arbitrary and I guess you can, it could, it's based on your opinion more than anything else. But why do you think you've experienced things that you have?

Jakob - I think it's ignorance what I mentioned earlier, a bad experience from the past. I've met people here who have finished a degree in English, the first degree, the bachelor's degree, and they were not really able to communicate in English. So, I feel like the level of English both at school, I don't know, secondary school and university is quite low. It's probably changing. Yeah, I do remember I had a flat mate a couple of years ago. She did English at university here and she

said she was not able to speak English after she finished uni. And after that she went to Australia for five years and that's where she said she learned English. She started, you know, in Australia doing first certificate. Her level was not even B2 after uni. So, I feel like I think things are changing because years ago when people were coming here most of the groups were, you know, A2. However, now there's lots of B2 groups, there's lots of young people doing even you know, CAE and CEP. So, things are definitely changing, but I think it's just the bad experience of, you know, school owners and managers. The situation looks different if the school is run by British people. I think. That's my experience. As I mentioned, yeah, when I was hired at uni. And all management at Uni is from the UK, so I feel like that's why it doesn't really matter there. But when I had an interview with Catalan people, they, I don't know, they were not really willing to hire non-native unless you want to do kids' classes with five-year-olds.

Researcher - And where do you think the pressure is coming from. Do you think it's coming from parents? Do you think it's the students themselves that think native teachers are better or do you think it's the directors that just have created this rule that doesn't even exist? I'm just kind of wondering where is the pressure for this nativeness coming from.

Jakob - So when it comes to schools where which were they teach children, they always say it's the parents they've requested it. Like ... 'we don't mind native teachers'. That's what they always say 'but it's the parents that want that.'. And I always tell them what the parents want is a good teacher or somebody who can do something and teach their kids well. Not a native speaker. Uh, you know, that's what they say, Yeah, it's the parents requirement when it comes to adults. I don't think they care, to be honest.

Researcher - Yeah, that's interesting.

Jakob- You know, I've, you know, for the last couple of years I've been teaching adults only and nobody ever told me, 'oh, you don't know that because you aren't native.' And I don't mind admitting to my students, I don't know when they ask me something. I'm like, let's Google it. I don't know. I have lots of problems with spelling. I have to Google it. And I'm like, I'm not the only one that's like, especially spelling in English. It's just so random sometimes that even British people Google it.

Researcher – For sure. Thank you Jakob, I've really enjoyed hearing your experiences and just, you know, hearing a different perspective. Hopefully this research can change things a little bit. So that was all of my questions that I wanted to ask, but is there anything else you would like to share before the end of the interview that you think is relevant?

Jakob - Well, yeah, On the contrary, you know, I've not had any negative experience in the UK as an English teacher. However, in the summer school where I worked sometimes, because, you know, students come from all over the world and they come with group leaders and the courses are quite expensive, so sometimes there was like a weird requirement from the group leaders that were coming. Especially when it comes to students from Russia, they're like, 'Oh yeah, can you give my students native teachers because with the Russia maybe mentality and they just think native teachers better are because a Polish person is just so close to them culturally that they wouldn't be able to do it well, I don't know. Yeah, but yeah it never came from a British person directly.

Researcher - OK. Interesting. Well, I feel quite glad you've not experienced discrimination in the UK. I think we do lots of things badly. But, you know, it's nice to know that you've not experienced that.

Jakob - Being aware of not discriminating against people is one of the things you do very well.

Researcher - Well, that's great to hear and thank you for that extra comment. I think the fact that you had both Experiences is really unique. I didn't expect to be speaking with you about the UK as well. So, I think, you know that's been really interesting to kind of shows that you know it is a problem within Spain that you that you at least have experienced. So, thank you so much for your honesty and your time. It's been really lovely chatting with you.