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Native Speakerism: Discriminatory
Employment Practices in Polish Language
Schools

Native Speakerism: dyskryminujące praktyki
zatrudnienia w polskich szkołach językowych

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Ja, niżej podpisany

.....
Tomasz Paciorekowski

przedkładam rozprawę doktorską

pt. „Native Speakerism: Discriminatory Employment Practices in Polish Language Schools” („Native Speakerism: dyskryminujące praktyki zatrudnienia w polskich szkołach językowych”)

.....

na Uniwersytecie im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu

i oświadczam,

że napisałem ją samodzielnie.

Oznacza to, że przy pisaniu pracy, poza niezbędnymi konsultacjami, nie korzystałem z pomocy innych osób, a w szczególności nie zlecałem opracowania rozprawy lub jej istotnych części innym osobom, ani nie odpisywałem tej rozprawy lub jej istotnych części od innych osób.

Jednocześnie przyjmuję do wiadomości, że gdyby powyższe oświadczenie okazało się nieprawdziwe, decyzja o wydaniu mi dyplomu zostanie cofnięta.

.....
(miejsowość, data)

.....
(czytelny podpis)

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Introduction

The purpose of this introduction is to lay the foundations necessary for the successful realization of the present project. First, the key theoretical concepts related to native speakerism will be presented along with the general aim of the thesis. This section will be followed by a brief evaluation of research on the topic, to highlight the gaps in the current state of knowledge which this project aims to bridge. The methodology will then be reviewed, and the structure of the thesis laid out.

The onset of scientific research regarding the issues relating to native and non-native speakers can be attributed to two major figures in the discipline of English Language Teaching (ELT), namely Robert Philipson in 1992 and Peter Medgyes in 1994. Both managed to identify a major lacuna in scientific knowledge and propose a research agenda for the coming decades. Their pioneering research has since been extended and broadened by other scholars who have explored numerous other avenues such as, e.g. discriminatory practices in job advertisements (Song and Zhang 2010; Selvi 2011; Mahboob and Golden 2013; Ruecker and Ives 2014; Kiczkowiak 2015), preference for native speakers in recruitment policies (Braine 1999a; Flynn and Gulikers 2001; Mahboob et al. 2004; Clark and Paran 2007), strengths and weaknesses of both native and non-native speaker teachers (Árva and Medgyes 2000; Llorca 2005b; Ma 2012), and students' perceptions and attitudes (Lasagabaster and Sierra 2002; Moussu 2002; Cheung and Braine 2007; Liang 2009).

As research on native and non-native speaker issues was expanding, a major paradigm shift in the field came from Holliday (2005), who first coined the term *native speakerism* and in so doing showcased how deeply rooted the problems tackled by this line of investigation are. According to Holliday, native speakerism is a prevailing

ideology which grants native speakers a special place within the field of ELT, regarding them as having ideal knowledge not only of the English language, but also of culture and methodology. Since Holliday's groundbreaking publication, the concept of native speakerism has steadily gained traction over the last 15 years, including attempts to review and modify the original definition by e.g. Houghton and Rivers (2013) and Holliday (2015).

While the aforementioned research was occupying centre stage in ELT, a crucial debate has also been taking place in the background concerning the definition of the term "native speaker." The term was first introduced by arguably the most prominent linguist of the 20th century, Noam Chomsky. However, Chomsky's definition was not designed for practical and applied context of the field of ELT, but was meant to serve as more of an abstraction in linguistic research (Coulmas 1981: 10). Since then, numerous scholars have taken it upon themselves to properly define the concept. Most of the definitions available can be divided into two main groups: characteristic-centred (Stern 1983; Bloomfield 1984; Davies 1991, 2003, 2012, 2013) and identify-focused (Munro and Derrwing 1994; Fledge et al. 1995; Piller 2002). Notwithstanding these efforts, much remains to be done to accurately pin down the notion of native speaker. Additionally, a number of scholars such as Davies, Pennycook (1998), and Holliday (2005, 2013, 2015) underscore that "individuals regard themselves (and others) as native speakers for symbolic, rather than communicative purposes" (2003: 76). Moreover, as observed by Kiczkowiak (2018), the definition of a native speaker from the point of view of teachers, students, and parents still remains to be investigated.

The situation of Polish teachers of English with regard to native speakerism remains greatly understudied, as Poland has been almost nonexistent on the global map of research devoted to the issue. The only exceptions are the master's thesis of Kula (2011) and, more notably, the doctoral dissertation of Kiczkowiak (2018). Such a state of affairs is strikingly inadequate, considering the rapid spread of English language instruction across Poland since the fall of Communism in 1989. According to Śliwa (2010), around 80% of all *matura* (school-leaving exam) takers chose English as their obligatory foreign language as early as in 2008. Moreover, Adamchik et al. (2017) showed that knowledge of English can increase wages by 30% to 50%. This suggests that English language teachers have become increasingly important not only in the Polish educational system, but also for the country's economy. Therefore, it is necessary to take steps to ensure that prospective students are being educated by highly trained professionals.

It is estimated that over 80% of all teachers of English around the world are non-native speakers (Canagarajah 2005; Braine 2010). No such data is available for Poland; however, it can be safely assumed that the percentage is higher, as the estimates provided include such English-dominant “Inner Circle” countries as the US or the UK. As mentioned above, a vast body of available research shows that non-native speaker teachers experience from both covert and overt forms of discrimination, a pattern that, as the present study will demonstrate, is also found in present-day Poland. It is therefore of paramount importance to ensure that Polish teachers of English are both qualified and treated as fully-fledged professionals on a par with their native-speaking colleagues. Such a result can be achieved by systematic study of the situation of Polish teachers of English on the ELT market and addressing any signs of discrimination, be it against them or against native speakers of English.

Aside from the intellectual reasons for pursuing such a timely and socially relevant topic, the author of the present thesis also found inspiration and motivation to conduct this study in his personal experiences. I have been a teacher of English for almost a decade, during which I have taught students at all levels and ages: from kindergarten pupils and university students to seniors well into their 60s. In my practice, I have both experienced and been a witness to discriminatory practices at language schools in Poland, ranging from being asked to pretend to be a native speaker to receiving lower hourly wages than my native-speaking colleagues. Not surprisingly, these practices have often led me to feel inferior due to my non-native speaker status. My experiences, along with those of my colleagues, ignited my interest in native/non-native speaker issues and native speakerism, so I decided to explore the matter not anecdotally, but in a systematic, scientific manner to help, support, and protect others like me who are entering or are already in the profession of ELT.

The present project aims to bridge the knowledge gaps indicated above. The research question at the forefront of this thesis is whether there exist indications of native speakerism in Polish language schools and, if so, how they are manifested. To answer this question, the author collected responses from students, parents, and teachers to questions such as who a native speaker actually is and what are some of the advantages and disadvantages of both native and non-native speaker teachers. The questionnaires developed for this purpose were meant to gauge whether there exist preferences for native or non-native speaker teachers both in opinions and in recruitment practices enacted at Polish

private language schools. Teachers views are also investigated to see whether they have ever experienced discrimination themselves, and whether they are aware of its presence. The thesis also examines whether native speakers from Inner Circle countries are preferred to those from the Outer Circle (countries such as India or Nigeria) by language schools.

With respect to methodology, it was decided that the mixed-methods methodology would be best suited to the purposes of the study, as it navigates the spaces between (post-)positivist and constructivist worldviews. The pragmatic approach allows a solution to the conflict between qualitative and quantitative methods by mixing the two. As argued by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004: 16), “[t]he pragmatic rule or maxim or method states that the current meaning or instrumental or provisional truth value of an expression is to be determined by the experiences or practical consequences of belief in or use of the expression in the world.” Such a research framework was also encouraged by Dörnyei (2007: 47), who stated that it could yield numerous benefits that would contribute to a better understanding of the phenomena in question. The research design used in this project is known as the explanatory sequential design and consists of two phases: first, quantitative data is collected and analysed; then qualitative data is collected to shed more light on the statistical results (Creswell and Plano Clark 2011). Following the explanatory mixed-methods design, the project consists of two main components. First, questionnaire data was collected from four cohorts, namely Polish teachers of English, students, parents of students, and directors/managers of language schools. Semi-structured interviews with Polish teachers of English were then conducted to highlight and provide more depth to the data collected in the first phase.

As a working hypothesis, it was expected that the effects of native speakerism would be present on the Polish ELT market. Nevertheless, it seems that the definition offered by Holliday (2005) may need to be adjusted to the realities of the Polish context. The definitions of native speaker are expected to be mostly concerned with nationality and birth, as this appears to be the commonsense view held by most laypeople and teachers alike. As far as advantages and disadvantages of native and non-native speakers go, it is expected that the former will be more valued for their language skills and the latter for their pedagogical abilities. It is also to be expected, however, that the reality will be far from that simple. Moreover, there will exist a preference for native speaker teachers, as reflected in the employment practices of language schools and responses of students and

parents, although again the pattern may not be as clear-cut as might be expected. A preference for Inner Circle native speakers compared to Outer Circle ones is also expected, given the widespread assumption of native speakers as coming from countries such as the UK or USA. Finally, it is predicted that teachers, particularly (non-native) Polish teachers, may not be aware of at least some discriminatory practices exercised by all parties of the educational process.

The thesis is organised into five main chapters, plus this introduction and the conclusion. As mentioned above, the thesis is pragmatic in nature, and its focus is on practical applications and real-life solutions. This approach is also visible in the selection of books and articles introduced in the literature review chapters.

Chapter One provides an overview of literature on the concept of native speaker, including its origins and competing definitions of native and non-native speakers. The ideology of native speakerism is then introduced, and its effects on the world of ELT and criticisms of Holliday's original definition are reviewed.

Chapter Two turns our attention to issues related to Global Englishes and ownership of English. It also discusses the issues associated with the English as a Lingua Franca framework (ELF). The remainder of the chapter describes the situation of the English language in Poland, from the beginnings to its current dominant position.

Chapter Three provides a detailed account of the philosophical stance and methodology adopted for the purposes of the present study. The conflict between two opposing frameworks of social sciences is introduced, and a pragmatist approach is offered as a practical solution. The pilot study stage is described and both pre-pilot and proper Research Questions are listed. The methods of data collection and analysis are appended by basic demographic data on the participants of the study.

Chapter Four presents the results of the MMR study, structured around 11 research questions. The general structure follows a pattern in which quantitative data is presented first, then complemented by qualitative data from the semi-structured interviews with Polish teachers of English. The findings are also accompanied by the description of a telling case which arose during the data collection process.

Chapter Five is dedicated to the discussion of the findings from the previous chapter. Additionally, the conclusions from the present project are compared and contrasted with the data reported in other studies of a similar nature, especially Kiczkowiak (2018).

The chapter closes with implications for teacher training programmes and language schools pertaining to the mitigation of native speakerism and its effects.

Chapter 1: From native speaker to native speakerism

1.1. Introduction: Origin of the phrase *native speaker*

Before analysing the concept of the native speaker and the problems associated with it, it seems advisable to examine the origin of the phrase and place it in a wider historical and scientific context. The first listing of the phrase *native speaker* found in the Oxford English Dictionary is attributed to the American philologist George P. Marsh during his 1858 address at Columbia College in New York in which he advocated for the establishment of English philology as a field of study at American universities. Interestingly, however, the phrase was used not in reference to English, as one tends to think of it these days, but rather to German-language speakers. A closer reading of the speech provides one with a deeper understanding of ideologies surrounding the emergence of the native speaker. Marsh argues that the only path to acquiring the native language is at home stipulates that, despite being devoid of complicated grammatical structures, English possesses the largest vocabulary of any human language, which in turn enables its speakers to perform intricate intellectual feats (Hackert 2012). Such was the political and intellectual climate in which the phrase was born, in which it developed and in which, it seems, it continues to thrive in the field of English language teaching.

The notion began gaining importance, covertly at first, in the early twentieth century when Ferdinand de Saussure presented his vision of language as being formed of two constituent parts, i.e. *langue* and *parole*. The former was identified as the system employed to operate the latter, which are the utterances actually used by speakers (de Saussure 1916). It remains to be clarified that de Saussure never seemed to ascribe more importance to either of the components and never employed the term “native speaker” itself. It was not until 1965 that Noam Chomsky built upon de Saussure’s work and granted the native speaker a special place within the field of linguistics, as he referred to a native speaker as both the arbiter of and the model for the grammar, therefore the medium through which one can study *langue*. It seems, however, that Chomsky from the onset intended his definition to refer to an ideal abstraction and not a real-life user of language, as can clearly be seen in the following quote:

An ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogenous speech community, who knows its language perfectly, and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance (Chomsky 1965: 3).

Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the Chomskyan native speaker appears to double as a realistic figure and an abstract concept due to the fact that the definition establishes them as the aforementioned arbiters of grammar (Coulmas 1981: 10). Therefore, although the concept arose and served a purpose within the sphere of theoretical linguistics, it slowly began seeping into the world of teaching, which as observed by Widdowson (2003) attempts to apply linguistic theories into the real world.

The following section reviews the various approaches to the concept of native speaker found in the applied linguistics literature. Following Cook (2008: 171), these tend to fall into three separate themes, namely age, characteristics and identity. It is necessary to specify that definitions of the non-native speaker are provided mostly implicitly due to the fact that non-native speakers tend to be characterised solely through their lack of nativeness (Davies 1991: 167).

1.2. Who is a native speaker?

The answer to the question of who a native speaker actually is widely assumed to be commonsensical, age-related and in line with the reasoning of Bloomfield (1984: 88), who defined such a person as someone who has learned the language from “their mother’s knee.” McArthur (1992) bears out Bloomfield’s claim by stating that a native speaker is “person who has spoken a certain language since early childhood.” Such definitions, however, allow for too much wiggle room and were rightly criticised by Medgyes (1994: 10), who inquired about the age range of childhood, since such definitions imply that there exists a cut-off point after which a person must always be considered a non-native speaker. Cook (1999: 187) places priority on the chronology of language learning in his interpretation of the native speaker, claiming that the language which was learned first must be the native one. Davies (2003), however, questions such a standpoint, noting how a child is able to learn two languages simultaneously with neither being first.

A characteristics-centred approach defines native speakers in terms of their language proficiency. This approach originated with Stern (1893), who enumerated five proficiency criteria: a subconscious knowledge of rules, an intuitive grasp of meaning, the ability to communicate within social settings, a range of language skills, and creativity of language use. Cook (1999), however, offers a counterargument in the form of native speakers who fail to act properly in social situations, yet are not thereby deprived of their native speaker status. Moreover, such well-known literary figures as Vladimir Nabokov or Joseph Conrad could be seen as possessing many characteristics typically associated with the status of a native speaker, even though their command of spoken English was notoriously “non-native.” Finally, the definition becomes circular if one considers the fact that native speakers decide what should be considered correct and incorrect (e.g. characteristics 1, 3), then are defined on the basis of said established rules (Riordan 2018).

Cook (1999, 2016) introduced the concept of multicompetence, which symbolically places one’s second language proficiency on a continuum and emphasised that non-native English speakers should not be evaluated against native speakers, whose typically monolingual competences will inevitably differ from the multilingual competencies employed by non-native speakers. It may be worth pointing out that such a change in reasoning presented by Cook may stem from recent changes in the status quo: whereas previously research into second language acquisition tended to focus on beginning or intermediate students, over the past generation interest in advanced learners has gradually developed (cf. Birdsong and Bongaerts 1999; Bongaerts et al. 2000). The previous lack of interest in advanced learners might be traced back to the widespread belief in the Critical Period Hypothesis (Lenneberg 1967), which by definition would inhibit learners’ capabilities from ever becoming advanced.

In his theoretical consideration of the term, Davies (2003) pointed out that most definitions of native speaker are too simplistic to illuminate the full complexity of the concept and formulated different types of competence which together constitute the state of being a native speaker: psycholinguistic, linguistic, sociolinguistic, and communicative competence. According to Davies, a native speaker is someone who acquired the language at a young age, can differentiate between standard and substandard language varieties, is fluent, and can engage in an act of creative writing (Davies 2013). Davies (2012: 4) lists six additional factors which define the native speaker:

- 1) The native speaker acquires the L1 of which s/he is a native speaker in early childhood.
- 2) The native speaker has intuitions (in terms of acceptability and productiveness) about his/her idiolectal grammar,
- 3) The native speaker has intuitions about those features of the standard language grammar which are distinct from his/her own idiolectal grammar,
- 4) The native speaker has a unique capacity to produce fluent spontaneous discourse, which exhibits pauses mainly at clause boundaries (the “one clause at a time” facility) and which is facilitated by a large memory stock of complete lexical items,
- 5) The native speaker has a unique capacity to write creatively (and this includes literature at all levels from jokes to epics, metaphor to novels),
- 6) The native speaker has a unique capacity to interpret and translate into the L1 of which s/he is a native speaker.

Therefore, and interestingly, it seems that L2 speakers can actually become native speakers of the target language from the sociolinguistic point of view, as only the first factor listed is a biological one preventing anyone with a later onset of language learning from becoming a prospective member of the in-group. Davies (1991) himself attempted to show that non-native speakers can achieve nativity and refers to it as “acquiring new ethnicity.”

A much different attitude to the native speaker was presented by Piller (2002), whose views advocated a contextual rather than identity-related approach. According to data gathered in the process of sociolinguistic interviews, she pointed out that fully one third of her interviewees passed for native speakers in certain contexts. The quantitative analysis of her results showed that the age at onset of second language learning seemed to play less of a role than had been previously assumed. Additionally, the role of motivation as a factor supporting the learning process was underscored, with the participants themselves distinguishing between being first exposed to their target language and actually starting to learn it (Piller 2002).

A somewhat related approach may be observed in the studies of Munro and Derwing (1994), Fledge et al. (1995), and Munro and Derwin (1995), who focus their native speaker research on the act of being recognised as part of a community by its established members. The failure to categorise speakers as members of the listener’s own group or even as speakers of any of the well-established accents of the listener’s language would require positioning those speakers in the non-native category. The native-non-native dichotomy is thus acted out on the societal level, which in turn may have implications for applied linguistics (Moussu and Llorca 2008).

The common denominator of Piller (2002) and the views presented by Munro, Derwin, Fledge, and Mackay is the underlying notion that “native speaker” is an identity-related social construct. The concept of social construct was first introduced into

sociology by Berger and Luckmann (1966) and can be defined as a product of continuous social interactions between people rather than observable reality. Burr (2015: 5) defines it as “a product not of objective observation of the world, but of the social processes and interactions in which people are constantly engaged with each other.” As can be seen in the aforementioned attempts at defining the concept of a native speaker, although objective criteria have been laid out to enable categorisation of native and non-native speakers, the process of categorisation itself seems to be highly subjective.

Widdowson (2003) questions whether a speaker of Nigerian English and a speaker of American English should even be considered speakers of the same language. Here the further matter of the “ownership” of English comes into play, which will be considered more closely in Chapter 2. Brutt-Griffler and Sammy (2001) cogently argue for a similar stance, claiming that the label of native or non-native speaker is mainly decided not on the basis of linguistic categories, but of (often ill-defined) socially constructed notions. They conducted four small case studies in which they investigated four highly educated participants who were all born outside of the dominant English-speaking countries and moved to the US later in their lives. Two of the participants started learning English before the age of 10, and the remaining two started acquiring English as their first language. The authors go on to show that the process of assigning labels of native and non-native speakers to their informants was far from being based on linguistic grounds, and that numerous social factors and assumptions were at play.

Such an outlook on processes of categorisation of English speakers seems to be borne out by further research. For example, Houghton and Rivers (2013) and Kubota and Fujimoto (2013) stress the importance of being considered “white” in order to be considered a native speaker of English, thereby identifying a racist dimension to the concept of native speaker. Ali (2009) found that even having a non-Western surname may automatically cause a person to be assigned to the non-native category.

All in all, as pointed out by Davies (2003: 76), “individuals regard themselves (and others) as native speakers for symbolic, rather than communicative purposes.” Despite there being certain linguistic grounds on which speakers may be categorised as native speakers, a great part of the categorisation process can be attributed to social factors and constructs. One can hardly dispute the statement of Hackert (2012) that the native speaker concept is inherently linked with the notions of nation, ideology, and ethnicity. It must be kept in mind, however, that such an approach towards language and its speakers

could already be observed as early as in the Bible: “By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations” (Genesis 10:1-5; quoted from The New King James Version). The inseparability of language, territory, and the nation, then, has been assumed since the earliest stages of human civilization. It will therefore be useful to take a closer look at such supposedly axiomatic concepts as nation and national languages to gain a better understanding of the forces which influenced the emergence of the concept of native speaker.

1.3. Nations and national languages

In order to properly understand how deeply rooted the concept of the native speaker is and what connotations it brings in its wake, it is necessary to examine the notions of nation and national language.

Nation as a term is generally presumed to be self-explanatory and self-evident, yet once its meaning is questioned it becomes far more ambiguous and convoluted. It seems to invoke a sense of nativity and birthplace, but its scope is much wider and implies territory, residents, government, and language. In its extended sense it is frequently substituted by the compound *nation-state*, referring to an ideal state ruling over and made up of citizens belonging to a single nation (Joseph 2001). Such an understanding can be seen as idealistic or, as Joseph (2001: 92) puts it, “dystopian.” It implies that all members of a nation have forever been and must remain confined to one defined territory without being born or travelling outside of it. The term “imagined community” was coined by Anderson (1991: 6) to refer to nations in his famously seminal work, because “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”.

Importantly, according to Anderson, languages have a central role to fulfil in the invention of a nation. However, long before they became crucial in the process of the creation of nation-states, they have played a significant part in group identity formation; indeed, one could claim that nation-states are but a modern manifestation of group identity (Anderson 1991).

The power of languages can be best seen in the examples of religious communities, which preceded the rise of nations and, for an extended period of time, provided a

powerful unifying force for larger groups of people. Thus, Latin unified and dominated the Western Christian world, whereas Arabic brought together the world of Islam and continues to do so even today. Both languages could boast such influence, as according to their respective traditions they were granted a special status by a supernatural power, thereby deeming them sacred (Anderson 1991: 14). Therefore, the Christian and the Islamic worlds could form and define their identities in terms of an us-versus-them distinction. This distinction lay the foundation upon which Anderson's views were formed.

In contrast, Seton-Watson (1977) claimed that nationalism was based upon linguistic differences. However, differences in language themselves were generally insufficient to provide the necessary impetus for the establishment of such large communities as modern nations. That impetus was provided by one of the most important events in European and world history, the invention of the printing press by Johannes Gutenberg in the mid-15th century.

According to Anderson (1991), nothing contributed to the creation of nations more than the establishment of so-called printing capitalism. It provided the impetus for people inhabiting certain regions to gather around what would later become known as national languages and further the fragmentation of religious communities into nations, thus gradually elevating the secular national languages over the previously dominant sacred or liturgical languages such as Latin. The enormous impact of the printing press was aided by two major coinciding shifts in Europe, namely the Reformation and the fall of the Dynastic realm. The former encouraged the emergence of more democratic modes of governance, despite the fact that certain areas nevertheless remained autocratic, while the latter encouraged people to read the Bible in their own vernaculars (Bonfiglio 2010). To be sure, the process was not for the most part consciously directed, but rather evolved in an autonomous and haphazard fashion, as Anderson (1991: 45) put it: "in their origins, the fixing of print-languages and the differentiation of status between them were largely unselfconscious processes." Over time, however, and especially with the explosion of national movements in the 19th century, these changes led to the establishment of distinct, standardised national languages associated with existing or hoped-for nation-states.

1.3.1. Language standardisation

Print capitalism provided the necessary impetus for vernacular languages to start thriving, but it also required said languages to be as uniform as possible to maximise potential profits with minimal printing effort. Thus, began the process of standardisation of vernacular languages (Anderson 1991). In this section, standardisation is understood as “the imposition of uniformity upon a class of objects” (Milroy 2001: 531). A class of objects is understood here as a group of vernacular languages which are related enough to each other to be subsumed under the same category. A natural assumption, then, could be that the most uniform language variety should be considered the standard form of a language, which however is not the case. The definition above fails to account for an important factor which is usually associated with a standard form of a language, namely prestige. It can easily be argued that forms of language do not possess prestige per se; rather, prestige is endowed on them through their speakers. From the purely linguistic point of view, there exist no better or worse, no less or more noble varieties of any language. Therefore, the greatest differentiation among varieties of the “same” language are the values attributed to them. Additionally, one must bear in mind that normally it is the language system and not the speakers who undergo the process of standardisation, so that widespread variation persists despite the emergence of standard varieties (Milroy 2001). Nevertheless, print capitalism by itself lacked sufficient social power to gather people around a particular standardised form of their vernacular language(s). To complete this task, language myths were necessary.

1.3.2. Language myths and native speakers

As discussed above in section 1.3, before the rise of nation-states, liturgical languages were the vehicles by which imagined religious communities could come into being and drive subjects of different, or even hostile, political entities to feel a sense of togetherness. Languages such as Latin or Classical Arabic were seen as God-given and thus the only ones worthy of studying, with their speakers being mere users who corrupted the perfect language forms over time due to their sinful nature. The rise of modern nationalism in Europe and then elsewhere greatly eroded the status of sacred languages, which gave way

to standardised national languages based on a specific set of vernaculars. Contrary to their predecessors, they became properties of their respective speakers, who embarked on formulating language myths which enabled their national communities to exist in their collective imagination and take on a reality of their own (Bonfiglio 2010).

Language myths may be defined as “widely held beliefs about the origins, history and qualities of a language, whether one's own or a foreign language” (Smith et al. 1998: 173). Such myths have a certain tendency to be uniform across national borders, and thus they can be classified into two main categories: language-extrinsic and language-intrinsic. The former are associated with external history and their general context. They can be subdivided into the following categories: myth of primordality, myth of the chosen language, myth of conformity to Nature, myth of conformity to national character, and myth of foreign approbation. Language-intrinsic myths are related more to the forms present in the language, richness of its vocabulary, subtleness of its grammatical forms, etc. They fall into the following groups: myth of euphoniousness, myth of unique expressiveness and untranslatability, myth of lexical copiousness, and myth of purity (Smith et al. 1998).

Whereas language-intrinsic myths can be seen as rather harmless and open, language-extrinsic myths may be, and many have been, employed in nationalist and racist rhetoric. Reflections of the aforementioned myths can be found in locutions such as *mother tongue* or *native language*, which etymologically speaking have an underlying sense of genetic inheritance and are frequently invoked in declarations of ethnolinguistic nationalism (Bonfiglio 2001). Thus, a closer look at the definitions of the word *native* might be required. The Oxford English Dictionary lists the following meanings of *native* as an adjective: “associated with place or circumstances of a person’s birth, of indigenous origin or growth, belonging to a person’s character from birth; innate, found in pure and uncombined state.” The word has its origins in Latin and comes from *nativus* (*nat-* ‘born’, from the verb *nasci*). The etymological roots of the word are important, as they further contribute to the problematicity of the concept. According to Rampton (1990: 97), the term *native speaker* implies that “a particular language is inherited either through genetic endowment or through birth into the social group stereotypically associated with it.” Additionally, the same author argues that the term “spuriously emphasize[s] the biological at the expense of the social. Biological factors doubtless do count in language learning, but they never make themselves felt in a direct and absolute way”.

To conclude, it seems reasonable or almost self-explanatory that the phrase *native speaker* grants people gathered under such label a special kind of authority and deems them the rightful owners of the language in question (Bonfiglio 2010). Who should get to decide about the past, present, future of given languages if not the people born into them? Therefore, not only is the native speaker a problematic concept in purely linguistic terms, it also might raise concerns due to its etymological roots and implications of ethnolinguistic nationalism. Yet despite the theoretical burden of the term, it has successfully become established in the field of applied linguistics, which in turn exerts direct influence on the world of English Language Teaching (ELT).

1.3.3. The native speaker in applied linguistics

The previous sections introduced the concept of the native speaker and the on-going debates surrounding it from the perspective of theoretical linguistics. The present thesis is, however, preoccupied mainly with English Language Teaching which heavily depends on the field of applied linguistics. Therefore, a more down-to-earth approach shall be presented.

As could be seen, there exists a seemingly never-ending stream of theoretical considerations of the native speaker concept. The debate and even the phrase itself is so worn that many teachers find themselves considering all the academic disputes an ivory tower. It must never be forgotten, however, that at no time does it cease to influence the lives of English language teachers and their profession on day to day basis. It so happens as unsurprisingly, as hinted in the previous section, one of the many tasks of theoretical linguistics, but arguably one of the highest importance, is informing the field of applied linguistics. The Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics (Richards and Schmidt 2010), which is considered to be a common reference book for language teachers world-wide, states that a native speaker is

a person who learns a language as a child and continues to use it fluently as a dominant language. Native speakers are said to use a language grammatically, fluently and appropriately, to identify with a community where it is spoken, and to have clear intuitions about what is considered grammatical or ungrammatical in the language.

In light of previous sub-chapters (1.1. - 1.3.2.), the definition present in such a prominent resource seems exceedingly conservative. The dictionary is a frequent go-to resource upon which many teachers build their views and opinions, so it would be advisable for the authors to exercise more caution while forming definitions. According to Medgyes (1994: 10), as already mentioned, one should immediately inquire about the definition of childhood, how long it actually lasts. Additionally, as suggested by Davies (2003), one should consider the case of children who are able to acquire two languages at once without any of them being granted the status of the dominant one. Moreover, similar questions should be posed about the definition of a community, grammaticality, and the language as the definition gives no consideration to linguistic variability and variation. Therefore, despite being seemingly straightforward at first glance, such a simplistic definition leaves much to be desired. Applied linguists have to remember that their actions influence the lives of countless language teachers and can end up harming people who fail to meet such clear-cut black-and-white criteria.

All in all, the concept of the native speaker turned out to also be highly problematic in a much more hands-on field of applied linguistics which is a great cause for concern. Additionally, since the present thesis is concerned with the well-being of both native and non-native speaker teachers in Poland, a closer look at non-native speakers and the academic discussion surrounding them shall be taken.

1.4. Who is a non-native speaker?

Riordan (2018: 122) defines a non-native speaker as

a user of language which he or she did not learn from an early age; a user of language who may have lacunae in some areas of proficiency in that language; and a user of language who would not designate himself or herself as a native speaker of the language.

The definition is problematic in several respects and can almost be seen as a mirror image of the definition of the native speaker introduced in the previous section. First, the part of the definition concerned with age fails to grasp the reality of many countries where children start learning foreign languages as early as in preschool. Thus, instead of focusing on the onset of learning, more attention should be paid to the amount and type of

exposure to the language. The above definition also suggests that native speakers have no lacunae in any areas of proficiency in their native language. Although it may be true that native speakers on average have fewer knowledge gaps when compared to non-native speakers (or learners), not every single native speaker will be an expert in, for example, the field of marine biology. Naming all parts of a car will also be beyond most native speakers' capabilities. Therefore, this component could be applied to both native and non-native speakers alike.

The last part of the definition is laudable as it grants a certain amount of autonomy to speakers of the language and respects the elusiveness of the concepts of native and non-native speaker by attempting to make room for all the grey areas in which different speakers might find themselves. Additionally, the definition succeeds in providing a good theoretical background for any study conducted on non-native speakers. It also rightly takes account of the fact that, as McNeil (2005) points out, most non-native language teachers admit without any shame to being non-native language users.

A closer look at Riordan's (2018) definition reveals that it is formed on two basic research attitudes to non-native speakers merged together, namely deficit and difference. As mentioned in section 1.2, non-native speakers are usually defined implicitly as imperfect versions of impeccable native speakers, i.e. they are defined in terms of deficit (Selvi 2011). This attitude can be noticed in the first part of the definition concerned with age and knowledge gaps. Non-native speakers are deficient because they started learning later in life and fail to acquire as much knowledge about the language as native speakers do. This assumption has laid the foundation for most debate and research pertaining to non-native speakers, and is still widely held today. However, more recent research tends to focus more on the differences which might be found between the two groups because, as suggested by Cook (1999), native and non-native speakers are two completely different species in terms of linguistic acquisition, use, and attitudes. This shift is softly hinted at in the last part of Riordan's definition dealing with one's willingness to assume the role of native or non-native speaker. Both attitudes will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

1.4.1. Non-native speakers' deficit in language teaching

The most well-known proponents of the belief that non-native speakers always fall short of their native-speaking counterparts were probably Randolph Quirk and Clifford H. Prator. While the latter focused his critique mostly on matters associated with second-language varieties of English, i.e. those varieties later subsumed under the label of Outer Circle Englishes, Quirk turned his attention towards the Expanding Circle (see Section 2.2.).

Prator's (1968) main claim in his "The British heresy in TESL" was that for local varieties of English to be established as legitimate models to learn the language would be "unjustifiable intellectually and not conducive to the best possible results" (Prator 1968: 459). In the same article, he describes seven fallacies which he associates with "the British heresy", which were listed and summarised by Bolton (2009: 253):

1) that second-language varieties can be equated with mother-tongue varieties; 2) that second language varieties of English really exist as coherent, homogenous linguistic systems, describable in the usual way as the speech of an identifiable social group; 3) that a few minor concessions in the type of English taught in schools would suffice to stabilise the language; 4) that one level of a language, its phonology, can be allowed to change without entailing corresponding changes on the other levels; 5) that it would be a simple matter to establish a second-language variety of English as an effective instructional model once it had been clearly identified and described; 6) that students would long be content to study English in a situation in which, as a matter of policy, they were denied access to a native-speaker model; and that 7) granting a second language variety of English an official status in a country's school would lead to its widespread adoptions as a mother tongue.

The statements might have seemed heretical at the time of their publication, but the "liberation linguistics" started by Braj Kachru caused a major shift in thinking about and attitudes to different varieties of English (see Section 2.2.).

Quirk (1990) cites a study investigating non-native speakers of French to support his position, namely that of Coppieters (1987), who indicates that even proficient speakers of French often fail to perform appropriately in positions requiring native-like command of the language, for example, in judging semantics of paired sentences focusing on the imperfect tense and the past tense. The failure rate for non-native speakers was 41.5% and for their native counterparts only 2%. Quirk also claims that non-native speaker teachers of any language always necessitate continuous contact with the native form of their target language to teach appropriately. The study in question, however, was

conducted on a highly homogenous and monolingual group and in accordance with a highly strict standard; therefore, a hypothetical yet essential question can be posed whether a group of non-standard French speakers could perform sufficiently well to be considered members of the native speaker in-group or whether they would also be deemed deficient (Coppieters 1987). Additionally, Quirk's statement concerning the necessity of the presence of native speakers for successful learning to take place is unsubstantiated, as no relevant studies are cited.

An interesting perspective on the research technique of grammaticality judgments comes from Sorace (2003) together with Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson (2003). Their psycholinguistic research demonstrates that when it comes to speed and accuracy of judging grammaticality, it indeed appears unattainable for a non-native speaker to match native speakers. Nevertheless, they along with Davies (2013) argue that grammaticality judgments carry very little to no importance in applied linguistics. Additionally, Cook (2002) delivers an argument against the practice of using solely this technique in research on native and non-native speakers: "the grammaticality judgments technique is bound to reveal differences between monolinguals and L2 users, because the actual measuring instrument is not neutral" (2002: 22).

Moreover, Quirk (1990) seems to be unaware of the existence of teaching methodologies and reality of the classroom setting. In his article, he seems to assume that any native speaker of standard English is able to deliver fully prepared and meaningful lessons to their pupils/students simply thanks to the fact that they are speakers of said variety. Additionally, when considering the status of non-native speakers, Quirk overlooks their methodological qualifications, which play an essential role in the educational process. He also proposes two sentences whose grammaticality should be judged by native and non-native speakers, namely: "a) The spacecraft is now 1000 km from [+the] earth, b) She [+has] lived there for three years (Quirk 1990)." Interestingly, these examples refer to grammatical items which are covered on levels A1 and A2 of the Common European Framework (see English File Elementary 3rd Edition (Lantham-Koeing et al. 2012a), English File Pre-Intermediate 3rd Edition (Lantham-Koeing et al. 2012b)). Most probably, no professional non-native teacher of English would agree that those without such knowledge are qualified to teach the language.

However, as mentioned above, the debate over native- vs. non-native-speaking teachers in EFL education has shifted with time from deficit-centred to a difference-

oriented. The shift did not happen by itself, but can mostly be attributed to the Hungarian researcher Péter Medgyes and his groundbreaking studies published in 1992 and 1999.

1.4.2. Non-native speakers' difference in language teaching

“Native or non-native: who’s worth more?” was the title of an article published by Péter Medgyes, a linguist who decided to investigate the differences between native and non-native speaker teachers, thereby embarking on a new path of research. To answer his research question, he created and conducted a survey study and distributed it to 220 native and non-native speaker teachers working in 10 countries (1992). In his conclusions, he stated that non-native and native speaker teachers are two completely different species, and at no point in time do they become indistinguishable. In contrast to Davies (1991) who claimed that becoming a native speaker of a language is possible in adulthood, Medgyes (1992) argued that non-native speakers can never become native speakers. He advises against trying to blur the difference between the two, as both are necessary in the learning process. Flying in the face of then current research trends surrounding the native vs. non-native speaker dichotomy, Medgyes argued that by becoming aware of the discrepancies, we can encourage both groups of teachers to work in tandem to achieve better learning outcomes.

Canagarajah (1999) elaborated on Medgyes’s findings and claimed that native speakers of English are better teachers in the EFL context, whereas non-native speakers, on the other hand, are better suited for professional challenges in the ESL environment. However, these claims were based on the author’s personal suspicions and were contradicted by the data-based results of Llurda’s (2005b), whose study showed otherwise, i.e. non-native speakers fare much better in the EFL context and native speakers in the ESL one.

In 1999, Medgyes created a list of six items which can be considered potential strengths of non-native speakers:

[...] NNS English teachers can: provide a good learner model for imitation, teach language learning strategies more effectively, supply learners with more information about the English language, anticipate and prevent language difficulties better, be more empathetic to the needs and problems of learners, and make use of the learners’ mother tongue.

In this connection, Cook (1999) points out that for students to have a native speaker as their model might be an overwhelming experience, as they may feel that they will never achieve such “perfect” proficiency.

Ma (2012) conducted a study in Hong Kong on the strengths and weaknesses of native and non-native speakers. She distributed a questionnaire to 53 local English teachers and held semi-structured interviews with three teachers who took part in the survey. The results of her study indicated that native and non-native speakers have their distinctive advantages and disadvantages: non-natives were mostly praised for their pedagogical skills, and natives were greatly appreciated for their linguistic abilities. In general, the strengths and weaknesses of the two groups appeared to be complementary, which would suggest that both native and non-native speakers should work together.

Other studies have identified various benefits and drawbacks of non-native speakers in comparison with native-speaking teachers. Kamhi-Stein et al. (2004) found that non-native speaker teachers may experience issues with communication and knowledge of vocabulary. Moussu’s (2006) study shed light on the fact that non-native teachers are appreciated for their empathy and ability to understand the difficulties their students may face in the language learning process. It was also suggested by Hyland and Anan (2006: 512) that non-native speakers may feel tempted to over-focus on language forms instead of fluency and intelligibility due to their insecurity concerning their own linguistic competencies. On the other hand, Swan (2009) suggested that native speakers may lean towards fixating on oral communication, as they may consider themselves lacking in the area of grammar.

There exist two all-too-often overlooked issues with the aforementioned approaches to the native/non-native speaker dichotomy. First is the problematic nature of the native speaker concept due to lack of consensus as to its definition. It is generally considered impossible to study anything without defining the key concepts used in a research project. Secondly, the concept of non-native speakers is also blurry and not free of its own problems. All too often, non-native speakers are treated as if they were some kind of homogenous group. However, before one delves into the complexity of the issue at hand, one should proceed with caution when it comes to further labelling or categorising of non-native speakers. As it will become clear in the following sections, non-native speakers employed in EFL often already feel discriminated against and, unsurprisingly, can become defensive when generalizations are made about them.

Notwithstanding these reservations, it seems reasonable to assume that the field of EFL could benefit from more in-depth research of the topic. It would be ideal if non-native speakers could believe in their own worth and not have to fear or be suspicious of research conducted on them. After all, they have been members of the teaching profession for many years now and have contributed to it greatly. Fortunately, some relevant research has already been conducted. Following Moussu and Llurda (2008), one can distinguish such key differences among non-native speakers as: the setting of professional development, various geographical locations, the level at which teachers teach, the amount of time spent in English-speaking countries, having degrees from Inner Circle or Expanding Circle countries (Kachru 1985; see below), and different levels of target language proficiency. All these factors can heavily influence studies concerned with education, teaching practices, and so forth.

Thus, researchers on EFL, instead of being discouraged from conducting more studies on this topic, should be encouraged to do so by non-native speakers themselves. The author of the present thesis is a non-native speaker himself and believes that professional and capable non-native speaker teachers should not feel anxious about this line of investigation, which can only contribute to greater understanding of the challenges facing them. If in the process “a few bad apples” are found, it will be all the better, as the main job of a teacher is to teach their students successfully and be concerned with what is best for their students.

1.4.3. Is our existing terminology good enough?

In order for this study to make sense and to contribute to the discussion, working definitions of native and a non-native speaker are required. It should be evident by now that the task of pinning down who one has in mind when categorising a person as a native or a non-native speaker is an increasingly difficult one. In light of those difficulties, some attempts have been made to adopt a different and more proficiency-based terminology to describe EFL teachers.

Rampton (1990: 98-99) lists five factors which, in the author’s opinion, prove the superiority of valuing expertise over nativeness:

1) Although they often do, experts do not have to feel close to what they know a lot about. Expertise is different from identification, 2) Expertise is learned, not fixed or innate, 3) Expertise is relative. One person's expert in another person's fool, 4) Expertise is partial. People can be expert in several fields, but they are never omniscient, 5) To achieve expertise, one goes through processes of certification, in which one is judged by other people. Their standards of assessment can be reviewed and disputed. There is also a healthy tradition of challenging "experts."

Based on such assumptions, Rampton suggests that the term *expert user* should be used instead of *native speaker*. Similarly, Paikeday (1985) proposed the term *proficient user*, Kachru (1992) suggested *English-speaking fellowship*, and finally Cook (1999) *multicompetent speaker*. Nevertheless, despite all the previously described objections to the continued use of the native/non-native speaker dichotomy, Selvi (2011: 187) states that "the field is still a long way from reaching a consensus about whether to adopt any of these labels."

An additional issue of labelling was brought into attention by Holliday (2005, 2013, 2015), who argues that the terms "native speaker" and "non-native speaker" should be always used in inverted commas to "show that they are as stated by the discourse, and as such are disputed" (Holliday 2005: 4). Holliday's logic is that it is far from enough to overtly state the illusiveness of the native and non-native speaker concepts and that it should be reinforced with every use of the terms that they are ideological and divisive in nature. More recently on his Twitter feed, Holliday went further to claim that the terms should always be preceded by the disclaimer "labelled as."

On the other hand, numerous authors see pragmatic value in retaining the distinction. The most prominent are Árvai and Medgyes (2000), who indicate that the terms continue to be used by teachers and researchers alike. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine that upon deciding to abandon the old terminology and adopt a new one, all the discriminatory practices and attitudes would somehow instantly disappear from the field of English language teaching, as observed by Kiczkowiak (2018: 25) "it is not immediately obvious that even if a more inclusive and less ideological term was to become widely used and accepted, greater equality and more inclusiveness would be achieved".

As the present thesis aims to be pragmatic in nature (see Section 3.1.4.), it "side-steps the contentious issues of truth and reality" (Feilzer 2010: 8) as it "focuses instead on 'what works' as the truth regarding the research questions under investigation" (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003: 713). We may therefore circumvent the issues of the philosophical debate between post-positivist and post-structuralist outlooks on social science

and focus on what can currently be considered real, i.e. independently and empirically verifiable. The present PhD project will continue to use the terms *native speaker* and *non-native speaker*, in line with the everyday reality of the EFL profession where the concepts are omnipresent and impossible to avoid, yet it does so with full awareness of how problematic and loaded these terms are. Therefore, the definition of a native speaker adopted throughout the present thesis is based on that of Davies (2012). When the term *native speaker* is used in this thesis, it refers to a person who meets all of the following criteria:

- (1) fulfils the six criteria listed by Davies (2012);
- (2) considers themselves a native speaker; and
- (3) is accepted by the native speaker in-group (Davies 2003).

It should be noted that a similar definition is accepted by Kiczkowiak (2018). This should not be seen as surprising, however, and may indeed be considered an argument in favour, as the present thesis can serve as a further investigation into related issues such as the attitudes to the native/non-native speaker dichotomy in the English language learning process held by students and teachers. A *non-native speaker* should be understood as defined by Riordan (2018). The author has also decided not to place these terms in inverted commas, as he believes their complexity has already been demonstrated and does not need to be explicitly emphasised.

The following section will turn to the ideology of native speakerism, which crucially depends on the assumption of a dichotomy between native and non-native speakers. After reviewing the history of native speakerism, we will turn to an overview of the many ways in which the differential treatment of native and non-native speakers influences the daily lives of teachers and the entire environment of EFL education.

1.5. Native Speakerism

1.5.1. What is ideology and discourse?

Prior to defining the ideology of native speakerism, it is necessary to specify what is meant by the terms *ideology* and *discourse* themselves. The task is difficult in its nature because, as Eagleton (2007) puts it, there are numerous definitions in the literature, some of them mutually exclusive. Even though many people in today's world perceive ideology as detrimental, some attempts at redefining the concept have highlighted its positive aspects, such as e.g. feminism or secularism.

Before the definition employed in this thesis is provided, it will be helpful to take a closer look at some older, foundational definitions. The concept of ideology is strongly connected with the notion of *power*. Power was understood by Foucault (1982) as an omnipresent entity; and as Daldal (2014) stated, "life in society, literally from the cradle to the grave, inevitably involves actions being exercised on other(s) actions." On the other hand, Gramsci's theory of power was closely associated with the notion of *hegemony*, defined by Machin and Mayr (2012: 24) as "the ways through which dominant groups in society succeed in persuading subordinate groups to accept the former's own moral, political, and cultural values and institutions".

This concept nicely complements Marx et al.'s (2011) definition of ideology as a set of beliefs and ideas which are created by the dominant class to justify the existing social structure and exert power over the lower classes. Therefore, ideology is used by the superior or dominant groups to manipulate and subjugate the inferior or oppressed. In the present thesis, however, ideology is understood in line with Van Dijk's (1998) approach, which characterises it as a negative force which further reinforces structures of power and privilege. The most frequent fashion in which this is accomplished is by spreading false or (over)simplistic, yet attractive and easily believed beliefs on a given topic, a phenomenon that has become only too familiar in recent years with the rise of social media disinformation and "fake news..." This definition of ideology for the purposes of this study might seem oversimplified, but it does resonate best with Holliday's (2005) concept of native speakerism.

The process of defining the concept of *discourse* is also challenging as, similarly to ideology, there also exists a plethora of available interpretations of the concept. The term is employed in many areas of research and a broad range of disciplines, but its primary domain is linguistics (Jaworski and Coupland [1999] 2006: vi). In broad terms, Machin and Mayr (2012: 20) see discourse as language: “above the level of grammar and semantics.” Jaworski and Coupland (2006: 3) provide the field with an all-encompassing definition of discourse as “language use relative to social, political and cultural formations — it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals’ interaction with society”.

Therefore, there exists a reciprocal relationship between discourse and social structures, i.e. discourse is informed by social structures, and social structures are informed, shaped and maintained by the use of discourse.

In conclusion, native speakerism is an ideology, which by the means of professional and academic discourse in the field of ELT upholds the dichotomy between the superior native speaker and inferior or deficient non-native speaker. As will be seen in section 1.5.3, it can also be interpreted as a method to reinforce the distinction between the Centre and the Periphery of the English-speaking world. Criticisms of native speakerism have also been voiced, which will be discussed in section 1.6.4.

1.5.2. What is native speakerism?

In the previous sections, we have reviewed the concept of the native speaker and its problematic status due to its elusive nature and lack of agreement over what the term does or should signify. Despite this, it has been underscored that the notion continuously influences the teaching profession. This contradiction led Holliday (2005) to coin the term *native speakerism*, which he defined as “a pervasive ideology within ELT, characterized by the belief that ‘native-speaker’ teachers represent a ‘Western culture’ from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology”.

It is suggested by Holliday (2015) that native speakerism may stem from the notion of *cultural disbelief*, which can be defined as lack of belief in the possible contributions to the profession of teachers who have been labelled as non-native speakers.

Therefore, native speakerism for Holliday boils down to privileging certain Western models and teachers over others. Houghton and Rivers (2013), however, modify the definition to better fit the context of societies such as Japan by extending it to also include instances of discrimination against native speaker teachers, thus redefining the concept to become an umbrella term for any sort of discrimination of language teachers due to their speaker status. Houghton and Rivers (2013: 19-20) argue that native speakerism is

prejudice, stereotyping and/or discrimination typically by or against foreign language teachers, on the basis of either being or not being perceived and categorised as a native speaker of a particular language, which can form part of a larger complex of interconnected prejudices including ethnocentrism, racism, and sexism. Its endorsement positions individuals from certain language groups as being innately superior to individuals from other language groups. Therefore native-speakerist policies and practices represent a fundamental breach of one's basic human rights.

Most of our attention here will however be given to the original definition put forth by Holliday (2005), to examine whether it is strong and flexible enough to meet the facts of ELT in contemporary Poland. Holliday (2005) himself notes that native speakerism has its roots in older attempts at identifying and pinning down the phenomenon, namely Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1994, 1998). However, the roots of such an attitude of ascribing higher value to certain linguistic forms or groups of people can be traced back to Bourdieu (1991).

1.5.3. The predecessors of native speakerism

To observe and analyse the mechanisms present behind the evaluations and values attached to linguistic forms, Bourdieu (1991) created the concept of *marché linguistique* or the linguistic market. The metaphor of the linguistic market depicts the speaker's capital as the values of language, linguistic competence, and the knowledge of linguistic form. Moreover, the market signifies the group of speakers or the speech community. Therefore, the value given to different language forms depends on the power and influence of the people who use it (Bourdieu 1991). Considering the amount of economic and cultural influence wielded by English-speaking nations of the Inner Circle, i.e. the UK, USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (Kachru 1985), it is logical to assume that the linguistic forms they use should be highly valued in capitalist (linguistic) markets.

Therefore, immense socioeconomic value is ascribed to native speakers of Inner Circle Englishes as they are associated with being useful for e.g. career advancement.

The issue of the linguistic and symbolic capital associated with Inner Circle Englishes is described in great detail by Phillipson (1992). In his book *Linguistic Imperialism* (1992), Phillipson puts forward a more radical hypothesis, namely that the ELT profession is an accessory by which the capitalist English-speaking West furthers its economic and social agendas and reinforces the division of the world into the Centre and Periphery. The terms of Centre and Periphery were taken by Phillipson from Galtung's book of 1980, *A Structural Theory of Imperialism*. In Phillipson's (1992) view, the Centre refers to the politically and economically powerful Western countries which establish the rules of English language teaching, whereas the Periphery are all the countries which can be seen as less fortunate and in which the English language is promoted. In the same work, Phillipson claims that the concept of a superior native speaker was created in the 1960s (the native speaker fallacy) during a conference held in Makerere by the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee. The conference established the five basic tenets of English language teaching:

- English is best taught monolingually;
- The ideal teacher of English is a native speaker;
- The earlier English is taught, the better the results;
- The more English is taught, the better the results;
- If other languages are used much, standards of English will drop (Phillipson 1992).

Phillipson's work has its fair share of strong and weak points. First and foremost, the term is supposed to encompass imperialism, but Phillipson restricts his analysis to economic relations, which seems excessively narrow especially when it comes to language which is so tightly bound with culture and identity. Phillipson makes a reasonable case and demonstrates how some institutions, especially the British Council, further the idea that English is a highly beneficial language, yet he fails to produce any evidence for the potential effects of such a spread, such as allowing poorer nations to access global markets and develop, but also at the same time serve as a gatekeeper to social and economic progress within those worse-off countries. This is the main criticism offered by Pennycook (1994, 1998), who in his work advocated a broader consideration of the

interplay between language, politics, and power, including the topic of postcolonialism. He also argues that the voices of people from the Periphery should be heard by allowing them to use the language of the powerful (in this case English) in order to express their own ideas and identities.

It can therefore be said that the concept of native speakerism coined by Holliday (2005) aims to be an all-encompassing term, building upon the shoulders of Phillipson and Pennycook, that describes the way in which the postcolonial legacy, power relations, and politics of the field of ELT interact and create real-life effects which are faced day in, day out by teachers working in the profession. Holliday furthermore underscores the negativity of an essentialist attitude towards cultures on the basis of their language. Pennycook (2012: 85) suggests that the native speaker is “a proxy for other things; discriminatory hiring practices along racial lines, for ideas of standard language imbued from birth rather than inculcated through education, for prejudicial categorizations of the language spoken by others.” Aboshiha (2015) likewise warns that the status of the native speaker in both theoretical and applied linguistics has little to do with language proficiency but is closely associated with prejudice and subjective opinions rooted precisely in native speakerism.

1.6. The world of ELT and manifestations of native speakerism

1.6.1. The reality of the ELT field

The debate surrounding the issue of native and non-native speaker becomes essential in light of the fact that due to high demand for English language instruction, around 80% of all English language teachers are currently non-native speakers (Canagarajah 2005, Braine 2010). Therefore, a poorly defined conception of the native speaker in applied linguistics continues to negatively affect the lives of the majority of those in the ELT field (Kumaravadivelu 2014) as suggested for instance by the study of Clark and Paran (2007), which showed that 72% of language schools (n=90) in Britain considered being a native speaker of English as an either important or moderately important factor. Such findings

imply that even prior to a job interview, a non-native English teacher may already be excluded as a worthy candidate for the position (cf. Mahboob 2003, 2004).

A number of language school administrators have suggested that hiring practices favouring native speakers are simply a matter of supply and demand (Moussu 2006). Holliday (2005) disagreed strongly with such an excuse, noting that if prospective students were to demand male over female teachers, their wishes would never be granted (although the study was conducted in the United States, and it is certainly imaginable that such sexist preferences might be accommodated elsewhere). Flynn and Gulikers (2001) discussed the possible factors which might influence employment practices regarding non-native teachers and provided advice on how to tackle some of them. They state that non-native speaker teachers have to be made aware of the potential prejudice that students and language school administrators may hold against them and should strive to break any such barriers down. The authors encourage an open conversation concerning benefits that both native and non-native speakers can introduce into the world of ELT.

Song and Zhang (2010) carried out a small-scale study of hiring practices in two Asian countries using websites such as TESOL's Online Career Centre and Dave's ESL Cafe. According to their results, 78.5% of all job advertisements posted had at least one discriminatory criterion, e.g. a requirement of native speaker status or a passport from one of the Inner Circle countries. Selvi (2010) conducted a similar study in which he discovered that 60.5% of all job ads he investigated had native or near-native proficiency as a requirement. Additionally, some job ads further specified acceptable Inner Circle degree locations for prospective job candidates or required a certain number of years of residence in an Inner Circle country. In total, 26.3% of all ads included such extra demands.

Ruecker and Ives (2014) used a critical discourse approach to analyse 59 websites which recruit teachers for language schools in Asian countries such as Japan, South Korea, China, Taiwan, and Thailand. Their data shows that a native speaker requirement was found in 81% (n=59) of the websites in all or some individual ads. They also point out that most websites promote teaching employment as an opportunity to experience an exotic culture, make a considerable amount of money, and most importantly have fun. Interestingly, very little or no attention is given to requirements for knowledge of English language pedagogy or teaching skills. The image of a perfect English teacher is thus created: "a young, White, enthusiastic native speaker of English from a stable list of inner-

circle countries” (Reucker and Ives 2014: 1). The researchers also suggest that in cases in which non-native speakers could potentially be considered for teaching positions, they would probably be scrutinised in more detail. A relevant example of such a practice could be the fact that while in some programmes native speakers were only required to have any university degree, non-native speakers were required to hold a degree in a relevant field (Reucker and Ives 2014). These and other examples of systematic discrimination against non-native teachers in the EFL sector continue to take place despite repeated studies showing that students do indeed find merit in being taught by non-natives (Cook 1999; Kramsch 1997, 1998; Lasagabaster and Sierra 2002; Benke and Medgyes 2005; Moussu 2006; Wu and Ke 2009; Alseweed 2012).

Apart from facing discrimination from prospective employers, non-native speaker teachers are also likely to be challenged with respect to their credibility. McCroskey and Thweatt (1998) define *credibility* as the degree of trust endowed by a receiver on the source of information. Thus, in the case of an English language classroom, credibility is how believable the teacher appears to their students as an authority on the language. Braine (1999a: 22-23) reports a professional situation in which he found himself when he was assigned to teach two courses which had never before been taught by a non-native speaker. According to the author, two of his students complained and demanded to be transferred to groups taught by native speakers of English.

An interesting study of credibility comes from Butler (2007), who asked a group of Korean elementary school learners to rate two recordings of the same person, a Korean American. The first recording contained the person speaking Korean-accented English and the second American-accented English. Additionally, a questionnaire was used in the study to gauge the qualities desired by such young learners in their English language teachers. The results of the study showed that the American-accented speaker was considered to be more confident, fluent, and to have better pronunciation. The students showed preference for the American-accented speaker, even though the difference in comprehension between the two recordings was insignificant. The experimental study of Lev-Ari and Keysar (2010) even found that utterances spoken by non-native speakers are perceived as less truthful. Such a state of affairs heavily saps non-native speakers’ credibility, not to mention adversely affects their self-esteem. The same is true even if non-native speakers serve only as messengers and are passing on a statement from a native speaker. Such negative evaluations associated with foreign-accentedness have deep roots

and have long been perpetuated by pop culture, as argued in Lippi-Green's (1997) famous *English with an Accent*. Her analysis of Disney animations, for example, revealed that 40.7% of all characters with foreign accents have negative motivations, compared to 30.4% of British and other English speakers and just 19.9% of American speakers.

It should be emphasised that it is not only non-native teachers who suffer from the consequences of native speakerism, as the ideology seems to be multidirectional in affecting both native and non-native speakers. Oftentimes, teachers who are considered to be native speakers are treated largely or exclusively as a highly marketable product, to the point of being dehumanised. Hashimoto (2013) claims that due to the emphasis on hiring native speakers, they come to be perceived more as objects which possess linguistic knowledge rather than actual teachers. This perception does not necessarily benefit native speakers materially either: as pointed out by Houghton and Rivers (2013) and Rivers (2018), numerous expatriate teachers in Japan receive worse salaries and contracts and are treated less favourably than the local employees. Holliday (2015) recalled his time spent teaching in Tehran in the 1970s, when he felt deeply hurt by the fact that he failed to be recognised as a trained professional different from his Anglophone colleagues employed solely on the basis of being native speakers.

The exoticizing, even fetishizing of native speakers also has negative real-life consequences for the quality of EFL teaching. Kirkpatrick (2007) states that the practice of hiring native speakers has inevitably led to very few of them having proper teaching qualifications. Such a claim is corroborated by Rao (2010), who investigated the background of native speakers employed at Chinese universities and determined that 87% of them had little or no ELT qualifications. "Othering", no matter which way, has to be done away with. Holliday (2015) argues that if there is any chance of breaking the spell of native speakerism, it is by instilling *cultural belief* in people, which he defines as "the belief that everyone has cultural proficiency" and thus can make a significant contribution to the ELT field.

Fortunately, some changes have already taken place in attitudes towards non-native teachers of English. One of the biggest international associations for teachers of English, TESOL, published "The statement on non-native speakers of English and hiring practices" as early as 1991. This statement declares that the criterion of native speaker status should not exclude anyone from being considered for a position of an English teaching professional, as such a practice stands in stark contrast with good pedagogical

and research practice. Their “Position Statement Against Discrimination of Non-native Speakers of English in the Field of TESOL” (2006) reinforced this point even more strongly:

TESOL strongly opposes discrimination against non-native English speakers in the field of English language teaching. 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.

All these efforts to provide both native and non-native teachers with equal opportunities within the field led to the establishment of The Non-Native Speakers in TESOL (NNEST) Caucus in 1998 by George Braine, Jun Liu, Lia Kamhi-Stein, and Aya Matsuda. In 2008 the Caucus transformed itself into an Interest Section of the TESOL International Association. This was perceived as an improvement and a step forward, as Caucuses are mostly preoccupied with advocacy, whereas Interest Sections tackle professional issues (Braine 1999b).

Additionally, anti-discriminatory practices seem to be engraved in the laws of the European Union. Article 21 of the EU basic rights states as follows:

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 (Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union 2000).

Moreover, in 2002 the European Commission in question E-0941/2002 announced:

The Commission is of the opinion that the phrase “native speaker” is not acceptable, under any circumstances, under Community law. [...] the Commission recommends using a phrase such as “perfect or very good knowledge of a particular language” as a condition of access to posts for which a very high level of knowledge of that language is necessary (EC 2002).

Such firm opposition to discriminatory practices is undoubtedly both welcome and necessary. Nevertheless, as could already be seen in the section devoted to the reality of the ELT field and will be discussed in greater detail in the following section, these efforts have so far failed to counter the effects of the ideology of native speakerism. The implementation of such statements as those of TESOL and the European Union and their

application to real-life pedagogical and hiring practices still requires further research and increased advocacy.

1.6.2. The state of research on Native Speakerism and its effects

The existing research carried out on the situation of non-native speakers in ELT may be classified into six basic categories, five of which are taken from Moussu and Llurda (2008). The sixth seems to be quite a recent development, which has gained significant ground in recent years. All of them can be listed as:

- Non-empirical reflections on the nature and conditions of non-native teachers;
- Personal experiences and narratives;
- Surveys;
- Interviews;
- Classroom observations;
- Mixed methods studies.

Category 1 provides much-needed food for thought, which at first was necessary to attract the attention of researchers to the issues facing non-native teachers. This path of inquiry started with Greis (1984), who called for better accommodating TESOL university courses in the United States to non-native speakers' needs, which were different from those of native speakers. Seidlhofer (1996) explored what it means to be a non-native teacher of English. In her research project, she showed that 57% (n=100) of her non-native teacher respondents claimed to feel insecure due to their non-native status. Amin (1997) considered the situation of non-native and non-White teachers of English in Canada, whereby she appealed for clear definitions of the terms *native speaker* and *non-native speaker* and also advocated the disentanglement of these terms from the concept of race. Similar considerations may be found in Munro and Derwing (2005), Modiano (2005), and Rajagopalan (2005). Llurda (2004) campaigned for the stabilisation and creation of English as an International Language. He also argued that the fears of people who believe that the spread of English might lead to the loss of local identities is unnecessary, citing as an example people in the Basque Country who speak Spanish, yet retain strongly

Basque identities. Most recently, Holliday (2015) calls for a major paradigm shift in language education and teaching and states that dismantling of any boundaries between native and non-native speakers a priority.

These and other studies were valuable in drawing attention to the issues facing non-native speakers in EFL, especially in the 1980s and 1990s. However, it has become apparent that the field must move on and develop increasingly better-suited research methods (Moussu and Llorca 2008). Such a position may seem to be in opposition to the proposal of Holliday (2015), but it is the contention of this author that the field must refrain from replacing one ideology built on sand with another equally non-empirical one.

Category 2 consists of personal experiences and narratives of non-native speakers. As noted by Moussu and Llorca (2008), such personal stories usually attempt to showcase successful non-native teachers to inspire motivation and confidence in teachers starting out in the field, e.g. Braine 1999a, 2005; Connor 1999; Thomas 1999; de Oliveira and Richardson 2001, 2004. Park (2012) examined one Chinese student's journey toward embracing her non-native identity, documenting the transformation of the student's attitudes toward herself. When she began her TESOL university programme in the US, a feeling of powerlessness accompanied her at all times. Finally, however, she grew to accept her non-native status and pride herself on being able to speak two languages.

Lowe and Kiczowski (2016) conducted a duoethnographic study on the influence of native speakerism on a native and a non-native speaker teacher. In their research project, they examined such issues as stereotypical beliefs, the effects of the ideology on their careers, self-confidence, and methods of becoming aware of native speakerism and its negative effects on their profession. The authors conclude that native speakerism is in fact multidirectional as it negatively influences lives of both teachers; however, its influence on non-native speakers is more severe. This approach, despite being rather unscientific in nature, did receive recognition in scientific journals. It may be seen as a positive development within the field, but the line of research has for the most part moved on to empirically based studies using data-oriented methods.

Notwithstanding this trend, there have been recent attempts to transform narrative research into a more rigorous, more data-driven method. Charles (2019) conducted a narrative study of identity construction among black native speaker teachers in South Korea. He adopted the narrative inquiry delineated by Clandinin and Connelly (2000: 20) as his approach to data analysis, which can be defined as "a way of understanding experience.

It is a collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with milieus.” Therefore, despite receiving their share of criticism, it appears that narrative methods of inquiry may still bring new insights to the discipline.

Category 3 takes after an established tradition of using surveys in social research. The practices that one should adopt and the rules one should follow to conduct a well-designed survey are helpfully summarised by Dörnyei (2007). The survey method has been widely used in the field and has brought promising results, see e.g. the already mentioned studies of Medgyes (1999) or Llurda (2005b) in section 1.4.2. Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (2001) conducted a qualitative survey study to investigate the process of native speaker identity formation by analysing four case studies of speakers born outside of the mother tongue environment. The study turned out to be a success, despite Dörnyei’s (2007) claim that surveys should never be qualitative. Novianti (2018) also employed the survey method and attempted to determine which teachers best fulfil their roles in the Indonesian context. Ahmad (2016) used a slightly altered version of the survey designed by Reves and Medgyes (1994) to measure the attitudes of English Language Programme administrators towards the employment of non-Arab native and non-native speakers in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The results are interesting as they present a picture quite different to that known from previous studies, i.e. Saudi Arabian administrators are unlikely to discriminate against potential candidates on the basis of their national origin, as they see substantial merit in non-Arab non-native speakers.

Perhaps the most far-reaching investigation of this kind is that of Nemtchinova (2005), who used quantitative- and qualitative-oriented questions in her questionnaire to investigate the evaluations of non-native teacher trainees’ performance in the classroom by host teachers. Her study holds numerous implications for teacher development programmes, as it brought to light both strong and weak points of non-native teachers in training. On the positive side, their conscious knowledge of grammar enables them to answer more intricate questions posed by their students. Additionally, their own experience of being language learners comes to the fore in the language teaching process, as they can better sympathise with the needs and difficulties of their students than (typically monolingual) native speaker teachers. As far as their weaknesses are concerned, they may just as well be caused by lack of experience in teaching rather than native or non-native speaker status, e.g. limited practical use of the language in the classroom. Thus, practicum

teachers and programme administrators should raise awareness of the advantages that non-native speaker teacher trainees can offer in language instruction. The method of survey research is still widely used and continues to yield valuable insights, although in recent years it has tended to be incorporated into mixed methods studies, the sixth category on the list (see below).

Category 4 is also inspired by an already established tradition, that of conducting interviews to carry out research. Holliday (2007) criticised the method for gaining too much importance and recognition, but his criticism might be associated with the post-structuralist research paradigm that he advances; in any case, it has continued to thrive within the ELT research community. Although more qualitative in nature, it offers a considerable degree of rigour and objectivity. According to Fox and Alldred (2014), interviews can help in understanding a multitude of subjectivities and possibilities influencing a social situation.

Among recent examples, Derivry-Plard and Griffin (2017) interviewed both native and non-native English teachers in France to explore the ways in which symbolic violence constantly permeates the field of ELT. The authors call for abandoning of the Native Speaker language model and adopting a continuum-based model that better respects the strengths and abilities of teachers. Ma (2012) investigated students' perceptions of advantages and disadvantages of native and non-native English teachers and found that native speakers tend to be seen as pedagogically deficient and linguistically superior with the opposite being true of non-native speakers. Interestingly, numerous features proved to be complimentary and, according to Ma (2012), both groups can function best when presented in combination. Finally, Leonard (2018) interviewed four participants who were English teachers from countries outside of the Inner Circle (Kachru 1985) and thus were considered non-native speakers, to investigate whether native speakerism has any power to inhibit teacher development and professionalism. Actor-network theory was used to analyse the data, allowing Leonard to examine how teachers from different cultural context are influenced by native and non-native speaker networks. The results suggest that native speakerism is still present and both overtly and covertly constraints the chances of non-native speaker teachers on the linguistic job market.

Category 5 sadly still seems to be the most underrepresented in the field, where there is a dire need for systematic classroom observations, which in turn can lead to numerous practical results and suggestions for improvements (Moussu and Llorca 2008).

The most prominent study in this genre is probably Árvai and Medgyes (2000), which was already mentioned in section 1.4.3. Cots and Díaz (2005) conducted a micro-analysis of four teachers to investigate their discourse strategies for constructing social relationships with their students and how they deploy linguistic knowledge. Jiang et al. (2019) used the classroom observation technique to explore teachers' perceptions and practices together with students' needs and motivations in tertiary English-medium instruction programme in China. A notable example is Reis (2008), who supplemented his study with classroom observations of his participant to more deeply investigate how non-native teachers establish their credibility and legitimacy. The participant began his teaching journey as a “blind believer in the native speaker mode in language teaching” (Reis 2008: 146). However, with time and through critical reflection, the subject became more confident in embracing his identity as a successful language learner and a positive model for his students. The participant also encouraged his students to challenge the Native Speaker myth by bringing it up openly in class and holding discussions on linguistic imperialism.

Category 6 has received considerable attention in recent years. As stated by Dörnyei (2007), the purpose of a mixed methods study is to use both quantitative and qualitative instruments within one study and integrate both parts at various stages of the research project. Sandelowski (2003, quoted in Dörnyei 2007) mentions two main purposes of employing a mixed-methods approach: it enables a researcher to gain more insight and understanding of the subject-matter, and allows for juxtaposing the data and comparing them against each other.

Apparently the first mixed methods study of native vs. non-native speakers in ELT was conducted by Samimy and Brutt-Griffler in 1999, although they themselves referred to it as a “hybrid” study (1999: 138). The researchers used surveys and interviews to investigate the perceptions of 17 mainly Asian graduate TESOL students at a US university by focusing on whether they perceived themselves as professionals in the field, if they thought there were any significant differences between them and their native speaker counterparts, and if they suffered any inhibitions due to those differences. The results of the study showed that more than two-thirds of the students reported that their issues with the English language affected their teaching performance from “a little” to “very much.” Furthermore, 88% of the respondents claimed that they perceived differences between native and non-native speakers. The most important of the differences mentioned were that native English-speaking teachers were thought to be more informal, fluent, flexible,

use more conversational English, have a better command of language subtleties, prepare for communication rather than exams, and use “authentic” English, whereas non-native English-speaking teachers were believed to rely on textbooks, apply differences between English and their native language, be aware of transfer, be more sensitive to the needs of students, be more efficient, know students’ background and prepare for exams (Samimy and Brutt-Griffler 1999: 142-143). Despite these differences, however, the participants did not believe that native speaker teachers were superior to non-native speakers. According to the analysis, they attributed the differences in teaching styles to the differences between Asian and Western cultures.

Inbar-Lourie (2001) in her doctoral thesis decided to address the issues of why certain teachers in Israel deemed themselves native speakers of English and the effects of the native/non-native speaker dichotomy on pedagogical practice and its perceptions. Additionally, she also investigated whether self-perception and self-categorisation as either a non-native or a native speaker influenced teachers’ outlook on teaching English. The results of her study show a clear relationship between self-confidence in personal language abilities and self-categorisation, hence construction of one’s own linguistic identity.

Nuske (2015, 2016, 2017) conducted a large scale mixed-methods study to explore how first-year TESOL graduates from multicultural backgrounds responded to the teaching of critical pedagogy. The types of data collected by the researcher included semi-structured interviews, classroom observations, concept mapping tasks, course papers, and other written assignments. The insights gained from the study are rather ambiguous in nature. The researcher found that critical pedagogy, instead of fulfilling its aim of empowering novice-practice teachers, can come across as oppressive due to its complexity. The views propagated by the critical pedagogy were criticised for “the elevated, intellectual, and overtly politicised terminology of critical pedagogical theory” (Lin 2004: 277).

Kiczowski (2018) examined the presence of the ideology of native speakerism in Poland by using focus groups, questionnaires, and semi-structured interviews. The results of the study show that native speakerism is still quite present in Poland, but that being a native speaker is not the only important factor in making one’s living as an English teacher. However, his study lacks a deeper analysis of whether the term native speakerism can be also transplanted to Poland in its generally accepted form or needs to be

adjusted to Poland's particular sociolinguistic realities. A more in-depth analysis of Kiczowski's (2018) research project is conducted in Section 2.2.6.2.

It is important to highlight the fact that scholars in the field of ELT studies employ research instruments and use them in different ways. Examples of such practices might be using a survey study to collect qualitative data or using interviews to gather quantitative data. Such studies thus escape easy classification. Viáfara (2016), for instance, used a survey and semi-structured interviews to investigate participants' self-perceptions of Spanish nativeness and English non-nativeness at two Colombian public universities. Interestingly, despite such an unusual combination of research tools, the results of the study proved valuable. The participants came across as over-empowered Spanish native speakers and at the same time insecure English non-native speakers, with on average more than 90% of them feeling highly concerned about their accents, while 80% of the participants from one of the universities graded their language abilities as a 3 on a scale ranging from 1 to 5. Both cohorts also perceived their communication skills as the weakest and knowledge of grammatical rules as the strongest. The teachers were strongly influenced by the myth of the native speaker and used it as the model to which they compared themselves.

Llurda and Huguet (2003) conducted a study on 101 non-native teachers of English in primary and secondary school in the eastern Spanish town of Lleida. Their research tool was an orally delivered survey. Although the study was clearly qualitative in nature, they used numerous statistical tools to refine their conclusions. The study focused on the self-perception of non-native speaker teachers, with special attention paid to such issues as language proficiency, teaching views, and the non-native/native speaker debate. Generally, primary school teachers showed lower confidence in their language proficiency, but believed they made more considerable improvement over the period of their teaching practice. The teaching goals of primary school teachers turned out to be more communication-centred, with 92.7% of them claiming this to be the case, whereas only 54% of secondary school teachers opted for the same goal. Interestingly, primary school teachers appeared to be more influenced by the ideology of native speakerism, with almost half of them declaring that they would hire more native speaker teachers, whereas only 22.4% of their secondary school counterparts supported such a notion.

In conclusion, further research into the native/non-native speaker dichotomy in ELT is urgently necessary. The reasons are multifold, i.e. to strengthen the position of

non-native speaker teachers, improve teaching strategies and resources available to teachers, and identify factors inhibiting the development of teachers and students alike. The point made by e.g. Braine (2010) and Moussu and Llorca (2008) about the issue of research methods employed in the subfield must however be emphasised and treated with utmost seriousness. There is a growing need for the subfield to establish itself as a serious path of scientific inquiry. Therefore, future studies should attempt to employ a manifestly rigorous and empirical approach to the issues of native/non-native teacher dichotomy and native speakerism. An additional issue which seems to loom over the subfield is a stark discrepancy and difference of opinions between two contrasting philosophical stances on the issue of science, namely post-positivism and post-structuralism. This conflict will be addressed in Section 3.1.1.

1.6.3. Critical Pedagogy in ELT

Before delving into the criticism aimed against the concept of native speakerism, it is essential to understand the intellectual climate in which the concept had its beginnings. Critical pedagogy in ELT is defined by Crookes (2012: 1) as

a perspective in language curriculum theory and instructional practice that supports and advances teaching and the study of languages in ways that would promote social justice. In this case, the popular term social justice is based in one or more critiques of present-day society (or societies) that reflect the interests of the working class, women, non-heterosexuals, ethnic minorities, marginalized peoples, and includes perspectives that valorize environmental conservation and peace.

Numerous prominent writers have dabbled in the field of critical pedagogy in English Language Teaching. Kumaravadivelu (2003) depicts teaching methods as a colonial construct and advocates advancing into a post-method era. According to Kumaravadivelu (2003), a post-method pedagogy consists of: “the parameters of particularity, practicality and possibility.” A similar “anti-textbook” stance can be observed in the unpublished PhD thesis of Littlejohn (1992), who advances the view that coursebook authors and publishers exploit teachers and learners alike. Canagarajah (2006) advocated for pedagogies which recognise the need for a more multilingual normative approach. Gao (2010) explored the feelings of students from mainland China who came to study at a prestigious university

in Hong Kong with English as the medium of instruction, and how their feelings related to and evolved during the learning process. On a different note, Kubota (2004) expressed his opposition to the essentialising tendencies in the concept of multiculturalism, and a similar view was expressed by Holliday (2005).

To conclude, the roots of native speakerism can be found in critical pedagogy as it tries to encourage the teaching and learning of English that is more socially conscious, thus promotes values associated with the advancement of social justice. Regardless of its unquestionable merits, this framework remains highly controversial due to its generally unscientific approach to research, focusing more on think-pieces rather than empirically based methods of inquiry. The following section will concentrate on criticism of the concept of native speakerism, which shares many of these same weaknesses.

1.6.4. Criticism of Native Speakerism

Despite being acknowledged and accepted by numerous scholars in the discipline of applied linguistics (see Sections 1.6.1. - 1.6.2.), some criticisms of the concept of native speakerism have been raised, the most prominent of which come from Waters (2007a, 2007b, 2009, 2015). Waters (2007a) negatively characterises what he believes to be the spirit of the times in ELT, namely political correctness, which he states is “the main intellectual ideology of the day in the (professionally-dominant) Anglophone West”. For him, the current trend of critical theory to language teaching is overly politicised and fails to fulfil its assumed goals. He points out that in defence of non-native teachers against racism and discrimination, such ELT scholars ironically commit the crime of being discriminatory too. This happens because they stereotype both native and non-native speaker teachers as two homogenous groups without giving much thought to their separate identities, feelings, attitudes, and practices (Kuo 2006). As an example of such dead-end thinking, he gives the description and interpretation provided by Holliday (2005) of a conference presentation which attempted to scrutinise the culture of an East Asian country. Holliday (2005: 25-26) provides the following account of the event:

- See an individual’s behaviour as mostly explainable by membership of a foreign national culture;

- Describe the foreign national culture as a generalised Other, whose main characteristic is difference to Self;
- Find the details of this difference;
- Explain all behaviour in terms of this difference;
- Reify the stereotype.

Waters (2007a) provides an alternative account of the event showing that the interpretation was not based on data but personal views and *ad hominem* attacks:

- I am working in a culture which is unfamiliar to me. I feel it might help if I got some basic information about it, in order to begin to get to know it better.
- In the light of this knowledge, what can I do (i) to limit culturally inappropriate behaviour on my part, and (ii) improve my ability to understand/accept behaviour on the part of locals?
- In the longer-term, how can I use this information to give me a basis for building up a better general picture of how expatriates and locals can live and work together as well as possible, and to help me perceive the individual person behind the cultural ‘mask’? (Waters 2007a: 357-358)

He also adds that the points raised by Holliday (2005) would have been much stronger if he had gathered e.g. actual interview data during the event. Holliday (2007) responded to Waters’s criticisms, but failed to provide substantial or relevant evidence to support his claims, stating, among other things, that “[i]t may simply be the case that we are working from two irreconcilably different perspectives”, Holliday representing the postmodernist and poststructuralist approach to conducting research and Waters more of a positivist one. Waters (2007b) openly acknowledges that native speakers have been overrepresented in the field of ELT at the expense of non-native speakers; however, he disagrees with the methods used to remedy the issue, namely the critical theory approach. He therefore calls for more empirical evidence to support the claims made to highlight native speakerism. A very similar sentiment is perceptible in the already analysed article of Moussu and Llurda (2008) as well as the publications of Llurda (2005a) and Braine (2005).

The stance taken in the present thesis is generally in line with the approach of the authors just mentioned in the sense that it recognises the existence of native speakerism as a negative ideology within the field of ELT, but also supports the view that more empirical data is needed to advance the field. It can be argued that the sole action of ridding the field of the native and non-native speaker labels from official discourse will not have much impact on everyday teaching practice. A more in-depth description of the philosophical stance taken in the present research project will be given in Section 3.1.4. In Kumaravadivelu's (2014: 3) words, there is "an abundance of politically correct words, and avoidance of professionally correct deeds." The author of this thesis also agrees with Kuo's (2006) sentiment that non-native speakers/learners should decide for themselves which models they want to follow, and should in fact be encouraged to do so. Additionally, for the author the stance taken by numerous Inner Circle scholars preoccupied with the situation of native and non-native speakers in the global ELT market shows signs of the attitude made famous by Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden." The poem argues that it is the responsibility of the white, civilised man to civilise the savages as they are incapable of civilising themselves. In a similar vein, numerous Anglophone academics from Inner Circle countries claim that non-native speakers fail to make informed decisions concerning the standards they would like to follow as they are constantly influenced by colonialism in both the original and modern sense of the word, thereby implicitly barring them from becoming fully free, and consequently, fully human. The aim of this thesis is best summarised by the statement of Derivry and Griffin (2017), namely, to promote "developing a professional legitimacy based on teaching expertise and qualifications".

Chapter 2: Englishes in the world and in Poland

2.1. Introduction

Having taken a closer look at the key notions of native speaker and native speakerism pertaining to the present thesis, we will now consider the situation of the English language in Poland. It must be stated at the outset that the picture is complex, and that understanding the current state of affairs is impossible without first introducing the current research trends in the study of World or Global Englishes. In other words, the case of Poland has to be placed within the wider context of both the ever-developing field of ELT and, more importantly, the ever-changing globalised world of the 21st century. Therefore, this chapter will review the scholarly literature on such topics as World Englishes, English as a Lingua Franca, the ownership of English and its role in Europe and, finally, the status of English in Poland today. It closes with a discussion of such issues as the role of English on the Polish job market and a brief overview of the current Polish market for language schools.

2.2. World Englishes

The spectacular spread of English around the world and its growing dominance in such domains as private life, business or academia begs numerous questions concerning the role of English, its functions, and the degree to which it influences different international contexts. Such a rapid and widespread dissemination of a single language is a unique historical process that has made English the first truly global language, a view represented by such researchers as e.g. Crystal (2003a, 2003b), Seidlhofer (2004), Dörnyei et al. (2006), Kirkpatrick (2007), and McKenzie (2010).

The scholar who first investigated new forms of English, particularly those arising in colonial contexts, in a descriptive, scientific manner rather than criticizing and attempting to rid them of substandard features, was probably Schuchardt (1891) in his pioneering study of varieties of English in India, “Das Indo-Englische.” In general, it can be said that until the 1980s linguistic researchers studied new Englishes in isolation without paying

much attention to the macro-process taking place around the world (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008). Braj Kachru can be considered the father of what came to be known as the field of World Englishes, whose task is to investigate new varieties of English from a global historical, comparative, sociolinguistic, and applied perspective (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008).

2.2.1. Kachru's Concentric Model

Kachru (1985) created a concentric model to represent the spread of English around the world. The model comprises three circles: the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle. Historical, literary, and sociolinguistic factors were all taken into account in the process of creating this model, which has since become extremely influential in the burgeoning field of World Englishes (Kachru 1992).

The Inner Circle is associated with mother tongue varieties of English and includes such countries as e.g. the United Kingdom, the United States, or Canada. It is generally considered the “birthplace” of English, and its speakers are believed to be the language’s owners. It is often assumed that the Englishes spoken in the Inner Circle are homogenous, which is obviously completely false (Evans 2005). Since the Inner Circle Englishes are considered to be norm-providing, the correctness or appropriateness of English is almost always determined on the basis of the norms used in the Inner Circle (McKenzie 2010).

The Outer Circle refers to postcolonial countries such as Ghana, Uganda, Pakistan, or the Philippines. These are countries where English is widely spoken as a second language (McKenzie 2010). These countries, however, still suffer negative attitudes towards their respective varieties of English, whose speakers tend to feel linguistically insecure and orient themselves to the language norms of the Inner Circle countries (Bruthiaux 2003: 160, cited in McKenzie 2010). According to Jenkins (2009), such countries are norm-developing as they are undergoing the creation and establishment of their own standards. There have been attempts to describe and create a model for this process, such as Schneider's Dynamic Model (Schneider 2003, 2007). Kachru was one of the pioneering researchers who first described Outer Circle Englishes as forms of English in their own right, rather than simply fossilised or unstable interlanguages (Kiczkowiak 2018).

The Expanding Circle was given considerably less attention in the early stages of Kachru's model, but in terms of population is by far the largest of the three circles. The circle comprises all the countries in the world which see English as their primary foreign language and are norm-dependent (Kachru 1992). It includes a considerable fraction of the world's population; for instance, it is estimated that the number of English learners in China is higher than the total number of English L1 speakers around the world (Schneider 2014).

Kirkpatrick (2007) suggests that since its development, the Kachruvian model of Englishes has led to a shift in understanding of how the English language functions around the world. He believes that thanks to this model, the notion of English as a pluricentric language has gained prominence and helped larger groups of people realise that, in linguistic terms, no form of English is better than any other.

The definition and designation of the three concentric circles are, however, not without their share of controversy. McKenzie (2010) points out that placing such countries as the UK, the US, Australia or Northern Ireland in the Inner Circle makes sense only on written grounds, as their spoken varieties differ considerably. Additionally, Bru-thiaux (2003) states that homogeneity is also assumed within the varieties, thereby reinforcing the view that the Inner Circle Englishes are a monolith. The model also assumes the dichotomy of native/non-native, which has already been questioned in Chapter 1. As McKenzie (2010) further observes that speakers in such multilingual countries as India often acquire two or more languages at the same time, so that it can be increasingly difficult to identify a person's L1, L2, and L(x) and thus classify them as a native or non-native speaker. Another shortcoming is that most of the work done so far in the field of World Englishes has focused on comparative studies of individual Inner and Outer Circle varieties, which has led to the Expanding Circle varieties being overlooked (Berns 2005). Berns argues that for the World Englishes model to remain influential, more studies have to be carried out on the development and use of Englishes in the Expanding Circle. Similarly, Canagarajah (2006) also suggests that more research should explore the use of English within the Expanding Circle countries, i.e how people in a country such as Poland use English to communicate with other Poles.

Fortunately, a growing amount of attention and research has been devoted to the Expanding Circle in recent years. English used to be thought to occupy limited functions in such countries in areas such as technology, education or business, with an assumed

lack of influence on the private sphere. This seems to be changing, however, as English has become increasingly part of people's lives in countries where it plays no official or public role (Kachru et al. 2006). For this reason, Xu (2010) claims that the end is coming soon for the Expanding Circle as it is known and defined, as the process of codification and normalization of Englishes within it is ongoing.

The scholarship on World Englishes initiated by Braj Kachru has inspired numerous other subfields, frameworks, and models. The two most important for the purposes of the present thesis will be explored in the following sections, namely the Dynamic Model with its variant to accommodate the Expanding Circle, and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). Following Pakir (2019), the label "World Englishes" will be treated as an overarching category.

2.2.2. The Dynamic Model in the Expanding Circle

As mentioned in section 2.2.1, the Dynamic Model was originally created to account for the emergence of postcolonial Englishes. It focused on the similarities pertaining to the sociolinguistic conditions present in postcolonial countries of the Americas, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. According to Schneider (2007), the process comprises five consecutive stages, namely:

- Step (1) foundation;
- Step (2) exonormative stabilization;
- Step (3) nativization;
- Step (4) endonormative stabilization;
- Step (5) differentiation.

Thus, the model has its onset in the transplantation of English into a new territory, where in its wake a set of identity construction processes and their linguistic manifestations take place leading to nativization and then, potentially, internal differentiation. Schneider (2007) also lists four parameters influencing the process:

- Extralinguistic factors;
- Characteristic identity construction;
- Sociolinguistic determinants of the contact setting;
- Structural effects.

Additionally, Schneider (2007) underscores the importance of the interplay between the settler and the colonised populations in the evolution of new postcolonial varieties of English.

One question that has been posed with increased frequency in recent years is if the Dynamic Model in its original version can be applied to non-postcolonial countries where English was introduced as a foreign language, i.e. roughly speaking, to the countries of the Expanding Circle (Buschfeld 2014; Edwards 2016; Kautzsch 2014). The issue was addressed by Schneider (2014) in an article in which he proposes a model of Transnational Attraction to account for “the appropriation of (components of) English(es) for whatever communicative purposes at hand, unbounded by distinctions of norms, nations or varieties” (Schneider 2014: 28). He tinkers with and eventually alters the four aforementioned parameters:

- Language policy and the role of English in education;
- Attitudes to English;
- Sociolinguistic conditions of using and learning English,
- Structural consequences for features of English (Schneider 2014: 17-18).

Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2016) find the notion of Transnational Attraction to be unsatisfactory and excessively simplistic, and call for a more unified framework functioning on a higher level of analysis. Therefore, they propose the extra- and intra-territorial Forces (EIF) model, which assumes that extra- and intra-territorial forces are always at play over the course of development of postcolonial and non-postcolonial linguistic varieties. The model presupposes that these forces operate both on the international, global level and local, i.e. national level. The relevant forces are listed in the table below, along with their application to postcolonial and non-postcolonial Englishes.

Table 1. EIF model with post and non-post-colonial Englishes (adapted from Buschfeld and Kautzsch 2016: 11).

| Extra-territorial force | PCE | Non-PCE | Intra-territorial force | PCE | Non-PCE |
|-----------------------------|-----|---------|--|-----|---------|
| Colonisation | √ | X | Attitudes towards colonising power | √ | X |
| Language policies | √ | √ | Language policies / language attitudes | √ | √ |
| Globalisation | √ | √ | 'Acceptance' of globalisation | √ | √ |
| Foreign policies | √ | √ | Foreign policies | √ | √ |
| Sociodemographic background | √ | √ | Sociodemographic background | √ | √ |

The authors also suggest that the developmental stages of the Dynamic Model can be adopted in the EIF model. However, the Foundation phase is considerably different in a non-postcolonial English situation, where we are rather dealing with what Edward (2016) has called “foundation through globalisation.” There is also a lack of evidence for the last two stages of the Dynamic Model, namely Endonormative Stabilization and Differentiation. The model suggests a multidirectional development progressing from English as a foreign language (EFL) through English as a second language (ESL) towards (possibly) English as a native language (ENL) (Buschfeld and Kautzsch 2016).

Buschfeld and Kautzsch’s model seems promising in its identification of the most important factors influencing the evolution of the Englishes of the Expanding Core. However, and as the authors themselves admit, it reduces the individuality of postcolonial and non-postcolonial varieties of English, which after all differ greatly in their historical, sociocultural, and political contexts. Nevertheless, its merits for the theory of World Englishes cannot be overlooked. As Schneider (2014) himself has suggested, the Dynamic Model in its original formulation is likely to be inadequate as a framework for analysing new globalised Englishes. Additionally, more research is needed to confirm that the EIF model is suitable for the plethora of sociolinguistic circumstances it was supposedly designed to describe, e.g. in Poland and other countries of Eastern Europe.

2.2.3. English Lingua Franca (ELF)

In spite of all the aforementioned modifications to the World Englishes framework with the purpose of becoming more inclusive of the Expanding Circle, the main focus of the

field has remained the Outer Circle (e.g. Kiczkowiak 2018). Perhaps the main force furthering the legitimisation process of Englishes spoken in the Expanding Circle is the English Lingua Franca framework, which emerged from such groundbreaking research as Jenkins (2000, 2007) and Seidlhofer (2001, 2004). Interestingly however, despite criticism directed at Kachru for not addressing the issues of the Expanding Circle (Jenkins 2007), one of the primary uses of the phrase English Lingua Franca came from the aforementioned Braj Kachru (1996) in a chapter entitled “English as Lingua Franca.” At the time, Kachru considered English as Lingua Franca to be an important concept, as he stated: “[...] however we define the term, has become a communicative tool of immense political, ideological and economic power” (1996: 910).

The first definitions of English Lingua Franca come from Firth (1996) and House (1999). Firth (1996: 240) claims that “[ELF] is a ‘contact language’ between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication”.

Similarly, House (1999: 74) defines ELF interactions as “interactions between members of two or more different linguacultures in English, for none of whom English is the mother tongue” (House 1999: 74).

Today, ELF is to be understood not as a variety in its own right, but rather as a context for communication which involves a great dose of flexibility, variability, and negotiation of forms (as Seidlhofer 2011). For Jenkins (2009), when she refers to English Lingua Franca, she means “a specific communication context: English being used as a lingua franca, the common language of choice, among speakers who come from different linguacultural backgrounds”.

As Jenkins et al (2011: 283-284) point out, ELF is a space where “non-native speakers [...] and all English varieties, native or non-native, are accepted in their own right rather than evaluated against a NSE [Native Speaker English] benchmark”.

It is often assumed that no native speaker is present during communication in English Lingua Franca, which is statistically probable due to the fact that there are many more non-native than native speakers of English (Crystal 2003a; Graddol 2006). Jenkins (2012) claims that since non-native speakers outnumber native speakers, the latter should no longer have the norm-providing power. Such a development could lead native speakers coming from Inner Circle countries to lose much of the power they hold over the English language, as the main goal for EFL speakers would be intelligibility and not adjusting to

native speaker norms (Seidlhofer 2001). The position taken by the proponents of EFL, in their expressed desire, could potentially lead to the native speaker fallacy losing much of its validity and eventually disappearing. This in turn would promote and empower non-native speakers of English in their efforts to engage in international and intercultural communication. Such a context-centred approach in place of a variety-centred one sounds promising, but as shall be seen in the following paragraphs, the approach is often altered, thereby making the ELF project less than philosophically cogent.

According to Pakir (2019), the need for mutual intelligibility will eventually cause a set of basic features to arise in ELF to avoid a situation not far removed from the biblical story of the Tower of Babel. Such a collection of pronunciation features crucial for successful communication is known as the Lingua Franca Core or LFC (Jenkins 2000, 2002). The assumption behind the Lingua Franca Core is that strictly following standard language norms can prove to be counterproductive and hinder communication in international interactions (Matsuda 2002; Baumgardner 2006). Jenkins (2000) therefore divides the sounds of English into two broad categories, which can be called core and non-core sounds (Park and Wee 2011). For example, she claims that the interdental fricative known as the *th* sound actually cripples the communication process rather than aids it, therefore the sound should be excluded from the LFC. On the other hand, all consonants, except the dark /l/ and the aforementioned interdental fricative together with vowel length, find themselves in the core, as their absence seemingly hinders the communication process.

Despite being of a more open-ended nature, a similar piece of work has been carried out in the area of syntax and lexicogrammar. Seidlhofer (2004) suggests, among others, the following omissions one can make without disturbing the flow of communication:

- Simple present third person, e.g. *He seem sad*;
- Article omission, e.g. *I saw man*;
- Using a bare infinitive in place of -ing, e.g. *He can't wait see you*;
- Overdoing explicitness, e.g. *orange colour*;
- Adding unnecessary prepositions, e.g. *We discuss about it tomorrow*.

Seidlhofer (2004: 218) also lists several potential programmatic features of ELF:

- 1) Misunderstandings are not frequent in ELF interactions; when they do occur, they tend to be resolved either by topic change or, less often, by overt negotiation using

communication strategies such as rephrasing and repetition. 2) Interference from L1 interactional norms is very rare – a kind of suspension of expectations regarding norms seems to be in operation. 3) As long as a certain threshold of understanding is obtained, interlocutors seem to adopt what Firth (1996) has termed the ‘let-it-pass principle’, which gives the impression of ELF talk being overtly consensus-oriented, cooperative and mutually supportive, and thus fairly robust.

Despite the main focus being placed on non-native speakers of English, Seidlhofer (2011) states that native speakers of English are also welcome in the field of ELF research. Jenkins (2000) argues that because that English is an International Language (or simply ELF, as the terms English International Language and English Lingua Franca seem to have merged in the literature) it can by definition have no native speakers, following the logic of Widdowson (1994). In fact, she believes that native speakers will eventually have to acquire the Lingua Franca Core in order to successfully communicate in international environments. Therefore, they should cease being norm-providers and accept and become dependent on norms provided for them by non-native speakers.

Such a new line of research, together with its proclaimed aim of overturning the status quo, is bound to provoke a barrage of various reactions, as Jenkins (2007) herself admits, ranging from overly positive to harshly negative. The following sections will provide an overview of the voices of criticism raised against English Lingua Franca, then state the position of the present thesis regarding the issue and its relevance for the main topic, native speakerism in EFL instruction.

2.2.3.1. Criticism of English as Lingua Franca

Trudgill (2002, 2005) is one of the most consistent critics of ELF as described and proposed by Jenkins and Seidlhofer. He seems to suggest that only native speakers can be considered “true repositories” of the English language (Trudgill 2002, quoted in Kiczkowiak 2018). This view can be criticised by pointing out that Trudgill fails to define the concept of the native speaker (Kiczkowiak 2018), which as has been seen in sections 1.2-1.3.3 remains highly problematic. However, Trudgill (2005) admits that he is open to a more nuanced approach towards the concept.

Trudgill’s main claim is that the field of English language teaching simply needs a model to fulfil its job of providing willing students with proper education. He also

questions why one would create a new model, such as English Lingua Franca with its Lingua Franca Core, if there already exist standards and models such as Received Pronunciation or General American. The answer could be that British RP and General American have certain values and judgements already attached to them, whereas ELF may still be thought of as neutral. It is, however, highly likely that certain extralinguistic forces have already started or will soon start to shape the social value of ELF following Bourdieu's linguistic market (see Section 1.5.3.), so that the solution would be only temporary. Graddol (2006) and Crystal's (2003a) claims that there are more non-native than native speakers of English remain valid, yet according to Trudgill (2005) the majority of conversations in English are still performed by native speakers of English, as they use the language more or less 100% of the time. He also points out that in order to accommodate towards the LFC, native speakers of English such as himself will have to change some of their phonetic realisations in international communications: thus speakers of non-rhotic varieties will have to master rhotic /r/, while American speakers will be forced to give up their rhotic flap [ɾ] for intervocalic /t/ and /d/. For Trudgill (2005), this sounds simply like dropping one standard and forcing people to adopt a different one. Therefore, the expectation that native speakers will adjust their speech pattern so drastically to that of non-native speakers seems to be in direct contradiction with the aforementioned quotation from Jenkins (2011), in which she claimed that all speakers, including native speakers, are welcome within the English Lingua Franca space.

Sobkowiak (2005) argues against applying the logic of statistical dominance of non-native speakers over native speakers to set the rules and norms for English language teaching. As argued by Sparkes (1991: 239, cited by Sobkowiak 2005), “[s]tatements of pure fact cannot imply a value judgement. [...] You cannot deduce an ought from an is.” In other words, axiology should not be assumed to follow from ontology. An example given by Sobkowiak of such a logical fallacy applied in ELF research goes like this: “RP is not even widely used among L1 speakers and is therefore unlikely to be appropriate as the basis for L2 pedagogy” (Jenkins 2000: 17). One can use a different example to illustrate the issue with going down such a path. For the sake of argument, let it be assumed (most likely correctly) that the number of meat-eaters in Poland at present is overwhelmingly higher than the number of vegetarians. Following the logic applied in ELF, one could say that there are not as many vegetarians as there are meat-eaters, therefore vegetarians should be “converted” to the choice of the majority and live like proper carnivores.

There are also certain concerns which may be raised regarding Seidlhofer's (2004) pragmatic features. Point 1) fails to offer any solutions for situations in which topics cannot simply be changed as they require immediate attention, e.g. in a life-threatening situation or in a hospital (Park and Wee 2011). It seems discriminatory to assume that non-native speaker communication always boils down to discussing nothing of importance or essence, thus the topic of discussion always can be altered. Point 2) seems unreasonably optimistic and utilitarian. Assuming that English in international situations only fulfils the role of a tool and serves as a vehicle of no identity is simplistic and furthermore demonstrably false (e.g. Nikula 2007, Edwards 2016). Polzl (2003) also observes that interlocutors from different countries often overtly proclaim their origins. Point 3) is problematic due to the fact that, as House (1999) points out, speakers may at times be simply performing monologues instead of having actual conversations. It seems to be an evident fact to any EFL (or indeed, any foreign language) teacher that students frequently pretend to understand what s/he is saying, however on closer inspection they have completely missed the point. The trivialisation of such communicative breakdowns may lead to deepening problems resulting from lack of resolution, as one can never be sure if information has been transmitted successfully.

Swan (2012) embarks on a comparison of ELF and EFL (English as a Foreign Language) to see whether the two concepts are in fact in opposition to one another, as suggested by Jenkins (2006: 138–140). Swan's criticism of ELF navigates the contradictory views and notions underlying the subfield. He urges ELF scholars to focus on defining their terminology and setting the record straight. He questions the assumption that non-native speakers' imperfect language production can always be considered an act of creative language use. Another issue that Swan (2012) has with ELF is its unease and hesitance as far as deciding whether ELF is an actual language or just English language use in international contexts, as ELF researchers tend to use such phrases as "an ELF speaker" or that ELF is "a legitimate manifestation of English in its own right" (Cogo and Dewey 2012: 18, cited in Swan 2012). Therefore, despite the insistence of some scholars that ELF is not a variety *per se* (Seidlhofer 2011; Jenkins 2011: 283-284), it frequently is discussed as if it were a single variety or a range of varieties of English. What Swan (2012) does not mention, but seems evident from his writing, is the fact that most ELF research adopts a selective attitude towards the matter of what constitutes a model to be followed. Their main reservations pertain mostly to accent and pronunciation features and

not, for example, the meanings of words (although this point is occasionally mentioned, e.g. in Jenkins (2007)).

O'Regan (2014) launched his critique of ELF by pointing out two major flaws that may be identified in ELF-centred research efforts. First, a similar point to Sobkowiak and Swan's (2012) is discussed, namely the weak philosophical foundations on which ELF is built. O'Regan accuses ELF researchers of committing the act of hypostatisation while referring to "the field of ELF", "ELF speakers" or "ELF varieties" while at the same time claiming that ELF exists only as a set of speech contexts. Secondly, he argues that ELF scholars, who come mostly if not exclusively from Inner Circle countries, are once again trying to set the standard that learners from the Expanding Circle countries should follow. Therefore, a sort of a doublethink is exercised on the part of EFL scholars, who claim to fight for the freedom of the underprivileged but at the same time disempower them and discourage from making their own decisions on what kind of English to use.

Kuo (2006) addresses the issue of learner voice in her article based on a study she conducted for her doctoral thesis. The data she gathered further supports the point made by Timmis in his earlier study: "there is still some desire among students to conform to native-speaker norms, and this desire is not necessarily restricted to those students who use, or anticipate using English primarily with native speakers" (Timmis 2002: 248).

Groom's (2012) research also bears out Kuo's (2006) point, namely that it is rather unlikely for learners of English to be willing to use ELF or European English as the benchmark for their pronunciation achievement. The questionnaire administered by Groom shows that over 56% of her respondents expressed negative attitudes towards being recognised as a speaker of European English, with only 9% supporting the idea. A similar point is made by Gozdawa-Gołębiowski (2012: 477), who argues that the purpose of EFL is of a rather questionable nature: "Alleviating the alleged pain of being non-English by the unspeakable joy of becoming "differently English" seems like a cruel sociolinguistic prank."

Remiszewski (2005: 297) rightly argues that learners should have the centre stage in the debate concerning their language model, and based on data that has been gathered so far, they still prefer to follow native models. Jenkins (2009: 203) claims that it is due to the native speaker ideology that learners have negative attitudes towards non-native models and that they should be only allowed to have a say in the discussion if they are first aware of the sociolinguistic reality of the English language (Jenkins 2006: 155). As

Groom (2012: 54) points out, however, it is “a terribly heavy responsibility to place on learners: prior to choosing which variety of English to study, they must investigate the sociolinguistic setting of each variety while resisting invisible influence from NSs [native speakers] and ENL [English as a Native Language] media”.

Perhaps the best summary of scholarship on ELF is by Prodromou (2007: 48), who cogently argues in the vein of Remiszewski (2005) and Kuo (2006) that “at the end of the day, our scholarly deliberations and laboratory research will have to confront the realities of English in the classroom and the world and will, above all, need to motivate learners and meet their aspirations”.

Interestingly, however, despite such lively debate over the ELF framework and pleas from its proponents to shift the focus of attention away from native speakers, there still exists a shortage of studies focusing on students’ attitudes towards native and non-native speakers (Chun 2014).

2.2.3.2. ELF and the present thesis

The position of the present thesis concerning the English Lingua Franca framework is thus rather skeptical. The lack of internal logic underlyingly the actions of ELF advocates (as pointed out by Remiszewski (2005), Sobkowiak (2005), Kuo (2006), Gozdawa-Gołębiowski (2012), Groom (2012), and O'Regan (2014)) leads the author to be rather mistrustful of the idea. It seems fruitless to insist that every speaker of non-native English is a native speaker of their own English variety, even if it is increasingly difficult to define such concepts as native and non-native speaker, especially these days when the lines between the two have become blurrier (see Chapter 1). In any case, teachers of English as a foreign language can normally tell without much trouble on what level their students are. It seems that not many of them would think of their students’ interlanguage forms as proper forms of a newly emerging variety of English.

Despite its proclaimed distaste for strict definitions, the ELF line of research should perhaps delineate the cut-off point at which an English speaker stops being a student of “English as a Foreign Language” and starts being a speaker of a new variety. It would seem awkward to accept output from beginning students of English in Poland who have not yet mastered English Subject-Verb-Object order and additionally confuse words

to come up with utterances such as “Everybody does my wife” instead of “My wife does everything” when asked about sharing household duties at home. Based on research to date, the great majority of teachers need models to teach, as without them language becomes just a jungle of language forms which teachers are supposed to navigate (or not?) without a map, a compass, and a clear idea where they want to get.

Fortunately, the focus of the present thesis is not on ELF *per se* but on teachers of English as a foreign and second language, so the validity of ELF research is not of major importance for the project, although the issue will reappear in the following sub-chapter dealing with Euro-English(es). It is however vital to underscore that this thesis does not have an agenda of either furthering or attacking the influence of ELF. As described in Chapter 1, it aims to promote teachers’ professionalism and meritocracy without regard to nationality, ethnicity or race. There are good and bad native speaker teachers and good and bad non-native speaker teachers of English in the world, and they should be judged on the basis of their teaching practices and knowledge, not their skin colour, where they come from, or their supposed native speaker status.

2.2.4. The emergence of Euro-English(es)?

The European Union began after World War II as an unparalleled endeavour to unite the war-ravaged countries of the continent, first Western, then also Eastern Europe. Despite continuous voices and movements to undermine the progress achieved made so far, the EU continues to fulfil its role and attempts to create a common identity for Europeans (Jędrzejowska 2008). Due to the rapid spread of English across Europe and its widespread use in EU institutions, some attempts have been made to place “European English” within a broader analytical framework. Thus Berns (1995) applied the Concentric Circles Model to Europe and depicted Great Britain and Ireland as the Inner Circle countries and the Netherlands, Germany, and Luxembourg as Outer Circle countries, as English is considered to be an international language there. Finally, the countries where English is taught as a foreign language were given the label of Expanding Circle countries.

One of the first appearances of the idea that English in Europe might eventually become endonormative and independent of its native varieties can be found in Ferguson’s

foreword to the first edition of Kachru's *The Other Tongue. English across cultures*, in which he states that

English is widely used on the European continent as an international language. Frequently conferences are conducted in English (and their proceedings published in English) when only a few of the participants are native speakers. At such conferences the English spoken often shows features at variance with the English of England but shared by the other speakers. Continental meanings of eventual and actual, continental uses of tenses, calques on French formulas of conference procedure, various details of pronunciation, and dozens of other features mark the English as an emerging continental norm (1992: x).

Décsy (1993), in a reprinted version of a lecture he originally gave in 1974, talks about the future emergence of a European variety of English, which he calls Eurish. In the remarks he provided to the lecture manuscript, Décsy claims that his predictions turned out to be false, and he blamed the market force of the English teaching industry for this failure, claiming that it prevented the formation of a separate European English variety.

At the turn of the 21st century, researchers such as Modiano, Seidlhofer and Jenkins in their co-authored article (Jenkins et al. 2001) advocated for the recognition of a separate variety of English being formed in Europe. These appeals leave much to be desired, however. Jenkins (Jenkins et al. 2001) focuses in her short article on the accents of Euro-English, which she treats as a fact, claiming it is “in its infancy.” Despite Jenkins's seemingly progressive approach, her study comes across as rather prescriptivist, as she provides an overview of the concept of LFC (Lingua Franca Core) (see Section 2.2.3.), then recommends which sounds have to be learned and which can be omitted. Therefore, instead of describing a supposedly nascent variety, Jenkins decides to provide rules for it. An additional issue, which may also be observed in the contribution of Seidlhofer (Jenkins et al. 2001), is that Jenkins draws on a considerable sample of ELF from around the world, not just Europe. Thus, it seems problematic at best to attempt to elaborate on a specifically European variety.

Seidlhofer (Jenkins et al. 2001) examined the Lingua Franca corpus she had been working on in Vienna (VOICE). In her analysis, she attempts to provide the reader with potential lexicogrammar features of the emerging Euro-English, such as: not putting articles in front of nouns, lack of third person singular -s, blending of *who* and *which*, generic tag questions, and so on. She also enumerates two problematic areas which can cause communicative breakdowns, namely lexical gaps and what she refers to as “unilateral

idiomaticity” (meaning a situation in which one of the interlocutors uses an idiom typical of native English and the other parties to the conversation have knowledge gaps). Again, as with Jenkins (Jenkins et al. 2001), the data come from a larger pool of speakers, not just Europeans. Thus, one cannot hypothesise an existence of a Europe-bound variety on the basis of a worldwide corpus.

Finally, Modiano (Jenkins et al. 2001) puts forward an idea of lexical enrichment of English and creativity exercised by speakers of the emergent European variety. He provides examples of such innovations as *hop over* as a loan translation from Swedish *hoppa över*, or *Berlaymont*, which is an example of European slang used in Brussels used to denote bureaucratisation. However, no evidence is provided to bear out the claim that such innovations are actually used across the continent. The author of this thesis, who is a potential Euro-English speaker and has travelled widely across the EU, heard them for the first time while reading Modiano’s (Jenkins et al. 2001) article, which suggests that they never took hold on any kind of wider scale.

Modiano (2017) claims that English in Europe has now become something more than just a form of English from the Expanding Circle and is now a second language for Europe, with 38% of the population having command of it (Eurobarometer 2012: 19). It is, however, important to point out that such a claim is rather optimistic as the statement to which subjects responded went as follows: “Languages that you speak well enough in order to have a conversation.” This simple statement is obviously open to a wide range of interpretation, as conversations can range from simple and brief to long and complex. Additionally, Eurobarometer is not an academically oriented pollster, but a public opinion section of the European Commission. The survey was conducted on a limited, random sample of the population or electoral list, depending on the country.

Moreover, researchers whose work focuses on the supposed emergence of Euro-English varieties in general openly espouse agendas of equality and empowerment of all citizens of the EU. These admirable ideals may be questioned, however, as by making a broad statement about English becoming the second language of the EU Modiano (2017) excludes a considerable chunk of the EU’s population, which on average tend to be the less educated. A quick glance at the statistics provided by Eurobarometer (2012: 21) reveals an ugly truth, that the level of English is dependent on the economic condition of an EU member country, thus broadening rather than narrowing (much less closing) the gap between the member nations. The Netherlands can boast 90% of its population being

able to hold a conversation in English, Denmark 86%, Austria 73%, Finland 70%, and Germany 56%. On the other hand, the numbers are much lower for Eastern Europe: Poland lands at just 33%, Czech Republic 27%, and Hungary 20%. This tendency can be observed throughout the data with only a few exceptions, e.g. Croatia at 59%.

Edwards (2016), who conducted a study on the use and status of English in the Netherlands, established a criterion for a language to be considered a second language in a given country: “[...] there should be widespread bilingualism (i.e. not restricted to an elite sector of the population) and expanded functions of English (i.e. intranational use)” (Edwards 2016: 191). Modiano (2017) goes on to suggest that after Brexit, Great Britain will no longer have any right to decide about the future of English and that the presupposed Euro-English(es) will gain endonormative power. Schneider (2017) counters this position, claiming that the presence or absence of the UK in the EU will have no influence on the spread of English in Europe and that the willingness of some researchers to accept Euro-English(es) as varieties in their own rights without empirical evidence for their emergence is clearly driven by ideology. Even in a country such as the Netherlands, where the great majority of inhabitants possess a high command of English, one would be hard-pressed to find a newly emergent Dutch variety of English and the data suggest that there is no Euro-English variety emerging at present. According to Edwards (2016), English fulfils the aforementioned criterion of widespread bilingualism, but the majority of the study participants still see British English (and to a lesser extent American English) as their target model. Young people tend to have more positive attitudes towards what can be called Dutch English or Euro-English, but they fail to see it as an end-goal. Therefore, the country is in a hybrid stage of ESL/EFL.

Mollin (2006) conducted a study to find evidence for the existence of Euro-English(es). She reviewed the European linguistic landscape by referring to collected surveys, analyses, documents, and recordings to establish a corpus of Euro-English and legitimise its formal independence. Subsequently, she devised a questionnaire to measure the acceptance of Euro-English in the European Union (n=746). The results showed that a slight majority (52.2%) of the respondents assessed their English language skills as “fairly good.” The target variety which was chosen as the model was International English (30.9%), then professional English, then scientific English. The attitude towards English Lingua Franca was quite positive. However, more than 80% of the respondents considered their mother tongue to be more important than English. The respondents generally

failed to see English as a second language to be used just for intranational communication. Interestingly, the statement “Schools should teach English not as the native speakers speak it but for efficient international communication” turned out to be judged negatively, with 43% of the respondents disagreeing with it. The younger the pool of the respondents, the more negatively they responded. For example, they tended to be less likely to believe that English belongs to its users, not native speakers and that English teaching should be focused solely on efficient communication. Sadly, the study had a strong age bias, with younger respondents being the majority, and was not complemented by a different research tool to provide triangulation. Nevertheless, the results seem to suggest that European speakers of English tend to have positive attitudes towards non-native speakers but still value native speaker models more, thus implying that Euro-English is not yet endonormative. In that case, the discussion of the emerging Euro-English(es) should be set aside for now. This is not to say that it is a lost cause, however, as the tables can still turn with the further influence and continuous spread of English. One should in any case always be careful before making premature statements about the emergence of Euro-English, as in the long run it might end up hurting English language teachers and leaving them with no guidance and a feeling of disorientation anytime they try to enforce native speaker models.

Having examined the situation of English around the world and in Europe, it is now necessary to discuss the position of the English language in Poland in order to better set the stage and provide concrete motivations for the present research.

2.2.5. The ownership of English

Underlyingly the preceding discussion in this and the last chapter is the central issue in the debates concerning World English(es), including English as Lingua Franca, and native and non-native speakers, namely the matter of who owns the language and who has the rights to set its norms and decide about its future. The concept of linguistic ownership is defined by Wee (2002: 283) as “[...] essentially a metaphor for reflecting the legitimate control that speakers may have over the development of a language.” In general, attitudes towards the ownership of languages fall into two basic categories, namely essentialist – also known as the birthright paradigm (Parmegiani 2008, 2010) – and postmodernist.

Seilhamer (2015) argues that the essentialist view is still more widespread outside of academic circles, as the general population holds a rather “commonsensical” attitude towards languages. Parmegiani (2008, 2010) highlights some problematic aspects of the birthright paradigm, e.g. birth need not be the sole determiner of language ownership, as children can end up speaking different languages than the ones they happened to be born into. Additionally, the assumption that languages other than the mother tongue cannot play a formative role in identity creation is a gross oversimplification of the processes of identity formation. According to Seilhamer (2015), such views fly in the face of the current academic position regarding identity, which is seen as “not static but dynamic and fluid [...] existing in a state of continuous construction and reconstruction” (Thomas and Schwarzbaum 2005: 5). Essentialist attitudes towards language ownership are also unpopular in the field of applied linguistics, where they resonate with the colonialist undertones of Prator (1968) and Quirk (1990). Those academics claimed that language is owned only by native speakers, and every deviation from the native speaker standard should be barred from becoming endonormative in nature.

The postmodernist perspective – also known as the pragmatist school (Wee 2002) – argues that English is no longer owned by its native speakers and is represented by e.g. Jenkins (2000), Kachru (1985), Smith and Sridhar (1992). Wee (2002) enumerates two main arguments of the pragmatist school, namely numerical and nativisation arguments. The former argument was formulated by Crystal (1988, 2003a), Phillipson (1992) and Jenkins (2000), but Halliday et al. (1964: 293) had already hinted at it by arguing that “English is no longer the possession of the British, or even of the British and the Americans, but an international language which increasingly large numbers of people adopt for at least some of their purposes”.

These authors argue that due to the sheer fact that non-native speakers outnumber native speakers, the latter have become increasingly irrelevant. Widowson (2003: 42) states that “the very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have custody over it.” In a similar vein, Crystal (2003a: 3) argues that “everyone who has learned it [English] now owns it [...] and now has the right to use it in the way they want.” Yoo (2013: 83), however, argues against the logic of sheer numbers by using the example of his own name:

There are, also, many other people who have used and will use my name, but no one would claim to own my name. The ownership of my name does not get transferred to

others just because they use it more than I do. By the same token, English is a language spoken by those living in the Inner and the Outer Circles and consequently owned by them, not by those living in the Expanding Circle.

Generally speaking, a critique similar to that directed at ELF may be levelled at the postmodern perspective, that ontology should not downright decide about axiomativity (Sobkowiak 2005). Yoo (2013) goes on to state that speakers from the Expanding Circle countries have no right to claim ownership over English as there are no distinct local varieties of the language spoken in their areas. Such a view is supported by research done on English in Europe, which has found scant support for alleged Euro-English(es) (see Section 2.2.5).

The nativization argument put forward by Achebe (1965), Kachru (1985), and Widdowson (1994) suggests that the English language changes with time and is adapted by its users to fit their needs, which in turn is often supported by the codification of a new standard. yet despite such seemingly logical arguments and increasingly growing numbers of applied linguists beating the same ownership drum, non-native speakers are rather reluctant to claim ownership of the English language. Walker (2010: 4) argues that despite being able to communicate in English, most citizens of the Expanding Circle countries have no need to do so internationally, as they have their local languages at hand. Therefore, one does not hear anything about native speakers of Korean English (or Konglish) on the international arena (Yoo 2013). The same sentiment is found in Trudgill's (2005) opinion of the ELF framework described above (see Section 2.2.3.1.).

The debate concerning the ownership of English is, however, mostly academic in nature. Ke (2010: 92) in his study of Taiwanese students of English states that “[f]or ordinary English learners in expanding-circle countries, ownership is not a relevant issue.” The same conclusion was reached by Matsuda's (2003) study of Japanese students in which, despite the students' awareness of English being used all over the world, they did not consider English to be a language that belongs to the whole world. The same views were expressed by English teachers from Greece in a study conducted by Sifakis and Sougari (2005). A similar chord is struck by Gozdawa-Gołębiowski (2012), who states that the issue of ownership is irrelevant for language learning and acquisition:

Language is not something to be owned. It is to be learned/acquired and to be used. This goes beyond a mere play on words. As with any learning, experience predicts that there will be better and worse users, more competent and less competent learners. Nature sees to it that the majority of competent users are found in the category of NSs. There is no

need for NSs in the United States, or else-where in the world to apologize for the fact that they know English and that others are trying to learn it but consistently get parts of it wrong (Gozdawa-Gołębowski 2012: 468).

It is worth noting that resistance towards the recognition of locally emerging varieties of English is not solely a phenomenon of the Expanding Circle countries. Seilhamer (2015) describes the linguistic situation in Malaysia, where English has officially been declared a Malaysian language (Tan 2005: 48), yet there still seems to be a covert attitude of disdain towards the local variety of English, which is considered to be somehow wrong or incorrect (Pillai 2008: 42-43). Therefore, despite official support for the local standard of the English language, the population at large is still reluctant to fully embrace it.

However, there also exist documented instances of English ownership claims made by people who would traditionally be referred to as non-native speakers of English. An interesting case study comes from Nikula (2007), who investigated the use of English in content-based biology and physics classrooms in Finland. It is important to note that Finland has made extraordinary leaps on the road to English language proficiency, with about 65% of students taking English classes in the first six grades of basic school and 99% opting for English in upper secondary education (Latomaa and Nuolijärvi 2005). In her conclusions, Nikula (2007: 220) argues that “the students can be seen to claim ownership of English by the way they confidently use it throughout the lessons and also by the way they creatively, and often playfully, use it as a resource for the construction of both official and off-record classroom activities”.

Phan (2009) conducted a study on a group of 8 English student teachers which investigated the processes of identity formation in international students. According to Phan’s (2009: 212) findings,

[t]he students participating in this study enjoyed multiple positions with respect to English and identified themselves with English in diverse ways. Their multiple identities were constructed around English and their being Asian but not at all in a static and patronising manner as assumed and claimed by some of the earlier studies [...] Their taking ownership of English seemed to permeate and facilitate all these processes.

Although rare at present, it is entirely possible that with time an increasing number of such cases of non-native speakers naturally embracing their ownership of English will be found in the scientific literature. This is only to be expected as English continues to

spread around the world. One cannot however become overly optimistic about such visions of the future of English, as in e.g. the Netherlands the population still looks to native speakers from the Inner Circle countries for rules concerning the English language and makes no ownership claims on the language (Edwards 2016). Jenkins (2000) claims that such a state of affairs may be attributed to the fact that non-native speakers of English are intimidated by native speakers. However, Saraceni (2010) argues that if non-native speakers feel confident enough, they do not need any linguists to reassure them that they have the same rights as native speakers. Additionally, no such instances of intimidation could be found in statements made by e.g. Yoo (2013), Kuo (2006), Gozdawa-Gołębiowski (2012), and others.

To conclude, such processes of identity formation clearly require more time and turn out to be far more complex than applied linguists would often hope for. Nevertheless, it seems condescending and even covertly racist to assume that the only reason for the unwillingness of the Expanding Circle countries to accept their own local English(es) is the intimidation they feel when confronted with native speakers of the well-established standard Englishes. Indeed, a review of the existing literature, however brief, shows that this is not the case. On the contrary, many scholars of the Expanding Circle have managed to notice the Trojan horse of infantilising non-native speakers dressed as political correctness. Therefore, the present thesis shall avoid making any definite statements about the ownership of English in Poland and focus on the attitudes towards native and non-native speaker teachers. It cannot, however, be ruled out that Poland may follow in the footsteps of Finland or the Netherlands because, as will be seen in the following sections, the position of English in Poland has been developing rapidly over the last 30 years.

2.2.6. The situation of the English language in Poland

2.2.6.1. English in Poland prior to 1989

According to Kielar (1972), Latin and French were the primary foreign languages studied in Poland in the seventeenth century. English as a foreign language was first introduced in Eastern Poland in the eighteenth century, and the first English-language handbook was

published in 1780. Three consecutive partitions of Poland among Prussia, Austria, and Russia resulted in the country's disappearance from the map in 1795. During the partition period, the languages taught at schools were German (in Prussia and, until the 1870s, Austria) and Russian in the Russian Empire, and instruction in Polish itself was periodically suppressed. The language policies of the imperial powers encountered opposition, for example in the protests of 1901 and 1907 against Germanisation in Prussian Poland and for the right of children to be taught religion in their mother tongue, e.g. the Września children's strike of 1901-1904 (Kulczycki 1981). Even under these circumstances, interest in English grew, with the first chair of English language and literature in the Polish lands being established in Kraków as early as 1908 (Fisiak 1983). After Poland regained its independence at the end of the First World War, English was taught at a growing number of schools (Reichelt 2005). New chairs of English were established at the universities of Warsaw and Poznań, and increasing links with the UK and USA brought more Poles into contact with English speakers and Anglophone cultures.

After the Second World War and with the establishment of Communist rule in Poland, Russian became the main foreign language taught at schools. Moreover, access to English language education was initially severely limited by the Communist government owing to the ideological hostility of the early Cold War. Only in 1959, after a more liberal Communist government was formed, were the limitations on English-language instruction substantially lifted (Kasztalska 2014). In the following period, English was generally taken up by wealthier families and taught more for "snobbish not practical reasons" (Ehrenhalt 1990).

According to a report prepared by the British Council, English was already the most popular foreign Western European language in Poland by the 1980s (Reichelt 2005: 221). The reasons for the growing popularity of English are twofold, both instrumental and sentimental. On the one hand, people who could speak English were believed to have better job opportunities and, on the other hand, English grew to be a symbol of freedom and Western values. Perhaps surprisingly, British English, not American English was usually taken as the desired target variety (Muchisky 1985), although simple geographical proximity might have been the reason (Kasztalska 2014). Nevertheless, Russian remained compulsory in schools, and German and (to a much lesser extent) French continued to be widely studied through 1980s. English was thus in an increasingly strong but

unstable position in Poland, a position which was about to undergo rapid changes as a result of the political transformation of 1989.

2.2.6.2. English in the post-socialist era

The importance of English language teaching in Poland has been growing ever more rapidly since the end of the Communist era in 1989. Griffin (1994) claims that a nation whose citizens statistically spoke almost no English in 1989, even among the educated elites, already in 1993 could astonish a visitor with the amount of English used in advertising, company names, newspapers, etc.

The new government had foreseen the possibility of many students turning away from the previously compulsory Russian language and took some measures to ensure a sufficient number of teachers capable of teaching Western European languages such as English, German, French, Spanish, and Italian. Foreign Language Teacher Training Colleges were established under the auspices of major universities to educate teachers within three years. Foreign language institutes at Polish universities also received an additional didactic component with the task of better preparing future teachers. Furthermore, extramural studies were introduced for teachers to improve their qualifications while working at the same time (Komorowska 2014). The program was short of being fully successful, as pupils in numerous schools across Poland were forced to choose a given foreign language only because there were no teachers of other languages available, a situation that persisted into the new century (Wróblewska-Pawlak, Starchanowska 2000). The author of the present thesis personally experienced the shortage of English language teachers: as late as the years 2000 to 2003, he could only study German in primary school.

The explosion of students interested in taking English as their primary foreign language can be seen in the data provided by annual reports of Główny Urząd Statystyczny (Central Statistical Office in Poland), which show that the number of students choosing English grew from 268,000 in 1986–87 to 2,333,000 within just 10 years. The data gathered by GUS in 2012 estimated that fully 89% of all students in public education opted for English as their foreign language.

Attitudes towards English have also changed greatly over the years. According to survey data from 1991, eighth-grade pupils (14-15 years old) chose to study English for the following reasons:

- 13% were interested in the culture of the English-speaking countries;
- 12% felt it was easy for them to learn the language;
- 11% planned to find English-speaking penpals;
- 11 % were willing to continue learning English in secondary schools (due to their own ambition, development-related or practical reasons);
- 11% wanted to meet their parents' expectations;
- 11% wanted to impress their peers (Wróblewska-Pawlak and Strachanowska 2000).

A similar study conducted in 1999 on eighth-grade pupils and high school students showed that students had become more interested in the English language itself. To the question of why they wanted to study English, they provided the following answers:

- Culture-related reasons: eighth-grade pupils (VIII) 60%, high school students (HS) 80%;
- Computer-related reasons: VIII 45%, HS 75%;
- The willingness to make contacts with peers: VIII 25%, HS 30%;
- The willingness to continue learning English later in life: VIII 50%, HS 90%;
- Meeting parents' expectations: VIII 10%, HS 11%;
- The desire to impress peers: VIII 18%, HS 12% (Wróblewska-Pawlak, Strachanowska 2000).

It may be easily observed that attitudes towards English changed significantly over such a short period of time, i.e. the 1990s. It is especially heartwarming to observe the greatest leap in a factor associated with internal motivation, namely culture-related reasons. It is thus reasonable to hypothesise that English even then was in the process of transformation from being simply a tool to a better career into a language more versatile in its role and appeal. Śliwa (2010) noted that positive attitudes towards English-speaking peoples reinforced the importance of English and pupils' willingness to study the

language. As an example of such attitudes, a study conducted by Kadłuczka (2011) showed that 76% of Polish people surveyed express eagerness to visit the United Kingdom.

Hand in hand with the public education system, the private sector for language study also began booming after the fall of Communism. In her analysis of the linguistic landscape in Poland, Komorowska (2014) estimated that approximately 7.000 private language schools were functioning in Poland in 2014. She also makes a speculative guess about the number of students enrolled in such institutions, which she believes to be around one million. The author of the present thesis is doubtful of both estimates, however, as no data sources are provided, and one can assume that they are based on personal observation and estimates. Nonetheless, private language schools constitute an important component of the current language teaching market as it suffices to consider the number of privately registered language teaching companies in Poland which totals at 59420 (CEIDG 2020). Komorowska (2014) also found through personal communication that private language school directors claim 80% of their students to be female and approximately 80% to be younger than 30 years old. It is suggested that such a state of affairs may be the result of poor language teaching methodology and excessively large class sizes. Although these statements and suggestions ring true, they should be taken with a pinch of salt due to all of them being rather anecdotal in nature.

The ever-growing popularity of English is reflected in the number of students taking English in their high school leaving exams (*matura*), which in 2008 was estimated to be 80% of all pupils (Śliwa 2010). English has gained a symbolic value of achievement and economic success, with some research suggesting that knowledge of English among Polish workers increases their wages by an average of 30% to 50% (Adamchik et al. 2017), and is perceived at times as even more important than university qualifications (Strefa Dobrej Pracy 2007, cited by Śliwa 2010).

All in all, despite not yet being able to boast such levels as e.g. Finland or the Netherlands, Poland can still be considered relatively successful in its efforts to promote and provide appropriate English education. It is crucial, however, to pay closer attention to the processes accompanying the further spread of English in Poland as the country becomes a more prominent political and economic player in the European Union. In 2018, Poland was granted the status of a developed market by Stoxx and later FTSE Russell

(Martin 2018). What effect will these socioeconomic changes have on the teaching of English and English teachers?

Despite the increasingly prominent position of Poland in the EU and on the international stage, the teaching of English and rapid spread of English knowledge in Poland has not yet attracted much research interest from the broader scientific community. As a result, there is also lack of studies on the situation of native and non-native speaker teachers in Polish language schools, be they public or private. The only notable pieces of research on the topic come from Cook (2000b as cited in Cook 2000a), Kula (2011), and Kiczowskiak (2018).

Cook (2000b as cited in Cook 2000a) used a questionnaire to assess attitudes towards native and non-native teachers of English among Polish schoolchildren. Unfortunately, the original research paper could not be located, so the author of the present thesis could not delve deeper into its methodology and findings. The results are quite striking, as 45% of Polish schoolchildren responded that they would rather have classes with native speakers of English, 25% would rather be exclusively taught by a non-native speaker, and the rest had no opinion. These results, if at all reflective of the situation at the time, indicate a powerful hold of native speaker ideology on Polish learners of English.

In contrast, the results presented by Kula (2011) in her master's thesis present a far more optimistic picture for non-native teachers. She conducted her research on 91 high school students and obtained some intriguing results. According to 90% of the participants, non-native teachers were their preferred choice for teaching grammar, with only 8% claiming otherwise. Teaching of pronunciation, as could be expected, worked the other way around, i.e. over 80% of the students believed native speakers to be better pronunciation teachers. Surprisingly, however, 90% believed their non-native teachers' pronunciation to be good or very good. Kula (2011) supposes that such results may be attributed to the students' belief that the sheer presence of a native speaker in the classroom might enhance the learning process, which seems a reasonable explanation for such a striking apparent contradiction in their responses. Half of the participants believed that accent is still an important factor in teachers' professionalism, which could be taken as evidence that the rhetoric of *Lingua Franca Core* has yet to find its way into the minds of Polish high school students.

Kula also found that non-native teachers were believed to be superior writing teachers, with 88% of the students claiming it was non-natives' forte. This may be

considered quite surprising considering the fact that native speakers typically view writing skills as their natural advantage:

If you compare an email, essay or article written by a native English speaker to a non-native speaker, very often there is a stark difference in style and quality of the writing to that of the non-native person. Even if that person has a C1 or C2 level of English, the style of which they write in is just 'off' and it doesn't do the job of communicating clearly what it is that they want to say (El Universo del Inglés 2019).

Native speaker teachers predictably reign supreme when it comes to listening and speaking skills, as 85% of the students thought that native speakers improve their oral competence, and 67% thought the same of their listening comprehension skills. The cultural component on the other hand showed an interesting contradiction, with almost 80% of the students claiming that native speakers are better culture teachers, while almost 50% of them disagreed strongly with the statement that only native speakers have sufficient knowledge concerning British/American culture. Moreover, such a discrepancy in the results may have its origin in the fact that Polish teachers of English have to prepare their students for the school-leaving exams, thus lack time to teach culture appropriately.

Therefore, it can be said that the results presented by Kula (2011) are quite positive for non-native teachers of English, as despite the usual presumptions about what certain teachers are good or bad at, which of course have to be tackled as well, students had rather positive attitudes towards their teachers in general. They also failed to consider being a native speaker as a necessary prerequisite for being a successful teacher, with 73% of the participants strongly agreeing that nativespeakerhood of their teacher has little or no importance as long as their teachers can be considered successful in their profession (Kula 2011: 66).

Kiczowski's (2018) research project has been the most ambitious and thorough study to date of native speaker ideology in English language instruction in Poland. In his PhD dissertation, he examined three cohorts (recruiters, students, and teachers) to answer research questions similar to those addressed here (a coincidence, as his thesis had not yet been defended when the present project was taking shape). He used a mixed methods research design including focus groups, questionnaires, and semi-structured interviews. The study is full of interesting findings e.g. 85% of the students surveyed (n=52) responded that they preferred classes with a native speaker, but on closer inspection it turned out that 49% would rather have classes with both native and non-native speaker

teachers and would prefer taking classes in a school which employed both. It is also quite telling that 79% of the students check whether a language school employs native speakers of English. Despite such a clear preference for native speakers, most students (78%) expressed satisfaction with their non-native speaker teachers, results similar to those in Moussu (2006).

The aforementioned results are suggestive as to why language school owners often prefer to hire native speakers of English as teachers. Unsurprisingly, the group which was the least prejudiced against non-native speaker teachers were the non-native speaker teachers themselves. Working for a school which provided equal employment opportunities to both native and non-native teachers was an important factor to 75% of the teachers. Moreover, 88% would rather not work at a school which only employed one or the other. It is, however, important to note that almost half of the teacher participants considered themselves native speakers of English, which means that the opinions expressed in the study are not necessarily representative of views held by Polish teachers of English.

To summarise, Poland has been experiencing a massive growth in the popularity and spread of English since 1989 as the country, the largest in East Central Europe, has raised its economic and political profile on the European horizon, yet very little research has investigated the processes and changes currently taking place in the teaching of English there. The situation of non-native speaker teachers requires more data and analysis, as without them no proper steps can be taken to ensure equality of hiring, opportunity and status. Without a proper backbone of solidly conducted research, no advocacy efforts can be effective. The following chapter will introduce the philosophy and methodology underlying the present project, rationale for the study will be laid out and the pilot study phase conducted prior to the project will be discussed thoroughly.

Chapter 3: Methodology, research questions, and data analysis

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapters have introduced the main theoretical concepts which underlie the project at hand. The thesis began with a discussion of the debate over the native/non-native speaker dichotomy, highlighting major issues associated with those notions. The ideology of native speakerism and its destructive effects on the world of English Language Teaching were presented and commented on. Issues associated with the framework of World Englishes were described, including English Lingua Franca. The past and present situation of English in Poland together with previous research on native/non-native speakers were briefly reviewed to provide the background for the study.

The present chapter will provide a philosophical overview (hinted at in Section 1.6.4.), focusing on the (post-)positivist, constructivist, and pragmatist worldviews. Although it might seem unnecessary, the author of the present thesis believes that it is crucial to highlight the ontological assumptions behind the project, as researchers far too frequently fail to make explicit claims about such important issues. Following the discussion, the methodology underpinning the study will be scrutinised, the research questions will be introduced, and the pilot study will be described. Analytical tools and ethical issues will be addressed at the end of the chapter.

3.1.1. (Post-)Positivist versus Constructivist worldviews

According to Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) there exist four main research worldviews, namely: participatory, pragmatist, constructivist, and (post-)positivist. They differ from each other with respect to their epistemology, ontology, and methods. As the discussion concerning the criticism of the ideology of native speakerism showed (see Section 1.6.4.), the divide between the constructivist and post-positivist worldviews is one of the main obstacles halting the development and establishment of research pertaining to the native/non-native speaker dichotomy. As Holliday (2007) underscored in his response to Waters (2007), their lack of common ground might be caused by the fact that they

represent two extreme spectrum ends of the philosophy of science. Sadly, what may follow in the wake of such a deep split dividing the subfield is an overall scepticism toward the reasons for conducting research at all, considering that even its most prominent representatives fail to reach a basic consensus as to the methods which should be employed to pursue the goals of the field. Such mistrust can be extended and projected onto other subfields and branches, to eventually reflect negatively on the social sciences in general. Fortunately, the evidence that social science is necessary and empirically grounded is reasonably easy to locate, as, for example, Sayer (1992: 252) puts it: “The point of all science, indeed all learning and reflection, is to change and develop our understandings and reduce illusion [...] Learning, as the reduction of illusion and ignorance, can help to free us from domination by hitherto unacknowledged constraints, dogmas and falsehoods”.

It is vital to understand that a dispute such as that between Holliday and Waters is far from a novelty in the social sciences. Fishman (2017: 10) seeks the origins of the discrepancy in the mid-nineteenth century, when the scientific world of the day was dominated by German-speaking scholars. German paradigms at the time of research on social issues could be divided then into two competing categories: *verstehend* (understanding) and *erklärend* (explaining). The *erklärend* school of thought believed that “the rigorous methods and refined quantification of the exact sciences were not only proper and desirable but crucial models and methods for the social sciences to aspire and work toward” (Fishman 2010: 10-11).

Its modern counterpart is a (post-)positivist paradigm. A classic example of a method used within the school of explanation is a controlled experiment. As Friedman (2011) states, the (post-)positivist worldview presupposes that there exists an objective reality which can be grasped by the tools available to science. The main focus of this approach is explanation, to explain how the dependent variables studied are influenced and altered by independent variables; its main task is thus theory verification. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that it is quantitative by nature (Creswell 2013). According to Creswell (2013), this paradigm can be characterised by reductionism, as it focuses on selected variables. Notwithstanding, while the methods of (post-)positivism applied to the natural sciences deliver unprecedented results, when applied to the social sciences they frequently underachieve in their explanatory power due to the complexity of human behaviour (Fishman 2017). Additionally, it is never possible for researchers to have real-world experiences of all aspects of their field.

On the other hand, the *verstehend* approach is not restricted to the methods used in natural sciences but focuses on reaching human understanding that only other humans can achieve. In modern science, this approach corresponds to the constructivist worldview and seeks “a disciplined and careful human understanding” of reality (Fishman 2017: 12). According to Creswell (2013), its main goal is theory generation: “In this form of inquiry, research is shaped “from the bottom up” – from individual perspectives to broad patterns and, ultimately, to broad understandings” (Creswell 2013: 156-157); thus it can be classified as qualitative. An archetypical method utilised in the understanding school of social science is ethnography. The paradigm also has numerous problems, ranging from ensuring its reliability and validity to granting researchers enough resources to collect the necessary data, as the method is renowned for being extremely time-consuming.

It is important to point out that purists from both sides of the spectrum make it difficult, if not impossible, for the representatives of both schools of thought to cooperate. Positivist purists have developed and honed a very narrow definition of the word *science*, which they perceive as an objective process of confirmation and falsification (Onwuegbuzie 2002). They thus automatically bar all constructivist researchers from their world. However, they seem to forget that subjective decisions are also frequently taken during the course of a research project (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). In fact, certain constructivist purists employ overly subjective and strongly relative methods, which in turn “hinders the development and use of systematic standards for judging research quality” (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004: 16). Extreme relativism also has other traps of its own making as, quite obviously, not everything is a matter of subjective opinions (or, as some qualitative researchers would put it, realities).

All in all, such a difference in scientific approaches is detrimental to the study of social science and thus criticised by Fishman in the following words: “Regrettable though that may be for the pursuit of knowledge within the total enterprise of the SLE (sociology of language and education), most find it to be preferable to the constant skirmishing and mutually recriminating rejection that would and once did result from forcing incommensurables to interact and collaborate” (2017: 12-13). Cohen et al. (2018) argue that researchers are typically forced to choose between one or the other approach, as employing the methods from both worldviews would require a form of doublethink, i.e. simultaneously holding in mind two mutually exclusive methodological principles. This view is contested by Creswell and Plano Clark (2011), who put their faith in mixed-methods

research to aid the development of the discipline of social science. The next section will discuss such attempts to work out a form of middle ground between *verstehend* and *erklärend*, between (post-)positivist and constructivist approaches.

3.1.2. Mixed-methods research to the rescue

As seen in the previous section, the dispute between two approaches to conducting social research has to be seen as negative state of affairs. Thus, a way has to be found to remedy the situation to allow the field to further develop and broaden our understanding of the intricacies of human behaviour. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) underscore the need for incorporating both qualitative and quantitative research paradigms to compensate for their shortcomings. According to Riazi and Candlin, one such way is a mixed-methods approach, which “aims to bridge the poles of positivism and constructivism” (2014: 138). Brannen (2005) also argues that there exists a growing trend among researchers who prefer to mix micro- and macro-level analyses in their studies. Before sketching out a research project placed within the scope of mixed-methods research (MMR), however, a closer look at its definition and philosophical foundations must be taken. Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003: 711) defined mixed methods as “a type of research design in which QUAL and QUAN approaches are used in types of questions, research methods, data collection and analysis procedures, and/or inferences”.

Several years later, Tashakkori and Creswell (2007: 4) slightly altered the definition to “research in which the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or program of inquiry.” It was suggested by Johnson et al. (2007) that MMR should be interpreted as a spectrum with quantitative and qualitative research at either end, on which researchers can locate themselves at any point.

It is also important to underscore that the MMR methodology might signify various approaches depending on the paradigm in which it is used. Three paradigms have so far been associated with MMR, namely critical realism, critical theory, and pragmatism. Critical realism as the basis for MMR turns the researcher’s attention away from the events under investigation and towards reaching a deeper understanding of the notions underlying the event. Therefore, it is advisable for researchers oriented towards such a philosophical underpinning to employ both quantitative and qualitative research methods

to more successfully grasp the layers and dimensions of the object under study (Riazi and Candlin 2014). Critical theory is, in brief, a worldview which supports use of any methodology to advance the issues of social justice (see Section 1.6.3. on critical pedagogy in ELT). Researchers such as Mertens (2007) see advancing social justice as the primary reason for undertaking any research project. The third worldview, and probably the one most associated with the MMR, is known as pragmatism and its mission can be said to set out to “find a middle ground between philosophical dogmatism and scepticism and to find a workable solution” (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004: 18).

All in all, despite the measurable merit of all worldviews pertaining to MMR, the one which seems most fitting for the needs of the present thesis is pragmatism, with its main task of bridging the gap between the qualitative and quantitative frameworks. It will therefore be examined more closely in the following section.

3.1.3. Pragmatism in MMR

There is a belief among numerous researchers that the pragmatism worldview in MMR offers a solution to the issue of having to opt for either a (post-)positivist or a constructivist stance by putting forward a third option, namely a mix of the two. Researchers who decide to be pragmatism-centred place priority on their research questions to then figure out what works in their particular situation (Riazi and Candlin 2014).

According to Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009: 86) there are two major characteristics of pragmatism:

- Rejection of “either-or” in the choice of methods,
- Use of both inductive and deductive logic.

According to Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004: 16), “[t]he pragmatic rule or maxim or method states that the current meaning or instrumental or provisional truth value of an expression is to be determined by the experiences or practical consequences of belief in or use of the expression in the world.” The two researchers also create a summary of the general characteristics of pragmatism. Some of them are important to mention, as they are vital to the present project. According to Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), pragmatism rejects traditional dualisms and opts for eclecticism and pluralism,

i.e. conflicting theories can be used as long as they provide insight into the phenomena being researched. Within the pragmatic rule, knowledge is something which is both constructed and real at the same time. The existence of both physical and social or psychological worlds is recognised. Within the pragmatic method action is preferred over philosophy; thus in a way it may be seen as “anti-philosophy” (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004: 18).

An MMR researcher begins their investigative process by formulating research questions (RQs). This is a crucial step, as the RQs provide guidance as to what methodology should be employed to best investigate certain phenomena by mixing methods from (post-)positivist and constructivist worldviews (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009). Cohen et al. (2018), however, underscores that pragmatism-driven MMR does not mean an “anything goes” attitude to conducting research, as the main task of answering RQs requires a great dose of rigour.

All in all, pragmatism seems to be a useful standpoint which allows researchers, especially in the social sciences, to conduct research which can tangibly contribute to the current state of knowledge. It allows this research to be done without engaging in oftentimes obscure and/or obsolete philosophising which fails to address the everyday issues faced by people in “the real world.” In the following section, the reasons for employing MMR in the present study will be laid out to highlight how such an approach can help better address the research questions than either qualitative or quantitative approaches on their own.

3.1.4. Why is pragmatism-oriented MMR appropriate for the present project?

In the previous sections the definition of MMR was provided together with its philosophical foundations as applicable to the present research project. It seems best at this point to make explicit the rationale for adopting the aforementioned methodological and philosophical stances.

First, as was pointed out by professor Adrian Holliday both in his publications and personal communication, native speakerism is an ideology, therefore is always changing, shifting, and transforming. Owing to its nature, native speakerism is a difficult and elusive notion to research: how can a non-existent entity be investigated and scrutinised? Thus a pragmatic approach needs to be taken, one which allows for multiple

manifestations of ideology and their measurement be it objective or subjective (Cohen et al. 2018). Lazaraton's (2005: 219) words also seem to resonate strongly with the stance taken in the present project as he advocated for the propagation of MMR studies that "combine qualitative and quantitative research methods, since each highlights "reality" in a different, yet complementary, way."

Secondly, the author of the present research project believes that considering the complex and intricate nature of native speakerism and second language learning, a mixture of both quantitative and qualitative methods is required to grasp it more fully. As Greene et al. (1989) argue, MMR allows a researcher to triangulate their data, i.e. to compare and corroborate the results collected with two or more different methods. Mackey and Gass (2005) also argue that an issue approached from more than just one perspective is bound to be more generalisable. Moreover, it reduces the bias which is inherent in every study. It also needs to be mentioned that if the purpose of the MMR is to ensure triangulation, usually this automatically signifies that the thesis is based on the pragmatic rule (Riazi and Candlin 2014: 144).

Thirdly, Dörnyei in his renowned book on research methods in applied linguistics admits that MMR brings numerous advantages in its wake as it "can offer additional benefits for the understanding of the phenomenon in question" (2007: 47), and that he himself encourages his PhD students to follow this research paradigm. He also summarises the potential strengths of MMR, which are:

- Increasing the strengths while eliminating the weaknesses;
- Multi-level analysis of complex issues;
- Improved validity;
- Researching multiple audiences (Dörnyei 2007: 45-46).

Moreover, as Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) rightly point out, the results of survey research are often too broad, making it impossible to generalise on their basis. Thus, a questionnaire could benefit from being supplemented by a qualitative component which could help bring the voices of individuals to the forefront, voices which are missing in quantitative research (Creswell and Plano Clark 2011). According to Dörnyei (2007), surveys allow for accumulating copious amounts of data but lack stronger engagement on the part of subjects. Kiczkowiak (2018) also adds that one of the ways in which researcher bias can be minimised in survey research is by complementing it with a

qualitative element, for example interviews (as is also the case in the present project). Additionally, MMR in research to date pertaining to the native/non-native speaker dichotomy has already been shown to be productive (see Section 1.6.2.).

All in all, as mentioned, native speakerism is a pressing issue which requires further investigation as it continues to negatively reflect on numerous teaching careers, of native as well as non-native speakers. Due to its elusiveness and lack of consensus regarding its nature, it necessitates a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods to examine it in more depth and reach a broader understanding of all its implications. Having outlined the philosophical assumptions behind the study, the following section will introduce the research questions and the methodology employed to ensure successfully answering them.

3.2. Rationale for the study

In the previous sections, mixed-methods research (MMR) and pragmatism were described in detail as they constitute the foundation of the present research project. Before examining the exact details of the methodology adopted, the rationale for conducting the study must be provided.

The general rationale behind the study might be seen as consisting of two layers, the global and the local. On the global scale, the issue of native speakerism and its effect has been heavily studied in the Asian context and the Inner Circle countries, as rightly pointed out by Kiczkowiak (2018) and in the literature review section above (see Sections 2.2.6. to 2.2.6.2.): cf. e.g. Mahboob 2004; Moussu 2006; Clark and Paran 2007; Chun 2014; Ruecker and Ives 2014; Aboshisha 2015; Leonard 2018; Rivers 2018. Despite being home to hundreds of millions of L2 English users living in developed countries, Europe has hitherto been relatively neglected in this context, with only a few studies devoted to native speakerism there (e.g. Medgyes 1992, 1994, 2001; Arva and Medgyes 1994; Lasgabaster and Sierra 2002; Llurda 2004; Derivry-Plard and Griffin 2017).

On a more local scale, most of the rationale for the study has already been provided in Section 2.2.6.2. where the research on native/non-native speaker dichotomy conducted to date in Poland was described. It was seen that this is an insufficiently researched area in Poland, as the only research conducted so far on the topic has been Kiczkowiak's (2018) well-written PhD thesis. The very fact that two researchers, the author of the

present thesis and Kiczkowiak, became interested in the topic within more or less the same time frame suggests that the issue is gradually becoming more visible, and its effects quite possibly might be coming to the fore. Additionally, it must be underscored that despite being the largest country and economy of East Central Europe, Poland has been almost entirely neglected as an Expanding Circle country on the map of World Englishes even after all the enormous changes it has undergone in the past 30 years, from the fall of Communism in 1989, to entry into the European Union in 2004, to achievement of developed status in 2018. These changes have resulted in a massive demand for English language instruction (Wróblewska-Pawlak, Starchanowska 2000; Śliwa 2010; Kadłuczka 2011, Komorowska 2014) and a new generation of highly proficient locally born teachers. Thus, broadly speaking, more research is required in Poland and other European countries to better understand the situation in which teachers find themselves, since it is difficult to counteract or formulate policy on an underresearched issue.

Another aim of the research project is to check whether the definition of native speakerism as formed by Holliday (2005) can be transplanted to the Polish context without any alternations. Based on the definition of native speakerism (see Section 1.5.2.), three basic characteristics of how people perceive native speakers in English Foreign Language contexts can be listed, namely:

- Native speakers have superior knowledge of Western culture;
- Native speakers are ideal speakers of English;
- Native speakers are methodologically superior to non-native speaker teachers.

It seems of paramount importance to investigate whether the same image of the native speaker is held in Poland and its language schools, or if researchers should treat native speakerism as a general blanket term for a negative ideology, but adjust it depending on the context. In practical terms, these differences in the definition and effects of native speakerism could mean that different measures may need to be taken in order to offset its effects.

3.3. Methodological design and tools

The previous sections have introduced the philosophical background of the present project and the rationale behind it. The methodological tools used in the study shall now be introduced.

As mentioned in Section 3.1.3., the pragmatic approach allows a researcher to decide on their research tools solely with the task of answering the RQs in mind. Despite the fact that the RQs for the project have not yet been introduced, the tools employed for its purposes must first be introduced. The reason for this order of presentation is that the RQs for the present project were formulated in a two-step process. The process of arriving at the RQs for this study can be found in Sections 3.4. to 3.6.

The present study is a mixed-methods research project of a sequential type. Sequential approaches to conducting studies within MMR have been present since the beginning, although they were described and employed under different names (Creswell and Plano Clark 2011). Creswell et al. (2003) introduced labels which divided sequentially-designed research project into two main groups depending on whether they begin quantitatively or qualitatively. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009: 151) underscore that in sequential designs, “mixing occurs across chronological phases (QUAL, QUAN) of the study, questions or procedures of one strand emerge from or depend on the previous strand, and research questions are related to one another and may evolve as the study unfolds”.

The present project utilises the explanatory sequential design. According to Creswell and Plano Clark (2011), this should be understood as a two-phase approach which begins by conducting a quantitative phase and is followed up for specific results with a qualitative one. The reasons for opting for such a design can be many, but as far as the present project is concerned, the qualitative phase is employed to better understand or, in fact, explain the results obtained in the initial phase (Creswell and Plano Clark 2011). An additional factor that influenced the choice of sequential design was that a single researcher worked on the project, and explanatory sequential studies are generally easier for an individual to manage (Creswell and Plano Clark 2011).

The following section will describe the methodological tools used in the present research project. Firstly, as in the design of the study itself, the quantitative tool will be introduced, namely a questionnaire. This will be followed by the introduction of the tool

known as a semi-structured interview, which constitutes the quantitative phase of the project.

3.3.1. Questionnaires

The questionnaire is most likely the most popular and commonplace research tool employed in social sciences, especially when statistical analysis is to be carried out. This is unsurprising, as questionnaires allow researchers to collect an abundance of data without generating skyrocketing costs (Dörnyei and Taguchi 2010). Yet despite its widespread appeal, defining what the questionnaire in fact is, not to mention designing a solid and successful one, is a difficult and often daunting task (Dörnyei and Taguchi 2010). Therefore, a great amount of caution should be exercised at all stages of the design process. A definition of questionnaires often found in the literature is provided by Brown (2001: 6), who states that they are “any written instruments that present respondents with a series of questions or statements to which they are to react either by writing out their answers or selecting from among existing answers”.

As far as the present project is concerned, four online questionnaires were created for four separate cohorts: teachers, students, parents, and language schools (see Appendices A – H). The questionnaires for teachers, students, and parents are meant to complete one another, while the questionnaire designed for language schools is different due to the RQs behind it. The decision to use an online form instead of a pen-and-paper one was made for several reasons. Firstly, time and money constraints were an important factor. By making the questionnaires available online, a researcher does not have to travel extensively to collect their data. It is generally considered that being personally present during the data collection process increases the response rate; however, such a face-to-face approach consumes exorbitant amounts of time and frequently also money.

Secondly, with today’s omnipresence of laptops, mobile phones, tablets, and other multimedia devices, questionnaires posted online can generally be accessed at any time and from anywhere in the world. Therefore, it was important to make the questionnaires highly responsive. A website for the project was created and a domain was purchased (<http://www.nns-badanie.pl>). The author of the thesis made sure that the website was easily accessible from any kind of mobile device. The questionnaires were created using

Google Forms, as the author believes it to be a reliable service that people generally trust; prospective participants thus would not be scared away by some obscure-looking survey technology. It seemed important to instil trust in people and use services and tools they are used to in their daily lives. According to Dörnyei (2007: 121), people generally believe that they feel more anonymous while completing questionnaires on the Internet.

Thirdly, the data collected from online questionnaires is easily exportable to numerous programmes, enabling statistical analysis using e.g. Excel or SPSS. It also must be pointed out that all the questionnaires were created and administered in Polish, as respondents should be able to complete questionnaires in their L1 (Dörnyei and Taguchi 2010: 128). The structure of the pre-pilot questionnaires will be discussed in Sections 3.4. to 3.5.

3.3.2. Semi-structured interviews

After the questionnaire data were collected and analysed, the qualitative phase of the present mixed-methods research was conducted to better understand the quantitative results (Dörnyei 2007). Teachers were selected to take part in the qualitative stage. There are two main reasons for such a decision. First, as mentioned before, the focus of the present thesis is on Polish teachers of English; therefore their perspectives, opinions and feelings concerning the issues discussed are considered of paramount importance. Second, there existed certain time and money constraints on the present project.

Interviews were selected as an appropriate methodology due to their natural feel, as according to Atkinson and Silverman (1997: 309) we live in “interview societies” which means, in short, that most people who live in Western countries/societies are used to watching or taking part in interviews. Dörnyei (2007) confirms this view, highlighting the fact that interviews on the radio or television regularly attract a large audience. Therefore, despite some criticisms directed at the method, it continues to reign supreme in the social sciences (Edley and Litosseliti 2010). There are a few types of interviews, of which the semi-structured type was chosen for the purposes of the present project.

Semi-structured interviews are probably the most commonplace type of interview as they allow the researcher to bridge a gap between two extremes, i.e. structured and unstructured interviews (Dörnyei 2007). On the one hand, they allow a researcher to have

pre-prepared questions to use as guidance throughout the interview; on the other hand, they provide enough wiggle-room and freedom for a researcher to follow up on important issues that come up to gain more in-depth knowledge (Dörnyei 2007: 136). The pre-prepared questions are thus not to be seen as limitations. The flexibility that can be achieved thanks to the semi-structured format allows for unexpected data to emerge, and such data should be welcome (Mackey and Gass 2005).

As far as the construction and execution of the interviews is concerned, they followed the main components of the teacher, student, and parent questionnaires. Firstly, the questions concerning the definition of the native speaker and advantages and disadvantages of Polish teachers of English and native speaker teachers were asked. Then, interviewees were asked whether they had ever felt discriminated against due to not being native speakers, and if so, in what situations. Additional questions were asked about whether they had ever had to pretend to be native speakers of English. Subsequently, a number of questions was asked concerning the Likert-Type scale statements from the questionnaires concerning the qualities of native and non-native English teachers. As Dörnyei (2007) underscores, the guide used in semi-structured interviews has to be tested and piloted, and that was the case here as well. The data from the pilot study, however, will be analysed with the data collected during the study proper, since “QUAL piloting differs from QUAN piloting in that we do not have to discard the obtained data after these ‘trial runs’” (Dörnyei 2007: 75). The following section will discuss the research questions prior to the pilot study stage.

3.4. Research questions prior to the pilot study

Quantitatively oriented research tends to rely on hypotheses to provide guidance throughout the process of conducting a research project. Hypotheses are usually more precise and are expressed in the form of statements which can later be either verified or disproved. Whereas natural scientists are known for their hypothesis-forming skills, social scientists are prone to taking an alternative route of creating sets of research questions (RQs) (Sunderland 2010). The process of forming RQs for the present project consisted of three main stages. Such an approach to formulating RQs is considered good practice, as Sunderland

(2010: 10) points out that RQs can be altered and reshaped up until the end of the research project.

The first stage involved forming a general hypothesis, or more appropriately as Dörnyei (2007: 73) refers to it, a “research topic”, even before the research methods were decided on. The research topic, which provided a foundation for further elaboration on the project, was: “Native speakerism is present in Polish language schools.” It was formed over the course of literature review and provoked by the personal interest of the author of the thesis, who noticed certain patterns of behaviour and beliefs concerning native and non-native speakers in his teaching environment. Such a way of coming up with research ideas is in line with Sunderland’s (2010) views. After this stage, a first set of research questions took shape. Mason (2002: 19) lists supplementary questions which can be helpful in the course of developing your own research questions, such as e.g.

Do they express or problematise my intellectual puzzle? Are they consistent with each other, and linked to each other? Do they add up a sensible whole? Do they make possible, and probable, intellectually interesting answers or arguments? Are they open enough to allow for the degree of exploratory enquiry I require? Will they allow me to generate further questions at a later stage, in the light of my developing data analysis, should I wish?

These auxiliary prompts were useful for formulating RQs for the present project, which initially consisted of one overarching and 9 subordinate questions. An overarching research question is a question which is of central importance to the project but cannot be operationalised on its own. Subordinate research questions are used to operationalise the overarching one (Sunderland 2010).

The initial RQs were as follows:

Overarching:

- (1) Are there any traces of native speakerism ideology present in Polish language schools? If so, how are the traces manifested?

Subordinate:

- (2) Are Polish language schools favouring native speakers of English? If so, in what ways and to what extent?

- (3) Do native English teachers necessitate the same level of language teacher education as non-native English speakers?
- (4) Do native English teachers earn more money than qualified non-native English teachers? How much more?
- (5) Who is a native speaker according to teachers, students, parents of students?
- (6) What are advantages and disadvantages of being a non-native and native speaker teacher? (as considered by teachers, students, and students' parents)
- (7) Do students prefer having classes with native over non-native language teachers?
- (8) Have Polish English teachers ever felt discriminated against due to them not being considered native speakers of English?
- (9) What are the forms of discrimination faced by the Polish teachers of English?
- (10) Can trained non-native speakers pass for native English speakers in a controlled setting?

Having formed the initial RQs, the author carried out a pilot study of two questionnaires on three out of four cohorts, namely language teachers, language school administrators and students. The following section will discuss the initial structure of the questionnaires and introduce the idea and importance of pilot studies, then proceed to describe the pilot study done for the purposes of the present study.

3.4.1. Pre-pilot teacher questionnaire

After the formulation of the initial RQs, the process of creating the teacher survey began. The structure of the survey was planned to be very short to maximise the response rate from busy teachers.

The questionnaire was divided into three main sections. Firstly, the questionnaire collected demographic data from its participants, with special attention to teaching experience and also time spent abroad. Secondly, open-ended questions asked about the definition of the native speaker and advantages and disadvantages of Polish teachers of English and their native speaker counterparts. Although Dörnyei (2007) argues against using open-ended questions in the questionnaire format, they have been successfully implemented on numerous occasions in the field of native speaker/non-native speaker studies

(see e.g. Brutt-Griffler and Samimy 2001, Ma 2011). Thirdly, teachers were asked if they had ever felt discriminated against due to being a non-native speaker, and if so, in what circumstances. The last section also included a question which asked whether the teacher had ever been asked to pretend to be a native speaker of English and if so, in what situation.

3.4.2. Pre-pilot language school questionnaire

At the beginning, it was understood that the questionnaire for language schools should have a different shape than those for teachers, parents, and students owing to the nature of its prospective respondents. The basic assumption was that it should be shorter than the others, as school owners and administrators are usually busy businesspeople. Therefore, no descriptive open-ended questions were included. The first section of the questionnaire dealt with some basic information concerning the schools themselves, e.g. the size of the city they are in and the number of students, native and non-native speaker teachers. The second section was created to elicit information concerning the teacher recruitment process by asking respondents to assess the importance of selected employment factors such as education, teaching qualifications, nationality, native speaker status, trial lesson, and so on. This section also asked questions concerning the level of education and qualifications required of native and non-native speakers to teach English. The last part of the survey was the only non-obligatory one, which inquired about the hourly wage for native and non-native speakers of English.

3.5. Pilot studies

Pilot studies are an essential part of conducting any research project, as they allow researchers to test and fine-tune their instruments and procedures before they set off to do the proper study (Dörnyei 2007). It is important to bear in mind that questionnaires are quite sensitive to changes, including wording; thus they should be tested at various stages of their creation so that necessary alternations can be introduced (Dörnyei and Taguchi 2010). According to Dörnyei and Taguchi (2010: 54-55), the piloting of a questionnaire

consists of two stages: initial piloting of an item pool and final piloting (“dress rehearsal”).

Initial piloting is the stage at which a researcher asks three or four people to complete their questionnaire, paying considerable attention to wording, inconsistencies, unclear instructions, as well as any additional questions they had. As Dörnyei and Taguchi (2010) admit, it often boils down to asking family members and friends for help. In the case of the present research project, five people looked at every one of four questionnaires that were created, namely a fellow PhD student, the supervisor, and two (non-academic) family members; therefore it seems that a reasonable balance of professional and layman input was received.

After the initial piloting phase was completed and the questionnaires for language schools, teachers, and students felt almost ready, the questionnaires were distributed among small samples of the target groups. The total number of responses was as follows: language schools (n=13), teachers (n=24), students (n=17). The following section will briefly discuss the crucial results of the piloting stage and the steps taken afterwards. The piloting stage turned out to be a major turning point in the present research and enabled the author to clarify his research questions, methodology, and the tools used to answer them. It is once again emphasised that all the surveys were conducted in Polish.

3.5.1. Piloting the language school survey

As far as the language school survey is concerned, receiving completed questionnaires proved to be a time-consuming ordeal. The author of the present thesis therefore developed a strategy which helped improve the response rate, which in the end rose to 52% (13 completed surveys out of 25 sent out). The strategy boiled down to three basic steps:

- (1) Initial phone contact with a language school asking permission to email the questionnaire; if the permission was granted, the email was sent and the deadline established for completing the questionnaire;
- (2) Calling back after the deadline to inquire whether the questionnaire was completed; if not, a new deadline was set and the second step was repeated; if yes, gratitude was expressed and a brief conversation was had about possible comments and

issues; if a school decided to withdraw, it was noted and no further contact was attempted;

- (3) Emailing a thank-you note: once a school completed a questionnaire, an email was sent to thank them for their cooperation.

The key ingredient of the strategy was persistence and patience. Considering that language school owners are businesspeople who usually operate under time constraints, a generally positive and understanding attitude is necessary. One of the participating schools had their deadline postponed five times before the questionnaire was completed due to lack of time and/or forgetfulness. As it was also extremely important for the language school owners that the survey was anonymous, after the piloting stage the anonymity of the survey was ensured at every stage of the process. Additionally, a letter of recommendation was written by Professor Ronald Kim, the author's supervisor, and attached to every email.

Apart from improving the method of collecting data, certain results influenced the revised version of the questionnaire. Firstly, among the employment factors, which were rated on a Likert-type scale (from 1 = "not important" to 5 = "very important"), being a native speaker scored the lowest (2.27). This, however, was not reflected in the question concerning hourly wages for a native and non-native speaker, which averaged to 46.6 zł/hr for a non-native speaker and 60.75 zł/hr for a native speaker. Additionally, despite education scoring the highest (4.64), to the yes/no question: "Do teachers require an appropriate degree to teach?", only 55% of the respondents answered yes where native speakers were concerned, but 82% answered yes with respect to non-native speakers. Thus serious changes had to be introduced to the design; namely, a new section of Likert-type scale items was created. The newly created section was implemented to answer the numerous questions arising from the pilot study. Moreover, nationality scored higher (3.00) than being a native speaker (2.27) in the pilot study. The author interpreted this to mean that the nationality factor was insufficiently specific and prone to being misunderstood, so it was changed in the revised version to "Polish nationality."

3.5.2. Piloting the teacher survey

The previous section discussed the piloting stage of the language school survey. It was the first pilot study which was carried out for the purposes of the present project and proved to be of immense value. This section will discuss the key results of the teacher survey administered on a group of 24 teachers, mostly from the author's immediate teaching environment. The group was, however, quite unique as most of the respondents were also enrolled in the same PhD programme as the author. This fact also influenced future decisions concerning the questionnaire, as shall be discussed.

Generally, the questions in the pilot study seemed to work quite well, with just minor wording issues having been pointed out and corrected after the piloting stage. The issue of education was also brought to the author's attention; following this, the number of possible options was broadened to include various stages of the education process. The aforementioned special status of the respondent group and the fact that they were assumed to possess a broader knowledge on the subject also encouraged the author to create a Likert-type section on the basis of the most frequently given answers in the piloting stage. A total of 12 statements were created. According to Cohen et al. (2018), such a process is natural, as open-ended answers from the pilot study phase are often used to generate closed questions or Likert-scale items.

The following section will provide a brief overview of piloting the student questionnaire. It is important to underscore that the answers provided by teacher respondents in the present sections were also used to inform the student and parent surveys. The reasons for such a step will be given below.

3.5.3. Piloting the student survey

After formulating and piloting two questionnaires, namely language school and teacher questionnaires, the questionnaires for students and parents were created. The latter was not piloted, as it is essentially the same as the former.

The key idea behind both questionnaires was to formulate them in such a way that each of the questionnaires used in the present study could complete and cross-check each other. Therefore, the section devoted to definitions remained the same as in the two

aforementioned piloted components. The Likert-type-based section was implemented from the beginning and consisted of statements referring to the results of both previously piloted surveys. After its formulation and initial piloting, it was distributed mostly among the current and former students of the author of the present thesis, most of whom had classes with native speakers. As mentioned, the total number of collected surveys was 17.

No major changes were introduced to the student and parent questionnaires after the piloting stage. Only some issues with wording were pointed out, which mostly resulted from linguistic calques from English to Polish that students were not familiar with and the author falsely assumed to be self-explanatory. One such wording issue, which seemed to be crucial, was establishing the naming standard for all the surveys concerning the term “native speaker.” One translation offered by the online English-Polish Cambridge Dictionary was *rodzimy użytkownik języka* (lit. “born user of the language”), which seemed odd and was questioned by a few participants. Therefore, *Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN* (Polish Dictionary PWN) was consulted, and it turned out to have a listing for the phrase *native speaker*. Additionally, the term is present in numerous websites, leaflets, and general discourse relating to English language teaching and learning in Poland. Examples of this can be found quickly on the Internet, for instance: “Uczymy poprzez kontakt z żywym i naturalnym językiem, takim, jakim posługują się native speakers use” (“We teach through contact with living, natural language, the kind that native speakers use”; <https://native-english.pl>), or: “Kurs z najlepszymi lektorami angielskiego lub Native Speakerami” (“A course with the best teachers of English or native speakers”; <http://ilikeenglish.pl>). Therefore, a decision was made to stick with the original and use it throughout all questionnaires.

3.5.4. Conclusions from the pilot studies

The previous sections discussed the pilot studies of three separate questionnaires together with their separate contributions to the present project. The results obtained from all three components influenced the general shape and direction of the project.

From the conception of the research project, it was assumed that it would have to be an MMR study due to the reasons provided in Section 3.1.4. However, its final form became apparent after the results of the pilot studies were obtained. It was decided that

solely quantitative data shall be collected from language schools, students, and parents, with the exception of the qualitatively oriented section of the survey (see Section 3.1.1.). Both quantitative and quantitative data shall be collected from Polish teachers of English. The reason for this decision can be attributed to the fact that the focus of the present research project is placed on Polish teachers of English themselves as was underscored in e.g. Section 1.6.4. Moreover, having considered the structure of the study and after discussing the matter with Professor Jane Sunderland, the decision was made to limit the scope of the study and delete the matched-guise section (see RQ 9), which would by itself constitute a separate project.

All in all, the pilot study stage turned out to bring numerous essential contributions to the project, ranging from fine-tuning survey items to slightly altering the focus to make it more teacher-centred. Having discussed the changes in the previous sections, a list of revised RQs will follow. These revised RQs will be the ones that the present project is actively guided by and seeks answers to.

3.6. Revisited research questions

As Sunderland (2010) points out, RQs can be revisited up until the last moment of doing research, as this shows that thinking was involved in the study. After performing a series of pilot studies, the RQs changed quite considerably. The research topic of the study remained the same, as did the issues tackled in it, but the focus shifted so that it is now on the teachers themselves.

Table 2. Revisited research questions

| Type of RQ | Research Questions | Data needed | Data collection | Data analysis |
|---------------|---|----------------------------|--|-------------------|
| Overarching | Are there any traces of native speakerism ideology present in Poland and Polish language schools? If so, how are the traces manifested? | | | |
| 1 Subordinate | Who is a native speaker according to teachers, students, parents of students? | quantitative / qualitative | qualitative section of the surveys, interviews with teachers | Thematic Analysis |

| | | | | | |
|----|-------------|---|----------------------------|--|--|
| 2 | Subordinate | What are the advantages and disadvantages of being a non-native and native speaker teacher as considered by teachers, students, and parents of students? | quantitative / qualitative | qualitative section of the surveys, interviews with teachers | Thematic Analysis |
| 3 | Subordinate | Is there a preference for native speakers in language schools according to teachers, students, and parents of students? If so, what factors influence it? | quantitative / qualitative | surveys, interviews with teachers | Statistical analysis / Thematic Analysis |
| 4 | Subordinate | Do Polish teachers of English feel inferior to their native speaker counterparts? If so, in what areas? | quantitative / qualitative | teacher survey, interviews with teachers | Statistical analysis / Thematic Analysis |
| 5 | Subordinate | Is there a preference for Inner Circle native speakers? | quantitative / qualitative | surveys, teacher interviews | Statistical analysis / Thematic Analysis |
| 6 | Subordinate | Do native English teachers necessitate the same level of language teacher education as non-native English speakers? | quantitative / qualitative | surveys, interviews with teachers | Statistical analysis / Thematic Analysis |
| 7 | Subordinate | Are Polish language schools favouring native speakers? If so, in what ways and to what extent? | quantitative | language school survey | Statistical analysis |
| 8 | Subordinate | Do native English teachers earn more money than qualified non-native English teachers? How much more? | quantitative | language school survey | Statistical analysis |
| 9 | Subordinate | Have Polish teachers of English ever felt discriminated against due to them not being considered native speakers of English? If so, in what situations? | quantitative | teacher survey, interviews with teachers | Statistical analysis / Thematic Analysis |
| 10 | Subordinate | Is there any resentment of native speakers by Polish teachers of English? | quantitative | teacher survey, interviews with teachers | Statistical analysis / Thematic Analysis |
| 11 | Subordinate | Is the definition of native speakerism put forward by Holliday (2005) flexible enough to meet the conditions of the Polish ELT market? | quantitative / qualitative | surveys, interviews with teachers | |

3.7. Sampling strategies and sample sizes in quantitative and qualitative parts of the study

A sample can generally be considered the exact group examined by a researcher; as the name suggests, it is a sample of a broader population (Dörnyei 2007). Brown (2014) suggests that although it would be ideal, normally it is impossible to conduct research on the whole population of interest; therefore, researchers have to sample to meet financial, spacial, and temporal constraints.

According to Dörnyei (2007), there are two main strands of sampling strategies, namely probability and non-probability samples. A probability sample is collected randomly from a broader population. Therefore, every member of an investigated population theoretically stands an equal chance of being included in the study. On the other hand, in a non-probability sample the probability of an individual to be included in the sample is impossible to measure (Cohen et al. 2018). Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009: 185) state that it is a normal occurrence for MMR to utilise different sampling techniques within one research project. The authors provide a general overview of sampling designs in MMR and they list the following ones: basic mixed methods sampling strategies, sequential mixed methods sampling, parallel mixed methods sampling, and sampling using multiple sampling strategies (2009: 185).

Due to its nature, the present project utilises the sequential mixed methods sampling design in which the results of the first stage of the project inform the sample and the tools used to complete the second stage (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009: 189). As Cohen et al. (2018: 224) point out, “numerical data might set the scene for in-depth interviewing, perhaps identifying extreme or deviant cases, critical cases.” During the quantitative stage of the project, volunteer and snowball sampling procedures were used. The former relies on people who reply to advertisements posted on the Internet and elsewhere. It has to be kept in mind that volunteers can be characterised by their sheer willingness to vent their opinions. This willingness may be caused by numerous external or internal factors; for example, volunteers may be extroverts focused on self-actualisation (Bargh et al. 2002). One thus has to be very careful when attempting to generalise the collected data, although the same problem is usually faced by pen-and-paper questionnaires as well (Cohen et al. 2018). The snowball sampling technique refers to a process by which willing members of groups studied recruit other members. Dörnyei (2007: 98) refers to it as a

form of “chain reaction.” In general, all participants in the questionnaires were asked to spread them among the appropriate populations.

In total, 322 respondents took part in the study, including 137 teachers (42.5%), 51 parents (15.8%), 103 students (32%), and 31 language schools (9.6%). The groups were not equal in size ($\lambda^2(3) = 87.19$; $p < 0.001$). Thus, another reason was provided for using nonparametric statistical tests.

As far as the group of students is concerned, most respondents were women ($n=72$, 69.9%), studied in a language school ($n=80$, 77.7%), have intermediate command of English ($n=49$, 47.6%), and have visited an English-speaking country ($n=60$, 58.3%).

Table 3. Students – basic data

| Variable | | n | % | Statistical test result |
|--|-----------------------|----|------|--------------------------------------|
| Gender | Female | 72 | 69.9 | $\lambda^2(1) = 16.32$; $p < 0.001$ |
| | Male | 31 | 30.1 | |
| Age (years) | 18-27 | 47 | 45.6 | $\lambda^2(3) = 32.1$; $p < 0.001$ |
| | 28-34 | 30 | 29.1 | |
| | 35-45 | 17 | 16.5 | |
| | >45 | 9 | 8.7 | |
| | | | | |
| Have you ever studied English at a language school? | Yes | 80 | 77.7 | $\lambda^2(1) = 31.54$; $p < 0.001$ |
| | No | 23 | 22.3 | |
| Are you currently studying English at a language school? | Yes | 32 | 31.1 | $\lambda^2(1) = 14.77$; $p < 0.001$ |
| | No | 71 | 68.9 | |
| Have you ever had classes with a native English speaker? | Yes | 71 | 68.9 | $\lambda^2(1) = 14.77$; $p < 0.001$ |
| | No | 32 | 31.1 | |
| How do you rate your English language level? | Just started learning | 2 | 1.9 | $\lambda^2(3) = 49.19$; $p < 0.001$ |
| | Beginner | 17 | 16.5 | |
| | Intermediate | 49 | 47.6 | |
| | Advanced | 35 | 34 | |
| Have you ever been to an English-speaking country? | Yes | 60 | 58.3 | $\lambda^2(1) = 2.81$; $p = 0.09$ |
| | No | 43 | 41.7 | |
| How long? | 0-3 months | 51 | 85 | $\lambda^2(3) = 115.6$; $p < 0.001$ |
| | 4 months – a year | 4 | 6.7 | |
| | A year - 3 years | 4 | 6.7 | |
| | > 3 years | 1 | 1.7 | |
| Have you ever asked for native speaker classes? | Yes | 42 | 40.8 | $\lambda^2(1) = 3.51$; $p = 0.06$ |
| | No | 61 | 59.2 | |

The group of teachers was also dominated by women ($n=125$, 91.2%). Most respondents were 28-34 years old ($n=45$, 32.8%), have master’s degrees ($n=95$, 69.3%), and have been to an English-speaking country ($n=99$, 72.3%).

Table 4. Polish teachers of English – basic data

| Variable | | n | % | Statistical test result |
|----------|--------|-----|------|-------------------------------------|
| Gender | Female | 125 | 91.2 | $\lambda^2(1) = 93.2$; $p < 0.001$ |
| | Male | 12 | 8.8 | |

| | | | | |
|---|---------------------|-----|------|------------------------------------|
| Age (years) | 18-27 | 40 | 29.2 | $\lambda^2(3) = 18.18; p < 0.001$ |
| | 28-34 | 45 | 32.8 | |
| | 35-45 | 39 | 28.5 | |
| | >45 | 13 | 9.5 | |
| How many years have you worked as an English teacher? (years) | 1 | 12 | 8.8 | $\lambda^2(3) = 55.47; p < 0.001$ |
| | 2-4 | 29 | 21.3 | |
| | 5-7 | 25 | 18.4 | |
| | >7 | 70 | 51.5 | |
| Education | Secondary education | 3 | 2.2 | $\lambda^2(3) = 149.34; p < 0.001$ |
| | Currently studying | 17 | 12.4 | |
| | Bachelor's degree | 22 | 16.1 | |
| | Master's degree | 95 | 69.3 | |
| Have you ever been to an English-speaking country? | Yes | 99 | 72.3 | $\lambda^2(1) = 27.16; p < 0.001$ |
| | No | 38 | 37.7 | |
| How long? | 0-3 months | 46 | 48.9 | $\lambda^2(3) = 29.32; p < 0.001$ |
| | 4 months – a year | 18 | 19.1 | |
| | A year - 3 years | 17 | 18.1 | |
| | > 3 years | 13 | 13.8 | |
| Have you ever felt discriminated against because of not being a native speaker? | Yes | 32 | 23.4 | $\lambda^2(1) = 38.9; p < 0.001$ |
| | No | 105 | 76.6 | |
| Have you ever been asked to pass as a native speaker? | Yes | 17 | 48.9 | $\lambda^2(1) = 77.44; p < 0.001$ |
| | No | 120 | 19.1 | |

Most parents have two children (n=29, 56.9%), their children are studying at a language school (n=48, 94.1%), and they themselves have an experience of studying at a language school (n=40, 78.4%). Parents also tend to believe that their level of English is intermediate (n=25, 49%) and that their children's English is at the beginner level (n=20, 39.2%). Most of them have also spent time in an English-speaking country (n=29%, 56.9%).

Table 5. Parents of students – basic data

| Variable | | n | % | Statistical test result |
|---|-----------------------|----|------|-----------------------------------|
| Number of children | 1 | 13 | 25.5 | $\lambda^2(2) = 13.18; p = 0.001$ |
| | 2 | 29 | 56.9 | |
| | 3 | 9 | 17.6 | |
| Have your children ever learned English in a language school? | Yes | 48 | 94.1 | $\lambda^2(1) = 39.71; p < 0.001$ |
| | No | 3 | 5.9 | |
| Have your children ever had classes with a native speaker of English? | Yes | 22 | 43.1 | $\lambda^2(1) = 0.96; p = 0.33$ |
| | No | 29 | 56.9 | |
| Have you ever studied at a language school? | Yes | 40 | 78.4 | $\lambda^2(1) = 16.49; p < 0.001$ |
| | No | 11 | 21.6 | |
| Have you ever had classes with a native speaker of English? | Yes | 29 | 56.9 | $\lambda^2(1) = 0.96; p = 0.33$ |
| | No | 22 | 43.1 | |
| How do you rate your English language level? | No English | 4 | 7.8 | $\lambda^2(4) = 33.61; p < 0.001$ |
| | Just started learning | 1 | 2 | |
| | Beginner | 11 | 21.6 | |
| | Intermediate | 25 | 49 | |
| | Advanced | 10 | 19.6 | |

| | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|---------|------|-----------------------------------|-----|
| How do you assess your children's English language skills? | Just started learning | 11 | 21.6 | $\lambda^2(3) = 13.24; p = 0.004$ | |
| | Beginner | 20 | 39.2 | | |
| | Intermediate | 17 | 33.3 | | |
| | Advanced | 3 | 5.9 | | |
| Have you ever been to an English-speaking country? | Yes | 2 years | 20 | $\lambda^2(4) = 39.1; p < 0.001$ | |
| | | 3 years | 5 | | 9.8 |
| | | 4 years | 1 | | 2 |
| | | 5 years | 3 | | 5.9 |
| | No | 22 | 43.1 | | |
| Have you ever asked for a native speaker classes for your children? | Yes | 17 | 33.3 | $\lambda^2(1) = 5.67; p < 0.001$ | |
| | No | 34 | 66.7 | | |

As far as language schools, most respondents completing the questionnaire live in cities with a population of 20.000 to 100.000 inhabitants (n=11, 35.5%), claim to be owners of the schools (n=25, 80.6%), and all of them are responsible for hiring English language teachers. Most schools offer courses in English and business English. The median of students attending language schools is 200, and the median of teachers with whom schools cooperate is 6. Out of 31 schools, 44.8% (n=15) employ native speakers.

Table 6. Language schools – basic data

| Variable | n | % | Statistical test results | |
|---|--------------------------------|----|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Place of operation | Village | 2 | 6.5 | $\lambda^2(5) = 16.03; p = 0.007$ |
| | up to 20.000 inhabitants | 6 | 19.4 | |
| | 20.000 to 100.000 inhabitants | 11 | 35.5 | |
| | 100.000 to 200.000 inhabitants | 3 | 9.7 | |
| | 200.000 to 500.000 inhabitants | 2 | 6.5 | |
| | More than 500.000 | 7 | 22.6 | |
| Position at school | Owner | 25 | 80.6 | $\lambda^2(3) = 51.97; p < 0.001$ |
| | Administrative worker | 1 | 3.2 | |
| | HR specialist | 1 | 3.2 | |
| | Other | 4 | 12.9 | |
| Are you responsible for the recruitment and employment process? | Yes | 26 | 83.9 | $\lambda^2(1) = 14.23; p < 0.01$ |
| | I share it with others | 5 | 16.1 | |
| Do you employ native speakers of English? | Yes | 14 | 45.2 | $\lambda^2(1) = 0.29; p = 0.59$ |
| | No | 17 | 54.8 | |

After the quantitative stage of the research was completed, the qualitative stage began. As mentioned above, the sampling method employed in this part of the study was informed by the previous phase. Therefore, convenience sampling was used. Generally, teachers were asked to provide the researcher with their email addresses if they were willing to participate in semi-structured interviews. The total number of emails provided

was 38; however, not all teachers replied to the follow-up email sent to them. In all, 12 teachers finally agreed to participate in the interview stage of the research project.

3.8. Data analysis

The analysis process is a complex endeavour due to the fact that the project follows the MMR design. Both quantitative and qualitative data must be analysed and combined to complement each other and help avoiding their respective pitfalls (Brown 2014). An MMR study must therefore somehow meet the standards of both qualitative and quantitative research. For this reason, the term *legitimation* was introduced by Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006). Legitimation can be understood as “the degree to which MMR integration of qualitative and quantitative research strengthens and provides legitimacy, fidelity, authority, weight, soundness, credibility, trustworthiness, and even standing in the results of interpretations in MMR” (Brown 2014: 144).

Given these challenges for data analysis, the following sections will introduce the analytical methods and tools used for the purposes of the present project. They will also attempt to validate the stance presented in Section 3.1.4. legitimising the use of the MMR design in this project. Firstly, quantitative data analysis will be introduced, followed by a section devoted to qualitative data analysis. Secondly, the process of quantifying qualitative survey data will be examined.

3.9. Quantitative data analysis

Statistical analysis was conducted using the IBM SPSS Statistics 25 package. A Mann–Whitney U test was used in case of two independent groups to measure the statistical differences between them. When more than two groups were compared, a Kruskal-Wallis test was employed. If statistically significant differences were spotted, an appropriate post hoc test was carried out. This, in turn, allowed for checking between exactly which groups differences existed. The choice was based on the variance homogeneity of the groups in question. A Wilcoxon signed-rank test was used to compare two related groups.

Chi-square analysis was also used to measure equipotency and whether there exists a statistically significant dependency between the nominal variables. Spearman's rank correlation coefficients enabled the researcher to check whether there exists a statistically significant relation between the analysed variables. The median (%) and frequency analysis (N) were used in the statistical analysis of the results. Note finally that $p < 0.05$ was accepted as a statistically significant value.

3.10. Qualitative data analysis

Due to the fact that qualitative data is usually abundant, it must first be broken down into more digestible categories (Cohen et al. 2018). One of the most common procedures in qualitative data analysis is known as Content Analysis or Thematic Analysis, with the name depending on the source (Dörnyei 2007; Krippendorff 2004; Braune and Clarke 2006; Guest et al. 2011; Guest et al. 2012). A potential source of confusion may be attributed to the fact that the origins of the analytical framework can be found in Quantitative Content Analysis, which mostly focus on word counts, frequency counts, etc. (Dörnyei 2007). The author of the present thesis decided to opt for the naming convention established by Braun and Clarke's (2006) article; therefore, the analytical method used in the qualitative phase will be referred to as Thematic Analysis. It can be defined as "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail" (Braun and Clarke 2006: 79). Generally, Thematic Analysis can be identified by its latent-level analysis, which means that it concerns itself with the deeper meaning of data and is interpretative in nature (Dörnyei 2007).

Despite the general lack of naming consensus, there seems to exist an overall agreement concerning the steps which need to be taken to successfully complete the process of thematic analysis. However, due to the decision to follow the conventions established by Braun and Clarke (2006), the process presented for the purposes of the present thesis will remain closest to their procedures, and it can be summarised as follows:

- (1) transcribing the data (Dörnyei 2007: 246); Brown (2014: 118) refers to it as "getting the data into a usable form";

- (2) breaking the data into smaller units and assigning them first initial codes (Brown 2014; Cohen et al. 2018); Dörnyei (2007: 246) refers to this as “pre-coding” and “coding”, Braun and Clarke (2006: 87) state that it is “generating initial codes”;
- (3) searching for themes (Braun and Clarke 2006: 87), also known as “second-level coding” (Dörnyei 2007: 252) or “creating categories” (Cohen et al. 2018);
- (4) reviewing themes (Braun and Clarke 2006: 87), called “growing ideas” by Dörnyei (2007: 254);
- (5) defining and naming themes (Braun and Clarke 2006: 87), also called “growing ideas” by Dörnyei (2007: 254);
- (6) producing a report (Braun and Clarke 2006: 87), i.e. interpreting the data and drawing conclusions (Dörnyei 2007: 257).

As can be seen, different names and labels are used to denote similar if not identical steps. It also must be emphasised that the process may appear to be linear in nature, but hardly ever is in practice. Oftentimes a researcher goes back and forth through the steps described above to modify, adjust and perfect previously established codes and themes (Braun and Clarke 2006; Brown 2014; Dörnyei 2007; Cohen et al. 2018).

Along with the process, certain concepts remain to be defined. Code refers to “the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon” (Boyatzis 1998: 63). It is a tool used to identify a certain feature of data, be it a “manifest level” feature or a “latent” one (Dörnyei 2007: 245). A theme is a broader category than a code, as themes consist of a number of codes. Themes can also have subcategories of overarching and sub-themes (Braun and Clarke 2006).

Additionally, the next chapter will contain a description of a telling case collected during the interview process. A telling case was defined by Mitchell (1984: 239) as a case that allows a researcher to “to make previously obscure theoretical relationships apparent.” This brief definition seems to be accepted by a broad number of scholars from a range of different disciplines (e.g. Street 2011, Glenda et al. 2014, Pitt 2015), but Andrews (2016) argues that it is too simplistic. In his theoretical paper devoted to telling cases, he elaborates on the theory behind the term coined by Mitchell and enumerates the criteria that have to be met for a case to be considered a telling one:

rooted in anthropological and ethnographic traditions; more than just illustrative; derived from data; focused on a contemporary issue; based on analytical induction; dependent on the validity of analysis; focused on making visible previously hidden or poorly understood theory; focused on identifying the necessary conditions for that theory's relevance; neither typical nor atypical of the phenomena under scrutiny; not necessarily focused on generalisation and simultaneously context dependent and context acknowledged (Andrews 2016: 5).

It seems that the telling case presented at the end of the next chapter not only meets the criterion of the brief definition, but also the criteria put forward by Andrews in the quote above. The following section will turn to explaining the process of quantitising the qualitative data utilised in the project.

3.11. Quantitising qualitative survey data

As mentioned in the sections describing the form of the questionnaires, a number of questions in them were open-ended. Dörnyei (2007) advises against using open-ended questions in surveys as according to him, questionnaires are meant not to collect qualitative data. Nevertheless, some previously mentioned articles (see Section 3.4.1.) and Cohen et al. (2018) argue that it is often advisable to include such questions, as they generally encourage the participants to think more carefully about their answers. They aim to gain more depth and richness of data from a questionnaire and “might contain the ‘gems’ of information that otherwise might not be caught” (Cohen et al. 2018: 475).

The data gathered in open-ended questions is usually quantitative in nature (Cohen et al. 2018). However, as mentioned before, the present thesis follows an explanatory sequential MMR design and the questionnaires form the quantitative foundation of the present research. Therefore, a two-stage process was utilised to analyse the data collected from open-ended questionnaire items.

Firstly, the collected responses were analysed using thematic analysis, introduced in Section 3.10. The procedure was followed, and the most prominent thematic categories were created. The formulation of thematic categories was based on Spradley's (1979) similarity and contrast principles. The similarity principle drives analysis by accumulating content items under the same cover terms on the basis of their similarity, while the contrast principle allows a researcher to investigate and explore the distinctiveness of separate categories (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009).

Secondly, instead of further treating the data as quantitative, it was quantified. This is a process “commonly understood to refer to the numerical translation, transformation, or conversion of qualitative data” (Sandelowski et al. 2009: 208). Such a method of data conversion is often found in mixed-methods studies as it usually allows the researcher to assimilate qualitative data to other quantitative data for ease of statistical interpretation (Sandelowski et al. 2009). The instances of themes subsumed under the categories created in the first step of the analytic process were calculated, and this qualitative data was converted into numbers, thus allowing for statistical analysis. Although the process may seem controversial, Mol and Law (2002: 4) argue that it is a sensible “simplifying device” which, if used correctly, can lead to deeper understanding of the complex qualitative patterns underlying the data. According to Sandelowski (2001: 230) such a process of converting qualitative to quantitative data allows the researcher, among other things, to prove the significance of a research project and to “generate meaning from qualitative data”.

3.12. MMR data analysis

According to the definition provided by Creswell and Plano Clark (2011: 250), mixed methods data analysis “consists of analytic techniques applied to both the quantitative and the qualitative data as well as the integration of the two forms of data.” In general, the core idea behind data integration in the type of MMR adopted here is to use the results of qualitative data analysis to provide stronger evidence for trends and observations emerging from the quantitative strand of the research project. Due to the joint nature of this MMR approach, a researcher may enter the qualitative analysis stage with certain already predetermined codes (Creswell and Plano Clark 2011).

Having discussed all the data analysis techniques employed in the present study, a closer look must be taken at ethical considerations. Both the data collection and data analysis stages require an appropriate amount of attention to be paid to ethics. Therefore, the following section will address such topics as consent, anonymity, and data storage.

3.13. Ethical considerations

Although ethical issues are of great importance in the social sciences (see e.g. Dörnyei 2007), they are often implicitly understood by professionals working in a given field who assume that their colleagues are aware of their current practices. Cohen et al. (2018) point out that ethical considerations should inform all stages in the conception and execution of a study, ranging from planning to data analysis and presentation.

General guidelines for conducting scientific research in the European Union are established by “Ethics for researchers”, Facilitating Research Excellence in FP7 (European Commission 2013). The publication outlines 12 golden rules for conducting research on human and animal subjects. The guideline was consulted throughout the creation process of the present study, but in many respects its wording may be considered excessively broad. Therefore, in the following paragraph a closer look will be taken at ethical dilemmas in both strands of the present research project, namely online questionnaires and semi-structured interviews.

Online questionnaires are riddled with much the same issues as any other form of Internet research procedures (Cohen et al. 2018). Therefore, Marshall and Rossman (2016, quoted in Cohen et al. 2018) list four key ethical matters of consideration for online surveys:

- How public and private data are stored;
- Sensitivity of the topic;
- Degree of interaction between the researcher and the participants and between participants;
- Vulnerability of the participants.

The data obtain during the questionnaire data collection stage was stored on Google Cloud Services. To ensure that no third parties have access to the data, it was protected by a two-step verification process. The researcher also took utmost care not to collect any demographic data that would permit identification of the participants. No names and surnames were collected, and no email verification process was required. This raises the possibility that some respondents may decide to complete the survey more than once; however, after the data collection process was finished, an additional screening

phase was conducted and responses classified as repetitions were removed. It should be stated that in the teacher survey, volunteers were asked to provide the researcher with their email addresses so that they could be contacted concerning the semi-structured interview phase. Nevertheless, they were not required to leave any email addresses revealing their true identity (name and surname). As far as the issue of consent is concerned, Cohen et al. (2018) state that the act of completing the survey can be considered informed consent. However, to ensure that this is indeed the case, no partial data from the questionnaires was collected. Additionally, at the end of the questionnaire the participants were asked to send their response only if they felt safe doing so.

Dörnyei (2007) argues that quantitative research runs a higher risk of endangering the privacy and anonymity of study participants due to its more intrusive nature. Whereas quantitative data is mostly about numbers, qualitative data, in this case in the form of semi-structured interviews, collects a far greater depth of information about its participants. Cohen et al. (2018) list a number of issues which need to be raised. Consent forms had been sent to the participants prior to the interviews to give them ample opportunity to acquaint themselves with them, sign them, and email them back to the researcher (see Appendix I and Appendix J). The participants were informed that at any stage of the research project they can make the decision to withdraw their contribution. This process was used as an additional screening method to guarantee that the participants who are interviewed are sure of their willingness to participate in the study, as prior to the interviews they had also voluntarily provided their email addresses to be contacted. To ensure the anonymity of the participants, their interviews were codified and are only referred to by codes in the following chapters. The recordings from the interviews were later stored on an encrypted external drive without any connection to the Internet to ensure that the data would not leak.

Mackey and Gass (2005) state that a full disclosure of the aims of the study is the usual norm in conducting experiments on human subjects. Nevertheless, they suggest that to avoid the observer's paradox or minimise the participants' willingness to please the researcher, it may be decided to reveal only partial aims of the study. In the present case, the participants were informed about the fact that the study is concerned with perceptions of native and non-native speaker teachers but were naturally not told anything about the researcher's hypotheses or expected findings.

3.14. Conclusions

This chapter has dealt with numerous central issues related to conducting research in the social sciences in general, and on the topic of interest in particular. Firstly, a review of the philosophical considerations behind the research project was offered. The author believed this to be important due to an abundance of theoretical discussions regarding ideological issues in social science research. The philosophical stance had to be addressed, as it is additionally also tightly intertwined with the MMR framework. Secondly, the rationale for the study was provided and the methodological tools employed were described. The pre-pilot research questions and questionnaires were introduced to present the reasoning and development process behind the project. Having discussed them, the research questions proper were brought to the fore, and sampling methods were described together with the analytical tools adopted. Finally, the ethical considerations which were relevant to the project were discussed.

The following chapter will be devoted to the analysis of the data collected over the course of the study. All RQs will be addressed except the one pertaining to the definition of native speakerism, which will be addressed in Chapter 5. Wherever possible, the statistical data will be complemented by relevant qualitative data.

Chapter 4: Results

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter the data collected for the purposes of this project will be analysed. As scrutinised in Chapter 3, the present project utilises the MMR framework, i.e. both quantitative and qualitative data were gathered (see Section 3.1.2.). To ensure the clarity of the chapter, the RQs being addressed are referenced when necessary (see Section 3.6.). The general practice followed is that quantitative results are introduced first and are later complemented by the data from the qualitative end of the spectrum.

4.2. Who is a native speaker?

RQ 1 will be answered using both qualitative and quantitative sources of data. Three survey cohorts were asked to define the concept of a native speaker, namely students, students' parents, and teachers. The question was open-ended, but as mentioned in Section 3.1.1., the qualitative data from the survey was quantitised. The resulting statistics will be complemented by qualitative data from semi-structured interviews with teachers. The main objective behind the question was to gauge whether parties involved in the educational process have a general understanding of the native speaker concept, i.e. if all groups have a general awareness of the notion that is in any way close to the current definitions found in the EFL literature. Special attention was paid to whether there exists any disagreement among the three cohorts as to how they define native speakers, and if so, how those differences can be explained.

This section is organised into four parts, the first three devoted to the different subject groups and the last completing the picture with qualitative data. The definitions were subsumed under two main categories, namely "open" and "closed." The open category suggests that an individual can become a native speaker if they make enough effort. The closed category consists of definitions which claim that if certain fixed criteria fail to be met, one can never become a native speaker.

4.2.1. The native speaker according to teachers

The total number of collected tokens included in the analysis was 190. As can clearly be seen in the table below, fully 93.7% of tokens ($n=178$) treat the notion of a native speaker as a closed category. In addition to the overwhelming dominance of this category, the factors determining native speaker status also appear to be clear-cut. Most people believe that to be a native speaker of English is to have English as one's L1 or mother tongue (44.7%, $n=85$). The place of birth also seems to be quite important, making up 25.3% of tokens collected ($n=48$). Some respondents suggested that to be a native speaker, it is vital that a person grow up in an English-speaking country and receive their education there (13.7%, $n=26$). A marginal number suggested that to be a native speaker is to have native proficiency of the language (7.9%, $n=15$) and that English has to be naturally acquired (2.1%, $n=4$). Both of the latter factors were always accompanied by statistically more important categories, such as other Tongue/L1 and Social Upbringing. Although these result hardly seem surprising, it is important to bear in mind that the majority of respondents treated L1 and mother tongue as synonymous and the notion of mother tongue as fully self-explanatory, even though it is in fact quite problematic when applied to multilingual individuals and societies, e.g. Kellermann (2001).

The open category is far smaller, consisting of just 6.3% of all tokens ($n=12$). Of this number, 9 tokens (4.7%) suggested that it is possible to become a native speaker through appropriate education. What is even more striking, however, is that only 1.6% of all respondents ($n=3$) claimed that it is possible to become a native speaker by reaching a certain level of English proficiency.

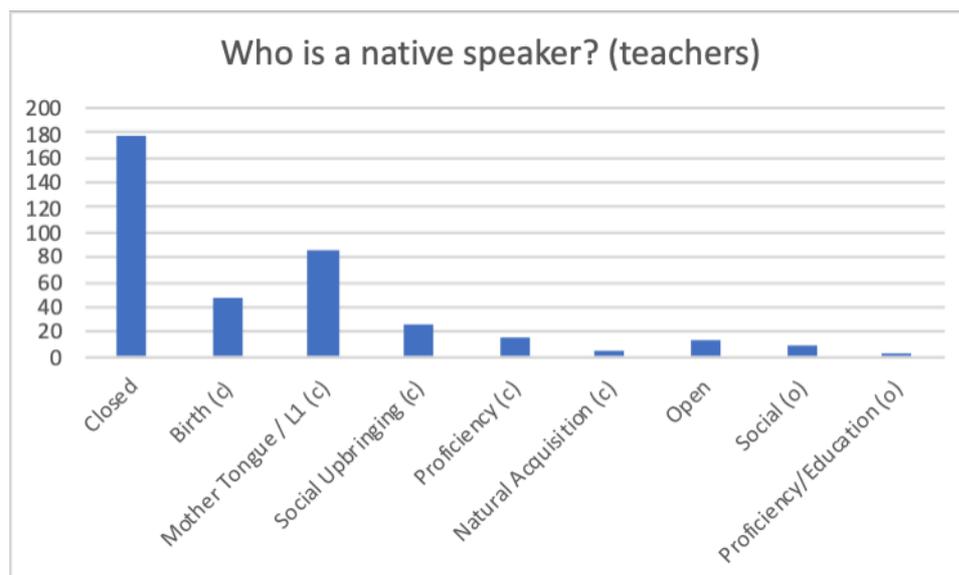


Fig. 1. Who is a native speaker? (teachers / tokens)

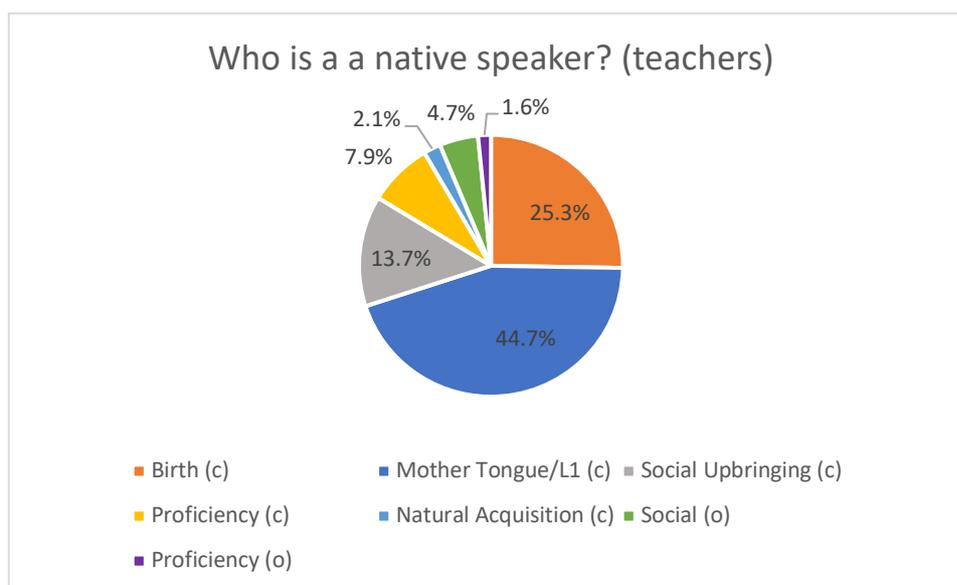


Fig. 2. Who is a native speaker? (teachers / percentage)

In summary, an overwhelming number of teachers surveyed treat native speakers as a closed category excluding people who fail to meet certain strict criteria, such as acquiring English as one's L1 and being born in an English-speaking country. This is especially noteworthy considering that these answers were provided by Polish teachers of English, who presumably therefore consider themselves to be inherently excluded from ever achieving native speaker status.

4.2.2. The native speaker according to students' parents

The total number of tokens collected and classified from students' parents was 50. This number is lower than for teachers and students owing to the fact that it was much more difficult to find parents willing to participate in the survey. One of the most important factors behind this was that the researcher has no children of his own, so his applications to be admitted to certain groups on social media were rejected as they were met with general distrust.

As can be seen in the charts, the closed category is overwhelmingly dominant, making up 92% of all tokens ($n=46$). As in the case of teachers, L1/mother tongue proved to be the most important criterion, found in 66% of all answers ($n=33$). Again, the general impression from responses gathered was that mother tongue and L1 are synonymous. Another 10% ($n=5$) claimed that place of birth is a vital factor determining native speaker status. Social upbringing was important for 12% ($n=6$). The need for natural acquisition was mentioned by 4% of tokens ($n=2$). Proficiency failed to be mentioned as a factor by parents of students.

The open category was again significantly smaller, with only 8% of respondents ($n=4$) allowing for native speakers to gain their status later in life through proper education or acquired proficiency in English. Social acceptance by the target speech community was not cited ($n=0$).

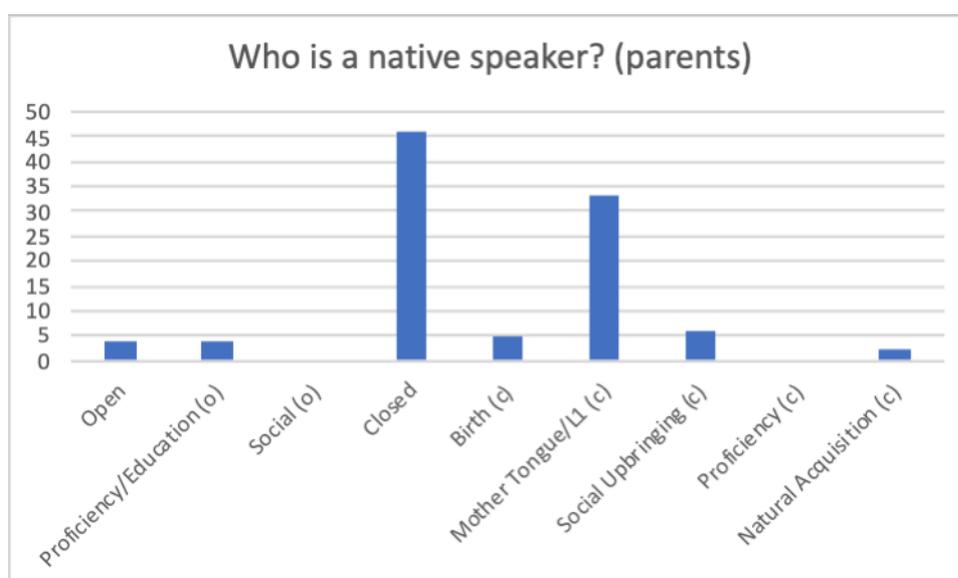


Fig. 3. Who is a native speaker? (parents / tokens)

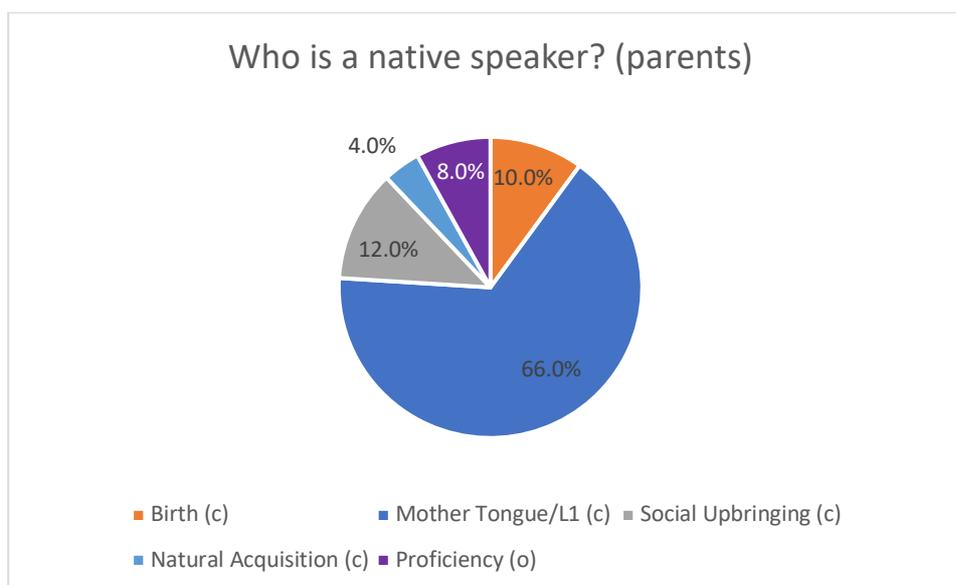


Fig. 4. Who is a native speaker? (parents / percentage)

Just as in the case of teachers, then, the responses suggest that being a native speaker is determined by acquiring the language early and growing up surrounded by the target language community, ideally from birth. Regardless of the amount of practice and knowledge, someone who does not fulfil these criteria can never become a native speaker. The category is thus categorically closed.

4.2.3. The native speaker according to students

A larger number of tokens (122) was collected and classified from Polish students of English. The closed category is dominant among students as well, making up 92.6% of all tokens ($n=113$). A closer look at the data collected shows that once again, most respondents believe that a native speaker is a person for whom English is either the L1 or mother tongue (45.1%, $n=55$). Being born in an English-speaking country is also considered a requirement by a substantial number of respondents, 30.3% of those surveyed ($n=37$). Social upbringing is mentioned by another 15 respondents (12.3% of all tokens). Proficiency and natural acquisition are mentioned by 3 respondents each (2.5%).

The results are hardly surprising and unequivocally indicate that for students, as for their parents and for teachers, someone who does not satisfy certain fixed criteria is simply unable to reach the level of proficiency associated with a native speaker. Neither

education nor proficiency can grant one that exclusive status. Importantly, nor can social acceptance by the target speech community, a factor barely mentioned in the participant responses.

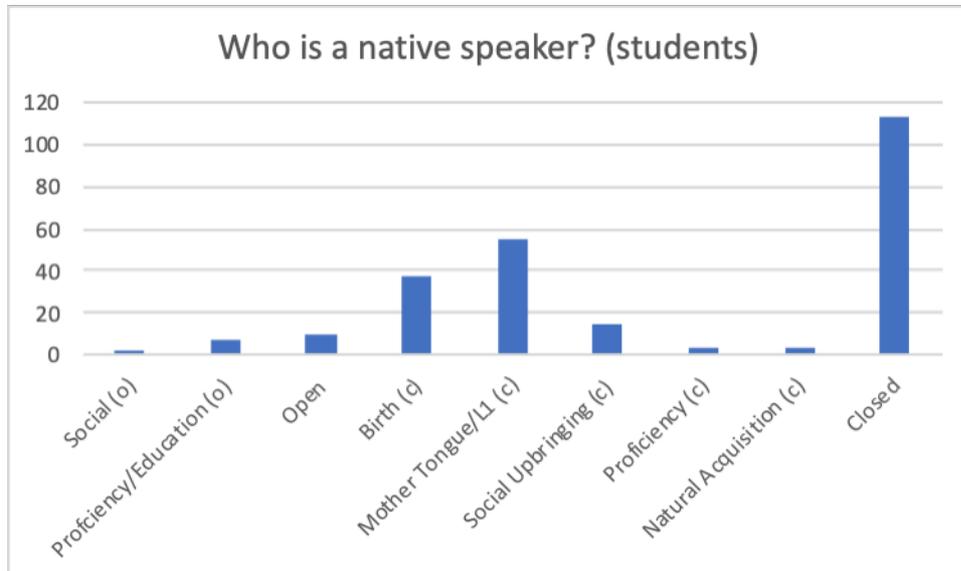


Fig. 5. Who is a native speaker? (students / tokens)

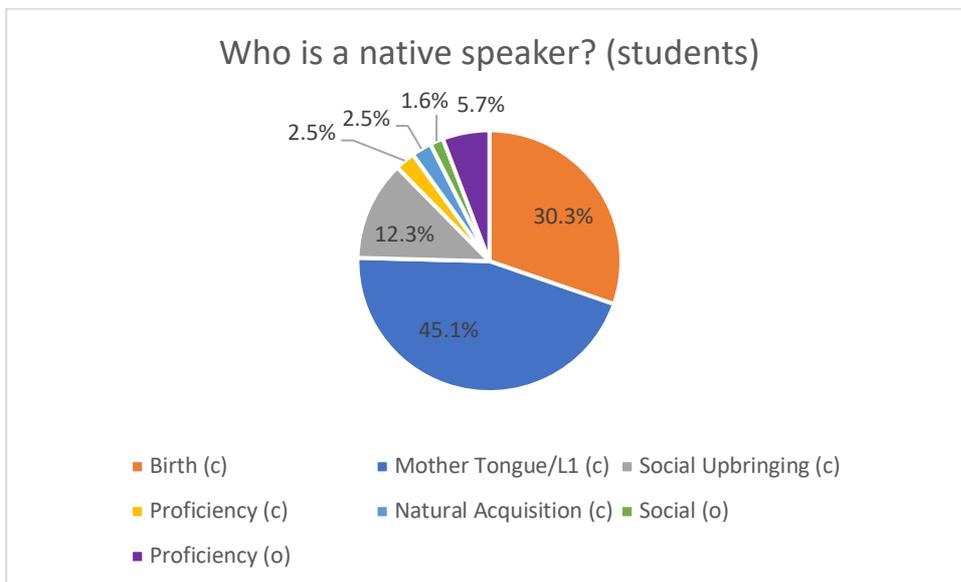


Fig. 6. Who is a native speaker? (students / percentage)

Having examined the results for teachers, students' parents, and students, we will now take a closer look at the combined results of the survey data to present a more general picture of how native speakers are perceived by the three cohorts.

4.2.4. Comparing results: the overall image of the native speaker

The total number of tokens collected from all three cohorts, teachers, students' parents, and students, amounts to 362. As seen for the three groups below, the closed category dominates the responses, making up 93.1% of all tokens ($n=337$). Of this number, the most significant category is mother tongue and L1 with 47.8% ($n=173$). An additional 24.9% ($n=90$) indicated that being born in an English-speaking country is a decisive factor in the process of being assigned the label of a native speaker. Social upbringing was mentioned by another 47 respondents, amounting to 13% of all tokens. Proficiency was mentioned by 5% ($n=18$). Natural acquisition as a requirement was brought up by 2.5% of responses ($n=9$).

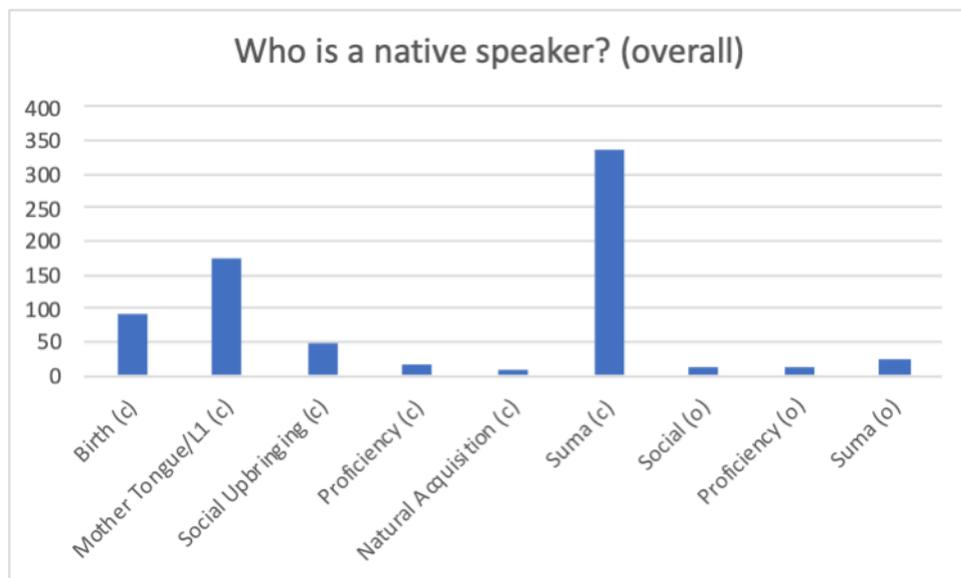


Fig. 7. Who is a native speaker? (overall / tokens)

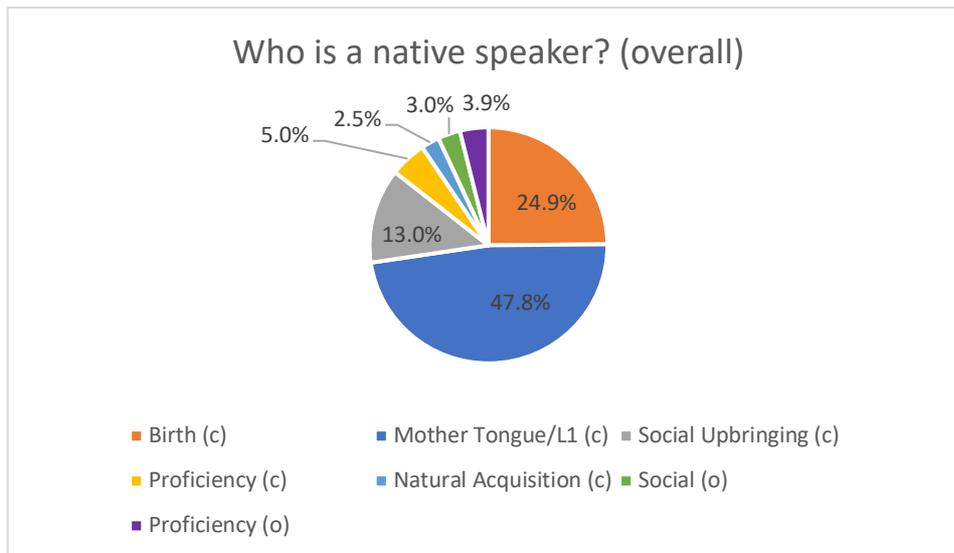


Fig. 8. Who is a native speaker? (overall / percentage)

In comparison, the open category is represented by just 6.9% of all tokens ($n=25$). 14 (3.9%) respondents suggested that one has to be at a certain high level of proficiency, and 11 (3%) answered that social acceptance is necessary to become a native speaker. These results thus illustrate a very prominent trend in the way the respondents perceive native speakers, i.e. as an overwhelmingly closed category that people are born into, one can almost say predestined to be, with little possibility to be accepted into this exclusive in-group unless one fulfils certain set-in-stone criteria. The next section will examine the data collected from semi-structured interviews with teachers, to see whether the aforementioned results are reflected in their comments.

4.2.5. Native speakers as seen by interviewed teachers

All interviewed teachers made extensive comments on the nature of the native speaker, ranging from simple definitions to elaborations on what is expected of native speakers. One does not have to delve deep into the responses to notice trends similar to those observed in the quantitative data of the preceding sections.

Many teachers clearly stated that to be considered a native speaker of English, one has to have English as their mother tongue or L1, although, as could be observed above in the survey results, other factors often interacted as well. In general, closed definitions predominated the semi-structured interview phase. T3, for example, claims that:

In my opinion, the definition of a native speaker is... It is somebody who has used the language, which they are supposed to teach, since childhood without longer breaks, in everyday life, so they have been immersed in the culture and have a command of it natural to a simple citizen of their country.

Thus, numerous factors have to complement each other for a person to be considered a native speaker. However, a moment later, the same respondent corrects themselves and presents what they believe to be a definition that most people probably have in mind: “Overall, I think that native speaker for somebody is... A native speaker is expected to speak English as their first language and that’s all” (T3). A similar sentiment is vented by T5: “Well, native speaker is simply somebody for whom English is the mother tongue.”

However, respondent T6 embarks on providing a more nuanced understanding of the native speaker: “According to my definition, native speaker is a person who uses the language which is foreign to us as their first language, meaning they were born in an English-speaking country or their parents used the language at home and it was the language acquired as their first.” For this teacher, the mother tongue/L1 factor is thus complemented by either birth or social upbringing. T9 also provides a cut-off point up until one can consider a given language to be a mother tongue: “Well, I think that it is a person for whom English is the first language and which they learned in their, say, first 3 years of life.”

Some respondents were also quite adamant about the birth factor, as for example T1, who reiterated its importance when asked:

T1: (...) So, a English native speaker (...) It is this product of numerous meanings, right? It is a person who was born in an English-speaking country, who uses the language everyday, and who makes money by transmitting their knowledge of the language or basically using the language to communicate with a person who wants to learn it. This is a native speaker for me.

I: Okay.

T1: With no positive or negative connotations on the level of definition.

I: Mhm. Is it possible for a person who wasn’t born in an English-country to become a native speaker or rather not?

T1: No, as this would go against the definition.”

However, others changed their mind upon questioning, e.g., T7:

“T7: It is a person who uses a given language, it is their mother tongue and so generally they know all the inner workings of the language and have been learning it since the beginning, at the beginning probably even subconsciously, and later can teach it, right? (...)

I: I get it. And do you have to be born in a given country and do you have to be raised in a given country? Does it depend on these factors?

T7: I guess it's more about being raised in a given culture and language because even if you're e.g. British and you're raised in Germany then your native language is theoretically German, isn't it? If your parents use German at home more.

A similar qualification appears during an interview with T12:

T12: (...) Is is a native user of a language that they have been using since childhood in different life situations.

I: Mhm. Okay. What does native mean in this context?

T12: That they were born in an area where English is the official language.

I: Mhm. And can a person not born in such an area still become a native speaker of the language?

T12: I believe that if they stay in the (target) country for many many years and use the language in different life situations then yes. Especially, if they move when they're young.

Such responses suggest that teachers tend to have ready-made closed definitions of the native speaker concept for which place of birth serves as a straightforward and simple enough factor, but that when questioned and forced to reassess, some at least are open to changing their minds.

The open type of definition of native speakers was attested far less frequently, as was clearly evident from the quantitative data above. T6, for example, claims that well-educated teachers can generally pass as native speakers: “(...) I believe that most people who graduated from university, especially English philology in Poznań, have sufficient language skills to be on the same level with native speakers as far as teaching children goes.” T12 started questioning their initial definition in the middle of the interview process and decided to leave open the possibility that one could become a native speaker:

I: So, can you become a native speaker much later in life after childhood?

T12: Now when I started thinking and talking about it I started questioning it because... Where is the cut-off point between being a native speaker and being just bilingual and not a native speaker of two languages... Maybe these terms are interchangeable? I don't know, I've never thought about it.

I: Okay, so potentially maybe we could open the definition to include people who have lived in a target-language country for an extended period of time?

T12: I guess, yes.

I: Okay.

T12: Because where is the cut-off point, right? (...) If you go there and immerse yourself in the culture I guess after some time, maybe.

T11 provided the broadest and most open notion of who a native speaker is:

T11: Okay, native speaker to me is somebody who functions in the language in questions and treats it as their language, so basically, it is the language which for them is the key to functioning in society and culture.

I: I understand. So, should a person be born in an English-speaking country or should such a person be brought up in an English-speaking country?

T11: I think these often correlate with being a native speaker but there are situations in which neither is required.

Additionally, several respondents explicitly indicated the problematicity of the term “native speaker” itself. T4, for instance, talks about the availability of learning materials and aids, which influence the definition of native speaker:

Considering the high availability of, at least speaking of English, materials in the target language created from scratch by native speakers (...) For example, a broad selection of BBC recordings, right? So, one can be immersed in the language from basically every corner of the world. Of course, maybe it's more difficult when it comes to customs and cuisine but with transportation being relatively easy, one can go and spend some time in England and absorb the culture.

T8 also mentions higher frequency of intercultural mingling, which in turn causes difficulties in pinning down the exact definition of native speaker: “We're living in a world where all cultures mix and merge, right? So, it's increasingly more difficult.”

Therefore, it is possible for teachers to actively question and expand their idea of who a native speaker is supposed to be once they are encouraged to treat the concept as less self-evident and move beyond the simplistic equation of birth with L1 with native speaker status. This could potentially open up room for discussion about related topics, including teacher self-confidence, teaching practices, etc.

Having integrated the results of both quantitative and quantitative stages of the study, we obtain a general picture of a native speaker as understood by the teacher respondents. However, it is not a stable, well-defined definition, but rather elusive and, for some respondents, ever-changing in today's world. Despite their overwhelmingly rigid, closed initial answers, once their believed self-evident truths pertaining to native speakers were questioned, a more complex image began to emerge. The next section will turn to the advantages and disadvantages of native and non-native speaker teachers as perceived by the same three cohorts, namely teachers, parents, and students.

4.3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of native speaker teachers and non-native Polish speaker teachers of English?

RQ2 will be answered using both quantitative and qualitative sources of data. The three cohorts were asked about their opinions concerning the advantages and disadvantages of both native and non-native teachers of English. The question was open-ended; the answers were thus qualitative in nature and were later analysed and quantified. The main rationale behind this question was to learn what the three groups consider to be the pros and cons of native vs. non-native teachers and whether there are any differences in opinion among them. The collected responses were categorised into three main categories: linguistic, sociocultural, and pedagogical.

4.3.1. Native speaker teachers

4.3.1.1. Advantages of native speaker teachers according to Polish teachers

The total number of tokens collected from teachers after quantitising the responses was 192. The majority of respondents believe that native speaker teachers boast linguistic advantages, with 60.4% ($n=116$) of all tokens falling into this category. Some of the advantages most frequently mentioned were native accent, excellent communication skills, and authenticity. Another 21.4% of responses ($n=41$) were categorised as pedagogical advantages. The most prominent factor in this category was the fact that native speakers supposedly force students to use English as they cannot resort to Polish. This is an interesting case, as it is generally unusual for lack of a skill to be viewed as advantageous. Finally, 18.2% of responses ($n=35$) were categorised as sociocultural advantages, with respondents suggesting that native speaker teachers possess a higher awareness of culture and social life in English-speaking countries.

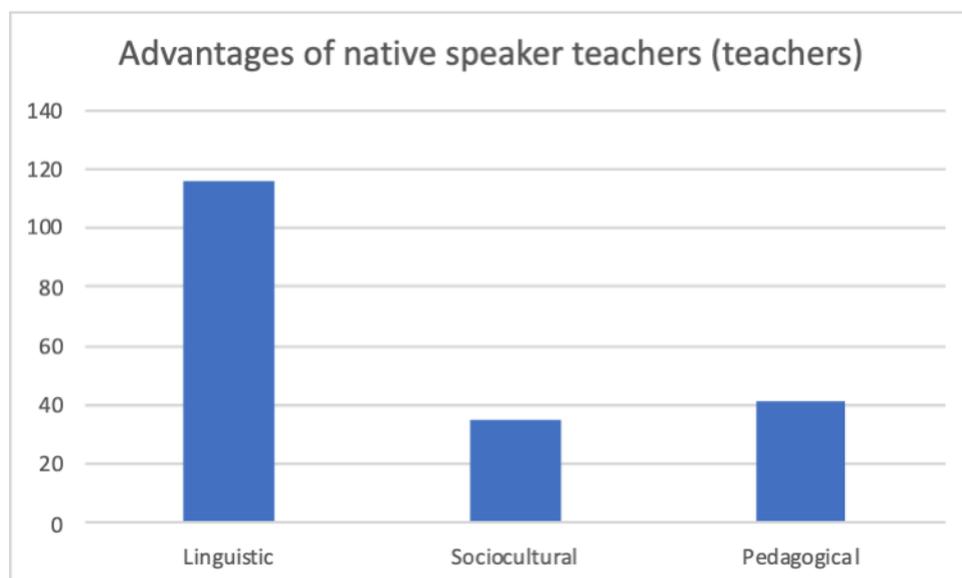


Fig. 9. Advantages of native speaker teachers (teachers / tokens)

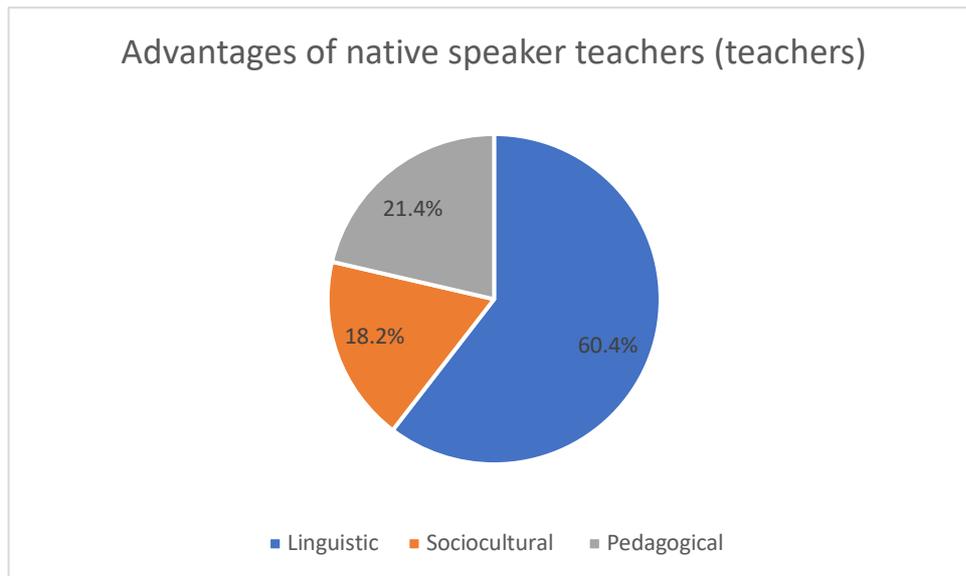


Fig. 10. Advantages of native speaker teachers (teachers / percentage)

4.3.1.2. Disadvantages of native speaker teachers according to Polish teachers

The total number of tokens collected from quantitised responses was 180. The fact that this number is lower than that in the previous section can already serve as an interesting indicator of a certain tendency. A possible explanation may be that native speakers are believed not to have as many disadvantages as they have advantages.

The diagrams below show that the highest number of responses, 63.9% ($n=115$), was categorised as pedagogical disadvantage of native speaker teachers. The most frequently mentioned disadvantages in this category were lack of methodological training and/or knowledge, no knowledge of grammatical rules, and issues with building relationships with students, often due to lack of even basic command of Polish. 32.8% of all tokens ($n=59$) cite linguistic disadvantages of native speakers, with the most prominent being a lack of knowledge of Polish. Finally, just 3.3% ($n=6$) suggest that native speaker teachers suffer from some gaps in their sociocultural knowledge. What seems to worry some Polish teachers is that native speakers of English often fail to grasp the reality and workings of the Polish education system. This may be attributed to their lack of cultural and linguistic knowledge, as most regulations are written in Polish. Additionally, native speakers may not feel inclined to educate themselves on such matters as they seem to be mostly operating outside of the educational system.

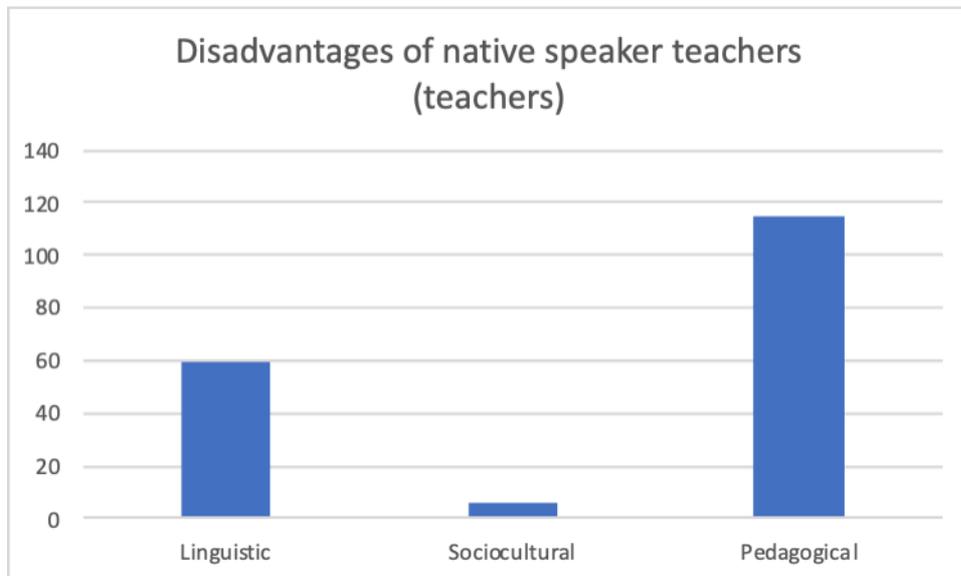


Fig. 11. Disadvantages of native speaker teachers (teachers / tokens)

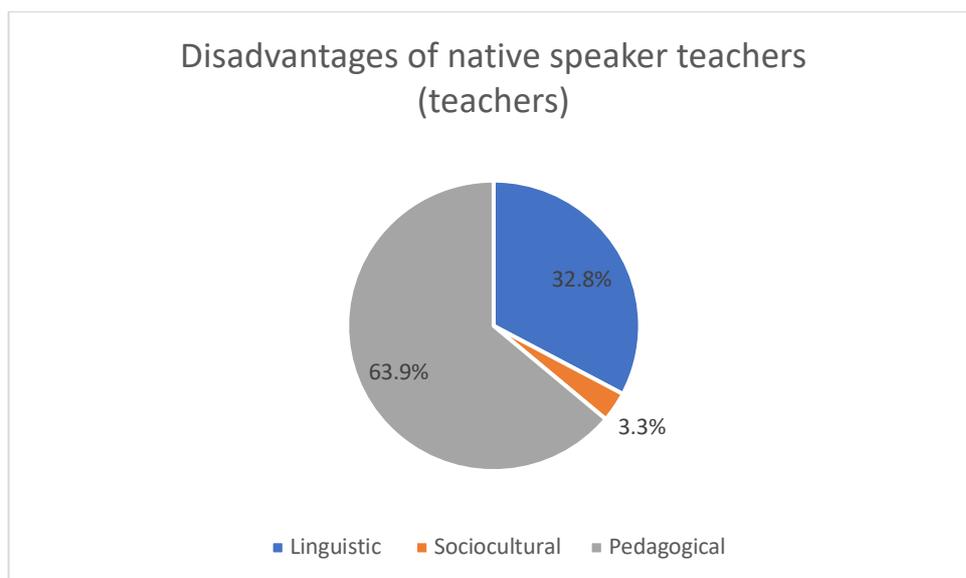


Fig. 12. Disadvantages of native speaker teachers (teachers / percentage)

4.3.1.3. Advantages of native speakers according to parents of students

The total number of tokens collected was 65. As graphs below show, the majority of parents believe that native speakers have linguistic advantages (60%, $n=39$), with the

most frequently mentioned being authenticity, native accent, and use of colloquial language. Another 33.8% of tokens ($n=22$) suggest that parents believe native speakers to have some pedagogical advantages. The most prominent in this category are greater patience and more conversation-focused classes. Finally, just 6.2% of tokens ($n=4$) mention that native speakers have sociocultural advantages, citing factors such as cultural awareness.

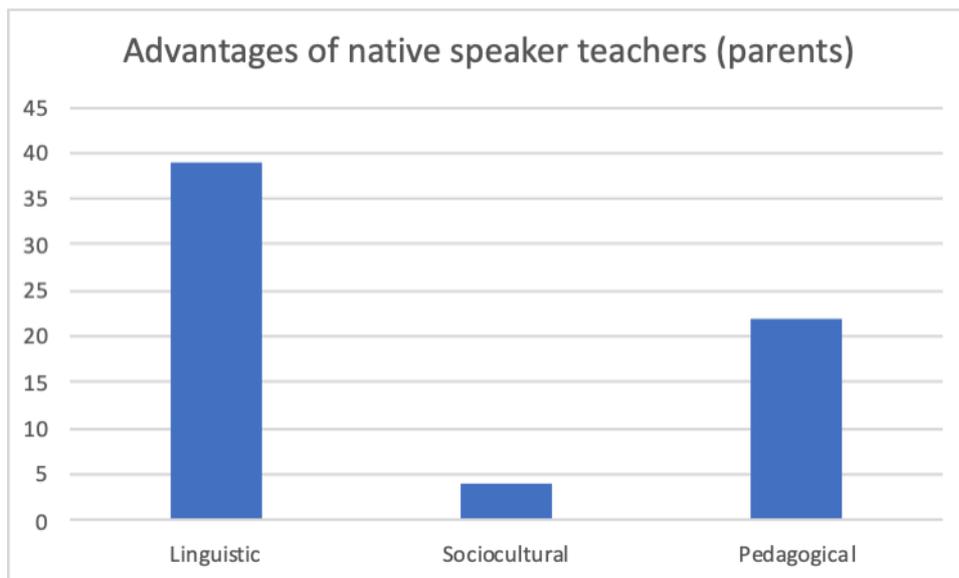


Fig. 13. Advantages of native speaker teachers (parents / tokens)

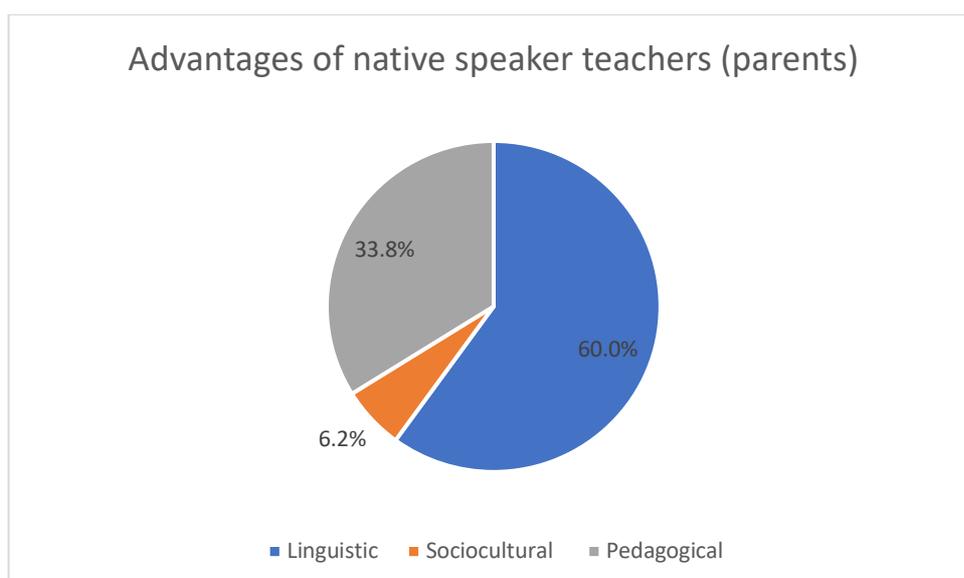


Fig. 14. Advantages of native speaker teachers (parents / percentage)

4.3.1.4. Disadvantages of native speakers according to parents of students

The total number of tokens collected relating to disadvantages of native speaker teachers was 37. Again, the reason for such a discrepancy between the number of tokens collected from advantages and disadvantages listed stems from the fact that parents enumerated far fewer disadvantages of native speakers in general.

Fully 75.7% ($n=28$) of the tokens collected from parents of students suggest that native speaker teachers suffer from some pedagogical advantages, the most important of which were lack of pedagogical or methodological training and lack of proper educational background. The remaining 24.3% of answers ($n=9$) mentioned linguistic disadvantages, the most important of which was ignorance of Polish, which impedes in-class communication and instruction when students do not understand certain points in English. In contrast to the responses from teachers, no sociocultural disadvantages were given.

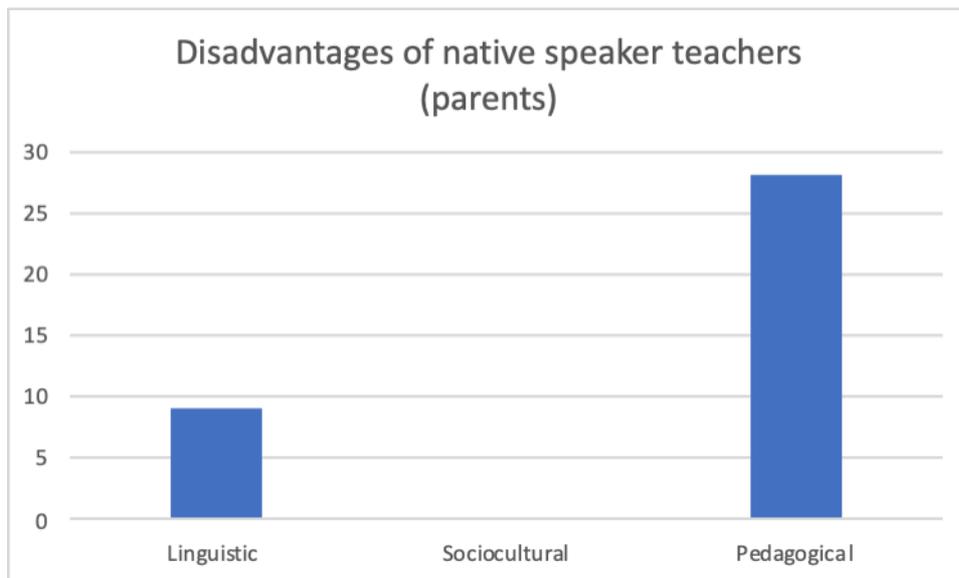


Fig. 15. Disadvantages of native speaker teachers (parents / tokens)

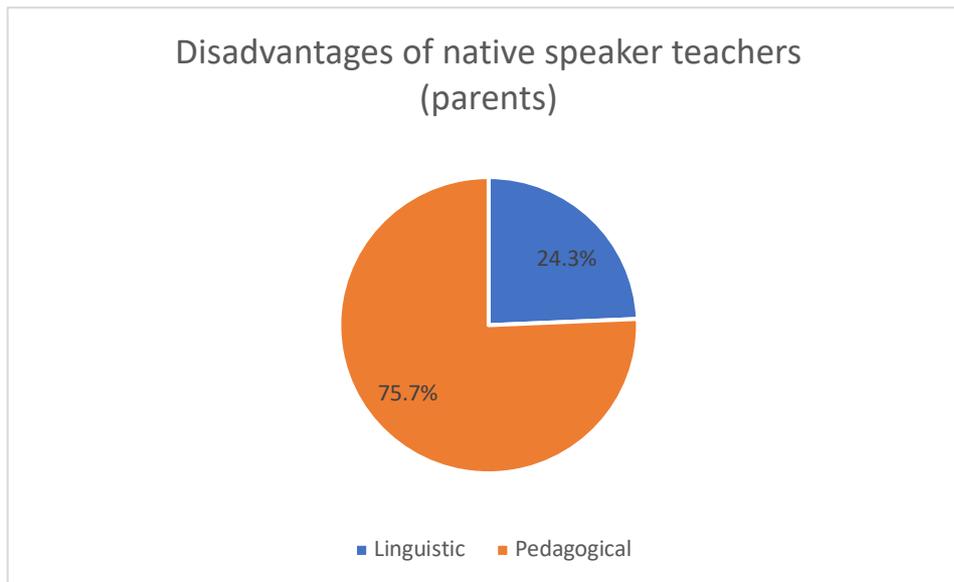


Fig. 16. Disadvantages of native speaker teachers (parents / percentage)

4.3.1.5. Advantages of native speaker teachers according to students

The total number of tokens collected was 128. More than half of the answers claimed that the greatest advantages of native speakers stem from their linguistic abilities, the most important of which are accent and pronunciation (treated as separate categories). 52.3% of tokens ($n=67$) fell into this category. Another 41.4% of tokens ($n=53$) were categorised as pedagogical advantages. The most frequently mentioned was the ability of native speakers to transfer knowledge that is never taught by Polish teachers of English. Finally, sociocultural advantages were brought up by 6.3% of all respondents ($n=8$), with cultural awareness being the key factor.

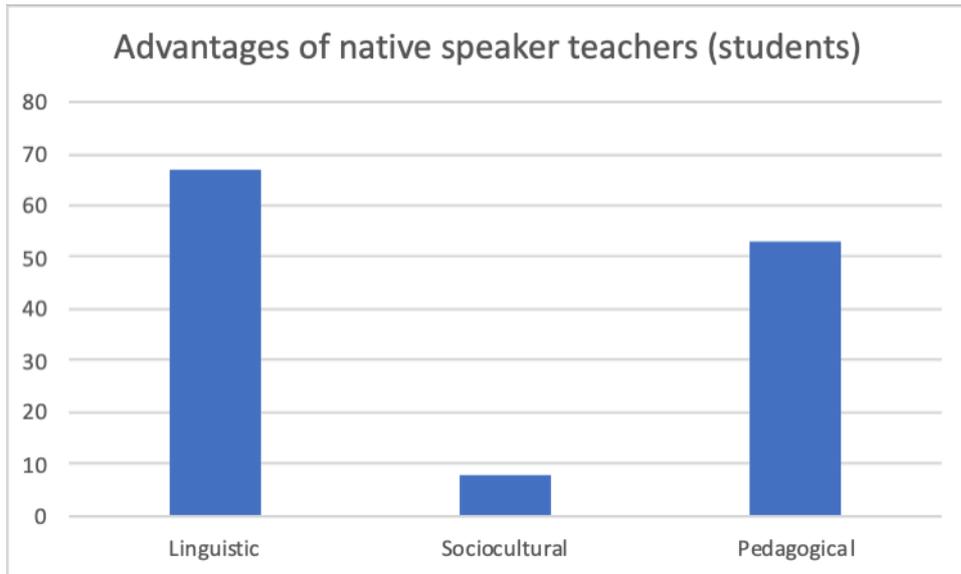


Fig. 17. Advantages of native speaker teachers (students / tokens)

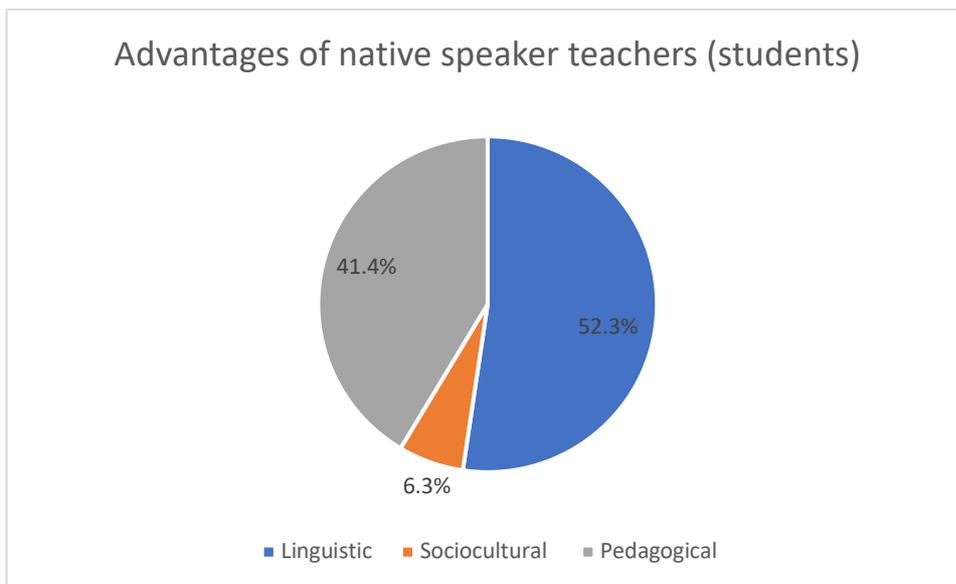


Fig. 18. Advantages of native speaker teachers (students / percentage)

4.3.1.6. Disadvantages of native speaker teachers according to students

The total number of tokens collected concerning disadvantages of native speaker teachers was 116. Pedagogical disadvantages made up the largest category, being mentioned by 60.3% ($n=70$) of all respondents. The most common disadvantage cited was a lack of ability to explain points of English grammar. Another 38.8% of all tokens ($n=45$) were

categorised as linguistic disadvantages, which included ignorance of Polish and usage of incorrect, i.e. nonstandard grammatical features in English. Only one response (0.9%, $n=1$) mentioned a sociocultural disadvantage.

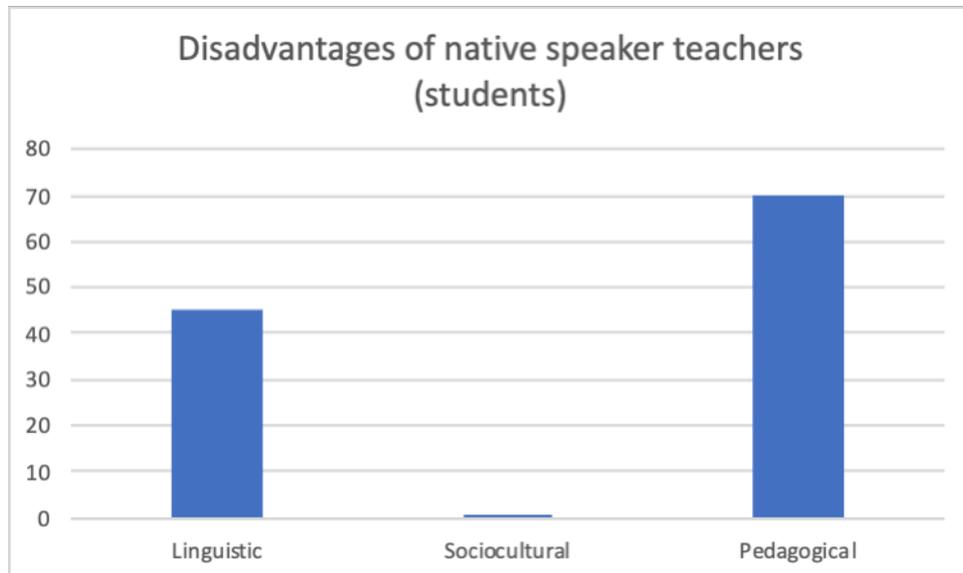


Fig. 19. Disadvantages of native speaker teachers (students / tokens)

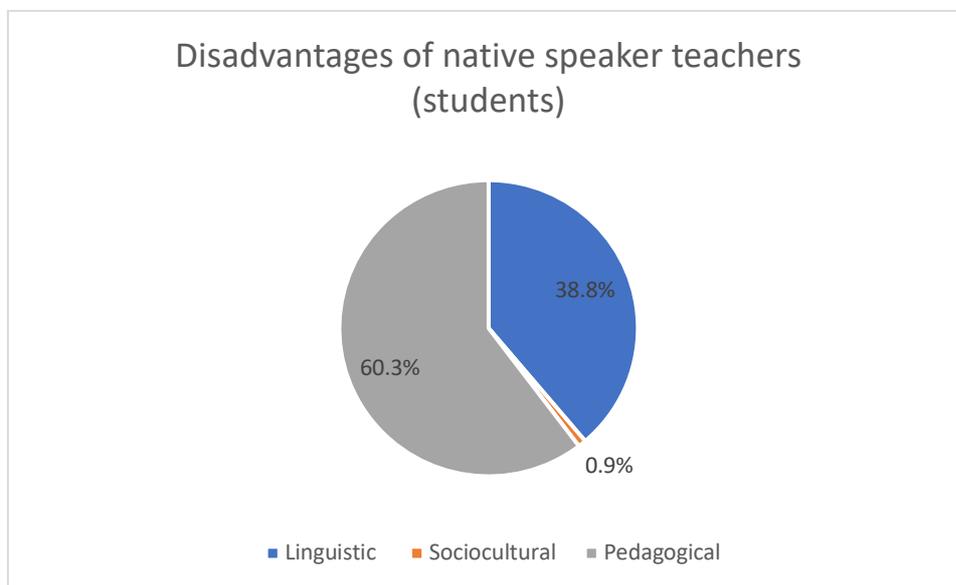


Fig. 20. Disadvantages of native speaker teachers (students / percentage)

4.3.1.7. Comparing results: Overview of advantages and disadvantages of native speaker teachers

All the tokens collected from the three separate cohorts were added up to obtain a general picture of perceived advantages and disadvantages of native speaker teachers. The total number of tokens for advantages amounted to 385, with the following breakdown.

As can be seen in the graphs below, the greatest number of respondents and answers collected from them suggest that native speaker teachers have linguistic advantages, with 57.7% ($n=222$) of all tokens falling into this category. 30.1% ($n=116$) of all answers were categorised as pedagogical advantages, and 12.2% ($n=47$) as sociocultural advantages.

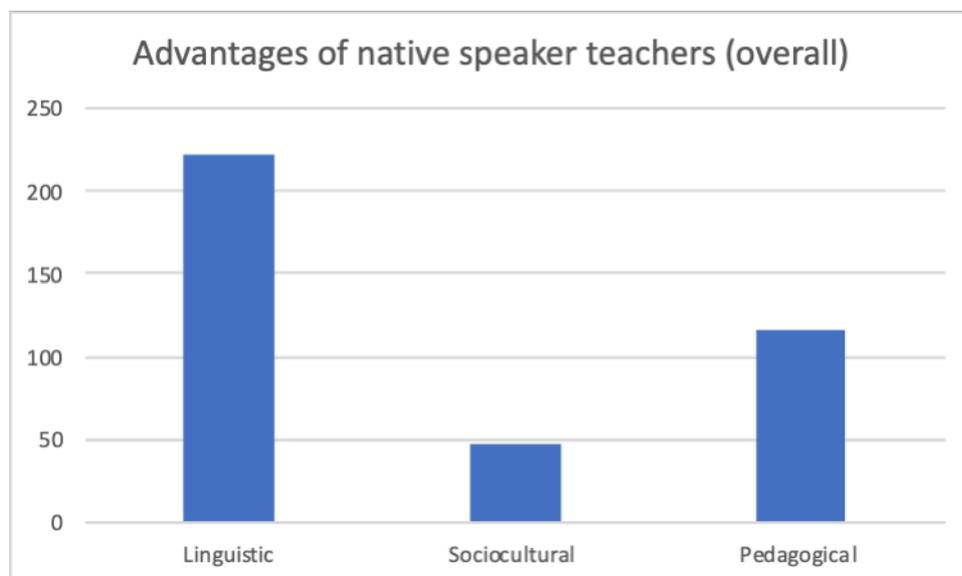


Fig. 21. Advantages of native speaker teachers (overall / tokens)

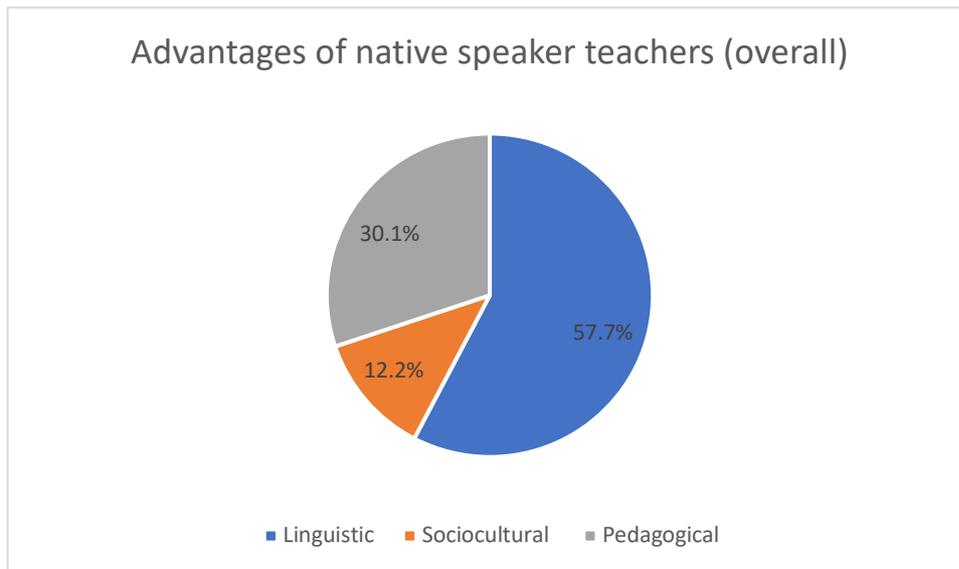


Fig. 22. Advantages of native speaker teachers (overall / percentage)

The tokens of perceived native speaker teacher disadvantages added up to 333 in total, distributed as follows: the most prominent category is pedagogical, with 64% ($n=213$) of all respondents mentioning disadvantages of this type. Another 33.9% ($n=113$) of all respondents suggested that native speakers suffer from various linguistic disadvantages, whereas just 2.1% ($n=7$) cited sociocultural disadvantages. The next section will complement these quantitative findings with the data from the qualitative stage.

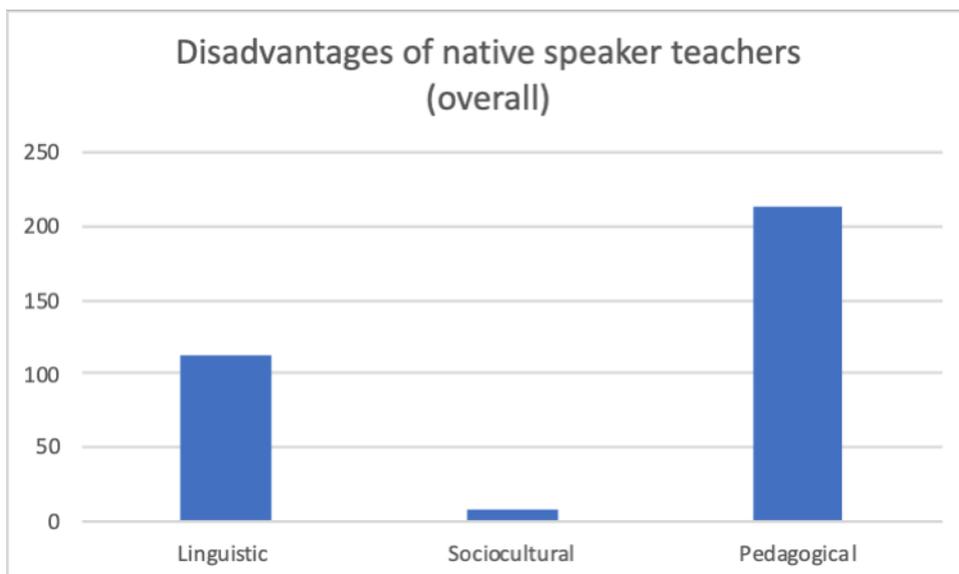


Fig. 23. Disadvantages of native speaker teachers (overall / tokens)

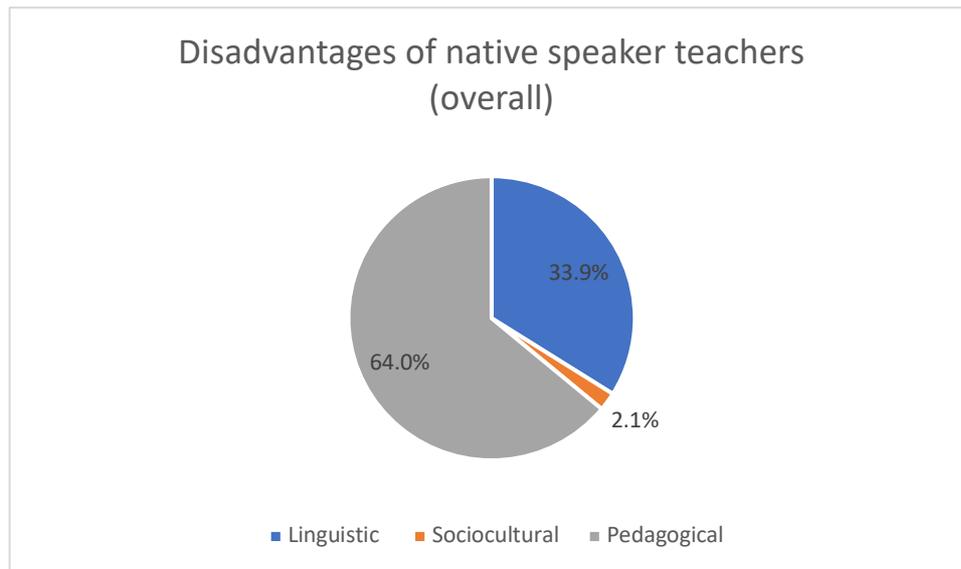


Fig. 24. Disadvantages of native speaker teachers (overall / percentage)

4.3.1.8. The picture of native speaker teachers from the interviews

The quantitative results are well reflected by the patterns and codes which emerged from the qualitative findings. The opinions concerning native speakers will be analysed first, beginning with comments concerning their linguistic, pedagogical, and finally sociocultural advantages. The section will be complemented by additional crucial comments made by respondents which do not fall neatly into any of these three categories, but nevertheless corroborate the findings of the previous section. This will be followed in turn by an analysis of the qualitative data concerning non-native speaker teachers.

4.3.1.8.1. Native speakers: linguistic advantages and disadvantages

Unsurprisingly, native speakers' linguistic advantages were the topic of the most extensive comments. It will suffice to showcase just a few to present the general picture. T1, for example, claims that authenticity and perfect knowledge of the language is their forte: "if it's my native language I have a perfect understanding of all kinds of nuances, registers, real-life vocabulary, grammar which isn't contaminated by any systemic approach (...)." The broad spectrum of actively known vocabulary is also cited as an advantage.

T7 claims that a native speaker “knows all the intricacies and idioms or some typical sayings, structures, collocations,” while T10 also indicates that they may be familiar with vocabulary items inaccessible to non-native speakers of English: “to give you an example, in Polish the word *ściema* (colloquial word for ‘a lie’ in Polish) is nowhere to be found in any dictionaries, yet a native speaker of Polish knows the contexts in which it can be used”.

However, certain criticisms of native speakers’ knowledge of vocabulary and grammar were also raised. T4, for instance, suggests that dialectal variation may prove to be an issue: “(...) many constructions used by you may not be standard or book-based, which paradoxically can cause students to have a sort of distortion.” T10 expressed a similar opinion: “(...) secondly, native speakers often don’t have any grammatical or linguistic knowledge of English. They can use it well, have no problems, they have a broad spectrum of vocabulary and grammar, but they don’t know how to explain why they use certain tenses”.

When asked about native speakers’ linguistic advantages, T11 responded quite sternly that:

They generally don’t have any as practically... Okay, fine, because of the amount of time they have spent with the language they can know more, say, idioms, nuances, but objectively there’s nothing beyond a different teacher’s reach, neither pronunciation nor vocabulary, and generally nothing becomes out of reach due to the magical title [of native speaker].

T11 mentioned pronunciation as a separate category that some Polish teachers might fear they could never master to a native level. This view may be observed frequently among respondents as, e.g., T5 claims that native speakers exhibit “(...) perfect accent and maybe more self-confidence, however, it’s hard to say if the former is true.” The same attitude is expressed by T6: “(...) They have an advantage when it comes to pronunciation as they have the correct one... Meaning, typical for the language....” However, T12 questions the bias favouring native speakers as teachers of pronunciation:

I think that native speakers are favoured as far as pronunciation is concerned... That where teaching pronunciation is concerned, a native speaker is going to teach me a beautiful form of English because they have a beautiful accent without any transfer and, again, maybe it is true that we may sometimes miss the mark when it comes to some vowels, but nonetheless I believe that we’re better-prepared to teach pronunciation than native speakers.

Interestingly, the lack of a working knowledge of Polish among the overwhelming majority of English native speakers could ironically be seen as an advantage, as revealed in the survey answers (see Section 4.2.1.1). Lack of a given skill or type of knowledge, in this case the language of one's students, is thus actually considered a skill in itself. T2, for example, told a story of a time they were supposed to pretend to be a native speaker of English:

I: (...) so I want to relate back to what you said (...) about the word Ikea and as a native speaker you assumed you couldn't understand it. So, tell me, is the assumption that a native speaker of English doesn't know any Polish?

T2: This is the assumption.

I: Mhm.

T2: Although it's nowhere... It's a very informal assumption, it isn't written down anywhere, it's not regulated anywhere.

I: Sure.

T2: But actually, there is a social assumption that if I've decided to have classes with a native speaker then by this, I understand that the person doesn't speak my language, right? It forces me to use the language in a natural context, right? The joke is that sometimes some people speak a few languages and we should remember that.

T9, too, starts questioning whether knowledge of Polish could actually prove to be more of a bane than a boon to a native speaker teacher:

I: Will native speakers lose their authenticity? Will their English stop being as natural? I guess this is what I would like to know.

T9: It's a difficult question. I can't answer it. I guess the answer is yes, I guess their authenticity as a native speaker... Say, unspoiled by knowledge of the language that we can't use during the lesson. It can sap their authenticity, I guess.

However, some respondents also contradict such an assumption, for instance T7, who claims that: "I think that it could actually broaden their horizons instead of being limited by their native language... And... I think it would be a good experience for a native speaker to learn Polish additionally." When questioned about the knowledge of Polish among native speakers, T5 replied that: "Of course I think that the fact that a native

speaker speaks Polish isn't a disadvantage, it could actually help them!." Therefore, it seems that teachers and students of English in Poland expect native speakers to have zero knowledge of English, but disagree as to whether it should be a desirable skill from the point of view of EFL instruction.

4.3.1.8.2. Native speakers: pedagogical advantages and disadvantages

Native speaker teachers were least praised for their methodological and pedagogical skills and preparation. Most respondents suggested that native speakers tend to have none of the training necessary to become fully-fledged teachers. T2, for example, claims that:

T12: The main disadvantage of natives is that they have no methodological training basically... They are people who teach English because they know it or actually just use it in the classroom because we have to separate teaching from using a language. So, they are people who use English during their classes. As opposed to, well exactly, teaching and the whole process of teaching and transmitting knowledge which they don't necessarily have to know.

Similarly, T3 suggests that having classes with native speakers is in many cases basically akin to having a conversation with a layperson at "Żabka", a popular Polish chain of convenience shops:

"(...) Let me get back to my Żabka example, I wouldn't go up to somebody in the queue and ask if the person could start teaching me Polish, explain why we change declination in Polish with numerals.... *Jedna kobieta, pięć kobiet* ("one woman, five women")... Or something like this. And I don't think they could explain it to me, they would know it's correct but not why it's so."

However, some respondents also cited pedagogical advantages of native speakers. Although they were fewer in number, it seems important to include them to create a broader picture of a native speaker in the minds of Polish students, parents, and teachers. Most of them refer to native speakers' authenticity and creating a more natural environment for language learning. For example, T9 claims that: "From the point of view of a student it's definitely a great opportunity to get to know the real language, the one that is actually spoken in its natural environment (...) it's also a great opportunity to get to know different varieties of English." T2 also suggests that they are a perfect idea for gifted learners: "(...) natives could have a much cooler role in such cases as people who

naturally have an aptitude for learning languages can basically absorb knowledge from a native speaker.” T12 suggests that the sole fact of being taught by a native speaker improves the motivation of language learners: “(...) I’m sure many students have this “wow a native speaker is teaching me and they were born and live there and they experienced it, awesome!”. In general, it may be observed that although certain positive comments were made concerning native speaker teachers’ pedagogical and methodological talents, they mostly focused on the subconscious advantages, independent of those teachers’ qualifications, preparation, or methods.

4.2.1.8.3. Native speakers: sociocultural advantages and disadvantages

As far as sociocultural advantages of native speakers are concerned, several were also mentioned in interviews. T2 discusses the sociocultural advantages which stem from the authenticity of native speakers’ “(...) cultural background, political background and so on. In the case of adults, it can be a cool person who right away knows certain topics ... Meaning, the person is definitely credible for many, especially adults. If they say something, they know what life in England is like, they know what they say.” T5 also vents a similar opinion and additionally draws a distinction between Inner and Outer Circle countries:

When it comes to advantages, I would mostly look at the greater cultural and historical awareness if we talk about English-speaking countries, apart from, say, India, because it’s probably something else. But when it comes to the UK, the US, Canada and so on, and maybe also Australia. Native speakers from the Inner Circle, then they definitely have this advantage (...).

In general, no sociocultural disadvantages were mentioned in the interviews conducted.

4.2.1.8.4. Other comments on native speaker teachers' advantages and disadvantages

In addition to the responses illustrated in the preceding three sections, several quite distinct comments appeared which seem important to understand the way in which native speakers are perceived by the three cohorts.

T1 claims that native speaker teachers are only respected due to their status: “(...) only due to their competences stemming from their birthplace so they aren't prepared, often don't have any interpersonal skills... And they can't talk to teach, to create the effect they want to see in people they're teaching in an effective and long-lasting way”. This issue will be referred to more extensively in Section 4.4.6.2., where the education required of native speaker and non-native speaker teachers will be discussed.

Another important issue was raised concerning credibility. According to several respondents, native speakers generally enter the classroom with already established credibility and do not have to prove anything to their prospective students, whereas it takes time for a non-native speaker teacher to gain such a level of trust and respect. T8, for instance, brings up the issue in a personal manner: “(...) And surely it has a bearing on the way students perceive such a person and have a greater trust in them than in, say, me. Despite the fact that my language competences are on the same par, not to even mention my methodology, right?”

Therefore, a general picture emerges in which native speakers are generally praised and respected for their linguistic abilities, yet are disregarded as lacking in pedagogical qualifications and methods. The overarching assumption behind the responses is that native English speakers know colloquial English perfectly well, but do not necessarily know how to teach or explain English phonetics, grammar, or vocabulary; furthermore, they usually have little to no knowledge of Polish. There are, however, certain responses which seem to run counter to the general trend and cite other potential advantages of native speakers, e.g. their ability to create a more authentic learning environment or motivate students.

The following section will turn to the advantages and disadvantages of Polish teachers of English. As could be expected, these will be considerably different from the one ascribed to native speakers, with Polish teachers being mostly praised for their

pedagogical knowledge and criticised for their perceived linguistic handicap. Nevertheless, the picture is far from unequivocal.

4.3.2. Non-native speaker teachers

4.3.2.1. Advantages of Polish teachers of English as seen by themselves

A total of 202 tokens were collected from the responses provided by teacher participants. Most teachers believed in their pedagogical advantages, with 59.4% ($n=120$) of all responses falling into this category. Communicativeness and methodological skills were seen as their greatest strengths. Another 35.1% of responses ($n=71$) hinted at the linguistic advantages of Polish teachers of English, with the most frequently mentioned being a good knowledge of grammar and grammatical rules. Sociocultural advantages were brought up by only 5.4% of the respondents ($n=11$) and mostly concerned knowledge of the Polish exam system.

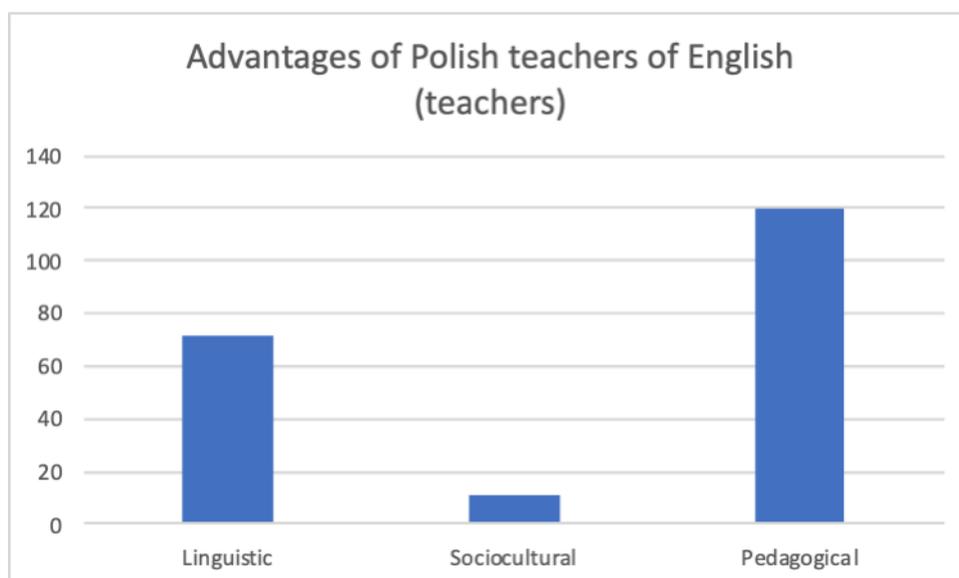


Fig. 25. Advantages of Polish teachers of English (teachers / tokens)

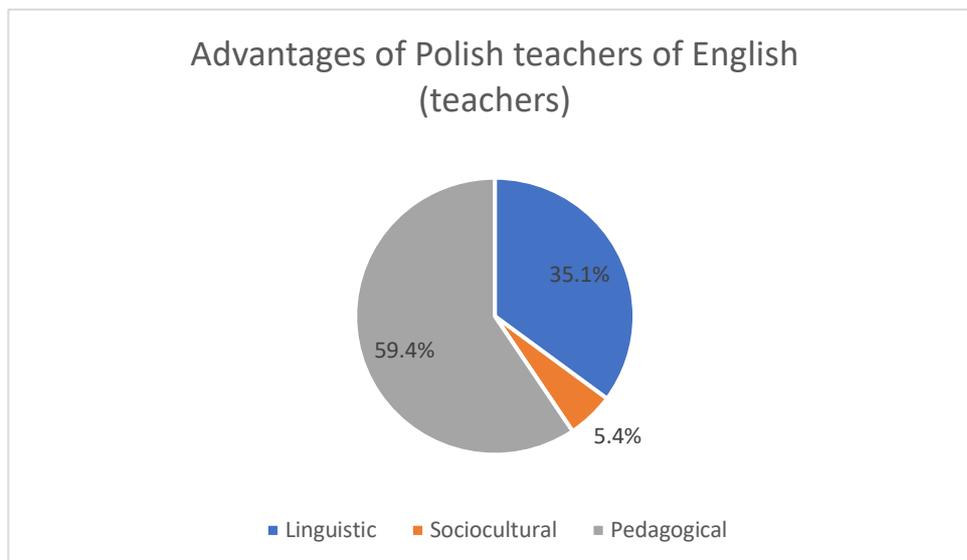


Fig. 26. Advantages of Polish teachers of English (teachers / percentage)

4.3.2.2. Disadvantages of Polish teachers of English as seen by themselves

The collected tokens numbered 162, fewer than for advantages. As may be seen in the graphs below, most answers were categorised as linguistic disadvantages, at 58.6% ($n=95$). The most frequently mentioned disadvantages were foreign accent and lack of linguistic instinct for English. Another 35.8% of the respondents ($n=58$) saw their pedagogical skills as disadvantageous, with most of them bringing up overuse of Polish in the classroom. Finally, 5.6% of all tokens ($n=9$) suggested that Polish teachers of English have sociocultural disadvantages as well.

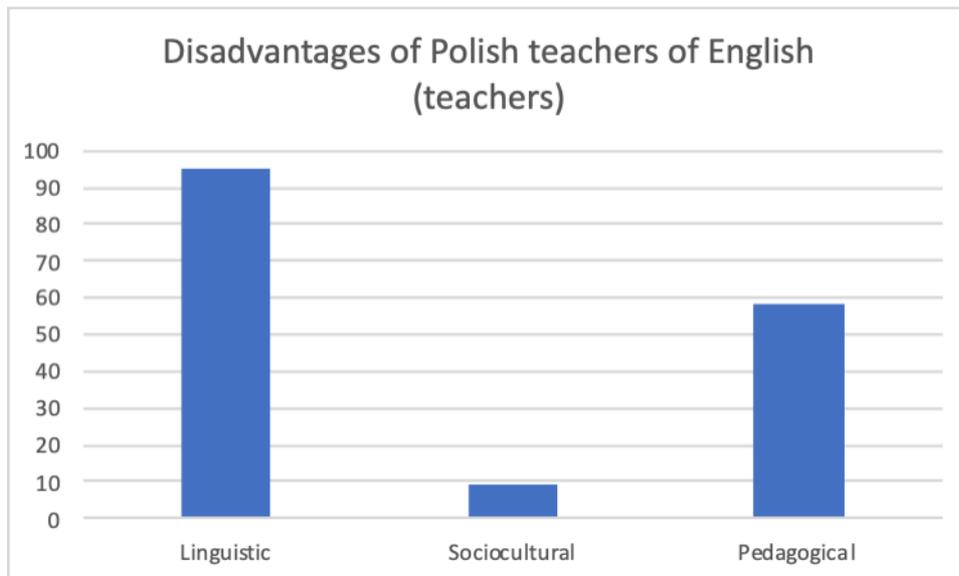


Fig. 27. Disadvantages of Polish teachers of English (teachers / tokens)

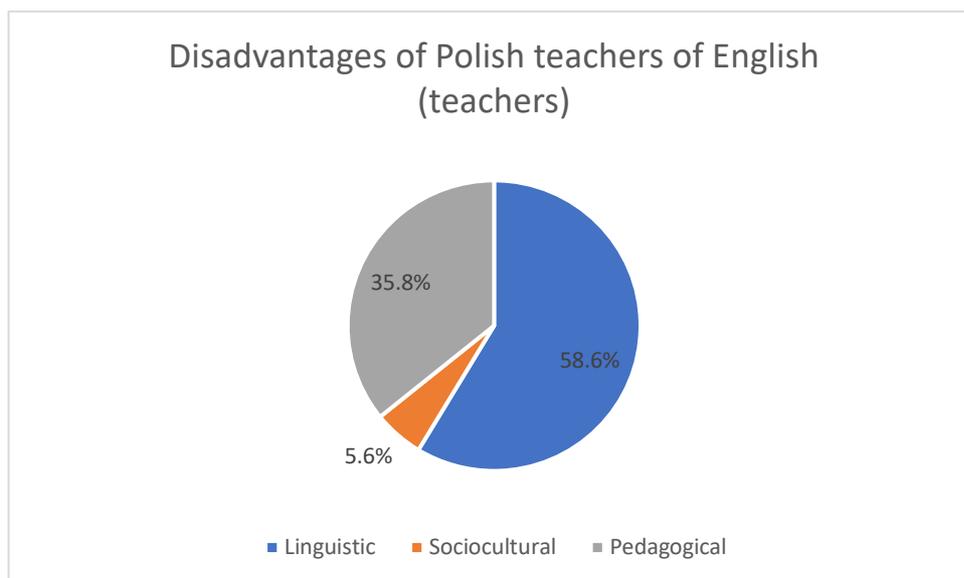


Fig. 28. Disadvantages of Polish teachers of English (teachers / percentage)

4.3.2.3. Advantages of Polish teachers of English as seen by parents of students

The total number of tokens collected from parents was 62, once again smaller than for teachers or students. Most parents (67.7%, $n=42$) claimed that Polish teachers of English have pedagogical advantages, with pedagogical preparation and the ability to explain grammar well coming to the fore. 27.4% ($n=17$) of respondents suggested that Polish

teachers have linguistic advantages such as knowledge of Polish, which helps communicate with students and draw comparisons between Polish and English. Finally, 3 respondents (4.8%) stated that Polish teachers have sociocultural advantages over native speakers.

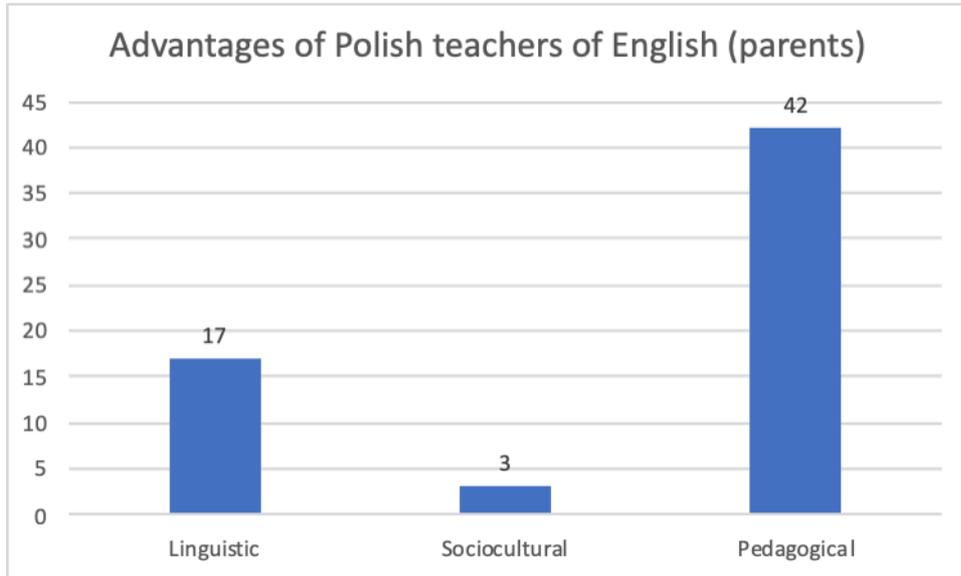


Fig. 29. Advantages of Polish teachers of English (parents / tokens)

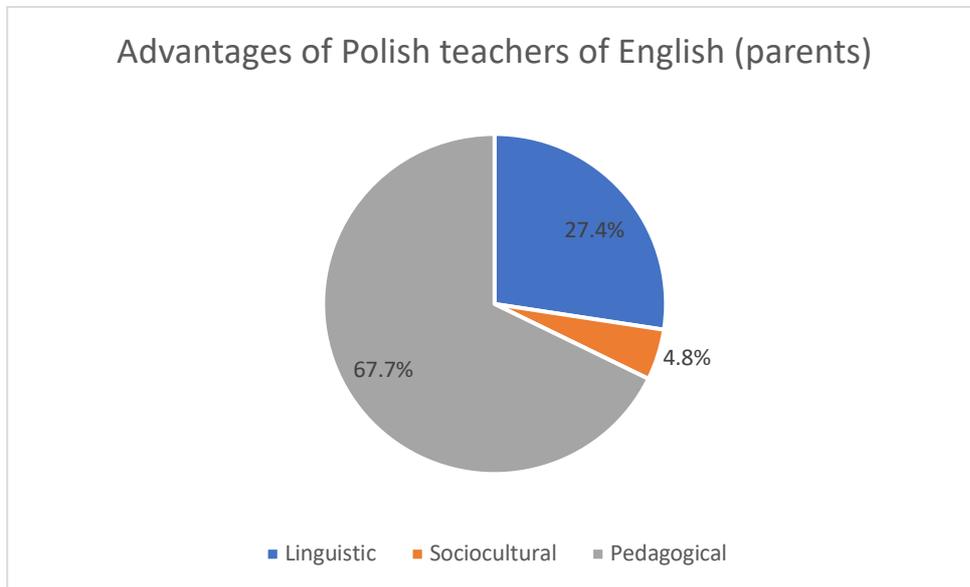


Fig. 30. Advantages of Polish teachers of English (parents / percentage)

4.3.2.4. Disadvantages of Polish teachers of English as seen by parents of students

As may be seen in the graphs below, parents of students seem to believe that the disadvantages of Polish teachers of English are evenly divided between linguistic and pedagogical ones. The pedagogical disadvantages totalled 51% ($n=25$) and linguistic disadvantages 46.9% ($n=23$). Only one respondent suggested that Polish teachers have a sociocultural disadvantage.

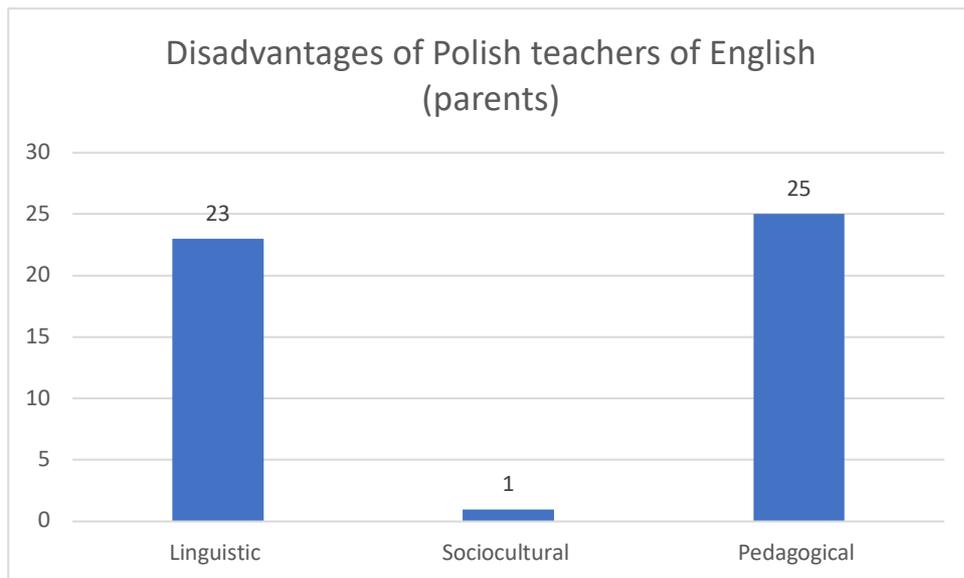


Fig. 31. Disadvantages of Polish teachers of English (parents / tokens)

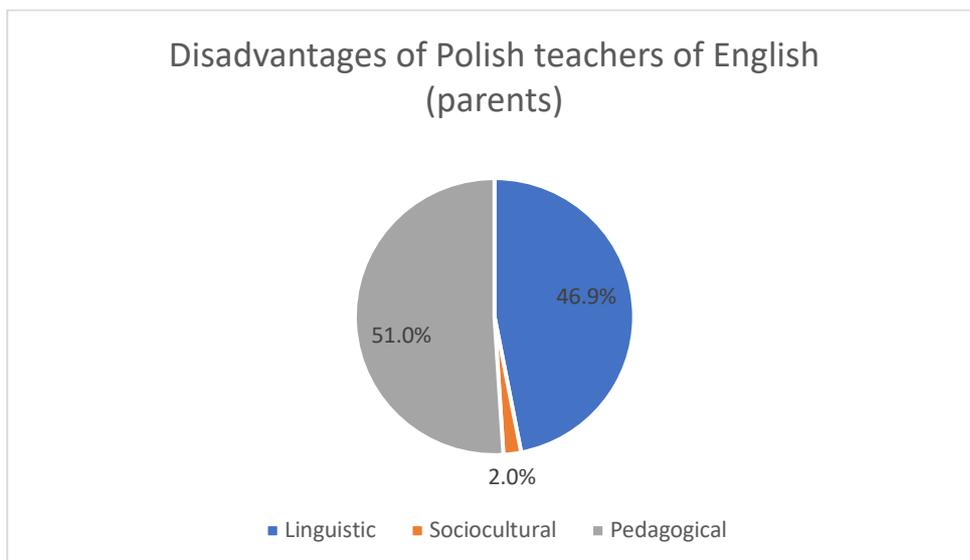


Fig. 32. Disadvantages of Polish teachers of English (parents / percentage)

4.3.2.5. Advantages of Polish teachers of English as seen by students

The graphs below show the results for students, with a total of 136 tokens. The responses of students tend to suggest that Polish teachers of English mostly have pedagogical advantages (62.5%, $n=85$), with most respondents indicating the ability to explain grammar and pedagogical training as the key factors. Linguistic advantages were noted in 35.3% of tokens ($n=48$), with the most important one being absence of communication barriers due to their knowledge of Polish. Only 3 respondents (2.2%) referred to sociocultural advantages.

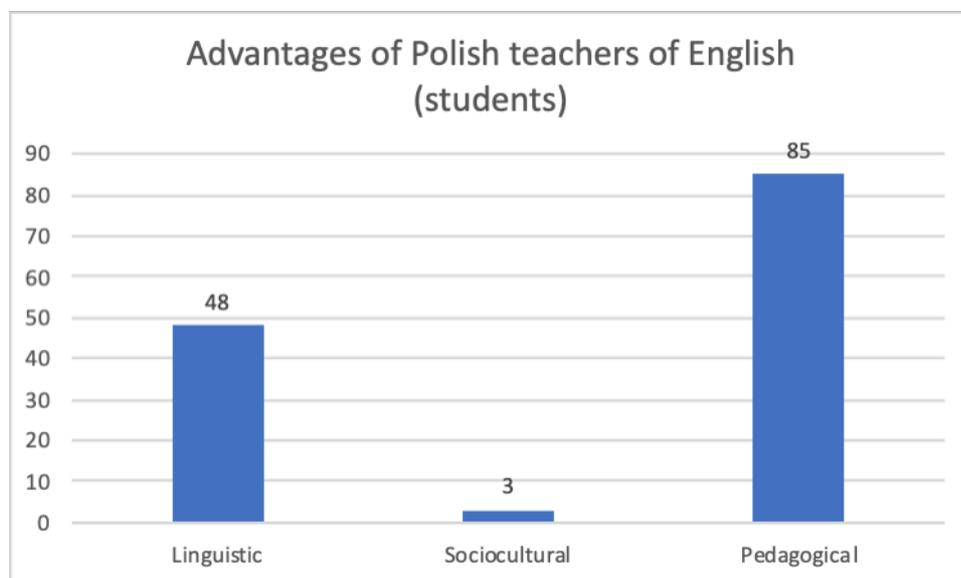


Fig. 33. Advantages of Polish teachers of English (students / tokens)

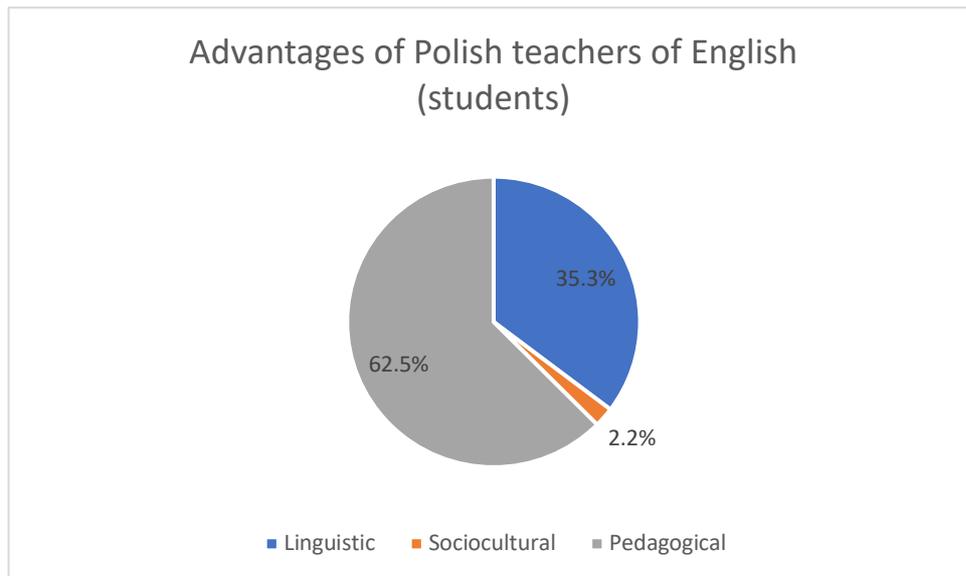


Fig. 34. Advantages of Polish teachers of English (students / percentage)

4.3.2.6. Disadvantages of Polish teachers of English as seen by students

The diagrams below show that most students consider Polish teachers of English to suffer from linguistic disadvantages (53.8%, $n=56$). The most frequently mentioned disadvantages of this type are a too bookish English and non-native accent. The other 46.2% of respondents ($n=48$) suggested that Polish teachers of English also suffer from pedagogical disadvantages, such as excessive use of Polish and a lack of focus on communication. No sociocultural disadvantages were mentioned by students.

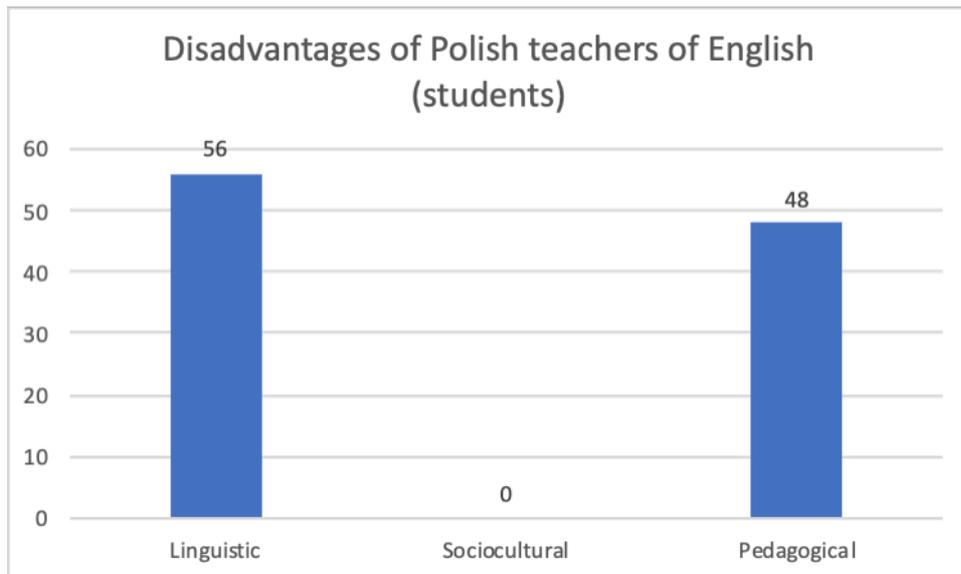


Fig. 35. Disadvantages of Polish teachers of English (students / tokens)

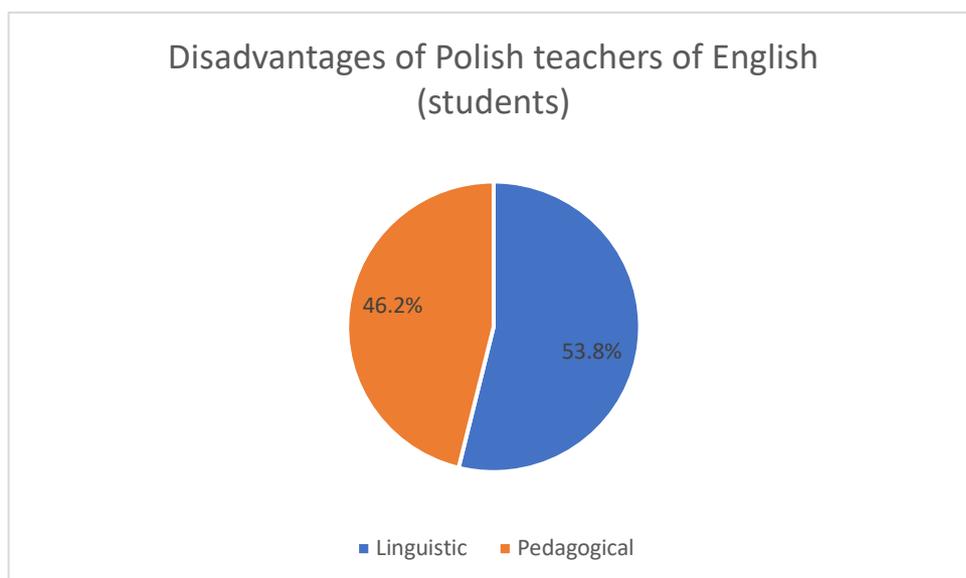


Fig. 36. Disadvantages of Polish teachers of English (students / percentage)

4.3.2.7. Comparing results: Overview of advantages and disadvantages of Polish teachers of English

The total number of tokens collected from all three cohorts added up to exactly 400. In general, it seems that Polish teachers of English are mostly recognised for their pedagogical skills and knowledge, with 61.8% ($n=247$) of all tokens falling into the category of

pedagogical advantages. Some linguistic abilities are also appreciated, as the responses categorised as linguistic advantages made up 34% ($n=136$). Unsurprisingly, sociocultural advantages were only mentioned by 4.3% ($n=17$) of all responses.

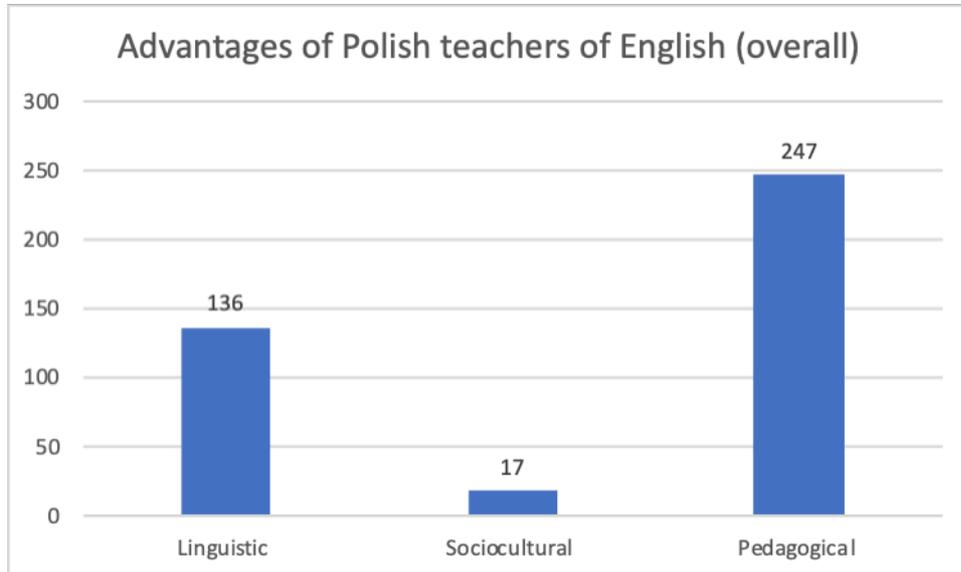


Fig. 37. Advantages of Polish teachers of English (overall / tokens)

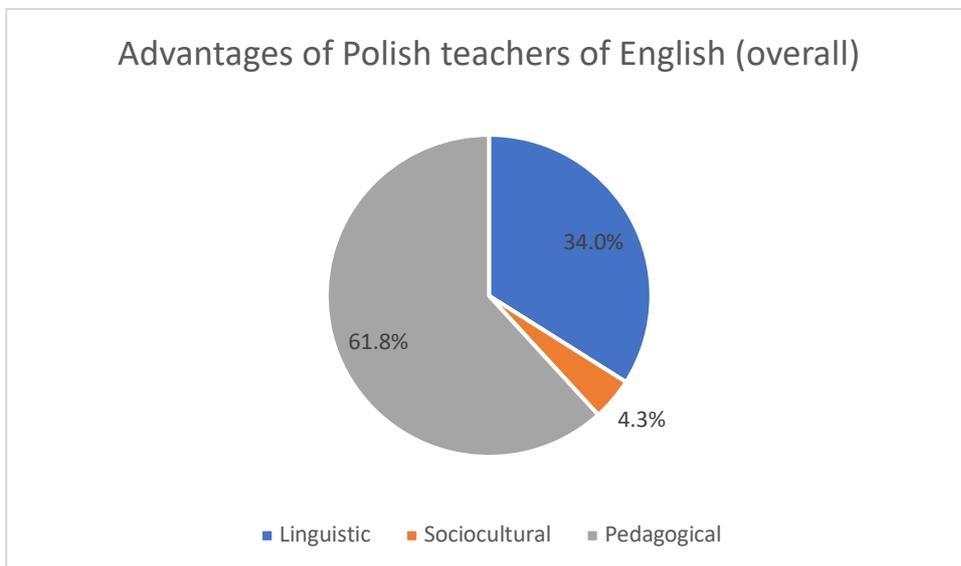


Fig. 38. Advantages of Polish teachers of English (overall / percentage)

As far as disadvantages are concerned, more than half of the 315 tokens collected were categorised as linguistic (55.2%, $n=174$). However, numerous reservations against the pedagogical skills and practices of Polish teachers of English were expressed by all

three cohorts, making up 41.6% ($n=131$) of all tokens. A lack of sociocultural knowledge was brought up by 3.2% ($n=10$) of all responses.

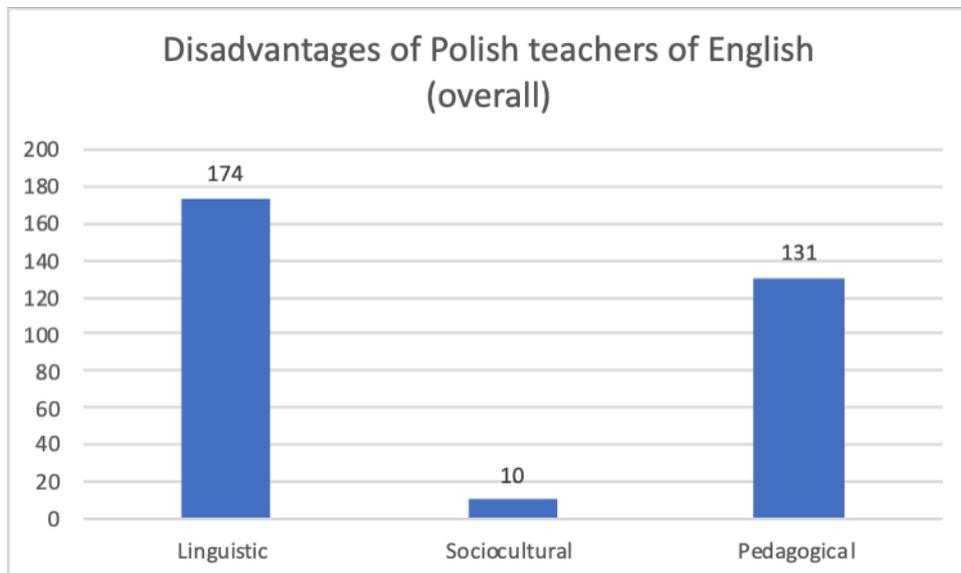


Fig. 39. Disadvantages of Polish teachers of English (overall / tokens)

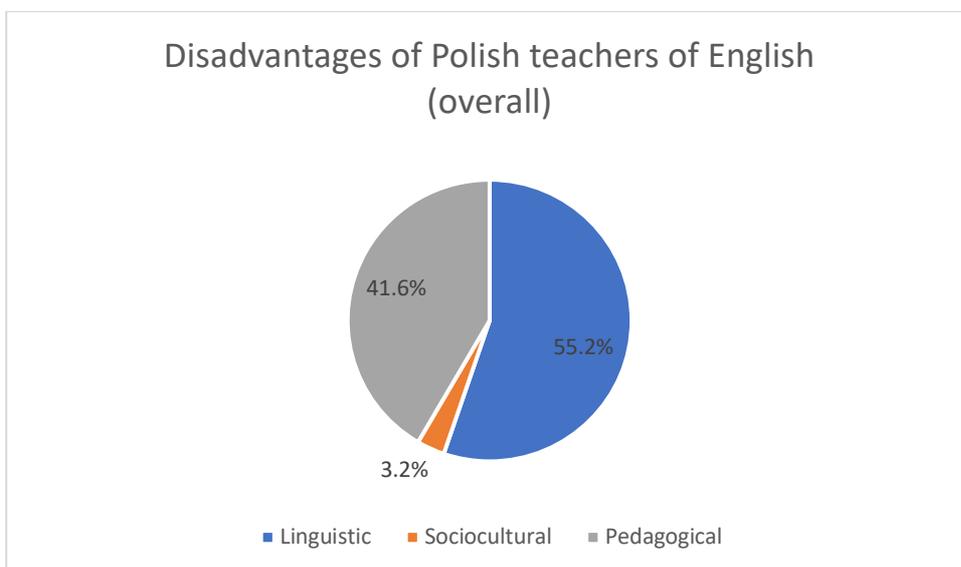


Fig. 40. Disadvantages of Polish teachers of English (overall / percentage)

4.3.2.8. The picture of non-native speaker teachers from the interviews

Having analysed the responses and reviewed the quantitised qualitative data, the picture of non-native speaker teachers' advantages and disadvantages will be complemented by the qualitative part of the study, following the MMR design. The linguistic advantages and disadvantages of non-native speakers will be considered first, followed by pedagogical and finally sociocultural strengths and weaknesses. The qualitative data presented here will be complemented at the end of the section with additional relevant comments from the interviewees.

4.3.2.8.1. Non-native speakers: linguistic advantages and disadvantages

In general, Polish teachers of English failed to be perceived as being as linguistically proficient as their native-speaking counterparts. However, the picture was not quite as grim as might be expected. In fact, a few respondents praised Polish teachers' linguistic abilities, mostly the knowledge of Polish and its benefits in language teaching. T2, for instance, claims that

(...) they are able to anticipate what kinds of issues their students can have, they will also be kind of able to identify where the mistakes come from. For example, for a native speaker it just sounds weird when someone keeps omitting the 'there is/'there are' construction and doesn't know what to do with it.

Mostly, however, non-native speaker teachers were criticised for their linguistic abilities. For example, respondent T1 claimed that "(...) when it comes to being precise (...) a generally understood prosody, nuance, contextual cues. These are things that Polish teachers don't have. They're bad at it. Their language is flat. It's fast, it's fluent, but it's flat and the same across different contexts". T10 mentions language transfer as a possible issue "(...) we can do calques and we may not realise that we make mistakes in English. For example, when we spend a lot of time with students who make mistakes, we may start to make mistakes ourselves and never realise it".

The issue of linguistic transfer is an important one for further investigation, as all bilingual speakers are potentially prone to committing errors involving transfer. Thus at

least in theory, native speaker teachers using two languages could also be affected by transfer effects.

4.3.2.8.2. Non-native speakers: pedagogical advantages and disadvantages

Unsurprisingly, non-native speaker teachers were most appreciated for their pedagogical and methodological abilities. However, making such a blank claim without any counter-arguments would create an incomplete picture. Thus, some of the respondents' comments will be considered more closely.

T1 quite poetically presents their viewpoint on Polish teachers' pedagogical abilities as follows: "Better ability of taking their students across the river as they know what lies on the bank they start from and what lies on the bank they're heading towards, so they are able to construct a raft using the materials available to them".

This seems to be a well-established theme among the respondents, i.e. Polish teachers of English have been through the process of learning the language themselves, therefore they are better suited to teach others to do the same. Respondents T7 and T10 reiterate the same point:

As I've already said. The vision of potential mistakes or grammatical problems or construction problems or anything is just more familiar to Polish teachers as they had to learn everything themselves. They maybe just know what students should pay attention to, what needs more explanations so that students can understand it better. As teachers probably had the same problems in the past (T7).

The advantages are such that we know what to pay attention to when we teach grammar or vocabulary. We know what may be problematic and what situations may arise (...) (T10).

On the other hand, non-native speaker teachers receive criticism for being too heavily reliant on Polish and taking an overeducated approach to teaching. For example, T11 levels the following criticisms at non-native speakers:

But I understand where the sentiment that everything should be in English comes from. Firstly, there are situations in which Polish teachers are led astray and they start speaking exclusively in Polish and there isn't much learning outcome from interacting in English that people would like during classes. Secondly, the topics covered during classes are very often very bookish and only thanks to being forced to learn how to say: "Can I go to

the toilet?” to be able to go to the toilet in the target language (...) because in coursebooks such things can't be found.

In all, Polish teachers of English are most praised for their pedagogical knowledge and negatively evaluated for their perceived linguistic handicap. However, the comments of the interview subjects reveal that the actual picture is hardly so clear-cut. Thus teachers' pedagogical qualifications are often held against them, as they are believed to be too rigidly focused on textbooks and fixed curricula. In terms of linguistic skills, Polish teachers of English are appreciated for their command of Polish, which allows them to better understand their students' errors and explain points of English grammar and vocabulary, but at the same time they are also criticised for overusing Polish in the classroom, which prevents them from creating an environment in which students can practice their English language skills.

4.3.2.8.3. Non-native speakers: sociocultural advantages and disadvantages

Almost no comments were made concerning non-native speakers' sociocultural advantages and disadvantages. Only two can be found that directly referred to Polish teachers' knowledge and awareness of the society and culture of English-speaking countries .

One of the respondents, namely T5, claims that teachers are often not as informed and socially conscious as their native speaker counterparts: “I think that often regarding cultural matters teachers aren't up-to-date, some have this extralinguistic knowledge and it sometimes is necessary.” However, T5 remains positive and allows the possibility that a teacher may actually acquire sufficient cultural knowledge. In a similarly positive vein, T10 suggested that non-native speakers are not necessarily condemned to possess lower cultural understanding of English-speaking countries as there is a broad availability of sources:

In short, without much deliberation, I think it all depends on a teacher. If a teacher keeps following what is happening in a given country, whether it's England or the US, keeps delving into it, reads and listens, and also knows what's happening speaking of culture and history, right? What happened and what is happening. So, if somebody is up to date, they don't have to be worse than a native speaker.

Interestingly, no comments were made regarding the awareness of the Polish educational system, unlike in the quantitative section. In general, however, no major disadvantages were indicated in the interview phase. The next section will take a look at other noteworthy comments of potential relevance for the purposes of the current research project.

4.3.2.8.4. Other comments on non-native speaker teachers' advantages and disadvantages

Among the other themes emerging from the interviews, one in particular must be examined as it bears significance for the present thesis, namely the issue of credibility. This theme has already emerged in the case of native speakers (see Section 4.3.1.8.4.).

Generally, comments concerning credibility focused on the fact that it is much harder for non-native speaker teachers to gain credibility among students. T4 refers to the fact that Polish teachers are always seen as doubling simultaneously as both teachers and students, thus they never stop learning: "A disadvantage is the fact that we're always seen, we meaning Polish teachers of English, are seen as those who learned the language so if we make a mistake, it is surely because we didn't study properly." T6 also indicates that Polish teachers can experience problems establishing their credibility if their knowledge is in any way perceived as deficient, especially in pronunciation:

T6: Uncertainty in using the language can be seen as teachers sometimes aren't sure how to say something or...

I: What can this uncertainty be caused by?

T6: I think pronunciation most likely.

I: Mhm.

T6: And stress which is placed on words as in English not everything is as crystal-clear, I mean, things are written and pronounced differently. This may cause lack of self-confidence.

As this issue appears to have ideological roots, a broader analysis will be conducted in the Section devoted to discriminatory behaviours (see Section 4.4.6.). The following section will turn to the investigation of other RQs, beginning with those pertaining to the preference for native or non-native speakers of English.

4.4. Is it native or non-native speaker preference?

Judging by the aforementioned questions and data, it is difficult to assess whether there exists a general preference for native or non-native speakers in Poland. Thus, RQ3, RQ4, RQ5, and RQ6 will be answered by means of both quantitative and qualitative data. It is important to bear in mind that as RQ3 is extremely broad in nature, all four cohorts were asked numerous Likert-type scale questions to elicit enough data to draw a more general picture of the current situation in Poland. Certain additional questions were also given to two or three cohorts, depending on need. The quantitative data will be complemented by qualitative data collected from semi-structured interviews with Polish teachers of English.

4.4.1. What do parents of students think about native and Polish teachers of English?

Table 7. Answers given by parents concerning their children and teachers of English

| Variable | Definitely not | | Probably not | | Not sure | | Probably yes | | Definitely yes | | Median | Statistical test result |
|---|----------------|------|--------------|------|----------|------|--------------|------|----------------|------|--------|-----------------------------------|
| | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | | |
| I prefer my children to have classes with an educated English teacher from Poland | 7 | 13.7 | 13 | 25.5 | 22 | 43.1 | 8 | 15.7 | 1 | 2 | 3 | $\lambda^2(4) = 24.2; p < 0.001$ |
| I prefer my children to have classes with an educated native speaker from major English speaking countries (UK, USA, Australia) | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 11 | 21.6 | 12 | 23.5 | 25 | 53.9 | 5 | $\lambda^2(3) = 27.04; p < 0.001$ |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|------|----|------|----|------|----|------|----|------|---|-----------------------------------|
| I prefer my children to have classes with an educated native speaker from major English speaking countries (e.g. Nigeria, India, Singapore) | 5 | 9.8 | 13 | 25.5 | 21 | 41.2 | 8 | 15.7 | 4 | 7.8 | 3 | $\lambda^2(4) = 19.1; p = 0.001$ |
| I prefer my children to have shared classes, i.e., once with a Polish teacher, once with a native speaker | 5 | 9.8 | 3 | 5.9 | 11 | 21.6 | 10 | 19.6 | 22 | 43.1 | 4 | $\lambda^2(4) = 21.45; p < 0.001$ |
| I think my children will learn more from a native speaker of English | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3.9 | 11 | 21.6 | 20 | 39.2 | 18 | 35.3 | 4 | $\lambda^2(3) = 15.89; p = 0.001$ |
| I think my children will learn more from a Polish teacher of the English language | 9 | 17.6 | 14 | 27.5 | 21 | 41.2 | 7 | 13.7 | 0 | 0 | 3 | $\lambda^2(3) = 9.16; p = 0.03$ |
| Polish teachers are better prepared to teach in terms of didactics | 2 | 3.9 | 6 | 11.8 | 19 | 37.3 | 20 | 39.2 | 4 | 7.8 | 3 | $\lambda^2(4) = 29.1; p < 0.001$ |
| Native English speakers are better prepared to teach in terms of didactics | 0 | 0 | 15 | 29.4 | 30 | 58.8 | 4 | 7.8 | 2 | 3.9 | 3 | $\lambda^2(3) = 38.8; p < 0.001$ |
| Polish teachers are better prepared for teaching in terms of language skills | 6 | 11.8 | 14 | 27.5 | 25 | 49 | 6 | 11.8 | 0 | 0 | 3 | $\lambda^2(3) = 19.04; p < 0.001$ |
| Native English speakers are better prepared for teaching in terms of language skills | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 18 | 21.6 | 15 | 41.2 | 17 | 35.3 | 4 | $\lambda^2(3) = 14.8; p = 0.002$ |
| I believe that Polish teachers of the English language do not teach natural English, only its textbook version | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 11 | 21.6 | 21 | 41.2 | 18 | 35.3 | 4 | $\lambda^2(3) = 18.57; p < 0.001$ |
| I think that Polish English teachers focus too much on grammar, not | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3.9 | 10 | 19.6 | 14 | 27.5 | 25 | 49 | 4 | $\lambda^2(3) = 21.55; p < 0.001$ |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|-----|----|------|----|------|----|------|----|------|---|--|-----------------------------------|
| enough on communication | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| I believe that Polish English teachers do not have sufficient cultural knowledge of the English language area | 1 | 2 | 8 | 15.7 | 23 | 45.1 | 13 | 25.5 | 6 | 11.8 | 3 | | $\lambda^2(4) = 27.33; p < 0.001$ |
| I'm afraid that having a class with a Polish teacher of the English language, my child will learn mistakes that will be hard to eliminate later | 4 | 7.8 | 16 | 31.4 | 12 | 23.5 | 13 | 25.5 | 6 | 11.8 | 3 | | $\lambda^2(4) = 9.88; p = 0.04$ |
| When I look for a language school for my children, I pay attention to whether it employs native speakers | 2 | 3.9 | 10 | 19.6 | 14 | 27.5 | 13 | 25.5 | 12 | 23.5 | 3 | | $\lambda^2(4) = 9.1; p = 0.06$ |

A chi-square analysis has identified several trends. First, most parents are not sure if they would like their children to have classes with a Polish teacher of English. They would definitely prefer their children to be taught by native speakers from Inner Circle countries, but are not sure about their children having classes with native speakers from the Outer Circle, an issue which will be elaborated on in Section 4.4.7. They would also definitely like their children to have classes in tandem, i.e. mixing Polish and native teachers of English. Parents furthermore seem to believe that their children are more likely to learn more from native speaker teachers. Quite surprisingly, however, parents are likely to believe that Polish teachers of English are better prepared didactically than their native speaker counterparts. Parents also tend to claim that Polish teachers are too focused on grammar and book-oriented English and spend too little time practicing communication, and they are not sure whether Polish teachers of English have enough cultural knowledge and awareness of English-speaking countries. Yet despite these assumptions and beliefs, parents are not afraid of their children learning English with mistakes from Polish teachers of English. Interestingly, although they claim to desire native speaker teachers, they are not sure if they actually pay attention whether a language school employs native speakers.

Moreover, quite a few statistical significances were observed between parents' self-diagnosed knowledge of English and whether they had had classes with native speakers ($\lambda^2(4) = 16.26$; $p = 0.003$). Among the group of people who claimed they had attended classes with native speakers, most of them believed their level of English to be advanced. On the other hand, those who had never had classes with native speakers tended to rate their knowledge of English less favourably. Also, the better the respondents' self-identified command of English, the less likely they are to want their children to have classes with Polish teachers of English ($r = -0.03$; $p = 0.04$).

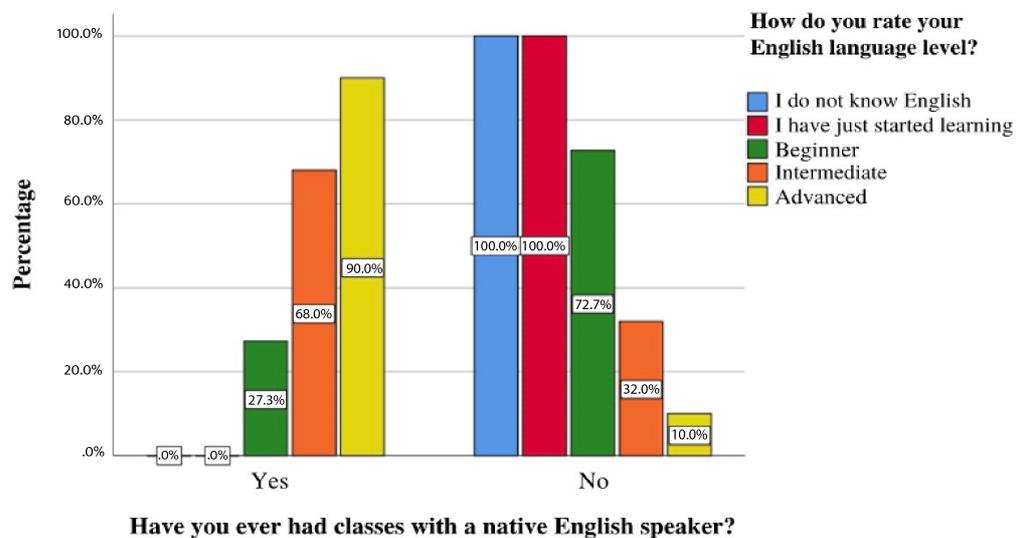


Fig. 41. Classes with native speakers among parents and their self-reported level of English

Another interesting statistical relationship pertains to time spent abroad and parents' belief that Polish teachers of English focus too much on grammar ($\lambda^2(3) = 9.58$; $p = 0.02$). The group of respondents who have visited an English-speaking country was much stronger in their conviction that Polish teachers overstress the significance of grammar. In comparison, those respondents who have never been to an English-speaking country were not as clear in expressing this view.

Several other statistical dependencies are worth mentioning. The longer the parents stayed abroad, the less they would like their children to have classes with Polish teachers of English ($r = -0.36$; $p = 0.009$) and the more they believe that Polish teachers

of English focus too much on grammar rather than communication ($r = 0.41$; $p = 0.003$). The respondents' knowledge of English appears in two additional correlations. Firstly, the higher the parent's level of English, the more likely they are to look for native speakers at language schools ($r = 0.32$; $p = 0.02$), and the more likely they are to believe that Polish teachers of English fail to have sufficient knowledge of the culture of the English-speaking countries ($r = 0.29$; $p = 0.04$).

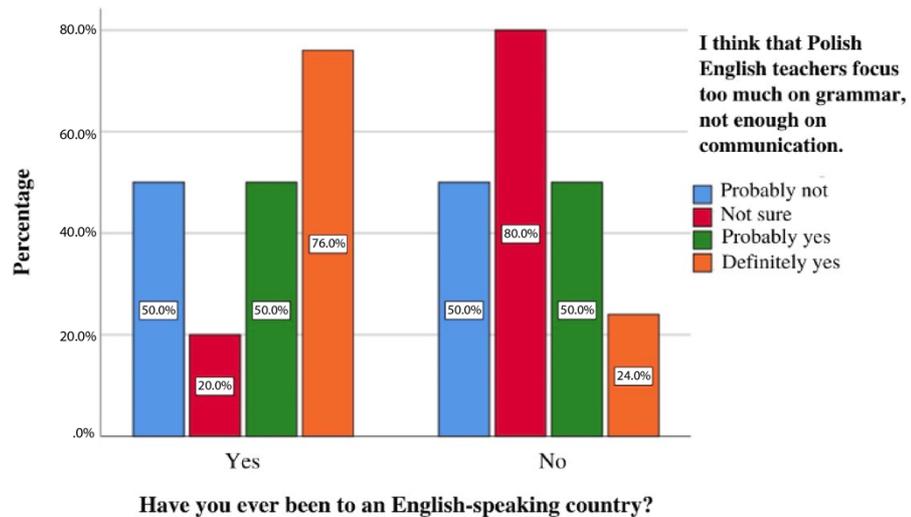


Fig. 42. Parents' stay abroad and their opinion that Polish teachers of English focus too much on grammar

Additionally, several important correlations may provide future guidance as far as how to talk to parents of students at language schools. The first correlation was found between believing that Polish teachers of English are didactically better prepared and claiming that parents are more likely to ask for classes with Polish teachers of English ($r = 0.51$; $p < 0.001$). The more respondents believed that Polish teachers of English are better qualified as language instructors, the more likely they were to claim that parents often ask for classes with this group of teachers. The second correlation pertains to the belief that children can learn more from Polish teachers of English than from native speakers and respondents' claims that parents often ask for classes with Polish teachers of English ($r = 0.6$; $p < 0.001$). The more parents believe that their children can learn more from Polish teachers, the more likely they were to say that parents ask for classes with

them. Finally, the third correlation may suggest that parents are likely to have their minds set as far as their preferred type of teacher is concerned. The more parents claim they were likely to ask for classes with Polish teachers of English, the less likely they are to suggest that parents often ask for classes with native speakers ($r = -0.58$; $p < 0.001$). Finally, the more parents believe that Polish teachers teach bookish English, the less likely they were to ask for classes with Polish teachers of English ($r = -0.45$; $p < 0.001$).

4.4.2. What do students think about native and Polish teachers of English?

The statistical analysis performed on the data found that there exist two correlations involving the age of the respondents. The older a person is, the more they believe that they can learn more from a Polish teacher of English ($r = 0.29$; $p = 0.003$). Also, the older the respondent, the more likely they are to believe that native speakers are not didactically prepared for teaching ($r = -0.21$; $p = 0.03$). They also tend to think the reverse of Polish teachers of English, i.e. that they are didactically well prepared ($r = 0.27$; $p = 0.005$).

Some statistically significant differences were also observed between those currently attending language schools and those who are not. Respondents who are currently taking classes at private language schools tend to be more willing to have classes with an educated Polish teacher of English rather than a native speaker teacher ($U = 765.5$; $p = 0.006$). They also are more likely to believe that they can learn more from a Polish teacher of English ($U = 757.5$; $p = 0.004$) and that Polish language teachers are better prepared to teach in terms of language skills ($U = 744$; $p = 0.003$). At the same time, they were less likely to prefer having classes with native speakers of English from Inner Circle countries ($U = 728.5$; $p = 0.002$) and were also less likely to believe that they can learn more from native speaker teachers in general ($U = 673$; $p = 0.001$). Additionally, they have a lesser tendency to believe that Polish teachers of English focus too much on grammar ($U = 762.5$; $p = 0.005$). The belief that Polish teachers lack cultural knowledge and awareness ($U = 659$; $p < 0.001$) and that they can learn mistakes from them ($U = 764.5$; $p = 0.007$) are also statistically far smaller than among respondents who are not taking classes at a language school. Finally, students currently attending classes at private language schools are also less likely to respond that they pay attention whether language schools hire native speaker teachers ($U = 736$; $p = 0.003$).

Table 8. Answers given by students concerning certain aspects pertaining to English language teaching divided by whether they are currently enrolled at a language school

| Variable | | Definitely not | | Probably not | | Not sure | | Probably yes | | Definitely yes | | Median |
|---|-----|----------------|-------|--------------|------|----------|------|--------------|------|----------------|------|--------|
| | | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| I prefer to have classes with an educated English teacher from Poland than with a native speaker | Yes | 1 | 3.1 | 4 | 12.5 | 15 | 46.9 | 8 | 25 | 4 | 12.5 | 3 |
| | No | 15 | 21.11 | 14 | 19.7 | 28 | 39.4 | 9 | 12.7 | 5 | 7 | 3 |
| I prefer to have classes with an educated native speaker from major English speaking countries (UK, USA, Australia) | Yes | 0 | 0 | 3 | 9.4 | 12 | 37.5 | 10 | 31.3 | 7 | 21.9 | 4 |
| | No | 1 | 1.4 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 19.7 | 21 | 29.6 | 35 | 49.3 | 4 |
| I prefer to have classes with an educated native speaker from major English speaking countries (Nigeria, India, Singapore) | Yes | 0 | 0 | 4 | 12.5 | 19 | 59.4 | 6 | 18.8 | 3 | 9.4 | 3 |
| | No | 1 | 1.4 | 4 | 5.6 | 19 | 26.8 | 22 | 31 | 25 | 35.2 | 4 |
| I think I will learn more from a Polish teacher of the English language | Yes | 1 | 3.1 | 5 | 15.6 | 20 | 62.5 | 6 | 18.8 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| | No | 12 | 16.9 | 25 | 35.2 | 25 | 35.2 | 8 | 11.3 | 1 | 1.4 | 2 |
| Polish teachers are better prepared for teaching in terms of language skills | Yes | 1 | 3.1 | 6 | 18.8 | 14 | 43.8 | 6 | 18.8 | 5 | 15.6 | 3 |
| | No | 13 | 18.3 | 19 | 26.8 | 28 | 39.4 | 10 | 14.1 | 1 | 1.4 | 3 |
| I think that Polish English teachers focus too much on grammar, not enough on communication | Yes | 2 | 6.3 | 7 | 21.9 | 5 | 15.6 | 14 | 43.8 | 4 | 12.5 | 4 |
| | No | 1 | 1.4 | 7 | 9.9 | 12 | 16.9 | 22 | 31 | 29 | 40.8 | 4 |
| I believe that Polish English teachers do not have sufficient cultural knowledge of the English language area | Yes | 2 | 6.3 | 14 | 43.8 | 12 | 37.5 | 4 | 12.5 | 0 | 0 | 2.5 |
| | No | 3 | 4.2 | 14 | 19.7 | 20 | 28.2 | 22 | 31 | 12 | 16.9 | 3 |
| I'm afraid that having a class with a Polish teacher of the English language I will learn mistakes that will be hard to eliminate later | Yes | 10 | 31.3 | 9 | 28.1 | 9 | 28.1 | 3 | 9.4 | 1 | 3.1 | 2 |
| | No | 10 | 14.1 | 18 | 25.4 | 15 | 21.1 | 19 | 26.8 | 9 | 12.7 | 3 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|---|------|---|------|----|------|----|------|----|------|---|
| When I look for a language school, I pay attention to whether it employs native speakers. | Yes | 5 | 15.6 | 7 | 21.9 | 12 | 37.5 | 4 | 12.5 | 4 | 12.5 | 3 |
| | No | 8 | 11.3 | 4 | 5.6 | 18 | 25.4 | 18 | 25.4 | 23 | 32.4 | 4 |

Several statistically significant relations also emerged involving the level of command of English. The higher level of English a respondent claims to have, the less likely they are to want to have classes with a Polish teacher of English ($r = -0.42$; $p < 0.001$) and the more likely to want to have classes with native speaker teachers ($r = 0.38$; $p < 0.001$). Those respondents also tend to be less likely to believe that Polish teachers are better prepared in terms of language skills to teach ($r = -0.27$; $p = 0.006$). Gender seems to play no role in the data analysed ($p > 0.05$).

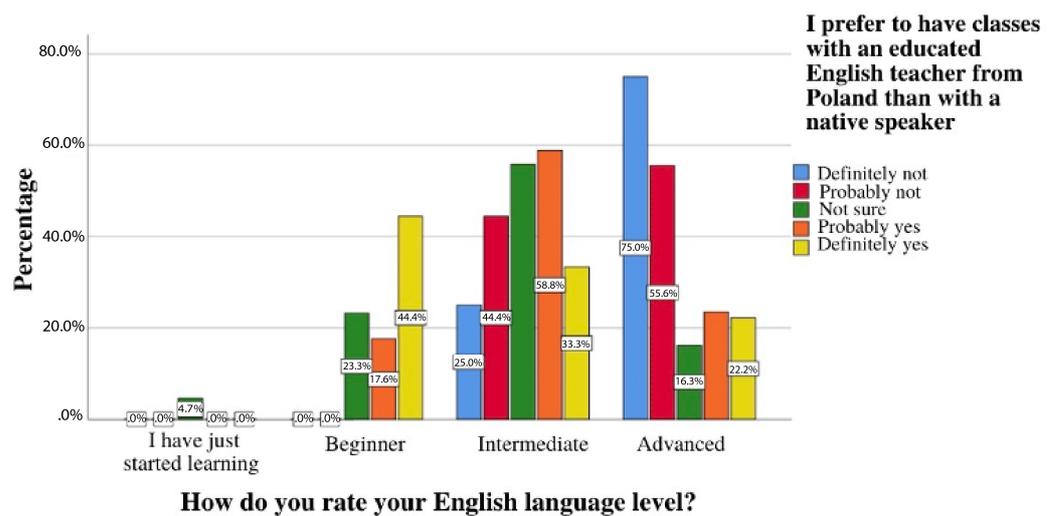


Fig. 43. Students' self-reported level of English and their opinion on whether they prefer to have classes with a Polish teacher of English rather than a native speaker

Interestingly, there also exists a relationship between people who have had classes with native speakers in their education and those who have not. Respondents who have had the experience of classes with native speakers tended to believe that they are less likely to learn more from Polish teachers of English ($U = 854$; $p = 0.03$).

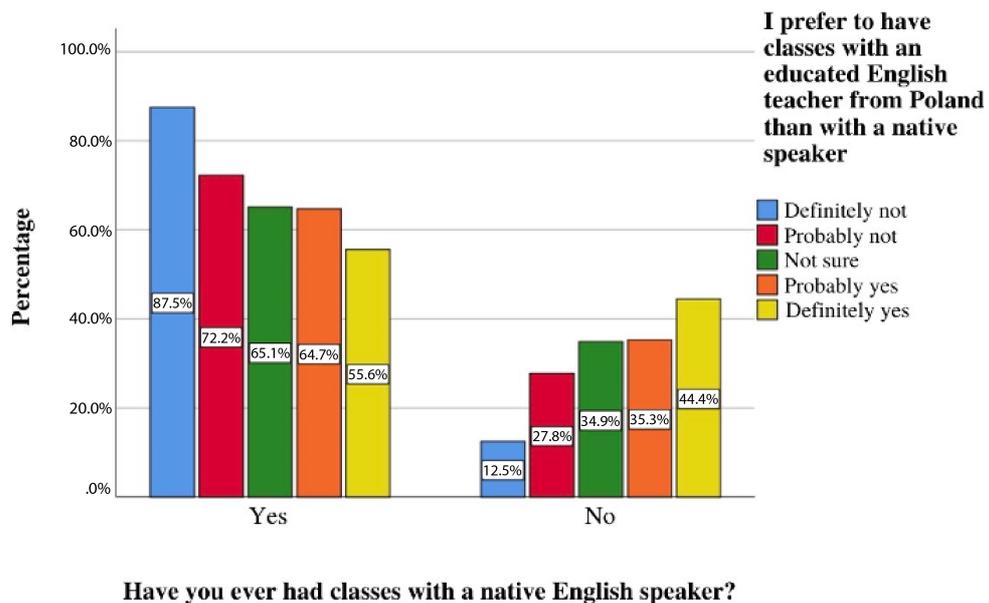


Fig. 44. The experience of having classes with a native speaker and their preference concerning having classes with a Polish teacher of English

Finally, two important correlations were found between separate Likert-type scale questions. Firstly, the more respondents believed that Polish teachers tend to overemphasise grammar, the less likely they were to ask for classes with Polish teachers of English ($r = -0.36$; $p < 0.001$). Secondly, there emerged a correlation between the belief that Polish teachers teach a bookish English and the belief that Polish teachers of English feel more confident teaching grammar rather than speaking. The more likely respondents were to believe the latter, the more likely they were to believe the former as well ($r = 0.52$; $p < 0.001$).

4.4.3. What do Polish teachers of English think of themselves and native speaker teachers?

Most teacher respondents believe that they do not feel insecure when speaking English in the presence of a native speaker and they do not feel less confident teaching speaking

than grammar. They also share the belief that some job ads exclusively target native speakers and that more education is expected from them to land a job.

Table 9. Answers given by Polish teachers pertaining to certain aspects of English language teaching

| Variable | Definitely not | | Probably not | | Not sure | | Probably yes | | Definitely yes | | Median | Statistical test result |
|--|----------------|------|--------------|------|----------|------|--------------|------|----------------|------|--------|--------------------------------|
| | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | | |
| I happen to feel insecure when I speak English in the presence of a native speaker | 41 | 29.9 | 20 | 14.6 | 19 | 13.9 | 36 | 26.3 | 21 | 15.3 | 3 | $\chi^2(4) = 15.52; p = 0.004$ |
| I feel more confident teaching speaking than grammar | 27 | 19.7 | 29 | 21.2 | 52 | 38 | 17 | 12.4 | 12 | 8.8 | 3 | $\chi^2(4) = 34.79; p < 0.001$ |
| In some job advertisements from language schools only native speakers are sought after | 14 | 10.2 | 13 | 9.5 | 31 | 22.6 | 31 | 22.6 | 48 | 35 | 4 | $\chi^2(4) = 30.56; p < 0.001$ |
| I feel like I'm required to have a higher level of education than a native speaker | 11 | 8 | 17 | 12.4 | 16 | 11.7 | 31 | 22.6 | 62 | 45.3 | 4 | $\chi^2(4) = 62.67; p < 0.001$ |

Several interesting statistical correlations emerged from the data. First, the older a teacher respondent was, the less likely they were to believe that native speakers have better didactic preparation ($r = -0.22; p = 0.009$). A similar trend can be observed as far as job experience is concerned, meaning the longer a Polish teacher's job experience, the less likely they are to believe so ($r = -0.22; p = 0.009$). The opposite correlations supported the aforementioned findings, i.e. the older a teacher was, the more likely they were to believe they were better didactically prepared than native speakers ($r = 0.29; p = 0.001$).

Education also appears to serve as a strong determiner of certain trends. The more educated Polish teachers of English, the more likely they are to believe they are better didactically prepared than native speakers ($r = 0.23; p = 0.007$). Additionally, the more education a Polish teacher has, the more likely they are to disagree with the statement that they lack cultural knowledge and awareness of English-speaking countries ($r = -0.28; p = 0.001$).

Length of time spent abroad is also involved in numerous statistically significant correlations. The more time a respondent spent abroad, the less likely they are to believe they lack cultural knowledge and awareness ($r = -0.31$; $p < 0.001$). They also tend to be less prone to believing that native speakers are better prepared in terms of language skills ($r = -0.22$; $p = 0.01$), and are less likely to feel more confident teaching grammar than speaking ($r = -0.25$; $p = 0.003$). Speaking English in the presence of a native speaker also seems to make them less insecure ($r = -0.33$; $p < 0.001$). The statistically significant correlation between time spent abroad and the belief that Polish teachers of English lack cultural knowledge and awareness is in line with these results ($\lambda^2(4) = 15.55$; $p = 0.004$).

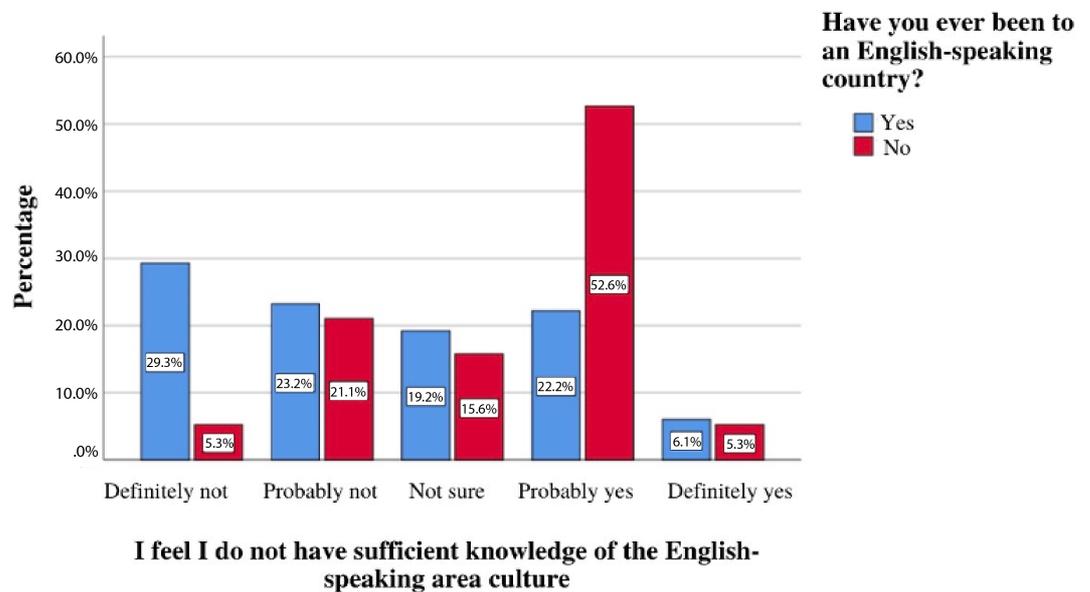


Fig. 45. Teachers' stay abroad and their opinion concerning their knowledge of English-speaking area culture

Gender was not taken into consideration, as there were unfortunately too few male respondents for the results to be statistically significant. An additional statistical correlation indicates that teachers who share the opinion that some job ads exclusively target native speakers are more likely to believe that they are expected to have more education than native speakers ($r = 0.27$; $p = 0.001$).

Finally, teachers who claimed that they felt lacking in cultural awareness and knowledge of English-speaking countries were also more likely to believe that they are not better prepared in terms of language skills than their native speaker counterparts ($r = -0.36$; $p < 0.001$). The less culturally knowledgeable teachers felt, the less sure of their language skills they proved to be. The reverse correlation was also found: the less culturally aware a teacher felt, the more they believed that native speakers are better equipped to teach in terms of language skills ($r = 0.29$; $p < 0.001$). Moreover, a significant correlation was found between cultural knowledge and teaching grammar and speaking. The less secure teachers felt about their cultural knowledge, the more confident they felt teaching grammar rather than speaking ($r = 0.39$; $p < 0.001$).

4.4.4. Can these trends and observations be found in interview data?

Having presented the results of the quantitative data pertaining to the aforementioned RQs, the qualitative data will now be further analysed to examine whether any trends and observations described in the previous sections are in any form reflected in the data gathered at the interview stage. We have seen interview data corroborate quantitative findings in Sections 4.2. to 4.3.2.8., where the definition of a native speaker was elaborated on and the relative advantages and disadvantages of Polish and native teachers of English were discussed. Other analogies and additional themes connecting the numerical and qualitative data will be investigated in the following sections.

4.4.4.1. Classes in tandem

Statistical results suggested that respondents were overall keen on being taught in tandem by both native and non-native speaker teachers. Therefore, if the opportunity arose, interviewed teachers were asked to reflect on their opinions or experiences of such a mode of teaching to gauge whether they believed that it is an adequate and promising method.

T5 had extensive experience of working in duos with native speaker teachers and openly shared their experiences:

T5: (...) in previous years I often got to work with with native speakers in, what I would call, a dual mode, meaning, we had classes with the same groups. The classes with native speakers were more speaking-focused and cultural aspects. On the other hand, say, grammar and sometimes also writing were my responsibilities (...)

I: Mhm. Okay. And a question from me, do you think that the division of labour you had that you took care of grammar and structural matters and natives talked... Do you think it was a fair deal? Did it work? Was it successful?

T5: It was successful, definitely. And whether it was fair... It's a very subjective matter, I didn't have any problem with it. Not because I don't feel competent to give all kinds of classes, but I generally believe that if students have contact with more than one teacher, it is beneficial for them (...).

Therefore, T5's experience was generally positive, although as they themselves admit, it remains a subjective matter whether the division of labour was fair towards both the native speakers and the teacher respondent. The respondent's less than enthusiastic description seems to imply that certain ideological assumptions lay behind the decision to conduct team-taught classes.

Another teacher who shared their experiences of teaching in tandem was T11:

I: Do you think that such a cooperation is more of a bane or a boon? Do you think that students gain or maybe it can be an interruption? Cooperation between a native and non-native speaker teacher, I mean.

T11: It can be a boon It's good by definition and I benefited from it and it was cool because I could always refer to what they said or together with them we tried to figure something out (...) Generally students received a broader dialect spectrum. However, I have to stress that the native speakers I worked with were highly competent.

Interestingly, despite having good experiences working in tandem with native speakers, the respondent remains sceptical towards such cooperation; note how they explicitly emphasised that the native speakers they worked with were trained professionals. Such a statement is also ideologically loaded, as the respondent seems to suggest that there exist native speaker teachers who fail to be as trained and prepared to teach, i.e. who are not "highly competent" as Polish teachers of English by definition must be.

In all, it appears that working in tandem is perceived positively by those respondents who commented on it. However, it is important to bear in mind that stress was placed on working with qualified native speaker teachers since, as suggested by T11, cooperation with inadequately prepared native speaker counterparts could be counterproductive.

4.4.4.2. L1 attitudes in the classroom

Numerous comments were made during both phases concerning the usage of L1 (in the case of the present project, Polish) in the classroom. According to the collected quantitative and qualitative data, this paradoxically seems to be both the greatest strength and greatest weakness of non-native speaker teachers. The issue was discussed briefly in Section 4.3.2.8.1., but here it will be examined more closely, as it was raised on numerous occasions in the interviews.

Participant T2 presented their view concerning the reasons for people's mistrust of L1 use in the classroom, which they view as a misrepresentation and misunderstanding of the Direct Method of language instruction:

I: Why are we afraid of bilingualism in language teaching? Where does it stem from?

T2: Trends.

I: Okay.

T2: Which came. When some new methods of teaching were introduced like Direct English, the direct method so when people started imagining that the communicative approach means speaking English exclusively during classes (...) It became an urban legend which is still with us and people have a completely different vision of the method but if you consider it really and you look at the definition, the description of how to teach using this method, it's a completely different story.

Trends or fashions are also given as a source of this distrust by T5. As the dates mentioned by the respondent coincide with the birth of the Direct Method, it can be deduced that they are referring to the same problem as T2.

T5: I think it's partly due to trends and partly due to convictions, right? I'm under the impression that teachers who aren't native speakers are beginning to be respected almost on a par with native speakers. However, I think we have an insecurity, a conviction that somebody who isn't a native speaker cannot be fully prepared and so on. I think it's a legacy dating from the '70s or '80s. But I think it's slowly changing.

The changes that T5 is referring to are also indicated by their experiences during their CELTA [Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages] course:

T5: I remember when I was doing CELTA, I guess 2 years ago I was finishing it. Then during the CELTA course, we were told that we absolutely couldn't use Polish despite

that fact that our students were Polish and so on. But the assumption was that if we were to teach in Korea then of course we wouldn't have a common language (...) However, at least this is what we were told, the next course which was to begin later had different rules from Cambridge (...) if explaining something in English takes too much time and we have no guarantee that students will understand and we have a common language, we could use it.

T3, on the other hand, seems to believe that the status of Polish in the language classroom is diminished due to its low marketability, as language schools prefer to advertise that students will be taught only in their target languages. The respondent themselves argues, however, that it is actually beneficial to use L1:

(...) One thing is, and I guess it's an unpopular statement, I think that using Polish during classes is advisable despite not looking good on a brochure (...) I think that especially on lower levels or even closer to B1+ when people really start not understanding things (...) I think it's crucial to switch to Polish and explain because what does it change that I can explain the difference between 'be going to' and 'will' in English if the person doesn't understand me yet. (T3)

Other responses, however, make clear that teachers may often feel insecure about using Polish and may even have a bad conscience about doing so. T6 may be cited as an example of such a torn attitude, as the respondent experiences guilt in using Polish despite their own belief in the usefulness of L1 in the language classroom:

T6: Especially when I'm teaching children who know English a bit worse, I tend to use Polish to explain certain things, like grammar. Although I know that I should do it in English, but I can see reluctance on the part of my students, so I switch to Polish.

I: Mhm. Why should we do it in English?

T6: Because English as a foreign language is better learned when you're in an environment where it's always used (...).

Interestingly, when asked earlier in the interview about the advantages of Polish teachers of English, the same respondent argued that "It's easier to communicate with students, especially when they don't understand something, you can always use Polish. It's easier to explain when you compare to Polish" (T6).

Therefore, it can be seen that L1 use in the classroom is a problematic issue for Polish teachers of English, as they seem to be of two minds about it. On the one hand, it is extremely useful to help students, particularly but not exclusively at lower levels, to understand more complex phenomena in English. On the other hand, teachers feel guilty

about using it as they believe they should refrain from doing so, even those who reject the method of using only L1 in the classroom.

4.4.5. Private language school preferences

RQ7 and 8 will be answered using quantitative data from the survey completed by language school owners and administrators. The results obtained and presented in the following paragraphs will later be corroborated by qualitative data from interviews.

Most respondents believe that Polish teachers of English need appropriate educational qualifications to be considered for a teaching position ($\lambda^2(1) = 0.81$; $p = 0.37$). On the other hand, most respondents claim that the opposite is true for native speakers, i.e. that they do not need such qualifications ($\lambda^2(1) = 2.61$; $p = 0.11$).

Table 10. Data on whether Polish and native speaker teachers require appropriate education

| | | | | |
|--|-----|----|------|---------------------------------------|
| A teacher of English who IS NOT a native speaker needs to have an appropriate degree | Yes | 18 | 58.1 | $\lambda^2(1) = 0.81$; $p = 0.37$ |
| | No | 13 | 41.9 | |
| A teacher of English who IS a native speaker needs to have an appropriate degree | Yes | 11 | 35.5 | $\lambda^2(1) = 2.61$; $p = 0.11$ |
| | No | 20 | 64.5 | |

In general, teachers at private language schools in present-day Poland are recruited through online job ads and personal contact networks. The table below shows which factors are believed to be most important during the recruitment process for the position of an English teacher. According to the data collected, it appears that the most important factors are experience and the impression made during a job interview. The least important ones, on the other hand, are Polish nationality and being a native speaker. Other factors mentioned were good communication skills, diligence, professionalism, punctuality and engagement.

Table 11. Factors which influence the recruitment process

| Variable | Not important | | Not very important | | Not sure | | Important | | Very important | | Median | Statistical test results |
|-----------|---------------|---|--------------------|-----|----------|-----|-----------|------|----------------|------|--------|---|
| | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | | |
| Education | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3.2 | 3 | 9.7 | 17 | 54.8 | 10 | 32.3 | 4 | $\lambda^2(3) = 20.48$; $p < 0.001$ |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|----|------|---|------|----|------|----|------|----|------|---|--|
| Teaching permit | 2 | 6.5 | 7 | 22.6 | 4 | 12.9 | 13 | 41.9 | 5 | 14.1 | 4 | $\lambda^2(4) = 11.42;$ $p = 0.02$ |
| Polish nationality | 10 | 32.3 | 9 | 29 | 9 | 29 | 2 | 6.5 | 1 | 3.2 | 2 | $\lambda^2(4) = 12.07;$ $p = 0.02$ |
| Native speaker status | 5 | 16.1 | 7 | 22.6 | 9 | 29 | 7 | 22.6 | 3 | 9.7 | 3 | $\lambda^2(4) = 3.36;$ $p = 0.5$ |
| Experience | 0 | 0 | 2 | 6.5 | 3 | 9.7 | 10 | 32.3 | 16 | 51.6 | 5 | $\lambda^2(3) = 16.61;$ $p = 0.001$ |
| Recommendation | 0 | 0 | 4 | 12.9 | 6 | 19.4 | 15 | 48.4 | 6 | 19.4 | 4 | $\lambda^2(3) = 9.39;$ $p = 0.03$ |
| Trial lesson | 2 | 6.5 | 4 | 12.9 | 7 | 22.6 | 9 | 29 | 9 | 29 | 4 | $\lambda^2(4) = 6.26;$ $p = 0.18$ |
| Trial materials | 4 | 12.9 | 4 | 12.9 | 10 | 32.3 | 8 | 25.8 | 5 | 16.1 | 3 | $\lambda^2(4) = 4.65;$ $p = 0.33$ |
| Job interview impression | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 6.5 | 10 | 32.3 | 19 | 61.3 | 5 | $\lambda^2(2) = 14;$ $p = 0.001$ |

Interestingly, there exists a correlation between education and experience. The more important experience is, the more valued education becomes ($r = 0.37$; $p = 0.04$). Another correlation connects the trial lesson and trial materials: the more important the former, the more essential the latter ($r = 0.68$; $p < 0.001$). Additionally, the more important the trial lesson, the more important the teaching permit ($r = 0.62$; $p < 0.001$).

As can be seen in the table below, certain trends appear to have emerged in the market for language teachers. Private language schools in Poland would rather not employ Outer Circle native speakers. According to language school owners and administrators, their clients definitely tend to ask for classes with native speakers, meaning speakers coming from Inner Circle countries. They also clearly believe that Polish teachers of English are better prepared didactically, in contrast to native speaker teachers. However, they are uncertain whether either of the groups is better prepared in terms of language skills than the other.

Table 12. Answers given by language school staff concerning teachers of English

| Variable | Definitely not | | Probably not | | Not sure | | Probably yes | | Definitely yes | | Median | Statistical test result |
|--|----------------|------|--------------|------|----------|------|--------------|------|----------------|------|--------|--------------------------------------|
| | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | | |
| I would rather employ only educated native speakers from major English-speaking countries (UK, USA, Australia) | 2 | 6.5 | 9 | 29 | 9 | 29 | 4 | 12.9 | 7 | 22.6 | 3 | $\lambda^2(4) = 6.26$; $p = 0.18$ |
| I would rather employ only educated native speakers from other English-speaking countries (e.g. Nigeria, India, Singapore) | 15 | 48.4 | 8 | 25.8 | 6 | 19.4 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2.5 | 2 | $\lambda^2(3) = 11.45$; $p = 0.01$ |
| I would rather employ only educated English language teachers from Poland. | 5 | 16.1 | 9 | 29 | 7 | 22.6 | 5 | 16.1 | 5 | 16.1 | 3 | $\lambda^2(4) = 2.07$; $p = 0.72$ |
| I employ native speakers, because it affects the image of my school well. | 4 | 12.9 | 4 | 12.9 | 6 | 19.4 | 7 | 22.6 | 10 | 32.3 | 4 | $\lambda^2(4) = 4$; $p = 0.41$ |
| I employ native speakers because my clients demand it from me. | 7 | 22.6 | 3 | 9.7 | 10 | 32.3 | 3 | 9.7 | 8 | 25.8 | 3 | $\lambda^2(4) = 6.26$; $p = 0.18$ |
| It happens that clients openly ask for classes with a native speaker. | 2 | 6.5 | 5 | 16.1 | 3 | 9.7 | 5 | 16.1 | 16 | 51.6 | 5 | $\lambda^2(4) = 20.45$; $p < 0.001$ |
| It happens that clients openly ask for classes with a Polish teacher of the English language. | 4 | 12.9 | 6 | 19.4 | 7 | 22.6 | 4 | 12.9 | 10 | 32.3 | 3 | $\lambda^2(4) = 4$; $p = 0.41$ |
| I think that Polish teachers of the English language are better prepared for teaching | 1 | 3.2 | 1 | 3.2 | 6 | 19.4 | 10 | 32.3 | 13 | 41.9 | 4 | $\lambda^2(4) = 18.52$; $p = 0.001$ |
| I think that native English speakers are better prepared for teaching. | 10 | 32.3 | 12 | 38.7 | 8 | 25.8 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3.2 | 2 | $\lambda^2(4) = 8.87$; $p = 0.03$ |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|------|---|------|----|------|---|-----|---|------|---|--|
| I think that Polish teachers of the English language are better prepared for teaching in terms of language skills. | 4 | 12.9 | 2 | 6.5 | 13 | 41.9 | 9 | 29 | 3 | 9.7 | 3 | $\lambda^2(4) = 14;$ $p = 0.007$ |
| I think that native English speakers are better prepared for teaching in terms of language skills. | 1 | 3.2 | 8 | 25.8 | 14 | 45.2 | 2 | 6.5 | 6 | 19.4 | 3 | $\lambda^2(4) = 17.55;$ $p = 0.002$ |

The difference in median gross rate offered for an hour of teaching to Polish and native speaker teachers of English who are sole traders also statistically significant ($Z = 2.16$; $p = 0.03$). A Polish teacher of English is paid 60 PLN on average, whilst a native speaker teacher is paid 70 PLN on average, a difference of 15.4%. Therefore, native speaking teachers are likely to be better remunerated than their non-native speaking counterparts for the same amount of work.

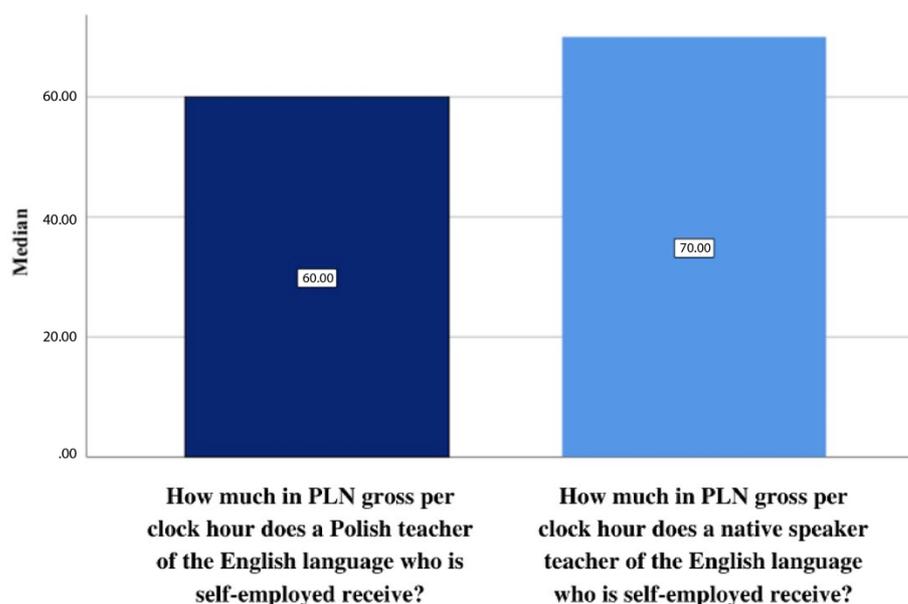


Fig. 46. Language school staff's opinion on Polish and native speaker teachers' wages

There are some other statistical correlations which are worth mentioning. According to the respondents, the more students a language school provides services for (i.e. the

larger the school), the less Polish teachers of English are likely to make ($r = -0.39$; $p = 0.04$). Moreover, and unexpectedly, the more students at a school, the less prepared native speaker teachers are to teach ($r = -0.44$; $p = 0.01$).

Importantly, a strong correlation exists between clients asking for classes with native speakers and the number of native speakers employed. The more such requests from clients, the more native speakers language schools tend to employ ($r = 0.55$; $p = 0.001$). This thus appears to be a simple matter of supply and demand.

Another statistical relationship linked the employment of native speakers and the importance assigned to the factor of being a native speaker in the recruitment process ($\lambda^2(4) = 11.39$; $p = 0.02$).

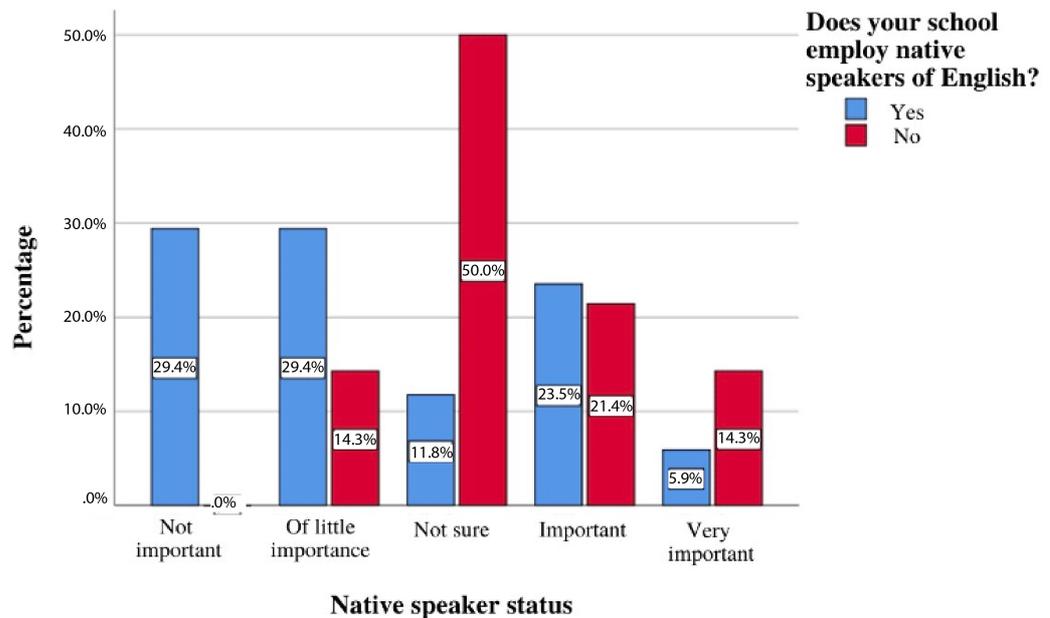


Fig. 47. The correlation between the importance of native speaker status and native speaker employment

Schools whose staff also contains native speakers also report more frequently that their students ask for classes with Polish teachers of English ($\lambda^2(4) = 13.19$; $p = 0.01$). The reverse is true for schools which report not employing native speakers.

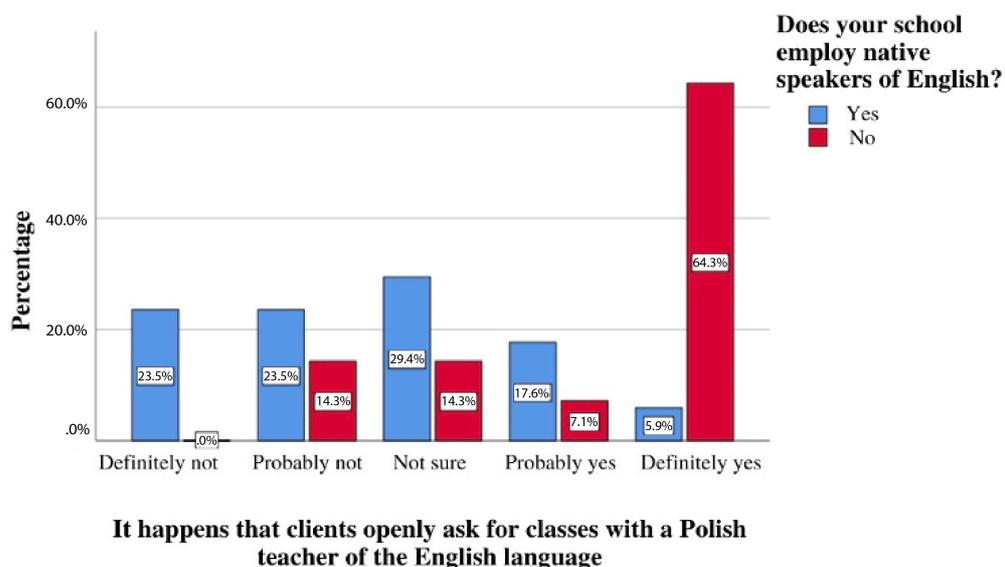


Fig. 48. Employment of native speakers and reported demand for classes with Polish teachers of English

4.4.6. Signs of overt discrimination against non-native speakers

RQs 9 and 10 will be answered with both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Both the survey completed by teachers and the interviews conducted with them will be analysed to shed more light on the issue of discrimination that many non-native speaker teachers reported.

Interestingly, the great majority of teachers, 105 or 76.6% of the total surveyed, reported that they had never felt discriminated against. Additionally, only 12.4% ($n=17$) admitted to being asked to pretend that they are native speakers of English. Therefore, a simple assumption could be made that the issue of discrimination in Polish language schools does not exist. However, the qualitative data suggests otherwise, and it seems that many teachers tend to accept certain employment practices and work conditions without ever questioning them. Additionally, some of the quantitative data cited in the preceding sections from surveys of language school owners and administrators, parents of students,

and students also indicate otherwise, that there is a systematic pattern of preferential treatment of native speakers in hiring practices, payment, and work environment.

4.4.6.1. Hourly wages

The discrepancy between hourly wages of native and non-native speaker teachers presented in the previous section was mentioned by teacher respondents in the qualitative phase on numerous occasions, so non-native teachers do seem to be aware of it. Most are naturally against it, although some attempt to provide a rationale for the imbalance. T3, for instance, states that they feel discriminated against as far as their hourly wage is concerned and makes quite an accurate estimation of what the difference is:

Money. Native speakers are just better paid. What I can gather from the current situation on the market, depending on a language school, a teacher gets (considering one on one classes) about 75%, if it is a good school. Good, meaning one which treats its employees well. It can go down to 62% or 60%, sometimes less. Generally, a native gets paid better. A course with a native speaker costs more or less 20% more. I assume this money doesn't evaporate. I don't think that schools take everything. Considering that schools always take (...) it basically means that native speakers make 20% more. (T3)

Such a state of affairs can lead to animosities between native and non-native teachers, as became apparent with T8, who grew annoyed when confronted with the question concerning the pay gap:

T8: I don't want to be blamed for this. I'm not a native speaker, right? But I can't change it. And I don't think it has impact on the quality of my teaching. And it definitely does have an impact on my rates!

I: Mhm. Meaning?

T8: It means that the rates for non-native speakers are lower than for native speakers even if they have more experience and even if, as at the school I'm currently working at, schools say that they don't discriminate against non-native speakers.

On the other hand, T10 is aware of the pay gap, yet although they seem to believe that it happens to be unfair, they claim it is all due to market forces and there is no point in disagreeing or rebelling against it:

T10: I believe that there is a shortage of native speakers and it is thought that they have to be attracted and this is why they are offered more.

I: Do you think it's fair?

T10: I think... Such are the market rules and it's difficult to argue with them. Maybe it's a little bit unfair, but... These are the rules of the market.

All in all, it appears that teachers are mindful of the discrepancy in wages between themselves and native speakers. However, it is quite striking how many teachers simply come to grips with the situation and even go as far as to cease viewing it as a form of discrimination.

4.4.6.2. Qualifications

The fact that native speakers generally need to be less qualified than their non-native speaking counterparts (see Section 4.4.5.) is also well represented in interviews and should be considered a discriminatory practice. It appears that non-native teachers are expected to be better qualified and have better social skills and an impeccable command of the English language. Additionally, in the opinion of many non-native teachers, the expectations with which students enter their classrooms are also more demanding towards non-native speaker teachers. When inquired about the levels of education expected of their fellow non-native teachers vs. native speakers, respondent T4 explained that:

T4: (...) Nobody asks about the level of education of native speakers, at least I haven't heard about anyone asking, okay? The assumption is that since you were born in England or lived in the States or the UK, you know the language perfectly... And you spent there your adult life... You grew up there... Right? And now you came to Poland for this or that reason. Say, you spent 25-30 years in an English-speaking country, nothing else matters, I don't care about your education or formal qualifications.

I: Mhm. And on the other hand, have you ever been asked about your qualifications?

T4: Undoubtedly, yes (...) Nobody assumes I can teach and speak the language.

T5 expressed the same opinion and suggested that the same situation is not only present at private language schools, but also can happen even at public universities. The

respondent offers an unintentionally hilarious description of a disconcerting situation at one of Poland's elite universities (the name of the university has been changed to Y):

T5: I remember a story of my friend who studied at Y. They had a teacher, a man who was a Scottish alcoholic who was a welder and had absolutely no qualifications and so on. However, he worked as a native speaker and he had classes with students at Y.

I: So, you think more education is expected of a Polish teacher of English?

T5: (...) I think that yes. It is still more difficult for Polish teachers of English.

Moreover, apart from the formal qualification bar being set higher for non-native speaker teachers, there additionally appears to be a discrepancy between the acceptability of mistakes. Many Polish teachers of English report that they are held to a higher language standard than native speaker teachers, such as T12, who reminisced about their conversation with a native speaker:

I've recently talked to one native speaker and I said something like... "This is nefarious." Or something like that. And he said: "I know a word like this exists in English, but I have no idea what it means exactly." And you know. This is normal, he forgot a word. But I think a student can't imagine that a native speaker can forget anything. (T12)

T10 argues that students expect Polish teachers to be always ready to answer even unexpected questions from them, with no processing time: "A teacher of English should be like an opened encyclopaedia with a one-second delay. A native speaker can of course space out and can fail to understand what students are trying to tell him (...) can just forget a word which fits the context." When asked what happens when a native speaker makes a mistake, participant T9 simply responded that: "I think that with a grain of salt, meaning that probably it's a joke or that... Well, of course a native speaker doesn't have to know everything!"

Finally, T3 described a situation in which students automatically expected them to fulfil a different role in a language classroom than a native speaker:

(...) The situation was like this... A fellow teacher twisted her ankle or, I don't know, a tiger bit it off, I don't know what happened. A substitute teacher was needed right away. It was two days in a row. One native speaker lady came, sat down, talked to them and it was all right. But when I came in and did the same thing, right away they started asking why I hadn't done the material from the book. And I had a feeling that I was treated differently (...). (T3)

4.4.6.3. Differences in attitudes

Several statistically significant differences in attitudes between teachers and other cohorts emerge from an analysis of the quantitative data. First, teachers are statistically more likely than parents to believe that students ask for lessons with Polish teachers of English ($p = 0.04$). Secondly, teachers are statistically much more likely than parents ($p < 0.001$) and students ($p = 0.002$) to believe that they are pedagogically better prepared to teach English. On the flip side, teachers are less likely than parents to believe that native speakers are linguistically better equipped to teach English ($p = 0.01$). Finally, teachers are also less likely than parents and students to believe that parents ($p < 0.001$) and students ($p < 0.001$) ask for classes with native speakers of English.

Table 13. Answers pertaining to Polish teachers of English and native speakers given by all cohorts (1 – teachers; 2 – parents; 3 – students; 4 – language schools)

| Variable | Definitely not | | Probably not | | Not sure | | Probably yes | | Definitely yes | | Median | Statistical test result |
|--|----------------|----|--------------|----|----------|----|--------------|----|----------------|----|--------|--|
| | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | | |
| Students often ask for classes with a Polish teacher of the English language | 1 | 12 | 8.8 | 13 | 9.5 | 68 | 49.6 | 29 | 21.2 | 15 | 10.9 | $\lambda^2(3) = 10.06;$ $p = 0.02$ |
| | 2 | 7 | 13.7 | 13 | 25.5 | 22 | 43.1 | 8 | 15.7 | 1 | 2 | |
| | 3 | 16 | 15.5 | 18 | 17.5 | 43 | 41.7 | 17 | 16.5 | 9 | 8.7 | |
| | 4 | 5 | 16.1 | 9 | 29 | 7 | 22.6 | 5 | 16.1 | 5 | 16.1 | |
| Polish teachers are better prepared didactically than native speakers | 1 | 3 | 2.2 | 10 | 7.3 | 21 | 15.3 | 48 | 35 | 55 | 40.1 | $\lambda^2(3) = 28.97;$ $p < 0.001$ |
| | 2 | 2 | 3.9 | 6 | 11.8 | 19 | 37.3 | 20 | 39.2 | 4 | 7.8 | |
| | 3 | 4 | 3.9 | 10 | 9.7 | 30 | 29.1 | 42 | 40.8 | 17 | 16.5 | |
| | 4 | 1 | 3.2 | 1 | 3.2 | 6 | 19.4 | 10 | 32.3 | 13 | 41.9 | |
| Native speakers are better prepared didactically than Polish teachers of English | 1 | 39 | 28.5 | 62 | 45.3 | 34 | 24.8 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1.5 | $\lambda^2(3) = 50.97;$ $p < 0.001$ |
| | 2 | 0 | 0 | 15 | 29.4 | 30 | 58.8 | 4 | 7.8 | 2 | 3.9 | |
| | 3 | 8 | 7.8 | 42 | 40.8 | 41 | 39.8 | 8 | 7.8 | 4 | 3.9 | |
| | 4 | 10 | 32.3 | 12 | 38.7 | 8 | 25.8 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3.2 | |
| Polish teachers of English are better prepared in terms of | 1 | 15 | 10.9 | 31 | 22.6 | 57 | 41.6 | 26 | 19 | 8 | 5.8 | $\lambda^2(3) = 6.78;$ $p = 0.08$ |
| | 2 | 6 | 11.8 | 14 | 27.5 | 25 | 49 | 6 | 11.8 | 0 | 0 | |
| | 3 | 14 | 13.6 | 25 | 24.3 | 42 | 40.8 | 16 | 15.5 | 6 | 5.8 | |
| | 4 | 4 | 12.9 | 2 | 6.5 | 13 | 41.9 | 9 | 29 | 3 | 9.7 | |

| language skills than native speakers | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|-----|----|------|----|------|----|------|----|------|---|-------------------------|
| Native speakers are better prepared in terms of language skills than Polish teachers of English | 1 | 8 | 5.8 | 24 | 17.5 | 44 | 32.1 | 30 | 21.9 | 31 | 22.6 | 3 | |
| | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 18 | 35.3 | 15 | 29.4 | 17 | 33.3 | 4 | |
| | 3 | 4 | 3.9 | 7 | 6.8 | 37 | 35.9 | 29 | 28.2 | 26 | 25.2 | 4 | $\lambda^2(3) = 14.66;$ |
| | 4 | 1 | 3.2 | 8 | 25.8 | 14 | 45.2 | 2 | 6.5 | 6 | 19.4 | 3 | $p = 0.002$ |

In the interviews, teachers regularly commented on the preference for native speaker teachers, and it seems reasonable to consider some of their remarks more closely, as they can prove a valuable source of information on the practice and its underlying ideological causes. Apart from the results gathered at the quantitative stage, which indicate that students are at times likely to ask for classes with native speakers, some interview respondents admit to being fully aware of the fact. For instance, T10 was disqualified from teaching certain groups due to not being a native speaker:

T10: (...) a few students from given groups resigned from lessons with me as they wanted to have classes with a native speaker because they would definitely be better.

I: Did they give any particular reasons for why they would be better?

T10: No. Usually no, they just wanted to talk to a native speaker as they have better access to so-called “real English.”

T12 described a situation that had happened to them recently, where a clear preference for a native speaker was expressed without any rationale behind it:

(...) this year, literally. A lady from the dean’s office came up to me and asked if I had any native speakers who could give lessons to a 9-year-old boy or something. And I said that I had a lot of friends from doctoral studies or the M.A. programme, maybe one of them? And she replied: “No, no, no, the parents are only interested in native speakers.” (T12)

Therefore, it can be seen that Polish teachers often realise that there exists a preference for native speakers among students and parents of potential students. The next

section will take a closer look at the discriminatory practices taking place at language schools and whether any interviewees had experienced them personally.

4.4.6.4. Discrimination at language schools

As seen in Section 4.4.5., owners and administrators of language schools claim that they are not sure whether having the status of a native speaker is an important criterion for them. Qualitative data must therefore be considered more closely to find clues that may complement the statistical data.

Respondent T9 shared their experience of working for an international language school corporation which employs both native and non-native speakers of English. According to their statements, there are some procedures in place that could potentially harm the well-being of Polish teachers of English and minimise their career prospects:

At my school, you get this feeling that... And this is something very negative, that I don't like but I can understand it from the marketing point of view (...) native speakers constitute an added value, they are sold as something special. Maybe not better...as Polish teachers are also sold as attractive; however, native speakers are, we can say, an added value. (T9)

Later, the same respondent continues:

T9: (...) It usually works like this: "We have great native speakers who come from such and such countries" and this should be attractive in itself for a client who, say, doesn't yet know who they want to have classes with. Native speakers are always given as the first choice.

I: I understand. So, the first choice is always a native speaker and only later does a Polish teacher of English come into play?

T9: Yes, unless somebody right away says... I mean... Right away says that they're interested in taking FCE, CAE or CPE or any other exam, then they usually aren't offered native speakers as they sort of feel (...) that I guess they will be better prepared by somebody with some formal education rather than a native speaker.

Note the implication in this last statement contrasting "formal education" with "native speakers", that native speakers lack any formal training in teaching English. T11

argues that the fact that native speakers are considered and treated as a separate category from Polish teachers of English constitutes an act of discrimination in itself:

When it comes to overt discrimination or favouring native speakers... The fact that they are treated as a separate category which also makes a little bit more money is a form of discrimination in my opinion. The fact that we have teachers and native speakers isn't fair as theoretically we should be able to do the same things. Of course, everybody has their strengths and weaknesses but if a native speaker substitutes for you and isn't able to do certain things, then it is a problem. (T11)

Later on, the same respondent also claims that one does not, in fact, have to be a native speaker to be considered a native speaker of English by language school clients:

(...) I was giving classes, and once a month my friend who was considered a native speaker, despite the fact that she was from Portugal and just went to school in England, had to take over because the student's mum wanted a native speaker for the child to achieve better learning outcomes. (T11)

Such an attitude, which assumes that students can achieve better results when they have classes with native speakers, can also be observed in the statistical data collected at the quantitative stage, as a Mann-Whitney U test showed that a statistically significant difference exists between parents and students in their opinions of how much one can learn from a native speaker. Parents are generally more likely than students to believe that one can learn more from a native speaker of English ($U = 2113$; $p = 0.04$).

Table 14. Answers given by parents and students pertaining to certain opinions on Polish and native speaker teachers (1 – parents; 2 – students)

| Variable | Definitely not | | Probably not | | Not sure | | Probably yes | | Definitely yes | | Median | Statistical test result | |
|--|----------------|----|--------------|----|----------|----|--------------|----|----------------|----|--------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | | | |
| More to learn from a native speaker | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3.1 | 11 | 21.6 | 20 | 39.2 | 18 | 35.3 | 4 | U = 2113; p = 0.04 |
| | 2 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 7.8 | 38 | 36.9 | 28 | 27.2 | 28 | 27.2 | | |
| More to learn from a Polish teacher of English | 1 | 9 | 17.6 | 14 | 27.5 | 21 | 41.2 | 7 | 13.7 | 0 | 0 | 3 | U = 2491; p = 0.58 |
| | 2 | 13 | 12.6 | 30 | 29.1 | 45 | 43.7 | 14 | 13.6 | 1 | 1 | | |
| Best to have classes in tandem, i.e. with native | 1 | 5 | 9.8 | 3 | 5.9 | 11 | 21.6 | 10 | 19.6 | 22 | 43.1 | 4 | U = 2607; p = 0.94 |
| | 2 | 9 | 8.7 | 9 | 8.7 | 14 | 13.6 | 29 | 28.2 | 42 | 40.8 | | |

| speakers and Polish teachers of English | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|----|------|----|------|----|------|----|------|----|------|---|-------------------------|
| Polish teachers of English do not teach natural, but bookish language | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 11 | 21.6 | 21 | 41.2 | 18 | 35.3 | 4 | U = 2237.5; p = 0.11 |
| | 2 | 1 | 1 | 12 | 11.7 | 20 | 19.4 | 43 | 41.7 | 27 | 26.2 | 4 | |
| Fear that Polish teachers will teach with mistakes and errors | 1 | 4 | 7.8 | 16 | 31.4 | 12 | 23.5 | 13 | 25.5 | 6 | 11.8 | 3 | U = 2315; p = 0.22 |
| | 2 | 20 | 19.4 | 27 | 26.2 | 24 | 23.3 | 22 | 21.4 | 10 | 9.7 | 3 | |

When teachers, parents, and students were analysed, it turned out that teachers are less likely than the two remaining groups (parents $p < 0.01$; students $p < 0.001$) to believe that they are better prepared to teach grammar rather than speaking.

Table 15. Answers given by teachers, parents, and students (1 – teachers; 2 – parents; 3 – students)

| Variable | Definitely not | | Probably not | | Not sure | | Probably yes | | Definitely yes | | Median | Statistical test result | |
|---|----------------|----|--------------|----|----------|----|--------------|----|----------------|----|--------|-------------------------|---|
| | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | | | |
| Polish teachers lack knowledge of the English-speaking area culture | 1 | 31 | 22.6 | 31 | 22.6 | 25 | 18.2 | 42 | 30.7 | 8 | 5.8 | 3 | $\lambda^2(2) = 8.42$; $p = 0.02$ |
| | 2 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 15.7 | 23 | 45.1 | 13 | 25.5 | 6 | 11.8 | 3 | |
| | 3 | 5 | 4.9 | 28 | 27.2 | 32 | 31.1 | 26 | 25.2 | 12 | 11.7 | 3 | |
| Polish teachers feel more confident teaching grammar than speaking | 1 | 35 | 25.5 | 28 | 20.4 | 33 | 24.1 | 27 | 19.7 | 14 | 10.2 | 3 | $\lambda^2(2) = 64.41$; $p < 0.001$ |
| | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3.9 | 10 | 19.6 | 14 | 27.5 | 25 | 49 | 4 | |
| | 3 | 3 | 2.9 | 14 | 13.6 | 17 | 16.5 | 36 | 35 | 33 | 32 | 4 | |

No statistically significant differences were found between parents, teachers, and language schools as far as hiring of native speakers. Therefore, it seems that all parties have much the same view of the recruitment process for language schools. Teachers generally seem to be aware that some job ads are targeted only at native speakers as, for example, T2 who states that “(...) if you look at job offers then you can encounter offers in which they just ask for native speakers. So, I wouldn’t even be considered.” The same

opinion was expressed by T9: “(...) definitely when I was looking for a job, you could see ads targeted only at native speakers.”

Table 16. Answers pertaining to Polish and native speaker teachers given by parents, students, and language schools (1 – parents; 2 – students; 3 – language schools)

| Variable | Definitely not | | Probably not | | Not sure | | Probably yes | | Definitely yes | | Median | Statistical test result | |
|--|----------------|----|--------------|----|----------|----|--------------|----|----------------|----|--------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | n | % | | | |
| Employment of native speakers due to clients' demand | 1 | 2 | 3.9 | 10 | 19.6 | 14 | 27.5 | 13 | 25.5 | 12 | 23.5 | 3 | $\lambda^2(2) = 1.39;$ $p = 0.5$ |
| | 2 | 13 | 12.6 | 11 | 10.7 | 30 | 29.1 | 22 | 21.4 | 27 | 26.2 | | |
| | 3 | 7 | 22.6 | 3 | 9.7 | 10 | 32.3 | 3 | 9.7 | 8 | 25.8 | | |
| Employment of native speakers due to the image of the school | 1 | 2 | 3.9 | 10 | 19.6 | 14 | 27.5 | 13 | 25.5 | 12 | 23.5 | 3 | $\lambda^2(2) = 0.23;$ $p = 0.089$ |
| | 2 | 13 | 12.6 | 11 | 10.7 | 30 | 29.1 | 22 | 21.4 | 27 | 26.2 | | |
| | 3 | 4 | 12.9 | 4 | 12.9 | 6 | 19.4 | 7 | 22.6 | 10 | 32.3 | | |

As may be gathered from the preceding analysis, Polish teachers of English do face both overt and covert forms of discrimination. On the one hand, it seems to be a widely accepted view that Polish teachers are more qualified to provide potential students with formal aspects of language education, but on the other hand they are seen as lacking knowledge to teach skills such as speaking on a par with native speakers. Not only do such assumptions deny the potential and sap the confidence of Polish teachers of English, but they also simultaneously bar native speakers from becoming professional language teachers, rather than mere tools for language dissemination devoid of any sense of agency.

4.4.6.5. Passing as a native speaker

As mentioned above, about 12% of all teacher respondents admitted to being asked to pretend that they were native speakers of English in front of their students. Perhaps more surprisingly, fully 53% ($n=9$) of the teachers who claimed they had the option offered to them at some point in their career denied that they had ever been discriminated against. Therefore, an act of being asked to pretend to be somebody else, to pass as a native speaker, failed to be considered an act of discrimination. One reason for this result may be that “discrimination” is too strong a word to describe the treatment of these teachers, but the qualitative data presented in this section might make one reconsider.

T1 recounts the times he had been asked to pretend they had no grasp of Polish, although it was mostly in front of their own students, who already knew them as a Polish speaker. However, they had been put in situations in which they were asked to pass as a native speaker:

I: Has it ever happened that you were asked to do it with a group who didn't know you?

T1: Yes, I think the first time it was like this. And I think I just tried very hard to make an impression... Well, of a native speaker.

I: How?

T1: Well, I was just scaling the heights of my intellectual prowess and trying to actively look for more sophisticated vocabulary, more ambitious grammar...

Therefore, T1 treated it as a form of an intellectual challenge that they could later be proud of.

T10, on the other hand, had not been asked to pretend to be a native speaker of English per se, but did on numerous occasions pretend to have no knowledge of Polish so as to be treated as if they were *de facto* native speakers. They reported mixed feelings about the experience:

It was very interesting as it really forced students to think, not really being grammatically correct, right? But yes, they were forced to speak, it's a benefit. However, the drawback was that I wasn't able to explain a lot of theoretical aspects of grammar. (T10)

When confronted with a question regarding their wage for such classes, the answer was unsurprising: "T10: I had the same rate (...) I think it was fair. I had no problems with it." Interestingly, being asked to perform a role of a *de facto* native speaker, even if the task was framed differently, and receiving their standard pay rate was not registered as an act of discrimination. Thus, an internalised logic seems to be at work that even when fulfilling the role of a native speaker, a non-native speaker still deserves to earn less.

The most remarkable experience of passing as a native speaker, however, came from respondent T9, who was asked to have speaking classes with a Polish teenager while pretending to be a native speaker of English and not uttering a word of Polish. The student's parents wished their child to have classes only with native speakers. Due to a

temporary lack of available native speakers, the interviewee was handed the job of passing as a native speaker and giving the classes.

T9: It was difficult for me. (...) We ended up going to two shopping malls. It was difficult because I had to refrain from [speaking Polish] (...). And I had to pretend. It was a lie.

I: Exactly. Do you think it was ethical of you and your school to do it?

T9: I think it wasn't. I regret it. I wouldn't do it now but then... I don't know. I think it was my first or second year working there.

I: I get it.

T9: I know it was unethical and we first and foremost lied to the client. But I just carried out my boss's orders.

The case of T9 shows that teachers may be confronted with a task that they may not be comfortable with but nevertheless accept, feeling that their economic interests are at stake. T9 suggested that they agreed due to their relatively short experience at the workplace, implying that they would not have taken on the task if they had been working longer and thus presumably in a better position to negotiate their work conditions. The respondent themselves flatly states that such a behaviour and professional practice is unethical and should never be repeated.

Although only a relatively small number of respondents admitting to having been asked to pretend to be native speakers, it still seems an important issue to investigate, as the practice may lead to numerous undesirable consequences. One such ramification may be to reinforce the idea of native speakers being simply, inherently better than non-native speakers, as no interviewees mentioned the reverse situation in reverse, i.e. native speakers pretending to be non-native speakers of English to make a better impression. Additionally, as attested by T10, non-native speakers may continue to be discriminated against in pay even when they do successfully fulfil the role of their native speaking counterparts. Finally, it is an unethical business practice, which can undermine both the trust placed in the hands of language school owners and the trustworthiness of Polish teachers of English.

4.4.7. Outer Circle speakers

RQ5 concerned the preference for Inner Circle rather than Outer Circle native speakers and, like the other RQs, will be answered using both quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative data comes from surveys conducted on the three cohorts, and the qualitative data is provided by interviews with teachers.

Generally, the question of the preference for Inner Circle speakers was considered a fringe issue in the present project, since in practice the overwhelming majority of native speakers employed in EFL in Poland come from the Inner Circle. Nevertheless, the results are still quite interesting as they suggest that the respondents generally are biased against Outer Circle speakers.

It can be seen from the chi-square analysis of parents' responses that they are quite uncertain whether they would like their children to have classes with speakers from Outer Circle countries ($\lambda^2(4) = 19.1$; $p = 0.001$). On the other hand, as could be seen in Section 4.4.1., they were certain that they would like their children to have classes with native speaker of English from Inner Circle countries. The same analysis also suggested that students, too, would definitely not like to have classes with native speakers from Outer Circle countries ($\lambda^2(4) = 43.75$; $p < 0.001$).

The data gathered from private language schools and referred to above in Section 4.4.5. also suggests that language schools in Poland would rather avoid employing teachers from Outer Circle countries. Interestingly, there also exists a statistical correlation between the willingness of language schools to employ Outer Circle speakers and their prospective hourly wage. The more likely language schools are to employ teachers from such countries, the smaller the amount of money they are likely to pay native speakers in general ($r = -0.47$; $p = 0.02$).

The issue of Outer Circle native speakers came up only infrequently during the interview process, as it seemed largely nonexistent in respondents' view of the ELT field in Poland. One of the respondents, namely T8, pondered whether speakers coming from countries such as India or Singapore should be considered native speakers:

T8: I personally have never thought that a person from India or Singapore can be considered a native speaker, however, I actually know such people. I think they could be called native speakers.

I: Mhm. Okay.

T8: It depends on the definition we choose.

T7 cast a shadow of doubt on whether students could find cultural awareness of Outer Circle countries useful as, apart from a few exceptions, they argued that students are more interested in gaining such knowledge of Inner Circle countries: “(...) people want to understand Great Britain and America to know how to use the language on the meta level. So, the culture of Singapore can be interesting for some individuals who want to delve into it, right?” T5 expressed a similar view, implicitly claiming that Outer Circle native speakers do not share the cultural advantage of Inner Circle native speakers : “(...) more cultural awareness (...) when we talk about English-speaking countries apart from maybe India because it’s something else.”

Therefore, there seems to exist a preference for Inner Circle native speakers compared to native speakers coming from the Outer Circle countries, a pattern found widely throughout Europe and indeed much of the rest of the world. This can be seen in the opinions shared by students, parents, school owners and administrators, and also Polish teachers of English. However, it is important to bear in mind that, as mentioned above, the issue was peripheral and seemed not to preoccupy the interviewees.

4.4.8. The telling case of T2

The previous sections addressed most of the RQs established in Chapter 3 of the present research project. However, one telling case was identified among the Polish teachers of English interviewed, and the decision was made to include it in the present thesis as a potentially valuable source of information on the current situation of native and non-native speaker teachers in Poland and the existing norms and expectations associated with the two groups. The background of the interviewee will be briefly summarised first, then the data collected from the interview will be analysed more closely.

T2 graduated from Teachers’ College at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and received their master’s degree from the Institute of English Studies (now Faculty of English) at the same university. At the time of recording the interview, they had been teaching English for over 10 years. They had worked with all age groups, from children to senior citizens, and at all levels from A1 to C1/2. T2 also finds themselves in a unique

position, as they work both as a teacher of English and as a member of the administrative staff. The respondent is of dual Polish and American citizenship, was born in the USA and moved to Poland at the age of 7, where they have been living since. Interestingly, despite this origin and dual citizenship, the respondent considers themselves a non-native speaker of English, or as they put it, “a bilingual speaker.”

The definition of a native speaker provided by the respondent at the beginning of the interview process was quite strict and consisted of three basic factors: “(...) it has to be a person born in an English-speaking country, who has certain cultural knowledge of the country, and they have certain social familiarity.” However, as the interview progressed, T2 started questioning their own definitions and opening them up: “Everything depends on the context we need the native speaker in. But if we mean a native speaker in the context of teaching, being born in an English-speaking country is not enough. You can be born somewhere and not speak the language”.

Such an attitude on the part of the respondent is rather curious, as in their own life they have been considered to be both a native and a non-native speaker even at the same time as, e.g., at the language school they worked at: “When I started working here at a certain point a website was created. Teachers were presented there and I was among them, listed as a native speaker of English.” Therefore, the decision was made during the interview process to further question the status and experiences of the respondent.

The interviewer commenced by questioning the respondent’s status as a non-native speaker to uncover its origins:

I: Okay, have you ever considered yourself a native speaker of English?

T2: No. I’ve never identified as one. I’ve always identified as bilingual.

I: Okay.

T2: But I’ve never identified as a native speaker.

I: So, would you say you’re a native speaker of Polish?

T2: I’d have to think about it.

I: So, do you have a native language?

T2: I don't think so. It's complicated when you're bilingual.

The interviewer then attempted to dig deeper and discover whether there had ever been a point when the respondent had to consciously make a decision whether they would like to be considered a native or a non-native speaker of English. This line of questioning uncovered a number of internalised attitudes towards native and non-native speaker teachers:

T2: (...) there came a choice that if I had decided to be a native speaker, I wouldn't know how to orient myself as a teacher of English with such a broad spectrum of experience and methodological knowledge. As these things usually don't go hand in hand.

I: Meaning?

T2: Well, native speakers get conversational classes. They aren't supposed to teach the language. Here we start talking about the role of native speakers at language schools. It is a person who doesn't teach in a given language. And I was from the beginning interested in methodology. I was interested in teaching people, not just teaching people how to start talking.

The respondent presents a view according to which native speakers fail to be considered as teachers *per se*. They have one role to fulfil in the learning process, i.e. getting their students to start talking more openly without worrying or preoccupying themselves with more formal aspects of language teaching and learning. It seems that the respondent, being interested in teaching methodology themselves, chose not to be recognised as a native speaker despite being listed as one on the school's website, as they would not be respected for their teaching skills and expertise.

I: So, generally, being a native speaker rules out methodology in your opinion?

T2: Very often yes, because native speakers decide so... Maybe also... However, not only because schools... The question is whether they would actually want a native speaker who is methodologically prepared. If they are prepared, if they have willingness... Because according to some of my observations, schools aren't interested in employing methodologically prepared native speakers (...) the question is also if clients would be interested in methodologically prepared native speakers.

This last comment is quite telling, as T2 goes beyond the widely assumed dichotomy of "trained teachers" vs. "native speakers" (see Section 4.5.4 above) and openly speculates that language schools might not want to hire "methodologically prepared

native speakers.” They do not give any reasons for this view, but the implication is that such teachers might be viewed as a threat to expectations of non-native vs. native speakers.

The respondent was also asked the question of what would happen if they decided to become a native speaker again, to which they were unsure and claimed that it “would depend on a school” (T2). They also expressed their uncertainty as far as the way their knowledge and command of Polish would be seen by prospective students and if it could prove to be a blessing or a curse.

I: Do you think your authority as a native speaker could be undermined by the fact that you also speak Polish (...)?

T2: I have a feeling that yes. I believe that a bit yes. (...) The fact is that I had to make such a decision 9 years ago.

I: But was it conscious?

T2: Yes. Well, also the types of groups I was starting to teach... or children, of course. Well, I was planning to use Polish from time to time and this is the whole clue. There are people who want to attend 100% English classes.

Thus, according to this respondent students could potentially have issues with their speaking Polish if they have the status of a native speaker. It may be deduced that, as suggested above in 4.3.1.1., native speakers are assumed to speak no Polish. The respondent also provided the example of being asked to pass as a native speaker of English, to which they agreed. Despite their status as a Polish-English bilingual, when confronted with a request to pass as a native speaker, they decided to pretend they spoke no Polish:

T2: People in the group start saying Ikea /ikɛa/, so theoretically I shouldn't understand it. But I understood, but theoretically I shouldn't. So, I tried, let's say, to get into the character, and let them know that I don't know what Ikea /ikɛa/ is. Oh, Ikea /aɪ'ki:ə! (...)

I: (...) So, you assumed that as a native speaker you couldn't understand it. Is it because a native speaker of English speaks no Polish?

T2: This is the assumption. (...) It's not formal. It's not written anywhere. It's not regulated. (...) But there is such a societal assumption.

To summarise, the interview with this teacher brought to light numerous assumptions hidden behind the labels of native and non-native speaker. Native speakers are the ones who give conversational classes, have no methodological skills, and speak no Polish. On the other hand, Polish teachers of English are the opposite: they are methodologically trained, teach grammar and vocabulary, and speak English fluently, though perhaps not quite like native speakers. The case of T2 proved to be fascinating, as the only admitted bilingual in our survey sample. Not only were they considered a native and non-native speaker of English at various points in their life, sometimes simultaneously, but they also consciously decided to take on the status of a non-native speaker of English. Additionally, it speaks volumes that the initial definition of a native speaker provided by the respondent was quite conservative and only broadened in scope over the course of the interview. T2's assumptions about native vs. non-native speakers may likewise seem conservative, even out of date, but as the data collected above illustrate, they are widely held by students, parents, school owners and administrators, and other teachers alike.

4.4.9. Conclusions

The present chapter has analysed both quantitative and qualitative data collected over the course of the project. The RQs, introduced in Chapter 3, were clearly indicated at the beginning of every section to facilitate comprehension. The following chapter will embark on a discussion of the results and will relate them to the existing literature on the topic. It will also attempt to establish an agenda for further research to better understand the problematicity of native and non-native speakers in Polish EFL schools, and perhaps apply that knowledge to improve the quality of English language teaching in Poland.

Chapter 5: Discussion and implications of the results

5.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the results of a mixed-methods study conducted to better understand the situation of Polish and native speaker teachers on the Polish ELT market and thereby firmly establish Poland on the world map of research devoted to native speakerism. The first section discusses perceptions of who a native speaker is among students, parents of students, and Polish teachers of English. Next, the focus shifts to the perceived advantages and disadvantages of native and non-native speaker teachers. The extent of the preference for Polish and native speakers of English is then reviewed and analysed, after which a revision of the notion of native speakerism is proposed for the Polish context. Finally, some practical implications stemming from the results of the project are offered to teacher training programmes and schools.

5.2. Who is a native speaker?

The previous chapter began with the analysis of the data collected regarding RQ1, the question of who should be considered a native speaker. Unfortunately, it is difficult to compare the results with any previous research projects, as scholars did not ask such questions directly; see the literature review in Section 1.2., including the recent study by Kiczowskiak (2018).

In Chapter 1 the definitions of the term *native speaker* were divided into two broad categories, namely characteristics-centred (Davies 2003, 2013; Cook 1999, 2016) and identity-related (Munro and Derwing 1994, 1995; Fledge et al. 1995; Piller 2002). The responses in Chapter 4 were divided into two slightly different categories, namely open and closed, due to the fact that most respondents focused on characteristics-centred definitions but interpreted them in different ways. Of the subjects interviewed, only two may be considered exceptions to this general pattern, namely T2 and T11 (see Section 4.2.5.). Therefore, the discussion of results in this section will focus on similarities and contrasts between the present survey and that of Kiczowskiak (2018). In his study, Kiczowskiak

provided his respondents with five vignettes concerning native speakers which they could agree or disagree with on a five-point Likert-type scale. This quantitative data was complemented by semi-structured interviews. In comparison, the method employed in the current project allowed respondents to define the concept of native speaker even more freely by expressing their opinions without interference from the researcher.

It has been seen in chapter 4 that all three cohorts in the survey, i.e. students, parents, and teachers, overwhelmingly believe that the category of a native speaker is a closed one, thus that it is impossible for adults to become native speakers of English. Therefore, responses belonging to the closed category will be analysed first.

The greatest number of respondents argued that native speakers are people for whom English is their L1 or mother tongue. Social upbringing was mentioned significantly less frequently, but when it was, it was often associated with acquiring the language from early childhood. This is in line with Davies's (2012: 4) list of six factors that define native speakers (see Section 1.2.), as his first point on the list refers to L1. As Davies notes, it is the only factor on his list barring a person acquiring a language later in life from becoming a native speaker, although he himself questions this assumption. Davies (2013) believes that acquiring language later in life may only cause problems of a psycholinguistic nature, which are irrelevant for a speaker's recognition as a native speaker of English:

If a non-native speaker wishes to pass as a native speaker and is so accepted then it is surely irrelevant if s/he shows differences on more and more refined tests of grammaticality. That may be of interest psycholinguistically but for applied linguistic purposes I maintain that it is unimportant (Davies 2013: 5).

Nevertheless, the interview respondents overwhelmingly indicated L1 or mother tongue as an essential factor in determining a person's native speaker status, for example T5: "Well, a native speaker is just somebody for whom English is their first language" or T9: "I believe it is a person for whom English is the first language and which they acquired in the first 3 years of their lives."

Birth also emerges as a central factor in determining whether a person should be considered a native speaker of English. Parents are less likely to believe so than teachers and students, though it must be borne in mind that parents also constituted the smallest of the three cohorts. Nevertheless, the finding is interesting and suggests that the respondents have quite an ethnocentric (and dated) approach to the concept of a native speaker in line

with that of Hackert (2012) or indeed the Biblical view of nations (Genesis 10:1-5). Birth as a factor was also brought up in the interview process, but usually changed upon questioning with the major exception of T1 (see 4.2.5.), who refused to alter the definition they first provided. This pattern of behavior suggests that birth seems to be a self-evident aspect of being a native speaker for most Poles today, but that when confronted with further questions about the nature of native speaker status, respondents start to ponder it more and often come to realise that it is more problematic than they first assumed.

Proficiency, understood as a component of the closed definition of a native speaker, proved to be rather insignificant in the interview comments. This, however, may be because the respondents believed that native speakers' knowledge of their L1/mother tongue was unquestionable, therefore they felt no obligation to acknowledge it. Such a deduction can be made on the basis of the responses provided in questions concerning advantages and disadvantages of native speakers, where their linguistic abilities were appreciated the most.

As far as open definitions are concerned, these were unsurprisingly rare, constituting just 6.9% ($n=25$) of all collected tokens. Therefore, as was suggested in Section 4.2.4., all three cohorts perceive native speaker status as a fixed identity that no foreign language learner can alter later in life. This in turn suggests that the definitions held by all parties to the educational process are in opposition to those of Pilar (2002), Davies (2001) and Cook (1999, 2016). For the great majority of EFL teachers as well as students and parents of students in today's Poland, non-native speakers of English always fall short of the native speaker ideal and continue to be defined by their shortcomings (Firth and Wagner 1997; Valdés 1998; Selvi 2011).

Interestingly, the elusiveness of the notion of the native speaker became apparent during semi-structured interviews, where some respondents indicated its problematic nature. Numerous scholars have suggested that the labels of native and non-native speakers should be abandoned altogether (Paikeday 1985; Rampton 1990; Cook 2005, Jenkins 2015). Moreover, as discussed above in Section 1.4.3., Holliday (2005) argued that the terms should always be accompanied by inverted commas. Respondents were thus asked whether the definitions of native and non-native speaker still hold true in today's world. T5, for example, stated that it was becoming more difficult to define the distinction, but in the end decided to paddle back to their initial definition. Additionally, they also suggested an additional distinction between proficient and native speakers:

It is more and more difficult as, I think, more people have two mother tongues and then we can consider the person a native speaker of two languages. Also, because people travel around the world and live in different countries (...) However, I still personally think that early acquisition is the determining factor for me (...) a native speaker and a proficient speaker are two different things.

T9 also states that defining a native speaker is becoming increasingly challenging due to the growing diversity of peoples and populations in different countries:

(...) it's not as obvious that in a country a given language is the official one or was popular up to a given point and used by majority. This language can fade and a new one can be more widespread due to a growing diversity of citizens and users.

T4 suggests that due to access to numerous sources created by native speakers and increasing international travel, people are able to become native speakers of English: "(...) it is more difficult to define because considering the high availability of, at least speaking of English, materials in the target language created from a scratch by native speakers (...) For example, a broad selection of BBC recordings, right?"

Therefore, some respondents' definitions reflect the position of Mesthrie (2010) and Faez (2011), which argues that nativeness as a fixed trait acquired in early childhood acquisition is an outdated concept in today's globalised world. Some respondents, however, continue to believe that the definition is unalterable, for example, T10 said "(...) I think it's neither more nor less difficult. I think that it is still just the same for people like us, say, having to do with teaching language or languages in general." T7 expressed a similar opinion: "I think it's easy. People more or less understand who a native speaker is (...) They talk about classes with native speakers and clients understand".

On the whole, the results obtained in this research bear out the findings of Kiczkowiak (2018) more or less closely. First, native speaker status is seen as a fixed and permanent trait, with birth and mother tongue being the most important factors determining whether one is or is not a native speaker of a given language. Secondly, just as voices expressing discomfort with these closed definitions were expressed in Kiczkowiak's work, so also the interviews conducted here revealed that many respondents are aware of the increasingly problematic status of the native speaker. Therefore, it seems that there exists a certain established understanding of the native speaker concept which can be harmful towards more and more people in today's world and furthermore does not

correspond to linguists' current understanding of the notion; but that many people can be encouraged to reconsider their assumptions when challenged.

5.3. Advantages and disadvantages of native speaker and Polish teachers of English

RQ2 was addressed in both surveys for all three cohorts, namely teachers, students, and parents of students, and in semi-structured interviews with teachers. The aim of this RQ was to gauge whether a study based in Poland would yield similar results to the previous studies conducted by Medgyes (1992, 1999), Kamhi-Stein et al. (2004), Moussu (2006), and Ma (2012).

In general, the results of the surveys indicated that non-native speakers were most appreciated for their pedagogical skills and least respected for their linguistic abilities. The advantages that respondents referred to the most were the ability to explain grammar, familiarity with the process of language learning, being able to communicate in students' L1, and awareness of the Polish exam system. The disadvantages mentioned were foreign accent, excessive focus on grammar, and overuse of L1 in the language classroom. These survey findings were supported by the interviews conducted with (non-native) teachers, who underscored their knowledge of the students' L1 as a linguistic and pedagogical advantages and referred to their methodological training. Another point emphasised by many interviewees was that non-native teachers themselves had gone through the process of language learning and so could understand the difficulties encountered by students better than native speaker teachers, who were assumed to be monolingual. Some Polish teachers of English did however admit that they tend to overuse L1 and can be "*led astray*" (T11) by students and start using Polish exclusively.

The findings of this component of the present project are generally representative of the results of studies from around the world. The fact that knowledge of L1 constitutes a significant advantage of non-native teachers was already discussed by Medgyes (1994), Reves and Medgyes (1994), and Ma (2012). In-depth knowledge of grammar and the ability to explain grammar and vocabulary was indicated by Reves and Medgyes (1994), Árvá and Medgyes (2000), and Ma (2012). The knowledge of students' needs and exam realities was brought up by Reves and Medgyes (1994), Llurda and Huguet (2003),

Kamhi-Stein et al. (2004), and Moussu (2006), although it was not explicitly acknowledged as a major factor in the interview portion of the present study.

With respect to disadvantages of non-native teachers, the linguistic weaknesses can also be found in studies carried out by Árvai and Medgyes (2000) or Ma (2012). In fact, Mahboob et al. (2002) seems to be the sole study in which no negative linguistic self-evaluation of non-native English speakers was found, although Ma (2012) notes that this discrepancy may stem from the fact that the study was conducted in an English Second Language rather than an English Foreign Language setting. According to Ma (2012), it seems that teachers seem to suffer from a greater inferiority complex in an EFL setting.

That non-native teachers of English may fail to motivate their students to use their target language in the classroom due to overuse of students' L1 is a relatively new finding, confirmed only in the study of Ma (2012). Interestingly, then, knowledge of L1 is viewed as both a strong advantage and a potential disadvantage. According to Prodromou, (2001: 6) L1 use in the classroom is "a skeleton in the closet", and Gabrielatos (2001) in the title of his article refers to it as "a bone of contention." Butzkamm (2003: 29) argues that the mother tongue has been unfairly given "a red card", and proposes to establish an alternative approach to language teaching which would treat L1 as a base of reference for language learning. However, the use of L1 as a positive was highlighted by such studies as, e.g., Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005), Cheung and Braine (2007), and Ma (2009). Therefore, the situation of L1 in a foreign language classroom is complicated also to scholars preoccupied with the subject-matter. Thus, more research is needed to assess when, where, and how much L1 is advisable in the language classroom.

As far as the advantages and disadvantages of native speaker teachers, they were mostly praised for their linguistic abilities, namely authenticity, pronunciation, excellent communication skills, and colloquial language. This goes hand in hand with Cook (1999), who argues that native speakers occupy a special position in the field of English language teaching in serving as language models. A similar result can be found in the study of Ma (2012). Surprisingly, native speaker teachers were also praised for lacking any command of Polish. This result is supported on the one hand by Butzkamm (2003), who stated that monolingual language education is generally appreciated more than bilingual education. However, it contradicts Medgyes's (1994) claim that "the ideal NEST [Native English Speaker Teacher] is the one who has achieved a fair degree of proficiency in the learners' mother tongue."

Native speakers were however most criticised for their lack of methodological and pedagogical knowledge. Lack of proper education and training seemed to be an important impediment to success in EFL teaching. Finally, issues with building relationships with students were also brought up. All three of these points can also be found in Ma's (2012) study. Some respondents, however, also cited certain pedagogical advantages of native speakers, such as conversation-focused classes and patience. As far as their sociocultural strengths and weaknesses, the higher cultural awareness of native speakers was praised, while their lack of knowledge of the Polish educational and exam systems was indicated as a potentially important weakness. Ma's (2012) results suggested the same problems for native speaker teachers in Hong Kong. This general lack of trust in native speakers' abilities, such as the knowledge of their students' L1 and methodological skills, has been questioned by Copland et al. (2020), who call for a more nuanced understanding of native speaker teachers. They conducted a qualitative study on 16 native speaker teachers and according to their findings, most of the teachers they interviewed had some working knowledge of their students' L1, were both experienced and qualified, and possessed a general understanding of local educational norms and rules. Thus, native speakerism again proves to be a multi-directional ideology that all parties in the educational process should strive to mitigate.

One result that is at the same time both surprising and interesting is that teacher respondents were unlikely to question the status quo of preferential treatment for native speakers. Such a state of affairs can be explained in terms of what Freire (1970) referred to as "divided beings." According to Freire (1970), the oppressed group has a duality in themselves, as not only do they continue being the oppressed, but they also become the oppressors by internalising the latter's views. Therefore, it may be deduced that teachers are both enamoured of their picture of native speakers and feel disenfranchised by them at the same time, yet lack the self-confidence to rebel against the status quo; thus they uphold and may even defend it, as revealed in some of the interviews reported in Section 4.4.6.1. Medgyes (1983) referred to this phenomenon as the "schizophrenic non-native speaker mind", while Llorca (2009) described it as an instance of "linguistic Stockholm syndrome."

On the whole, the results obtained in the present study bear out the findings of research studies conducted in different parts of the world, from the UK to East Asia. Therefore, it seems that a common framework of action should be created to empower

non-native teachers worldwide, so that they can be made aware of the advantages they bring to the profession and thereby pursue their careers more easily and with greater self-confidence. It is absolutely essential to understand that no ideal teacher exists, and that both native and non-native speaker teachers alike have their strengths and weaknesses. Non-native speakers do have weaknesses, but they should never be allowed to overshadow their very real strengths.

5.4. Preference for native vs. Polish teachers of English

The issue of preference for native speakers of English over non-native speaker teachers was central to the present research project. As the question is quite broad in itself, however, numerous questions both in the quantitative and qualitative strands were required to gauge whether any such preference exists in Polish language schools. The previous chapter showed that there does exist a preference for native speaker teachers that Polish teachers of English often fail to heed. These results align with Norton (1997), who argued that many people have a strong bias against non-native speaker teachers despite their abundance of advantages.

One point worth highlighting before proceeding to the results is that, as pointed out by Chun (2014), very few studies have been conducted on EFL students' opinions, with some notable exceptions such as Lasagabaster and Sierra (2002), Moussu (2010), and Kiczkowiak (2018). Even fewer studies have explicitly considered the attitudes of parents of EFL students, e.g. Torres and Castaneda-Pena (2016). Since the present study takes into account both of these groups as well as teachers, it can make an important contribution to the literature on native speakerism.

Polish teachers of English were more likely to believe that students often ask for classes with them ($p = 0.04$); they were also more certain that they are better prepared didactically to teach the language compared to students ($p = 0.002$) and parents ($p < 0.001$). Polish teachers also have a tendency to trust their linguistic skills more than students and parents ($p = 0.01$). They also are less likely to believe that parents ($p < 0.001$) and students ($p < 0.001$) ask for classes with native speakers. Furthermore, Polish teachers generally present a smaller preference for teaching grammar over speaking compared to the opinion that parents ($p < 0.001$) and students ($p < 0.001$) have about them. This last

finding is interesting, as researchers such as Medgyes (1983), Bernat (2008), Llurda (2009) have claimed that non-native speakers suffer from lowered self-esteem and confidence. The data collected in this project seem to present a different picture, with Polish teachers coming across as self-confident compared to students' and parents' impressions of them. Of course, this may be rather a negative than a positive outcome, as it may show that Polish teachers are viewed more skeptically than native speaker teachers by current language students and their parents, hence by the wider public.

5.4.1. Preferences of language schools

The present paper collected data from 31 language schools. This marks an important contribution to the scholarship on native speakerism and is in line with Kiczkowiak's (2018) recommendation for further research. Overall, language schools treated experience and impressions of the job interview as the most important factors during the employment process. Native speaker status rated very low on their scale and found itself in last place in the order of importance of 9 factors. These results could suggest that there is no preference for native speakers in the recruitment process of language schools in Poland. This would stand in direct contrast to the results of Clark and Paran (2007), who found that 72.3% of their 90 respondents judged the "native English speaker criterion" to be either moderately or very important. Mahboob et al. (2004) also presented results which showed that native speaker status was considered "somewhat important." Such a difference may be attributed to the fact that these two studies were conducted in ESL settings, compared to the EFL setting of Poland, but as mentioned in Section 4.4.6.4. it is also likely that native speaker ideology influences the hiring and employment practices of language schools in Poland in a more covert manner.

If one examines the study of Polish language schools by Kiczkowiak (2018), one observes that most of his recruiter participants preferred classes with native speakers while simultaneously expressing an opinion similar to that found in the present project, i.e. that nativeness is not a decisive factor during the recruitment process. However, Kiczkowiak (2018) himself pointed out that his pool of recruiters was too small to permit generalizations ($n=5$). Additionally, he suggested that recruiters may have been careful not to sound discriminatory due to their awareness of the debate concerning native and

non-native speaker teachers. The findings of the present project suggest that this may not be the only cause, in light of the ease with which recruiters confessed to offering higher hourly wages to native speakers. Further investigation into hourly wages confirmed anecdotal evidence that native speakers are, on average, paid more. As the matter of salary is obviously a delicate question, it was the only one that respondents could skip in the survey. The fact that most of them did answer, however, suggests that the fact that native speakers earn more than non-natives is accepted and treated as obvious, perhaps even self-explanatory.

It is important to note that recruiters are unsure whether they would like to employ only educated teachers from Inner Circle countries or only educated Polish teachers. They are, however, clear in their responses that they employ native speaker teachers because it is what clients expect of them. However, the results obtained from both client cohorts, namely students and parents, suggest that they themselves not sure whether they pay attention to schools hiring native speakers or not. This contradicts the findings of Kiczkowiak (2018), which indicated that the majority of student respondents check whether language schools employ native speakers. More research is therefore needed into the reasons for such a discrepancy, such as e.g. interviews with language school students. In any case, most students and parents express a positive preference for classes in tandem with both native and non-native speakers, a finding in line with Benke and Medgyes (2005), Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005), Kula (2011), and Kiczkowiak (2018). Therefore, holding (more) classes in such a dual mode is an option that language schools should seriously consider.

There also exists a correlation between the reported frequency of being asked for classes with native speakers and the number of native speakers employed at a given language school ($r = 0.5$; $p = 0.006$). This suggests that language schools generally tend to follow the supply and demand principle, and confirms the hypothesis of Kiczkowiak (2018) that recruiters decide to hire native speakers due to the perceived demand for them. It also supports the conclusion of Öztürk and Atay (2010) that private schools prefer to employ native speaker teachers to increase their marketability. Tatar and Yıldız (2010: 114) in their study referred to native speakers as “an important marketing tool”. Holiday (2008: 121) provided some anecdotal data on the phenomenon as well: “I have heard influential employers in Britain say that while they would abolish the discriminatory differentiation between ‘native speakers’ and ‘non-native speakers’ tomorrow, they can’t

because their customers demand it.” It should also be recalled that numerous schools advertise their schools by parading native speakers as a sort of shiny accessory associated with the Anglophone countries and thus with concepts such as modernity, life, individualism, or self-development (Pegrum 2004).

However, an even more interesting correlation is found which undermines the previous line of reasoning, when a closer look is taken at the schools which do and do not employ native speakers. The more native speakers a language school employs, the more its clients ask for classes with Polish teachers of English ($\lambda^2(4) = 13.19$; $p = 0.01$). This finding could suggest that prospective students do ask for classes with native speakers, but once they actually take them, their expectations fail to be met fully and they turn to non-native teachers. It is also important to note the discrepancy between students currently attending language schools and those who are not. According to the data collected, students enrolled in language schools at the moment of completing the survey were more likely to believe that they prefer classes with Polish teachers of English ($U = 765.5$; $p = 0.006$), that they can learn more from such teachers ($U = 757.5$; $p = 0.004$), and that Polish teachers are better prepared in terms of language skills ($U = 744$; $p = 0.003$). Moussu’s (2006) findings might support this hypothesis, as it was reported by him that 79% of respondents who took part in his study would recommend classes with non-native speakers. Kula (2011) and Kiczkowiak (2018) obtained similar results, which suggested that students are generally satisfied with their classes with non-native teachers of English. Lipovsky and Mahboob (2010) demonstrated that while the attitude of students towards native and non-native teachers had changed over time, attitudes towards non-native speakers had mostly become more positive.

5.4.2. Preferences of students and parents

There are also numerous other findings and correlations which require further investigation due to the lack of studies of native/non-native speaker issues with students or their parents. For instance, parents who had experience of classes with native speakers were more likely to report that they had an advanced command of English. This result is interesting, as it is difficult to interpret it either simplistically or in a more nuanced way. The simplistic interpretation would be that native speakers are basically better and more

successful teachers of English, but another possible interpretation is that the discourse of native speakerism is so prevalent that the sole experience of having classes with native speakers provides a confidence boost with no basis in reality. Needless to say, more research is needed to shed light on this issue, which has obvious real-life consequences for language learning in general.

Another finding indicated that the more advanced a student was, the more likely they were to ask for classes with native speakers ($r = 0.38$; $p < 0.001$) and less likely to ask for classes with Polish teachers of English ($r = -0.42$; $p < 0.001$). They were also less likely to believe that Polish teachers are better prepared to teach in terms of language skills ($r = -0.27$; $p = 0.006$). Although there may be numerous explanations for these correlations, it seems plausible that negative stereotypes cause aversion towards Polish teachers of English or more attention should be paid to teachers' education to meet students' needs, as the general level of English in the world is on the rise.

On the whole, the results reported in this and the preceding section demonstrate that there exists a preference for native speaker teachers in Polish private language schools, although that preference interacts in complex ways with all sorts of factors. It also showed that parents, students, and language school administrators are more biased against Polish teachers of English than are Polish teachers themselves, supporting the findings of Kiczkowiak (2018). The following section will briefly discuss another clearly stated preference to emerge from the present study, that for Inner Circle native speakers of English.

5.4.3. Preference for Inner Circle speakers of English

As previously mentioned, the issue of Outer Circle native speakers was fairly marginal to the present project. There are two main reasons for this: first, Outer Circle native speaker teachers are far and few between in Poland and, more importantly, the focus of the thesis was on the general distinction between Polish and native speaker teachers. Nevertheless, certain findings are worth discussing in detail.

As reported in section 4.4.1., parents are not sure whether they would like they children to have classes with Outer Circle native speakers ($\lambda^2(3) = 27.04$; $p < 0.001$), and students are decidedly against having classes with such teachers ($\lambda^2(4) = 43.75$; $p <$

0.001.). The situation is reversed when it comes to classes with Inner Circle native speakers. Interestingly, a correlation has also been found which showed that parents are more likely to ask for classes with Outer Circle native speakers than students ($p < 0.001$), and also more likely to do so than schools believe them to ($p < 0.001$).

Such a clear-cut bias may be interpreted as bearing out previous studies (also described in Section 1.6.2.) such as those of Amin (2004) or Kubota and Fujimoto (2013: 197), who claimed that the concept of native speaker is a “proxy of whiteness.” The author of the present thesis is, however, not convinced that this is an act of overt discrimination against Outer Circle native speakers. As Kiczkowiak (2018) pointed out, no visual or auditory stimulus was provided to the participants so they could judge an actual Outer Circle speaker. Such answers may rather be caused by a general lack of knowledge concerning English-speaking countries other than the major Inner Circle ones. The interview strand of the research revealed that even Polish teachers of English sometimes forget that speakers from countries like Singapore or India can be born and raised with the English language. Therefore, more research into the issue is urgently necessary to shed light on the situation of Outer Circle native speakers in Poland, especially as interactions steadily increase between Poles and English speakers hailing from Outer Circle countries.

5.5. Discrimination toward native and Polish teachers of English

A central issue to the present thesis was to determine whether Polish teachers of English are subject to acts of discrimination in the ELT market. At first glance, it might appear that discrimination is not an issue in the field of ELT in Poland, as 76.6% of all teacher respondents claimed that they had never been discriminated against on grounds of their non-native status (see Section 4.4.6.). However, the data collected in the process of answering other questions and administering interviews suggests otherwise. It has already been indicated that there exists a marked preference for native speakers in the Polish field of ELT, which should be considered discriminatory in itself (see Section 4.4.). A potential explanation for why teachers are generally unwilling to report cases of discrimination was suggested in Section 4.4.6.5. However, there remain several issues to discuss, namely hourly wages, required education, the phenomenon of passing as a native speaker, and the reverse pattern of discrimination against native speakers.

As far as hourly wages are concerned, it is virtually impossible to compare the results with any previous studies as it seems that no-one before ever dared ask the question so straightforwardly. Therefore, this finding can be considered a contribution to the field of EFL as it indicates that there is a direct and evident financial outcome of the preference for native speakers. The openness of language schools in providing such information is noteworthy and surprised this researcher, who expected numerous non-responses to this question. As observed, this suggests that owners and administrators of language schools, like many teachers, generally see no wrongdoing on their part as far as the wage discrepancy is concerned.

Most language school respondents believe that non-native speakers should have appropriate educational qualification, whereas the opposite is true for native speakers. Therefore, not only do Polish teachers of English earn less on average than their native speaker counterparts, they also require more education to do so. One ironic comment made by a recruiter in one study seems to summarise this attitude quite well: “We bring plumbers, carpenters, grandmothers, and dairy farmers—those kind of people—to teach English” (Tennant 2002, cited in Liang 2009). This would confirm the findings of Mahboob et al. (2004) and Clark and Paran (2007) that recruiters value native speaker status more than qualities such as experience or skills. Therefore, native speakers can expect to receive special treatment even as recruiters claim that nativeness has very little significance in the recruitment process (see Section 4.4.5.). The results obtained in the present study confirm those of Kiczkowiak (2018), implying that the odds are indeed against non-native speakers on the Polish ELT market.

Being asked to pass as a native speaker of English should also be treated as an act of discrimination as it implicitly suggests that non-native speakers are somehow deficient and therefore have to pretend to be somebody they are not to meet their employers’ and students’ expectations. Again, it is difficult to compare the results with any previous studies, as the question seems not to have been posed in previous EFL research. The practice becomes even more disconcerting when one considers that teachers may be coerced into playing the role of native speakers due to their lack of financial stability and job security, which as just seen are already affected by greater qualification requirements and lower wages. Additionally, the testimony of respondent T10 (see Section 4.4.6.5.) suggests that even if they do successfully fulfil the role of a native speaker, their hourly wage is likely to remain unchanged.

Finally, it is important to consider that native speakers of English may feel biased against when analysing the results of the present study. This follows ongoing attempts at redefining native speakerism to include all discrimination on the basis of native and non-native speaker labels (Houghton and Rivers 2013; see Section 1.5.2.). As an example of such bias, native speakers are generally thought to be unqualified, if not incompetent in terms of methodology and overall teaching skills. It appears that native speakers are assumed to have no teaching qualifications, which may be harmful to professional native EFL teachers in Poland not only personally in terms of being taken seriously and respected as colleagues, but also in terms of career opportunities and advancement. The case described in Section 4.4.8. of the previous chapter is a telling reflection of these assumptions, as respondent T2 chose to wear the label of a non-native speaker in order to be properly recognised for their pedagogical knowledge.

All of these findings suggest that native speakerism is deeply ingrained in the ELT market in Poland and influences the lives and careers of both native and non-native speakers in a multitude of ways, from hiring, to salary, to interactions with students and employers, to self-confidence and respect. In light of this data, it will be argued in the next section that the definition of native speakerism pioneered and promoted by Holliday (2005) must be modified to enable researchers in Poland to better address the issue. Furthermore, certain concrete steps should be taken by language schools and professionals in Poland to mitigate the effects of this ideology and its associated practices.

5.6. Redefinition of native speakerism

The idea of native speakerism was discussed in detail in Section 1.5, but it is important now to evaluate whether the definition of native speaker put forward by Holliday (2005) will withstand scrutiny in the Polish ELT context. The notion has already undergone a certain amount of remodelling to fit the conditions of ELT in Japan (see Houghton and Rivers 2013). Holliday (2015) has also offered some revisions to his initial position, which also focused on the idea of multidirectional nature of native speakerism and its discriminatory effects on native speaker teachers. The intention behind RQ11 was to explore whether the original definition proposed by Holliday (2005) is flexible enough to meet the conditions of the Polish ELT market. Holliday's definition will be the focus of

the following discussion, as according to Rivers (2018), the definition offered by Houghton and Rivers (2013) remains less popular and widespread than Holliday's one. Notwithstanding its presumed lack of popularity, the latter will however also be taken into account.

5.6.1. Holliday's native speaker in the Polish context

As mentioned in Section 3.2, Holliday's definition can be understood as consisting of three complimentary and overlapping concepts, namely that native speaker is an embodiment of Western culture, thus they have superior knowledge of the culture, and owing to this fact, they can claim ideal knowledge of the language and language teaching methodology. All three concepts will be discussed in light of the data collected for the present study.

As far as the embodiment and superior knowledge of Western, i.e. Anglophone culture is concerned, very few respondents actually mentioned this as a feature of a native speaker teacher, with sociocultural advantages in general receiving very little mention. Some comments were however made over the course of the interview process which could suggest that native speakers are seen not as beacons or representatives of Western culture, but rather as its products without much agency on their part. For instance, T4 refers to "(...) a native speaker, so a person who grew up in a given culture." Likewise, T3 states with respect to native speakers: "(...) it is a person who was immersed in the culture, or still is." In comparison, the view that native speakers are a highly marketable product was widely present in the interviews even when the culture of Anglophone countries was not explicitly discussed. According to T10, for example, native speakers are a "scarce commodity and they have to be attracted to stay at a school, so they get paid a bit more." T3 referred to native speakers as a "premium service", while T9 called them "added value" for a language school. T11 remarked that native speakers are devoid of any other characteristic apart from being native speakers:

a lot of native speakers function as native speakers. Meaning, they have no other profession, no other personality, they are a separate species. It reminds me of a stupid internet meme where there is a lizard and there is a question about its name, surname and profession, and it answers: lizardman, lizardman, lizardman.

T2 also questioned the role of a native speaker, who according to them “is a person who doesn’t teach the language but teaches to speak in the language.” Therefore, it may be argued that native speakers are not viewed in Poland as superior agents of “Western” or “Anglo” values and culture, but rather seem to function as necessary, useful, and profitable products who lack personality and teaching skills. A similar attitude is expressed in Holliday (2015: 15), who argues that: “teachers who are labeled “native speaker” also suffer from being treated as a commodity by being reduced to a list of saleable attributes. They can also be caught up in discriminatory employment practices.” Additionally, native speakers’ unfamiliarity with the Polish educational and exam system was mentioned by several respondents, for example T9: “From a student’s perspective it may be a problem when it is important for them to prepare to a given task, say, an exam or to passing a test. In this case, native speakers are not prepared to do this”.

Overall, the present study suggests that native speakers are not highly appreciated for their supposed cultural superiority, which is hardly ever brought up in the surveys or interviews; it also is not viewed as closely related to their knowledge of methodology, which is generally assumed to be deficient. Similar results were found in the study of Ma (2012), where the sociocultural advantages of native speakers were also ranked as least important, and their lack of knowledge of the local educational system was identified as a potential issue.

Teaching methodology was definitely seen as native speakers’ greatest weakness, with all cohorts rather uncertain of their pedagogical skills. This stands in direct contrast to the definition of native speakerism, according to which native speakers should serve as ideals of English language teaching methodology. The data collected here indicate that it is rather non-native speakers who are considered to be exemplars of proper teaching practices, allowing of course for certain exceptions. Such findings remind one of statements made already four decades ago by Shaw (1979), who claimed that native speakers generally lack proper knowledge of lesson preparation and delivery. The most notorious display of this state of affairs is once again the case of T2, who refused to adopt the label of native speaker as they wanted to continue being perceived as a professionally trained teacher of English (see Section 4.4.8.).

It seems that even when native speakers are praised for their teaching abilities, the teaching just “happens” without their agency. T9, for example, claims that the pedagogical advantage of native speakers is that they introduce a natural context for language use:

“From students’ perspective it is a great opportunity to get to know the real language, the language that people really speak in their natural environment.” Similarly, T11 claims that native speakers are good at motivating students to be active: “sometimes really a native speaker is somebody who activates students, e.g. because they want to have some interactions with somebody from a different country.” Some respondents also considered lack of knowledge of Polish as a real pedagogical strength, as it forces students to use their target language: “a native speaker of English who teaches in Poland and doesn’t know Polish is an advantage because we have to communicate with such a teacher, right? So, we can only communicate using English” (T10).

Nevertheless, some see it as a drawback as it is a hindrance in the communication process and undermines language teaching methodology, leading to “(...) lack of awareness of where mistakes come from, for example, language transfer” (T11); cf. also the comment of T6 that “a native speaker doesn’t know the language their students speak so it can be a problem.” Such remarks support the claim of Medgyes (1994: 78) that “the ideal NEST is the one who has achieved a fair degree of proficiency in the learners’ mother tongue.” Similar findings may be found once again in the study of Ma (2012), where however no attention is given to native speakers’ lack of agency. Moreover, some respondents suggested that native speakers may use grammar correctly, but lack the ability to explain it: “I don’t think they will be able to explain it [grammar] to me because they don’t know it themselves. They know what is correct, but they don’t know why” (T3). This bears out Boyle’s (1997) claim that native speakers in EFL often fail to provide appropriate grammatical explanations, either because they do not know the rules or have not been adequately trained to explain them to non-native speakers.

On the whole, then, it appears that native speakers are considered methodologically deficient, even handicapped, and if they do bring any benefits in this respect, that happens so to speak by accident and not through their own agency. This can be deduced from that fact that if native speaker teachers receive praise for their teaching practices, the practices are credited to their native speaker status, not their education, professionalism, or even talent.

The knowledge of language was the most frequently cited advantage of native speakers in the data. It is also the arena where native speakers are thought of as most clearly reigning supreme over their non-native speaking counterparts. Such attitudes are found in other studies, e.g. that of Sifakis and Sougari (2005), which showed that native

speakers are believed to have authority over correctness of the English language. A remark along the same lines may be found in Doan (2016), who indicates that non-native speakers consider native speakers better language users. However, certain cracks could be observed in this monolithic perception; for example, T4 argues that one cannot ever be sure if the language spoken by a native speaker is the standard one: “(...) many constructions used by you may not be standard or book-based, which paradoxically can cause students to have a sort of distortion.” T11 also mentioned that in terms of command of the language, native speakers do not represent anything that non-native speakers cannot achieve (see Section 4.3.1.8.1.).

Therefore, it seems that although the ideal of the English language is not found in native speakers, the latter are considered the proper model to which non-native speakers are compared. This confirms the observation of Cook (2005) that native speakers continue to be desired language models in EFL instruction. The results of the present study are also consistent with those of Norton and Tang (1997) and Ma (2012). Even if a model is necessary (as suggested in Section 2.2.3.1.), however, it can also have its flaws. Holliday’s (2005) definition talks about ideals, implying that there should be no faults in native speakers’ language abilities. This, however, is not the picture presented by the data collected for the present study. Only two of the four cohorts surveyed are quite certain that native speakers are better prepared to teach in terms of command of the language, namely students and parents, whereas schools and teachers are on average much less convinced. Additionally, students and parents are not afraid of learning incorrect English from non-native speaker teachers, which bears out Kiczkowiak’s (2018) finding that native speakers are not necessarily thought to teach better English.

Despite lack of comparable data from previous studies, the results obtained here suggest that there is a change in progress taking place in Polish attitudes towards native speakers of English. One possible reason may be that Poland is becoming a more developed country; thus, Poles are increasingly less likely to uncritically accept Western or Anglo values as superior. Moreover, it has become possible to travel to English-speaking countries far more easily and cheaply than 20 or even 10 years ago; note the correlation discussed above in section 4.4.3. suggesting that the longer teachers stayed abroad, the more self-confident they become in their linguistic abilities.

It is intriguing, however, that despite the growth of data challenging or even contradicting Holliday’s (2005) definition of native speakerism, it continues to be taken as a

starting point by numerous scholars without adjusting for sociolinguistic context or the changing circumstances of the past 15 years. This definition, however useful as an initial tool of investigation, appears to have reached the status of a *clever silly idea*, i.e. an idea that fulfills three conditions: “First, clear evidence is present that the idea is incorrect or otherwise cannot be disproven. Second, there is a dogmatic defending of the idea. Third, the idea allows the individual to display his or her intelligence” (Dutton and van der Liden 2015: 58).

Such dogmas can and often do survive for a long time even despite an abundance of counterevidence, as the act of disagreeing with them may bring ostracism in its wake. Woodley (2010: 476) goes so far as to suggest that “the tendency for individuals to be blatantly benevolent facilitates the building and maintenance of costly pro-social reputations.” Moreover, Dutton and van der Liden (2015) argue that such statements, frequently rooted in a postmodernist framework, allow liberal academics to signal altruism as they mostly deal with the needs of marginalised groups, such as non-native speakers of English in the case of native speakerism.

As observed above in Section 1.6.4, where the debate between Holliday and Waters was described, the definition and idea of native speakerism was vehemently argued despite lack of actual evidence in either direction. It seemed more like a purely theoretical battle of wits, rather than a factually grounded debate. Even the calls of such scholars as Moussu and Llorca (2008) for a more empirical attitude to researching native and non-native speakers’ issues were criticised by Holliday (2015), who continues to advocate a postmodernist approach. The following sections will consider one prominent alternative approach to the concept of native speaker, then return to Holliday’s recent revision to his original definition.

5.6.2. An alternative definition of native speaker: Houghton and Rivers (2013)

Fortunately, the need for a revised definition has already been recognised, e.g. by Houghton and Rivers (2013) and even Holliday himself (2015). Houghton and Rivers’s definition of native speakerism as encompassing all discrimination on the basis of native and non-native speaker labels (see above, Section 5.5.) aims to introduce the theme of human rights into the very fabric of native speakerism; it also attempts to rid the definition of the

binary division inherent in Holliday's original definition of 2005, namely into native and non-native speakers. The authors do so in the spirit of Derivry-Plard's (2013: 225) argument that: "language teachers as professionals have to get rid of such essentialist, reductive images of identities, in order to think of their professional language teaching field as a truly intercultural communicative space where binary oppositions like native/non-native, exclusion/inclusion should be overcome".

Houghton and Rivers's attempt to redefine native speakerism is appealing on many grounds, but has so far enjoyed only limited appeal due to two factors, namely its complexity and its rootedness in the specific EFL context of Japan. Its complexity may be attributed to the fact that it consists of numerous *isms* gathered under a singular label, thus making it challenging, even tedious to understand and apply to concrete cases. The cognitive burden associated with creating a full picture of native speaker ideology seems too heavy to be applied to everyday situations in the field of ELT. Additionally, it implies that one group is "innately superior" to people from other language groups, i.e. native speakers are inherently superior to non-native speakers. This introduces the "us vs. them" rhetoric the authors tried to move away from and, at the same time, implies that one group is always more privileged than the other, when in fact it appears that there is an interplay of constantly shifting positions. The fact that the definition was created to describe the workings of EFL in the Japanese context is emphasised by the authors themselves in their description of the contents: "(...) five main sections focusing predominantly upon native speakerism in Japan" (Houghton and Rivers 2013). As a result, their definition focuses on issues of ethnicity, specifically that of white teachers from Inner Circle countries teaching in Japan, which may play a lesser or at least less obvious role in an overwhelmingly white European country such as Poland.

5.6.3. Holliday (2015): the native speaker revisited

Holliday (2015) revisits his concept of native speakerism to chart a new path forward in researching the issue. There are, however, numerous potholes that can be detected in this new path, and closer attention should be paid to them in this author's opinion before automatically applying the revised definition to new research.

Holliday (2015: 11) identifies the cause of native speakerism in what he calls *cultural disbelief*, defined as “a disbelief in the cultural contribution of teachers who have been labelled ‘non-native speakers’.” He further adds that native speakerism also “de-means native speakers who themselves become commodities.” Holliday (2015: 11) then advocates for the remedy in the form of cultural belief: “a belief in the cultural contribution of all teachers regardless of their background is the only way to remove the prejudice which positions ‘non-native speakers’ as the subaltern.” This statement in itself is quite benign, but there are two issues to be considered. First, it suggests that all non-native speakers occupy the same position in EFL education and necessitate help to the same extent. Implicit in this statement is also the belief that non-native speaker cultures are generally conflict-free and never view other cultures as inferior. This in itself is a dangerous process of othering, i.e. of viewing Western cultures as focused on individualism and non-native speaker cultures as focused on collectivism, which in fact is a belief that Holliday (2015) himself tries to tackle in the same work. Moreover, the author of the present thesis openly considers himself a non-native speaker of English and is proud of (and sees no shame in) his status. He considers it his part of identity and life-story; taking it away from him thus seems tantamount to limiting his freedom to define himself as he wishes. Moreover, a study from Choi (2015) conducted on 20 South Korean bilingual speakers of Korean and English suggests that it is not always the case that students would like to achieve native-like proficiency, but rather wish to be perceived as “good” bilingual speakers of both languages.

Holliday (2015: 12) then goes on to claim that:

Cumbersome though it may be, I therefore continue to place ‘native speaker’ and ‘non-native speaker’ in inverted commas both to signal ‘so-called’ and to indicate a burden that has to be endured until the issue can be undone. The other thing that I have tried to do throughout is to remember that these labels are labels and not actual groups of people.

This statement as it stands is highly problematic for several reasons. First and foremost, the burden that Holliday (2015) mentions reminds one too much of the Rudyard Kipling poem “The White Man’s Burden” mentioned previously in section 1.6.4. Practically speaking, it can also hardly be considered a “burden” with the myriad of translation and editing tools now available, from Google Translate to online dictionaries to specialised software. The acknowledgement of this burden thus appears to be an instance of a “socially altruistic behaviour” (Woodley 2010) or, to use a term that has gained much

currency in recent years, virtue signalling, i.e. “making a contribution to moral discourse that aims to convince others that one is ‘morally respectable’” (Tosi and Warmke 2016: 199). Secondly, if labels were just labels and not groups of people, as Holliday (2015) claims, then why discuss the issue of native speakerism at all? Voloshinov (1986: 11) claims that: “[e]very ideological sign is not only a reflection, a shadow of reality, but is also itself a material segment of that very reality,” so the labels “native speaker” and “non-native speaker” must be understood as representing actual groups of people, identified and categorised based on certain criteria, however valid.

Holliday (2015:16) then provides his remedy or the issue of native speakerism, which deserves to be quoted in full:

To disarm or undo this native-speakerist cycle there needs to be cultural belief in all parties. This should be the beginning principle – the starting point – the belief that everyone has cultural proficiency. If, then, the professional requirements to do the job, which would include the knowledge of English and culture, are not there, this would have nothing whatsoever to do with prescribed national or cultural background, or with perceptions of what is the mother tongue. It needs to be recognised that teachers who have been traditionally labelled ‘native speakers’ have much to offer by virtue of their particular and rich experience of English. However, to counter the hegemony of the ‘native speaker’ label, such teachers, whoever they are, must be considered part of a larger group of people who have long-standing and rich mastery of English, regardless of any idealised reference to country of origin or birth.

In general, the prescription given by Holliday seems straightforward and in line with the main aim of the present thesis (see Section 1.6.4.). Once again, however, it suffers from numerous inconsistencies. Cultural proficiency and culture are very vague and undefined notions and remain so in Holliday’s discussion. These notions can easily be and often are interpreted in terms of authenticity, seen as “the way an individual sees themselves in relation to the various context in which they exist and are required to use language for the social production of meaning” (Lowe and Pinner 2016: 32). Holliday also implies that instead of labels such as native and non-native speaker, professionalism should be considered a central criterion for the hiring of English language teachers, which can be understood here as the knowledge of English and culture. However, again, the term “culture” remains undefined and, even more importantly, so does “knowledge” of English. Therefore, although Holliday (2015) explicitly adopts a postmodernist stance in his paper, there nevertheless seems to be an assumption present that there does exist a certain ideal of the English language disconnected from any social or geographical space.

Thus, the solution put forward by Holliday (2015) still assumes the existence of some model that should be followed.

5.6.4. Assessment: native speakerism in Poland and the world

In all, the recent attempts at redefining native speakerism have been honest and well-intentioned, and have raised many important points about the existence of discrimination against native as well as non-native speakers in EFL and the arbitrariness of all such labels. However, the present author strongly believes that a truly global definition should be sought and established to enable coordinated progress among scholars working around the world in the field, from Eastern Europe to East Asia to South America. Additionally, it is imperative that more empirical data be collected (Moussu and Llorca 2008), although one should also be open to the postmodernist framework of Holliday and others, as it has frequently proven successful at uncovering discrimination.

In order to overcome the debates between postmodernist and positivist worldviews (see Section 3.1.1.), a division between *ideological native speakerism* and *conventional native speakerism* may be introduced. The concept of conventional native speakerism was introduced by Kadowaki (2018), who however did not offer a precise definition. Notwithstanding the absence of a specific definition, it can be understood as a set of behaviours and practices which may be conventionally accepted, but in fact are manifestations of discrimination, e.g. requiring non-native speaker teachers to focus on grammar and native speaker teachers to teach solely speaking. It is therefore proposed that ideological native speakerism would be what Holliday (2015) imagined it to be, namely an ideology that consists of “inequitable practices believed to have originated in a specific place and exported to the detriment of an unspecified people in an unspecified place” (Rivers 2018: vi). In contrast, conventional native speakerism would be closer to the vision put forward by Moussu and Llorca. It could be defined as a form of discrimination within the field of EFL which defines teachers on the basis of their assumed deficits associated with their native or non-native speaker status, not their individual characteristics, thus depriving them of the right to self-determination. Additionally, such a definition would deem it appropriate to research the characteristics of native and non-native speakers, as frequently there is some empirical reality underlying stereotypes

(Jussim 2017). Once certain negative characteristics are identified, they can be rectified by addressing them in training, hiring, advertising, etc. For instance, if non-native speakers are found to be less sure of their communicative competence, more focus should be placed on communication in university courses. The following section will address these issues at greater length and propose certain guidelines for teacher education programmes and language schools in Poland.

5.7. Implications for teacher education programmes and language schools

The present project set its goal by citing a line from Derivry and Griffin (2017), that of “developing a professional legitimacy based on teaching expertise and qualifications.” Therefore, a final chapter devoted to discussion of its findings would not be complete without suggesting certain concrete steps that can be taken to advance the agenda of ensuring that all teachers are treated equally based on their qualifications, skills, and experience. This section will be divided into three parts, in turn implications for teacher education programmes with teachers themselves and for language schools.

5.7.1. Implications for teacher education programmes

The findings of the project have three important implications for teacher education programmes. First, during pre-service teacher training, budding teachers should be exposed to relevant literature regarding the nature of issues related to native and non-native speaker status. This conclusion stems from the fact that Polish EFL teachers seemed not to be at all aware of the heated ongoing debates regarding the ever-shifting definition of the native speaker concept, and as a result, the definitions provided by them were rather fixed and overwhelmingly belonged to the closed category (93.1% of all tokens collected). However, many teachers were able to alter and expand their definitions of the native speaker when questioned during the semi-structured interview process. Respondents were also likely to suggest the growing difficulty of pinning down who a native speaker actually is in the current globalised world. Therefore, it appears that the teachers had never before been encouraged to critically examine the concept in question. It seems

that an appropriate module should be introduced in BA and MA teacher training courses of English (and perhaps other languages) at Polish universities, so that future generations of teachers can be exposed to the native speaker concept and to open as well as closed definitions.

Secondly, Polish teachers of English should be acquainted with the literature concerned with native speakerism and its effects on the ELT market. This recommendation stems from the fact that teachers were likely to uphold the status quo and never question the preference and privileged position of native speakers in Polish language schools even though it appears to have a real impact on their professional and private lives in the form of the pay gap and differential educational requirements. It was also shocking to observe that teachers were unwilling to use the label of discrimination to describe what can only be called blatantly discriminatory experiences. Again, a module tackling the issue of native speakerism could greatly help the cause of achieving equal treatment and promoting professionalism, rather than perpetuating privilege or handicap derived from one's native or non-native speaker status. Similar observations were made recently by Widodo et al. (2020), who examined non-native speaker teachers in China. The data they collected suggest that lack of awareness of the issues associated with native speakerism makes the ideology impenetrable for such teachers, so that the problem has to be tackled through exposure to the relevant literature.

Finally, teachers during their EFL training should be encouraged to visit an English-speaking country (for example, by going on an Erasmus exchange programme), as a clear correlation was found between time spent in an English-speaking country and teachers' reported level of linguistic self-confidence. Additionally, utmost care should be paid to the quality of training and education that student teachers receive, as the level of education also proved to be an important predictor of one's self-image.

5.7.2. Implications for language schools

The data collected for this project also have important implications for language schools in Poland. The present study has gathered the most data from private language schools in Poland of any study to date, with a total of 31 owners and administrators of language

schools surveyed. Therefore, it constitutes an important contribution to gaining a better understanding of the hiring and marketing processes in place at such institutions.

First, language schools should revise the procedures they use in assigning teachers to groups. The data collected from students and parents suggest that, as expected, they had no little to no idea about the debates and issues pertaining to native speaker status. Therefore, private language schools should make sure that when asking for classes with native speakers, students and parents actually know all the pros and cons of such a decision. It also seems unethical to treat native speakers as a *premium* product and, by implication, Polish teachers of English as a *basic* product. The treatment of native speakers as simply marketable commodities, including in advertising, also comes across as a questionable practice that requires serious rethinking.

Moreover, language schools should reconsider their policy of hiring native speakers and, to a much lesser extent, non-native speakers without appropriate qualifications. It has to be borne in mind that despite being private, language schools do play an important role in shaping their students' futures, as is apparent from the sheer number of private schools registered in CEIDG (see Section 2.2.6.2.). To hire underqualified or unqualified teachers just because they are native speakers, even if in response to perceived demands for such teachers, is thus not only unethical, but runs the risk of hurting students' EFL experiences in a way that will negatively impact their future career prospects.

Finally, the pay gap between native and non-native speakers should be done away with as it seems to be a completely arbitrary and unfair distinction, especially considering the fact that language schools claimed to associate very little value with native speaker status. Such a practice is furthermore considered illegal in accordance with the regulations put forward by the European Committee (see Section 1.6.1.). The pay teachers receive should be based on objective and measurable criteria such as level of education and experience, and professionalism should be valued over one's country of origin and native language.

5.8. Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the data presented in Chapter 4 and synthesised the results in light of the existing scholarly literature on native speaker ideology, which was reviewed

in Chapter 1. It appears that native speakerism has permeated the field of ELT in Poland, as it was present not only in the responses provided by students, parents, and language schools, but also in those given by Polish teachers of English themselves. The ELT market in Poland seems to operate on unexamined stereotypes, which can adversely affect native as well as non-native speakers alike. Despite all the weaknesses attributed to native speaker teachers, they continue to be hired with fewer qualifications and earn more than their non-native speaking counterparts.

The chapter also offered a critical examination of the major existing definitions of native speakerism and attempted to apply them to the Polish educational context. The Polish form of native speakerism seems to be manifested in more convoluted ways than the dominant definitions suggest. In contrast to Holliday's (2005) view, native speakers in Poland are believed neither to be ideal language models nor to possess ideal methodology, yet they still hold a special status and privilege in ELT and in the society at large. It appears that there exists a need for a significant shift in the understanding of native speakerism on a broader, international scale to facilitate the process of tackling and eliminating such discriminatory practices from the profession.

Finally, the chapter closed with a list of proposals for teacher education programmes and language schools to improve teacher professionalism, achieve equal treatment of non-native-speaking teachers, and thereby raise the quality of education in the booming and ever-expanding ELT sector of contemporary Poland. The situation should continue to be closely monitored, as the issue of native and non-native speaker discrimination is only in its initial stages in Poland.

Conclusion

This research project aimed to answer one major research question by posing eleven subordinate questions. The main objective was to gauge whether the effects of native speakerism may be identified in Polish language schools. This thesis arose in the wake of an ongoing worldwide trend since the early 1990s to identify, explore, and tackle discriminatory trends in the field of English Language Teaching. As Poland has remained a glaringly overlooked and neglected area of research to date, deliberate steps should be taken to bridge the current gaps in our knowledge.

The research questions were addressed by designing an explanatory mixed-methods study. First, questionnaires were collected from four different cohorts: Polish teachers of English, students, and parents of students, and private language schools. This constituted the quantitative phase of the project. Then, qualitative data were collected by means of semi-structured interviews conducted with Polish language teachers. This approach avoids the philosophical debates between (post-)positivists and constructionists, and combines the strengths and alleviates the weaknesses of purely quantitative or qualitative research designs.

The thesis consists of five chapters together with an Introduction and Conclusion. Chapter One introduced the various definitions of native and non-native speakers and the concept of native speakerism and its effects on English Language Teaching. Chapter Two focused on the theoretical aspects of Global Englishes, including the Concentric Circle model, English as a Lingua Franca, and the question of ownership of English. It also provided an overview of the state of the English language in Poland, with a focus on the period of rapid expansion after 1989. Chapter Three outlined the philosophical assumptions behind this project, provided a rationale for the choice of mixed methods, and introduced the necessary methodological concepts. The research questions were listed and discussed in both the pre- and post-pilot versions. Finally, ethical considerations were briefly summarised.

Chapter Four presented both quantitative and qualitative data collected for the purposes of the project to answer the research questions introduced in Chapter Three. For each question, tables and graphs were presented to help visualise the findings. Extracts from semi-structured interviews were quoted to shed more light on the statistical results,

as suggested by the explanatory MMR design. Finally, Chapter Five discussed the implications of the findings, which were compared and contrasted with the existing scholarship on the topic. At the end, some practical implications were suggested for teacher training courses and private language schools to help remedy the negative effects of native speakerism.

It seems appropriate to briefly delineate the conclusions of this project and its potential contributions to the field of ELT. From my findings, it can safely be stated that native speakerism does exist in Poland, although it is manifested in contradictory ways. According to all three cohorts asked the question, the native speaker category is overwhelmingly a closed one, with mother tongue/L1 and birth being the most recognised characteristics. This seems to be an important contribution to the literature, as never before have students, parents, and teachers been given so much freedom to express what they actually have in mind when talking about native speakers.

For the most part, native speakers are praised for their linguistic abilities and criticised for their lack of methodological knowledge. On the contrary, Polish teachers of English are seen as more methodologically capable, but less linguistically skilled. There seems to exist a preference for native speakers among parents and students, but the preference is not completely clear-cut as, for example, students who are currently enrolled at language schools are more likely to ask for classes with educated Polish teachers of English. Language schools claim not to privilege native speaker teachers, yet at the same time appear to pay them more and require fewer educational qualifications from them. These findings are especially significant as, to the best of the author's knowledge, no previous study in Poland collected data from as many respondents on the topic of native and Polish speaker teachers in private language schools.

Finally, Polish teachers of English overwhelmingly responded that they do not feel discriminated against as non-native speakers. However, after conducting interviews and correlating teachers' opinions with the data from the other cohorts, a more comprehensive and complex image of discrimination emerged. It is argued that the prevailing definitions of native speakerism should be adapted to particular sociocultural contexts, such as those of Poland and other Eastern European countries.

This dissertation would not be complete without putting forward suggestions for further research on the topic of native speakerism and highlighting some of its limitations. As just noted, it appears that teachers are for the most part unaware of the discrimination

they face, both covert and overt. Such a state of affairs makes it virtually impossible for Polish teachers of English to identify and combat discriminatory behaviours and practices. It is therefore proposed that a research project be designed which could gauge whether teachers' attitudes and awareness can be changed by exposing them to scientific literature regarding issues pertaining to native speakerism and its effects on native and non-native speaker teachers. Although this project has focused on collecting qualitative data from Polish teachers of English as they constituted the main target of study, another investigation could also be undertaken to collect qualitative data from students, parents, and language school administrators to better understand the attitudes expressed by them in the questionnaires for this project. Finally, the preference for Inner Circle native speakers played only a marginal role in this project, but the results suggest that it may be an issue worth further exploration, especially as Poles come into increasing contact with English speakers from Outer Circle countries.

SUMMARY

The popularity of English as a foreign language in Poland has grown exponentially in the three decades since the fall of Communism in 1989. Such a rapid increase naturally has had to be addressed by educating more teachers of the language (Komorowska 2014). It is estimated that over 80% of English language teachers worldwide in both EFL and ESL countries are non-native speakers (Canagarajah 2005; Braine 2010), and the proportion for Poland is certainly even higher. Despite such an overwhelming majority of non-native teachers, there exists a vast body of research from numerous countries showing that such teachers suffer from covert and overt forms of discrimination on a daily basis (Moussu and Llurda 2008). Nevertheless, research has repeatedly shown that non-native speaker teachers can be as successful as their native-speaking counterparts (e.g. Medgyes 1992; Widdowson 1994; Ma 2012). This led Holliday (2005) to coin the term *native speakerism* to refer to the prevailing ideology in the field of ELT that privileges native over non-native speaker teachers.

The existence of native speakerism in Poland and its effects on Polish teachers of English have been little studied to date, with only two studies devoted to the topic, namely Kula (2011) and Kiczkowiak (2018). This project aims to determine whether there exist such discriminatory attitudes and practices in Polish language schools by means of the explanatory mixed-methods design. In the first stage, questionnaires were collected from four cohorts, namely Polish teachers of English, students, parents of students, and language schools. The analysis of the collected quantitative data collected was followed by the qualitative stage, which consisted of semi-structured interviews with selected Polish teachers. The qualitative stage of the research project provided greater insight into the statistical findings, thereby allowing a more comprehensive view of the situation.

The findings show that native speakerism is present in Poland, but it is manifested in complex and often subtle ways, so that most Polish teachers of English are not aware of the discrimination they face in their professional lives. Some of the most prominent patterns to emerge from the study were the pay gap between native and non-native speaker teachers and the discrepancy between the level of education required of the two groups, with a tendency for native speakers to be employed despite lacking the qualifications required of non-native speaker teachers. Moreover, it appears that non-native

speakers in Poland are mainly appreciated for their methodological knowledge rather than their language skills, while the opposite is true of native speaker teachers. Finally, the findings suggest that the existing definitions of native speakerism should be altered to better take into account the realities of the Polish (and potentially Eastern European) context of English language teaching.

STRESZCZENIE

Niezaprzeczalnie, wraz z rozwojem ekonomicznym, który nastąpił po upadku komunizmu, popularność języka angielskiego jako obcego drastycznie wzrosła. Tak gwałtowna zmiana w trendach wymagała wykształcenia większej liczby nauczycieli tegoż języka (Komorowska 2014). Przyjmuje się, że około 80% nauczycieli języka angielskiego na świecie to nauczyciele nienatywni, zarówno w krajach, w których język angielski jest drugim jak i obcym językiem. Bezpiecznym wydaje się być założenie, że ta różnica będzie jeszcze wyraźniejsza w Polsce. Pomimo tak znaczącej przewagi na rynku, istnieje wiele badań wskazujących na to, że nienatywni nauczyciele angielskiego często doświadczają jawnej jak i ukrytej dyskryminacji (Moussu i Llurda 2008). Ma ona miejsce pomimo badań, które jasno pokazują, że nienatywni nauczyciele mogą być tak samo skuteczni, jak ich natywni koledzy (np. Medgyes 1992; Widdowson 1994; Ma 2012). Ta nierówność doprowadziła do stworzenia terminu *native speakerism*, który został wprowadzony przez Adriana Hollidaya (2005). Może on zostać zdefiniowany jako ideologia, która uprzywilejowuje mówców natywnych, z powodu ich domniemanej idealnej znajomości języka, kultury i metodologii.

Sytuacja polskich nauczycieli języka angielskiego przez długi czas pozostawała całkowicie niezbadana, z jedynie dwoma projektami poświęconymi zagadnieniom związanym z ideologią *native speakerismu* w Polsce, mianowicie Kula (2011) i Kiczowski (2018). Z tego powodu, obecne badanie powzięło sobie za cel sprawdzenie czy ideologia uprzywilejowująca *native speakerów* w Polsce istnieje, używając do tego metod mieszanych strategii sekwencyjnej w wersji eksplanacyjnej. W pierwszej kolejności zostały zebrane kwestionariusze od czterech grup, tj. polskich nauczycieli języka angielskiego, uczniów, rodziców dzieci uczęszczających na zajęcia z języka angielskiego i szkół językowych. Po przeanalizowaniu danych ilościowych rozpoczęła się faza jakościowa, która polegała na przeprowadzeniu częściowo strukturalizowanych wywiadów z nauczycielami języka angielskiego. Dane jakościowe zostały zebrane w celu wyjaśnienia wyników uzyskanych w fazie ilościowej i uzyskania pełniejszego obrazu sytuacji.

Przeprowadzone badanie pokazuje, że *native speakerism* jest obecny w Polsce, jednak jego manifestacja nie jest jednoznaczna. Większość nauczycieli języka angielskiego nie zdaje sobie sprawy z dyskryminacji, która dotyka ich w życiu zawodowym.

Pomimo tego, jedne z najbardziej wydatnych wyników pokazują, że istnieje duża różnica w zarobkach pomiędzy polskimi nauczycielami a native speakerami. Dodatkowo poziom wykształcenia wymagany od polskich nauczycieli jest dużo wyższy od tego wymaganego od mówców natywnych. Wydaje się, że mówcy natywni mogą otrzymać zatrudnienie pomimo braku kwalifikacji. Ponadto, nauczyciele nienatywni są głównie doceniani za swoją wiedzę metodologiczną, a krytykowani za umiejętności językowe. Odwrotna sytuacja występuje w przypadku nauczycieli natywnych. Wyniki sugerują także, że obecna definicja native speakerizmu musi zostać zmieniona, żeby lepiej pasować do polskiego (a potencjalnie także wschodnio-europejskiego) kontekstu.

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Appendix A: Language Schools Questionnaire (PL)

Zatrudnianie natywnych i nienatywnych nauczycieli języka angielskiego

Szanowni Państwo, poniższy kwestionariusz jest częścią składową projektu doktorskiego, prowadzonego na Wydziale Anglistyki Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu.

Badanie, do którego mają Państwo za chwilę podejść jest całkowicie anonimowe i nie powinno zająć więcej niż 5 - 10 minut.

W poniższej ankiecie zostaną Państwo poproszeni o odpowiedzenie na pytania odnoszące się do procesu zatrudniania polskich nauczycieli języka angielskiego oraz mówców rodowitych, tzw. native speakerów.

*Required

Informacje ogólne

W tej części kwestionariusza zostaną Państwo poproszeni o uzupełnienie podstawowych informacji dotyczących Państwa oraz firmy, dla której Państwo pracują.

1. W jak dużym mieście znajduje się Państwa szkoła? *

- wieś
- 0 - 20.000 mieszkańców
- 20.000 - 100.000 mieszkańców
- 100.000 - 200.000 mieszkańców
- 200.000 - 500.000 mieszkańców
- więcej niż 500.000 mieszkańców

2. Jaką pozycję zajmuje Pan/Pani w szkole? *

- właściciel
- pracownik sekretariatu
- specjalista ds. zasobów ludzkich
- inna

3. Czy jest Pani/Pan odpowiedzialny za proces zatrudnienia nauczycieli języka angielskiego w szkole? *

- tak
 dzielę tę odpowiedzialność z innymi
 nie

4. Jakie kursy oferuje Państwa szkoła? *

- ogólny angielski
 angielski w biznesie
 angielski dla edukacji wyższej
 angielski dla dzieci

Other: _____

5. Ile uczniów liczy Państwa szkoła?

6. Z iloma nauczycielami języka angielskiego współpracuje Państwa szkoła?

7. Czy Państwa szkoła zatrudnia mówców rodzowitych języka angielskiego? (native speakerów)
*

Tak

Nie

8. Ilu nauczycieli języka angielskiego jest native speakerami?

9. W jaki sposób Państwa szkoła poszukuje nauczycieli języka angielskiego?

ogłoszenia w internecie

poprzez kontakty osobiste

ogłoszenia w gazetach

Other: _____

Sekcja
rekrutacyjna

W tej części ankiety zostaną Państwo poproszeni o ocenienie, jak ważne są kolejne czynniki w Państwa procesie rekrutacji pracowników na pozycję nauczyciela języka angielskiego, w skali:
1 - nieważne,
2 - mało ważne,
3 - nie jestem pewien,
4 - ważne,
5 - bardzo ważne.
Oprócz tego, poproszeni będą także Państwo o odpowiedzenie na trzy dodatkowe pytania.

10. Wykształcenie *

1 2 3 4 5

Nieważne Bardzo ważne

11. Uprawnienia nauczycielskie *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Nieważne | <input type="radio"/> | Bardzo ważne |

12. Narodowość polska *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Nieważne | <input type="radio"/> | Bardzo ważne |

13. Status mówcy rodzowitego (native speaker) *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Nieważne | <input type="radio"/> | Bardzo ważne |

14. Doświadczenie *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Nieważne | <input type="radio"/> | Bardzo ważne |

15. Polecenie *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Nieważne | <input type="radio"/> | Bardzo ważne |

16. Lekcja próbna *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Nieważne | <input type="radio"/> | Bardzo ważne |

17. Materiały próbne (np. osnowa zajęć) *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Nieważne | <input type="radio"/> | Bardzo ważne |

18. Wrażenie podczas rozmowy kwalifikacyjnej *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Nieważne | <input type="radio"/> | Bardzo ważne |

19. Jakie inne kryteria biorą Państwo pod uwagę?

20. Czego Państwa szkoła oczekuje od nauczyciela języka angielskiego?

21. Czy nauczyciel języka angielskiego, który NIE JEST native speakerem musi mieć kierunkowe wykształcenie? *

- Tak
- Nie

22. Czy nauczyciel języka angielskiego, który JEST native speakerem musi mieć kierunkowe wykształcenie? *

- Tak
- Nie

**Sekcja
rekrutacyjna
(2)**

W tej części ankiety zostanie Państwu przedstawione 11 stwierdzeń, odnoszących się do polityki zatrudnienia w Państwa szkole. Państwa zadaniem jest ocenienie, w jakim stopniu zgadzacie się Państwo z przedstawionymi stwierdzeniami na skali:

- 1 - zdecydowanie nie,
- 2 - pewnie nie,
- 3 - nie jestem pewien,
- 4 - pewnie tak,
- 5 - zdecydowanie tak.

23. Wolał/abym zatrudniać tylko wykształconych native speakerów z głównych anglojęzycznych krajów (Wielka Brytania, Stany Zjednoczone, Australia). *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

24. Wolał/abym zatrudniać tylko wykształconych native speakerów z innych anglojęzycznych krajów (np. Nigeria, Indie, Singapur) *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

25. Wolał/abym zatrudniać tylko wykształconych nauczycieli języka angielskiego z Polski. *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

26. Zatrudniam native speakerów, bo wpływa to dobrze na wizerunek mojej szkoły. *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

27. Zatrudniam native speakerów, bo wymagają tego ode mnie moi klienci. *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

28. Zdarza się, że klienci otwarcie proszą o zajęcia z native speakerem. *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

29. Zdarza się, że klienci otwarcie proszą o zajęcia z polskim lektorem języka angielskiego. *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

30. Uważam, że polscy nauczyciele języka angielskiego są lepiej przygotowani dydaktycznie.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

31. Uważam, że native speakerzy języka angielskiego są lepiej przygotowani dydaktycznie. *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

32. Uważam, że polscy nauczyciele języka angielskiego są lepiej przygotowani językowo do uczenia. *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

33. Uważam, że native speakerzy są lepiej przygotowani językowo do uczenia. *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

Wynagrodzenie

W tej sekcji zostaną Państwo poproszeni o podanie przybliżonego wynagrodzenia nauczyciel języka angielskiego w Państwa szkole. Jeżeli nie czują się Państwo dobrze, podając takie informacje, prosimy zostawić tę sekcję pustą i przejść dalej.

34. Ile złotych brutto na godzinę zegarową otrzymuje polski nauczyciel języka angielskiego, który prowadzi własną działalność gospodarczą?

35. Ile złotych brutto na godzinę zegarową otrzymuje nauczyciel języka angielskiego, który je native speakerem i prowadzi własną działalność gospodarczą?

Dziękuję za
wypełnienie ankiety.

Jeżeli chcieliby Państwo uzyskać więcej informacji na temat badania, proszę o kontakt pod adresem mailowym:
tpaciorowski@wa.amu.edu.pl
W celu dokończenia ankiety, należy wcisnąć "Prześlij" poniżej.

Appendix B: Students Questionnaire (PL)

Kwestionariusz dla osób uczących się języka angielskiego w szkołach językowych

Szanowni Państwo, poniższy kwestionariusz jest częścią składową projektu doktorskiego, prowadzonego na Wydziale Anglistyki Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Projekt dotyczy relacji pomiędzy polskimi a rodzowymi mówcami języka angielskiego w środowisku edukacyjnym.

Badanie, do którego mają Państwo za chwilę podejść jest całkowicie anonimowe i nie powinno zająć więcej niż 5 - 10 minut.

W poniższej ankiecie zostaną Państwo poproszeni o odpowiedzenie na pytania odnoszące się do Państwa opinii na temat relacji pomiędzy polskojęzycznymi nauczycielami języka angielskiego a rodzowymi mówcami języka angielskiego, tzw. native speakerami.

*Required

Dane
demograficzne

W tej części kwestionariusza zostaną Państwo poproszeni o uzupełnienie podstawowych informacji dotyczących Państwa oraz Państwa ścieżki edukacji.

1. Płeć *

Mark only one oval.

Mężczyzna

Kobieta

Inne

2. Wiek (w latach) *

3. Czy kiedykolwiek uczył/a się Pan/Pani języka angielskiego w szkole językowej? *

Mark only one oval.

Tak

Nie

4. Czy obecnie uczy się Pan/Pani języka angielskiego w szkole językowej? *

Mark only one oval.

- Tak
 Nie

5. Czy miał Pan/Pani kiedykolwiek zajęcia z mówcą rodzowitym języka angielskiego? (native speakerem) *

Mark only one oval.

- Tak
 Nie

6. Jak ocenia Pan/Pani swój poziom języka angielskiego? *

Mark only one oval.

- dopiero zacząłem/am się uczyć
 początkujący (A1-A2)
 średniozaawansowany (B1-B2)
 zaawansowany (C1-C2)

7. Czy kiedykolwiek przebywał/a Pan/Pani w kraju anglojęzycznym? *

Mark only one oval.

- Tak
 Nie

8. Jeśli tak, jak długo?

Sekcja
badawcza
(1)

W tej części kwestionariusza zostaną Państwo poproszeni o podanie własnych opinii oraz definicji. Ważne jest, żeby nie sprawdzali Państwo poprawnych odpowiedzi w internecie lub książkach, tylko napisali to, co naprawdę myślą.

9. Kim według Pana/Pani jest native speaker? *

10. Jakie zalety mają według Pana/Pani native speakerzy jako nauczyciele języka angielskiego? *

11. Jakie wady mają według Pana/Pani native speakerzy jako nauczyciele języka angielskiego?

12. Jakie zalety mają według Pana/Pani mają polskojęzyczni nauczyciele języka angielskiego?

13. Jakie wady mają według Pana/Pani polskojęzyczni nauczyciele języka angielskiego? *

14. Czy kiedykolwiek poprosił/a Pan/Pani o zajęcia z native speakerem? *

Mark only one oval.

Tak

Nie

**Sekcja
badawcza
(2)**

W tej części ankiety zostanie Państwu przedstawione 8 stwierdzeń. Państwa zadaniem jest ocenienie, w jakim stopniu zgadzacie się Państwo z przedstawionymi stwierdzeniami na skali:
1 - zdecydowanie nie,
2 - pewnie nie,
3 - nie jestem pewien,
4 - pewnie tak,
5 - zdecydowanie tak.

15. Wolę mieć zajęcia z wykształconym nauczycielem języka angielskiego z Polski niż z native speakerem. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

16. Wolę mieć zajęcia z wykształconym native speakerem z głównych anglojęzycznych krajów (Wielka Brytania, Stany Zjednoczone, Australia). *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

17. Wolę mieć zajęcia z wykształconym native speakerem z innych anglojęzycznych krajów (r Nigeria, Indie, Singapur). *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

18. Wolę mieć zajęcia dzielone, tj. raz z polskim nauczycielem, raz z native speakerem. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

19. Uważam, że więcej nauczę się od native speakera języka angielskiego. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

20. Uważam, że więcej nauczę się od polskiego nauczyciela języka angielskiego. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

21. Polscy nauczyciele są lepiej przygotowani do uczenia pod względem dydaktycznym. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

22. Native speakerzy języka angielskiego są lepiej przygotowani do uczenia pod względem dydaktycznym. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

23. Polscy nauczyciele są lepiej przygotowani do uczenia pod względem językowym. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

24. Native speakerzy języka angielskiego są lepiej przygotowani do uczenia pod względem językowym. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

25. Uważam, że polscy nauczyciele języka angielskiego nie uczą naturalnego angielskiego, tylko książkowego. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

26. Uważam, że polscy nauczyciele języka angielskiego za bardzo skupiają się na gramatyce, za mało na komunikacji. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

27. Uważam, że polscy nauczyciele języka angielskiego nie mają wystarczającej wiedzy kulturowej z zakresu anglojęzycznego obszaru językowego. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

28. Boję się, że mając zajęcia z polskim nauczycielem języka angielskiego, nauczę się błędów których później ciężko się będzie oduczyć. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

29. Szukając szkoły językowej, zwracam uwagę na to, czy zatrudnia native speakerów. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

Podziękowania i kontakt

Dziękuję uprzejmie za wypełnienie ankiety.

W celu dokończenia ankiety, należy wcisnąć "Prześlij" poniżej.

Jeżeli chcą Państwo skontaktować się z osobą prowadzącą badanie, prosimy o email:

tpaciorkowski@wa.amu.edu.pl

Appendix C: Parents of Students Questionnaire (PL)

Kwestionariusz dla rodziców dzieci i młodzieży uczącej się języka angielskiego w szkołach językowych

Szanowni Państwo, poniższy kwestionariusz jest częścią składową projektu doktorskiego, prowadzonego na Wydziale Anglistyki Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Projekt dotyczy relacji pomiędzy polskimi a rodzowymi mówcami języka angielskiego w środowisku edukacyjnym.

Badanie, do którego mają Państwo za chwilę podejść jest całkowicie anonimowe i nie powinno zająć więcej niż 5 - 10 minut.

W poniższej ankiecie zostaną Państwo poproszeni o odpowiedzenie na pytania odnoszące się do Państwa opinii na temat relacji pomiędzy polskojęzycznymi nauczycielami języka angielskiego a rodzowymi mówcami języka angielskiego, tzw. native speakerami.

*Required

Dane
demograficzne

W tej części kwestionariusza zostaną Państwo poproszeni o uzupełnienie podstawowych informacji dotyczących Państwa oraz Państwa dziecka/dzieci.

1. Czy ma Pan/Pani dzieci? *

Mark only one oval.

Tak

Nie

2. Ile dzieci Pan/Pani ma? *

3. Czy Pana/Pani dziecko/dzieci uczyło/y się kiedykolwiek języka angielskiego w szkole językowej? *

Mark only one oval.

- Tak
 Nie

4. Czy Pana/Pani dziecko/dzieci miało kiedykolwiek zajęcia z mówcą rodzimym języka angielskiego (native speakerem)? *

Mark only one oval.

- Tak
 Nie

5. Czy uczy się bądź kiedykolwiek uczył/a się Pan/Pani języka angielskiego w szkole językowej? *

Mark only one oval.

- Tak
 Nie

6. Czy miał Pan/Pani kiedykolwiek zajęcia z native speakerem języka angielskiego? *

Mark only one oval.

- Tak
 Nie

7. Jak ocenia Pan/Pani swój poziom języka angielskiego? *

Mark only one oval.

- nie znam angielskiego
- dopiero zacząłem/am się uczyć
- początkujący (A1-A2)
- średniozaawansowany (B1-B2)
- zaawansowany (C1-C2)

8. Jak ocenia Pan/Pani poziom znajomości języka angielskiego swojego dziecka/dzieci? *

Tick all that apply.

- dopiero zaczęto/y się uczyć
- początkujący (A1-A2)
- średniozaawansowany (B1-B2)
- zaawansowany (C1-C2)

9. Czy kiedykolwiek przebywał/a Pan/Pani w kraju anglojęzycznym? *

Mark only one oval.

- Tak
- Nie

10. Jeśli tak, jak długo?

**Sekcja
badawcza
(1)**

W tej części kwestionariusza zostaną Państwo poproszeni o podanie własnych opinii oraz definicji. Ważne jest, żeby nie sprawdzali Państwo poprawnych odpowiedzi w internecie lub książkach, tylko napisali to, co naprawdę myślą.

11. Kim według Pana/Pani jest native speaker? *

12. Jakie zalety według Pana/Pani mają native speakerzy jako nauczyciele języka angielskiego? *

13. Jakie wady według Pana/Pani mają native speakerzy jako nauczyciele języka angielskiego?

14. Jakie zalety według Pana/Pani mają polskojęzyczni nauczyciele języka angielskiego? *

15. Jakie wady według Pana/Pani mają polskojęzyczni nauczyciele języka angielskiego? *

16. Czy kiedykolwiek poprosił/a Pan/Pani o zajęcia z native speakerem dla swoich dzieci? *

Mark only one oval.

Tak

Nie

**Sekcja
badawcza
(2)**

W tej części ankiety zostanie Państwu przedstawione 15 stwierżeń. Państwa zadaniem jest ocenienie, w jakim stopniu zgadzacie się Państwo z przedstawionymi stwierzzeniami na skali:
1 - zdecydowanie nie,
2 - pewnie nie,
3 - nie jestem pewien,
4 - pewnie tak,
5 - zdecydowanie tak.

17. Wolę, żeby moje dzieci miały zajęcia z wykształconym nauczycielem języka angielskiego Polski. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

18. Wolę, żeby moje dzieci miały zajęcia z wykształconym native speakerem z głównych anglojęzycznych krajów (Wielka Brytania, Stany Zjednoczone, Australia). *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

19. Wolę, żeby moje dzieci miały zajęcia z wykształconym native speakerem z innych anglojęzycznych krajów (np. Nigeria, Indie, Singapur). *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

20. Wolę, żeby moje dzieci miały zajęcia dzielone, tj. raz z polskim nauczycielem, raz z native speakerem. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

21. Uważam, że moje dzieci więcej nauczą się od native speakera języka angielskiego. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

22. Uważam, że moje dzieci więcej nauczą się od polskiego nauczyciela języka angielskiego. ¹

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

23. Polscy nauczyciele są lepiej przygotowani do uczenia pod względem dydaktycznym. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

24. Native speakerzy języka angielskiego są lepiej przygotowani do uczenia pod względem dydaktycznym. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

25. Polscy nauczyciele są lepiej przygotowani do uczenia pod względem językowym. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

26. Native speakerzy języka angielskiego są lepiej przygotowani do uczenia pod względem językowym. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

27. Uważam, że polscy nauczyciele języka angielskiego nie uczą naturalnego angielskiego, tylko książkowego. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

28. Uważam, że polscy nauczyciele języka angielskiego za bardzo skupiają się na gramatyce, za mało na komunikacji. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

29. Uważam, że polscy nauczyciele języka angielskiego nie mają wystarczającej wiedzy kulturowej z zakresu anglojęzycznego obszaru językowego. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

30. Boję się, że mając zajęcia z polskim nauczycielem języka angielskiego, moje dziecko nauczy się błędów, których później ciężko się będzie oduczyć. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

31. Szukając szkoły językowej dla moich dzieci, zwracam uwagę na to, czy zatrudnia native speakerów. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

Podziękowania i kontakt

Dziękuję uprzejmie za wypełnienie ankiety.

W celu dokończenia ankiety, należy wcisnąć "Prześlij" poniżej.

Jeżeli chcą Państwo skontaktować się z osobą prowadzącą badanie, prosimy o email:

tpaciorkowski@wa.amu.edu.pl

Appendix D: Polish Teachers of English Questionnaire (PL)

Kwestionariusz dla nauczycieli języka angielskiego

Szanowni Państwo, poniższy kwestionariusz jest częścią składową projektu doktorskiego, prowadzonego na Wydziale Anglistyki Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Projekt dotyczy relacji w środowisku nauczycielskim/lektorskim pomiędzy polskimi a rodzowymi mówcami języka angielskiego.

Badanie, do którego mają Państwo za chwilę podejść jest całkowicie anonimowe i nie powinno zająć więcej niż 5 - 10 minut.

W poniższej ankiecie zostaną Państwo poproszeni o odpowiedzenie na pytania odnoszące się do Państwa opinii na temat relacji pomiędzy polskojęzycznymi nauczycielami języka angielskiego a rodzowymi mówcami języka angielskiego, tzw. native speakerami.

*Required

Dane
demograficzne

W tej części kwestionariusza zostaną Państwo poproszeni o uzupełnienie podstawowych informacji dotyczących Państwa oraz Państwa edukacji.

1. Płeć *

Mark only one oval.

- Mężczyzna
 Kobieta
 Inne

2. Wiek (w latach) *

3. Ile lat pracuje Pan/Pani jako nauczyciel języka angielskiego? (w latach) *

4. Czy kiedykolwiek pracował/a Pan/Pani jako lektor w szkole językowej? *

Mark only one oval.

- Tak
 Nie

5. Jaki jest Pana/Pani poziom wykształcenia? *

Mark only one oval.

- wykształcenie średnie
 stopień licencjata (kierunkowy)
 stopień licencjata (niezwiązany z nauczaniem)
 stopień magistra (kierunkowy)
 stopień magistra (niezwiązany z nauczaniem)
 obecnie studiuje (studia licencjackie, kierunkowo)
 obecnie studiuje (studia licencjackie, niezwiązane z nauczaniem)
 obecnie studiuje (studia magisterskie, kierunkowo)
 obecnie studiuje (studia magisterskie, niezwiązane z nauczaniem)

6. Czy kiedykolwiek przebywał/a Pan/Pani w kraju anglojęzycznym? *

Mark only one oval.

- Tak
 Nie

7. Jeśli tak, jak długo?

**Sekcja
badawcza
(1)**

W tej części kwestionariusza zostaną Państwo poproszeni o podanie własnych opinii oraz definicji. Ważne jest, żeby nie sprawdzali Państwo poprawnych odpowiedzi w internecie, tylko napisali to, co naprawdę myślą.

8. Kim według Pana/Pani jest native speaker? *

9. Jakie zalety mają według Pana/Pani native speakerzy jako nauczyciele języka angielskiego?

10. Jakie wady mają według Pana/Pani native speakerzy jako nauczyciele języka angielskiego?

11. Jakie zalety mają według Pana/Pani polskojęzyczni nauczyciele języka angielskiego? *

12. Jakie wady mają według Pana/Pani polskojęzyczni nauczyciele języka angielskiego? *

13. Czy kiedykolwiek poczuł/a się Pan/Pani dyskryminowany/a z powodu nie bycia native speakerem? *

Mark only one oval.

Tak

Nie

14. Jeśli tak, jakiej sytuacji?

15. Czy kiedykolwiek poproszono Pana/Panią o podanie się za native speakera? *

Mark only one oval.

Tak

Nie

16. Jeśli tak, jakiej sytuacji?

**Sekcja
badawcza
(2)**

W tej części ankiety zostanie Państwu przedstawione 12 stwierdzeń. Państwa zadaniem jest ocenienie, w jakim stopniu zgadzacie się Państwo z przedstawionymi stwierdzeniami na skali:
1 - zdecydowanie nie,
2 - pewnie nie,
3 - nie jestem pewien,
4 - pewnie tak,
5 - zdecydowanie tak.

17. Uczniowie często proszą o zajęcia z native speakerem. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

18. Uczniowie często proszą o zajęcia z polskim nauczycielem języka angielskiego. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

19. Czuję się lepiej przygotowany/a dydaktycznie do nauczania języka angielskiego niż native speakerzy. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

20. Czuję, że native speakerzy są lepiej przygotowani dydaktycznie do nauczania języka angielskiego niż ja. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

21. Czuję się lepiej przygotowany/a językowo do nauczania języka angielskiego niż native speakerzy. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

22. Czuję, że native speakerzy są lepiej przygotowani językowo do nauczania języka angielskiego niż ja. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

23. Czuję, że brakuje mi wiedzy na temat kultury anglojęzycznego obszaru językowego. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

24. Zdarza mi się czuć niepewnie, gdy mówię po angielsku w obecności native speakera. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

25. Czuję się pewniej, ucząc gramatyki niż mówienia. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

26. Czuję się pewniej, ucząc mówienia niż gramatyki. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

27. W niektórych ogłoszeniach o pracę ze szkół językowych poszukiwani są tylko native speakerzy. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

28. Czuję, że wymaga się ode mnie większego poziomu wykształcenia niż od native speakerów. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| zdecydowanie nie | <input type="radio"/> | zdecydowanie tak |

Sekcja kontaktowa

29. Jeśli jesteś zainteresowany/a wzięciem udziału w wywiadzie badawczym związanym z wypełnionym kwestionariuszem, zostaw e-mail kontaktowy.

Dziękuję uprzejmie za wypełnienie ankiety.

W celu dokończenia ankiety, należy wcisnąć "Prześlij" poniżej.

Jeżeli chcą Państwo skontaktować się z osobą prowadzącą badanie, prosimy o email:

tpaciorkowski@wa.amu.edu.pl

Appendix E: Language Schools Questionnaire (ENG)

Employing native and non-native English teachers

Dear Sir or Madam, the following questionnaire is a part of the doctoral project conducted at the Faculty of English of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań.

The study you are about to commence is completely anonymous and should not take more than 5 - 10 minutes.

In the survey below you will be asked to answer questions relating to the process of employing Polish teachers and native speakers of the English language.

*Required

Information
general

In this part of the questionnaire you will be asked to complete the basic information concerning you and the company you work for.

1. How big is the town/city your school is located in? *

- village
- 0 - 20,000 people
- 20,000 - 100,000 people
- 100,000 - 200,000 people
- 200,000 - 500,000 people
- more than 500,000 people

2. What is your position at school? *

- owner
- front office
- human resources
- officer other

3. Are you responsible for the process of employing English teachers at school? *

- yes
- I share this responsibility with others
- no

4. What courses does your school offer? *

- general English
- business English
- English for higher education
- English for children
- Other: _____

5. How many students do you have at your school?

6. How many English teachers does your school work with?

7. Does your school employ native speakers of English? *

Yes

No

8. How many English teachers are native speakers?

9. How does your school look for English teachers?

advertisements on the Internet

through personal contacts

advertisements in newspapers

Other: _____

Recruitment
section

In this part of the survey you will be asked to assess how important the following factors are in your recruitment process for the position of English teacher, on a scale:

- 1 - not important,
- 2 - of little importance,
- 3 - I am not sure,
- 4 - important,
- 5 - very important.

In addition, you will also be asked to answer three additional questions.

10. Education *

1 2 3 4 5

Not important Very important

11. Teachers' qualifications *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Not important | <input type="radio"/> | Very important |

12. Polish nationality *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Not important | <input type="radio"/> | Very important |

13. Native speaker status *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Not important | <input type="radio"/> | Very important |

14. Experience *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Not important | <input type="radio"/> | Very important |

15. Recommendation *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Not important | <input type="radio"/> | Very important |

16. Trial lesson*

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Not important | <input type="radio"/> | Very important |

17. Trial materials (e.g. lesson structure) *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Not important | <input type="radio"/> | Very important |

18. Impression during job interview *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Not important | <input type="radio"/> | Very important |

19. What other criteria do you take into account?

20. What does your school expect from an English teacher?

21. Does an English teacher who IS NOT a native speaker need to have a pedagogical degree? *

Yes

No

22. Does an English teacher who IS a native speaker need to have a pedagogical degree? *

Yes

No

Recruitment
section (2)

In this part of the survey you will be presented with 11 statements relating to employment policy at your school. Please assess the extent to which you agree with the statements on the scale:

- 1 - definitely not,
- 2 - probably not,
- 3 - I am not sure,
- 4 - probably yes,
- 5- definitely yes.

23. I would rather employ only educated native speakers from the major English-speaking countries (UK, USA, Australia). *

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

24. I would rather employ only educated native speakers from other English-speaking countries (e.g. Nigeria, India, Singapore) *

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

25. I would rather employ only educated English language teachers from Poland. *

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

26. I employ native speakers, because it positively affects the image of my school. *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

27. I employ native speakers because my clients demand it from me. *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

28. It happens that clients openly ask for classes with a native speaker. *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

29. It happens that clients openly ask for classes with a Polish teacher of the English language. *

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

30. I think that Polish teachers of the English language are better pedagogically prepared for teaching.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

31. I think that native English speakers are better pedagogically prepared for teaching. *

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

|

32. I think that Polish teachers of the English language are better prepared for teaching in terms of language skills. *

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

33. I think that native English speakers are better prepared for teaching in terms of language skills. *

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

Remuneration

In this section you will be asked to give the approximate salary of the English teacher in your school. If you do not feel comfortable giving this information, please leave this section blank and go on.

34. How much in PLN gross per clock hour does a Polish teacher of the English language who is self-employed receive?

35. How much in PLN gross per clock hour does a native speaker teacher of the English language who is self-employed receive?

**Thank you for
completing the survey.**

If you would like to receive more information about the survey, please contact us at the e-mail address:

tpaciorkowski@wa.amu.edu.pl

To complete the survey, please press "Submit" below.

Appendix F: Students Questionnaire (ENG)

Questionnaire for English language learners in language schools

Dear Sir or Madam, the following questionnaire is a part of the doctoral project conducted at the Faculty of English of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. The project concerns the relationship between Polish and native speakers of English in an educational environment.

The study you are about to commence is completely anonymous and should not take more than 5 - 10 minutes.

In the survey below you will be asked to answer questions regarding your opinions on the relationship between Polish teachers of the English language and native speakers of English.

*Required

Demographic data

In this part of the questionnaire you will be asked to complete the basic information about you and your education path.

1. Gender *

Mark only one oval.

Male

Female

Other

2. Age (in years) *

3. Have you ever studied English at a language school? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

4. Are you currently studying English at a language school? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

5. Have you ever had classes with a native English speaker? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

6. How do you rate your English language level? *

Mark only one oval.

I have only just started learning

beginner (A1-A2)

intermediate (B1-B2)

advanced (C1-C2)

7. Have you ever been to an English-speaking country? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

8. If so, how long?

Research
section (1)

In this part of the questionnaire, you will be asked to give your own opinions and definitions. It is important that you do not check the correct answers on the internet or in books, but write what you really think.

9. Who do you think is a native speaker? *

10. What advantages do you think native speakers have as English teachers? *

11. What disadvantages do you think native speakers have as English teachers?

12. What advantages do you think Polish teachers of the English language have?

13. What disadvantages do you think Polish teachers of the English language have? *

14. Have you ever asked for a native speaker classes? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

Research
section (2)

In this part of the survey you will be presented with 8 statements. Please assess the extent to which you agree with the statements on the scale:

- 1- definitely not,
- 2 - probably not,
- 3 - I am not sure,
- 4 - probably yes,
- 5- definitely yes.

15. I prefer to have classes with an educated English teacher from Poland than with a native speaker. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

16. I prefer to have classes with an educated native speaker from major English speaking countries (UK, USA, Australia). *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

17. I prefer to have classes with an educated native speaker from major English speaking countries (Nigeria, India, Singapore). *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

18. I prefer to have shared classes, i.e. once with a Polish teacher, once with a native speaker. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

19. I think I will learn more from a native speaker of English. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

20. I think I will learn more from a Polish teacher of the English language. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

21. Polish teachers are better pedagogically prepared to teach. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

22. Native English speakers are better pedagogically prepared to teach. *

Mark only one oval.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

23. Polish teachers are better prepared for teaching in terms of language skills. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

24. Native English speakers are better prepared for teaching in terms of language skills. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

25. I believe that Polish teachers of the English language do not teach natural English, only its textbook version. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

26. I think that Polish English teachers focus too much on grammar, not enough on communication. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

27. I believe that Polish English teachers do not have sufficient cultural knowledge of the English language area. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

28. I'm afraid that having a class with a Polish teacher of the English language I will learn mistakes that will be hard to eliminate later. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

29. When I look for a language school, I pay attention to whether it employs native speakers. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

Thanks, and contact

Thank you very much for completing the survey.

To complete the survey, please press "Submit" below.

If you would like to contact the person conducting the survey, please email us:

tpaciorkowski@wa.amu.edu.pl

Appendix G: Parents of Students Questionnaire (ENG)

Questionnaire for parents of children and teenagers learning English in language schools

Dear Sir or Madam, the following questionnaire is a part of the doctoral project conducted at the Faculty of English of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. The project concerns the relationship between Polish and native speakers of English in an educational environment.

The study you are about to commence is completely anonymous and should not take more than 5 - 10 minutes.

In the survey below you will be asked to answer questions regarding your opinions on the relationship between Polish teachers of the English language and native English speakers.

*Required

Demographic data

In this part of the questionnaire you will be asked to complete basic information about you and your child/children.

1. Do you have children? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

2. How many children do you have? *

3. Has your child/children ever learned English in a language school? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

4. Has your child/children ever had classes with a native English speaker? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

5. Do you study or have you ever studied English at a language school? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

6. Have you ever had classes with a native English speaker? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

7. How do you rate your English language level? *

Mark only one oval.

- I do not speak English
- I just started learning
- beginner (A1-A2)
- intermediate (B1-B2)
- advanced (C1-C2)

8. How do you assess your child's/children's English language skills? *

Tick all that apply.

- they just started learning
- beginner (A1-A2)
- intermediate (B1-B2)
- advanced (C1-C2)

9. Have you ever been to an English-speaking country? *

Mark only one oval.

- Yes
- No

10. If so, how long?

Research
section (1)

In this part of the questionnaire, you will be asked to give your own opinions and your own definitions. It is important that you do not check the correct answers on the internet or in books, but write what you really think.

11. Who do you think is a native speaker? *

12. What advantages do you think native speakers have as English teachers? *

13. What disadvantages do you think native speakers have as English teachers?

14. What advantages do you think Polish teachers of the English language have? *

15. What disadvantages do you think Polish teachers of the English language have? *

16. Have you ever asked for a native speaker classes for your children? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

Research
section (2)

In this part of the survey you will be presented with 15 statements. Please assess the extent to which you agree with the statements on the scale:

- 1- definitely not,
- 2 - probably not,
- 3 - I am not sure,
- 4 - probably yes,
- 5- definitely yes.

17. I prefer my children to have classes with an educated English teacher from Poland. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

18. I prefer my children to have classes with an educated native speaker from major English-speaking countries (UK, USA, Australia). *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

19. I prefer my children to have classes with an educated native speaker from major English-speaking countries (e.g. Nigeria, India, Singapore). *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

20. I prefer my children to have shared classes, i.e. once with a Polish teacher, once with a native speaker. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

21. I think my children will learn more from a native speaker of English. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

22. I think my children will learn more from a Polish teacher of the English language.

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

23. Polish teachers are better pedagogically prepared to teach. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

24. Native English speakers are better pedagogically prepared to teach. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

25. Polish teachers are better prepared for teaching in terms of language skills. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

26. Native English speakers are better prepared for teaching in terms of language skills. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

27. I believe that Polish teachers of the English language do not teach natural English, only its textbook version. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

28. I think that Polish English teachers focus too much on grammar, not enough on communication. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

29. I believe that Polish English teachers do not have sufficient cultural knowledge of the English language area. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

30. I'm afraid that having a class with a Polish teacher of the English language, my child will learn mistakes that will be hard to eliminate later. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

31. When I look for a language school for my children, I pay attention to whether it employs native speakers. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

Thanks, and contact

Thank you very much for completing the survey.

In order to complete the survey, please press "Submit" below.

If you would like to contact the person conducting the survey, please email us: tpaciorkowski@wa.amu.edu.pl

Appendix H: Polish Teachers of English Questionnaire (ENG)

Questionnaire for English language teachers

Dear Sir or Madam, the following questionnaire is a part of the doctoral project conducted at the Faculty of English of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. The project concerns the relationship between Polish and native speakers of English in a teacher environment.

The study you are about to commence is completely anonymous and should not take more than 5 - 10 minutes.

In the survey below you will be asked to answer questions regarding your opinions on the relationship between Polish teachers of the English language and native English speakers.

*Required

Demographic data

In this part of the questionnaire you will be asked to complete basic information about you and your education.

1. Gender *

Mark only one oval.

- Male
 Female
 Other

2. Age (in years) *

3. How many years have you worked as an English teacher? (in years) *

4. Have you ever worked as English teacher at a language school? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

5. What is your level of education? *

Mark only one oval.

secondary education

Bachelor's degree (teaching related)

Bachelor's degree (not related to teaching) master's

degree (teaching related)

master's degree (not related to teaching)

I am currently studying (bachelor's degree, teaching related)

I am currently studying (bachelor's degree, not related to teaching)

I am currently studying (master's degree, teaching related)

I am currently studying (master's degree, not related to teaching)

6. Have you ever been to an English-speaking country? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

7. If so, how long?

**Research
section (1)**

In this part of the questionnaire, you will be asked to give your own opinions and your own definitions. It is important that you do not check the correct answers on the Internet, but write what you really think.

8. Who do you think is a native speaker? *

9. What advantages do you think native speakers have as English teachers?

10. What disadvantages do you think native speakers have as English teachers?

11. What advantages do you think Polish teachers of the English language have? *

12. What disadvantages do you think Polish teachers of the English language have? *

13. Have you ever felt discriminated against because of not being a native speaker? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

14. If so, in what situation?

15. Have you ever been asked to pass off as a native speaker? *

Mark only one oval.

Yes

No

16. If so, in what situation?

Research
section (2)

In this part of the survey you will be presented with 12 statements. Please assess the extent to which you agree with the statements on the scale:

- 1- definitely not,
- 2 - probably not,
- 3 - I am not sure,
- 4 - probably yes,
- 5- definitely yes.

17. Students often ask for classes with a native speaker. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

18. Students often ask for classes with a Polish teacher of the English language. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

19. I feel better pedagogically prepared to teach English than native speakers. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

20. I feel that native speakers are pedagogically better prepared to teach. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

21. I feel better prepared to teach English than native speakers in terms of language skills. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

22. I feel that native speakers are better prepared to teach English than me in terms of language skills. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

23. I feel I do not have sufficient knowledge of the English-speaking area culture. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

24. I happen to feel insecure when I speak English in the presence of a native speaker. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

25. I feel more confident teaching grammar than talking. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

26. I feel more confident teaching talking than grammar. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

27. In some job advertisements from language schools only native speakers are sought after. *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

28. I feel like I'm required to have a higher level of education than a native speaker *

Mark only one oval.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| definitely not | <input type="radio"/> | definitely yes |

Contact section

29. If you are interested in taking part in a research interview related to the completed questionnaire, please leave a contact e-mail.

Thank you very much for completing the survey.

In order to complete the survey, please press "Submit" below.

If you would like to contact the person conducting the survey, please email us:

tpaciorkowski@wa.amu.edu.pl

Appendix I: Consent Form

ZGODA NA UDZIAŁ W BADANIU NAUKOWYM

Tytuł badania: Native speakerism: dyskryminujące praktyki zatrudnienia w polskich szkołach językowych

Osoba odpowiedzialna: mgr Tomasz Paciorek

Kontakt: tpaciorek@wa.amu.edu.pl

Opiekun Naukowy projektu: prof. dr. hab. Ronald Kim

Oświadczam, że zaznajomiłem/łam się i zrozumiałem/łam informacje dla osoby badanej.

Wyrażam dobrowolną i świadomą zgodę na udział w badaniu. Jestem również świadomy/a faktu, iż w każdej chwili mogę odstąpić od udziału w badaniu.

Wyrażam zgodę na przetwarzanie moich danych (włączając w to nagrania) uzyskane w trakcie wywiadu, zgodnie z ustawą z dnia 29 sierpnia 1997r. o ochronie danych osobowych, lecz wyłącznie w celach naukowych.

Niniejszy dokument, potwierdzający zgodę na udział w badaniu będzie przechowywany zgodnie z zasadami przechowywania dokumentacji poufnej.

.....

(imię i nazwisko badanego)

.....

(podpis badanego) (data)

Oświadczam, że osoba badana zapoznała się z informacją dla uczestnika badania, a dane uzyskane podczas wywiadu będą przechowywane oraz przetwarzane zgodnie z ustawą z dnia 29 sierpnia 1997r. o ochronie danych osobowych.

.....

(podpis przeprowadzającego badanie) (data)

Appendix J: Information concerning the project

INFORMACJA O BADANIU NAUKOWYM

Tytuł badania: Native speakerism: dyskryminujące praktyki zatrudnienia w polskich szkołach językowych

Osoba odpowiedzialna: mgr Tomasz Paciorkowski

Kontakt: tpaciorkowski@wa.amu.edu.pl

Opiekun Naukowy projektu: prof. dr hab. Ronald Kim

Nazywam się Tomasz Paciorkowski. Jestem studentem 4. roku studiów doktoranckich na Wydziale Anglistyki Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu.

Zwracam się do Państwa z uprzejmą prośbą o udział w badaniach związanych z socjologią języka i praktycznym nauczaniem języków obcych, potrzebnych do mojej pracy doktorskiej.

Badanie dotyczy relacji pomiędzy polskojęzycznymi nauczycielami języka angielskiego a rodzimymi mówcami języka angielskiego, tzw. native speakerami oraz warunków ich zatrudnienia.

Przebieg obecnej części badania będzie następujący:

1. Na Państwa znak rozpocznę nagrywanie wywiadu.
2. Zacznę zadawać pytania, na które oczekiwać będę Państwa odpowiedzi. Pierwsze pytania

dotyczyć będą Państwa kompetencji, a następne będą obejmować meritum tego badania.

3. Na wyraźny znak od Państwa, wyłączę nagrywanie i badanie się zakończy.

Każda odpowiedź będzie dla mnie bardzo ważna.

Proszę, abyście Państwo przez okres najbliższych 3 miesięcy nie opisywali procedury

badawczej innym osobom, które potencjalnie mogą zostać uczestnikami tego badania. W tym okresie sukces badań wymaga poufności.

Udział w badaniu nie wiąże się z jakimkolwiek dającym się przewidzieć zagrożeniem lub niedogodnością.

Przypuszczalnie badanie nie przyniesie Państwu określonych korzyści indywidualnych. Biorąc udział w badaniach, przyczynicie się Państwo do poznania sytuacji nauczycieli polskojęzycznych na rynku pracy.

Udział w badaniu jest nieodpłatny i nie pociąga za sobą żadnych kosztów.

Badania są w pełni anonimowe. Proszę tylko o podanie swoich niezbędnych danych demograficznych. Dołożę wszelkich starań, aby odpowiedzi i dane były właściwie zabezpieczone.

Wszelkie dane, mogące dopomóc do ewentualnej identyfikacji konkretnej osoby zostaną zakodowane lub zmienione.

Udział w badaniu jest dobrowolny i w każdym momencie (nawet po rozpoczęciu badania) można się z niego wycofać bez podawania powodu. Także po zakończonym badaniu można poprosić o usunięcie z bazy Państwa wyników i danych.

Jeżeli macie Państwo jakiegokolwiek pytania dotyczące Państwa roli w prowadzonym badaniu, chętnie na nie odpowiem zarówno przed jak i w trakcie badania. W niektórych przypadkach, ze względu na cel badań, osoba badająca może poprosić, aby poczekać na odpowiedź do końca badania. Jeżeli jakaś informacja jest dla Państwa ważna dla podjęcia decyzji o udziale i nie otrzymacie potrzebnej informacji, można w takiej sytuacji odmówić udziału w badaniu.