

Student Attitudes Towards NNS ESL Teachers in the Hybrid Context of Quebec

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ABSTRACT

Student Attitudes Towards Nonnative ESL Teachers in the Hybrid Context of Quebec

Lilioara Radu

This study examined students' attitudes towards native-speaking anglophone and nonnative francophone and allophone ESL teachers in Quebec, a hybrid context that encompasses characteristics of both EFL and ESL settings. This three-pronged inquiry focused on unveiling students' attitudes towards their teachers in relation to teachers' effectiveness in the instruction of specific linguistic skills, such as speaking and grammar, teachers' pedagogical styles, and teachers' professional characteristics. A sample of 150 participants representing Grade 10 and 11 high school intermediate-level francophone and allophone students from Montreal rated three teacher types (anglophone, francophone, allophone) in a questionnaire administered over a 75-minute class period. The results showed that, despite their reduced experience with native-speaking anglophone teachers, students have a more positive attitude towards these teachers than towards nonnative ESL teachers, especially in relation to teacher effectiveness in the teaching of linguistic skills. Also, considering teachers' and students' affiliation to the majority (francophone) and minority (allophone) groups, an in-group preference—more clearly visible in the case of francophone students—emerged from the study. Francophone students displayed a more positive attitude towards nonnative francophone teachers. In contrast, allophone students largely did not display stronger preferences towards allophone teachers, most probably because of the heterogeneous makeup of both allophone student and teacher populations. The results generally suggested that, in a hybrid context like Quebec, a shared language between students and teachers, students' familiarity with teachers'

variety of spoken English, and students' social identity and accommodation-related behaviours may all impact students' attitudes towards their teachers.

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Contribution of Authors

As the first author of the manuscript version of this thesis, Lilioara Radu was responsible for conceptualizing the research, creating the questionnaires used in the data collection, administering the data collection sessions, coding and organizing the data, and writing the results. Pavel Trofimovich provided advice throughout all stages of the research, taking the primary role in assisting with analyses of quantitative data.

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Chapter 1

For more than two decades now, the field of applied linguistics has witnessed an increasing volume of research on issues related to the presence of nonnative teachers in the domain of language teaching, particularly English as a second language (ESL). Whether clearly spelled out or not, one of the main questions behind this body of research is related to nonnative teachers' legitimacy, with researchers trying to answer this question from various vantage points, including the perspective of native-speaking teachers, nonnative teachers, their students, as well as language school administrators in various learning contexts.

Conventionally, linguists define a native speaker (NS) as a person who has acquired a language from an early age and who has full mastery of it (Lightbown & Spada, 1999); who possesses intuitions and expertise about the pronunciation, grammar, and usage of the respective language; and who identifies with the community in which the language is spoken (Johnson & Johnson, 1999). For this thesis, a nonnative speaker (NNS) is defined as a language user who is not part of the NS category, as described above, a user of a language other than his or her early learned and fully acquired language.

Promoted by colonialism, international economics, and mass media, English has solidified its global language status (McKay & Bokhorst-Heng, 2008), with the consequence that the English language teaching (ELT) business is “one of the major growth industries around the world” (Crystal, 2003, p. 112). Such developments have augmented the need for ELT specialists worldwide. It is estimated that for each native English speaker, the world has four nonnative English speakers (Braine, 1999), and that more than 80% of the ELT professionals practicing around the world are NNS teachers (Canagarajah, 2005). Therefore, at least numerically, NNS

teachers of English currently dominate the teaching field (Braine, 1999; Canagarajah, 1999, 2005; Crystal, 2003; Liu, 1999).

The NNS teacher legitimacy issue became particularly salient after a statement put forward by the 1961 Commonwealth Conference on the Teaching English as a Second Language, in which the NS was hailed as the “ideal teacher of English” (Maum, 2002), effectively invalidated the work of countless NNS teachers around the world. In response to this controversial statement, many scholars condemned the 1961 declaration, including Philipson (1992), who coined the NS fallacy concept, and Canagarajah (1999), who qualified the NS fallacy as linguistically anachronistic. Fueled by the reaction to the NS fallacy, voices of the NNS teachers as legitimate field stockholders have begun to be heard. Pioneering efforts in this direction came from NNS professionals, such as Medgyes (1994), Braine (1999, 2005), Kamhi-Stein (2004), and Llorca (2005), just to name the authors of seminal books in the field dedicating extensive attention to this matter.

Most criticisms of the NS fallacy involve the idea that being a competent teacher does not require the teacher to be “native,” highlighting the view that both NS and NNS teachers are valued by learners, and that both have an equal chance of becoming skilled teachers in their own terms by improving their language proficiency, language awareness, and pedagogical skills (Medgyes, 1994). Investigating differences in teaching attitudes and methods between NS and NNS teachers practicing in an English as a foreign language (EFL) setting, as perceived by students, Medgyes reached the conclusion that while differences in NS and NNS teachers’ linguistic skills lead to differences in their teaching behaviours, ultimately, these “two different species” (p. 27) are equally appreciated by students for their strengths. In the case of NNS teachers, these strengths include their ability to teach learning strategies and grammar, their

awareness of language, their empathy for students' needs and problems, and their ability to use students' mother tongue. NS teachers' strengths include their superior language competence and their ability to teach conversational language.

Previous research has not only defended NNS teachers' legitimacy but also highlighted the beneficial impact that NNS teachers have on learners. For example, some researchers have proposed that NNS teachers are in fact better equipped to deal with ESL/EFL students than their NS counterparts (Cook, 2005; McNeill, 2005; Seidlhofer, 1999). For instance, investigating NNS teachers' capacity to predict learners' vocabulary difficulties in reading texts, McNeill (2005) found that the NNS teachers who share the same language with their students are "more accurate in identifying students' sources of lexical difficulty" (p. 123) and are more focused on learners' "actual needs" (p. 108), when compared to their NS counterparts. Emphasizing the contributions that NNS teachers bring to the field in their capacity as multilinguals/second language (L2) users, Cook (2005) has argued that questioning and replacing the NNS concept with that of L2/multicompetent user transforms NNS teachers' nonnativeness from a liability into an asset. In Cook's view, drawing on their inherent status as L2 users, NNS teachers have first-hand knowledge of how to help students become L2 users too and are living examples of what learners can achieve. Similarly, McKay and Bokhorst-Heng (2008) argue that NNS teachers, as multilingual speakers themselves, provide appropriate linguistic models for their multilingual students.

Moreover, advocating the use of varieties of language other than the NS norm as educational standards (i.e., English as a Lingua Franca) and expressing support for the "toning down" of the role that NS teachers have in language teaching, Modiano (2005) asserts that NNS practitioners, compared to their NS counterparts, are better suited to provide students with the

“pluralistic cultural perspective” (p. 26) needed for NNS–NNS interactions. In Modiano’s view, NS teachers seldom engage in “cultural pluralism from the perspective of Other,” and more often than not, promote “the legacy of the West” (p. 26) at the expense of the cultures where the learning takes place (i.e., local cultures).

Addressing the issue of NNS teachers who studied in the United States and who encounter difficulties in finding employment there, Braine (1999) has brought up the idea that if NNS teachers from the periphery (i.e., countries where English is spoken as an L2) are deemed acceptable to enroll in and pay for teacher training programs in contexts where the target language is the majority language, they should also be considered qualified to teach in those same contexts. Two important issues emerge from Braine’s statement: employment discrimination and the role of teacher training programs. Researchers have shown that NNS teachers face much discrimination, and prospective employers often question their credibility (Clark & Paran, 2007; Holliday, 2005; Kirkpatrick, 2006; Mahboob, Uhrig, Newman, & Hartford, 2004; Shin, 2008). As Maum (2002) stated, “native speakers of English without teaching qualifications are more likely to be hired as ESL teachers rather than qualified and experienced NNS teachers, especially outside the United States,” a fact confirmed by Rampton (1990), Braine (1999), Canagarajah (1999), Amin (2000), and Kirkpatrick (2006), amongst others. In the United States, Mahboob et al. (2004) found that the NS criterion had the highest negative correlation with the ratio of NNS teachers hired by college English language programs. Similarly, investigating hiring practices in the UK, Clark and Paran (2007) reported that most employers included in their study considered the NS criterion to be moderately important or very important, and as a result, 68% of the schools surveyed in the study did not employ any NNS

teachers, which demonstrates that the relationship between the importance given to teacher nativeness and hiring practices is salient, frequently leading to discriminatory hiring practices.

Ensuring that NNS teachers are considered legitimate members of the ELT field is not only the duty of NNS teachers themselves but also of teacher education programs that prepare them. As Kamhi-Stein (2004) stated, teacher training programs are responsible for creating “conditions in which all teachers, regardless of language status, succeed” in the profession (p. 4). For example, exploring the anxieties of NNS teachers in an EFL context (Brazil), Rajagopalan (2005) reported that teachers’ lack of self-confidence is closely related not only to their nonnative status, but also to their feelings of being underprepared by the programs they followed in order to become teachers. Examining how Canadian TESL programs fulfill the mission of preparing future language teachers, Derwing and Munro (2005) analyzed how candidates are selected and trained, and examined the standards they must meet upon graduation. The authors noted that teacher education programs have the power to make teacher nativeness (or lack of it) irrelevant by ensuring that “the future teachers have an appropriate level of proficiency in English, that they gain the requisite linguistic knowledge and skills for classroom teaching, and that they are able to employ pedagogically sound principles in the classroom” (p. 180).

In a bid to lessen the importance ascribed to the NS–NNS distinction and highlighting the importance of attitudes, multiple researchers have argued that the way in which language learners perceive NS and NNS teachers is in fact more important than the actual characteristics of each teacher type (McNeill, 2005; Medgyes, 1994; Paikeday, 1985). For instance, in a study focusing on attitudes towards different varieties of English in Japan, McKenzie (2010) stated that “attitude has been a central explanatory variable in the field of social psychology” and as such, it

has been and continues to be “the focus of a great deal of research throughout the social sciences” (p. 17).

The significance of the concept of attitude for the L2 classroom also became evident when Gardner (1985), revisiting his original socioeducational model of L2 acquisition with a focus on motivation, identified attitudes towards a specific language group and towards the learning situation as submeasures of the motivation factor, and attitudes towards a language teacher and an L2 course as subcomponents of learners’ attitudes toward the learning situation. In Gardner’s paradigm, an individual’s attitude is defined as “an evaluative reaction to some referent or attitude object, inferred on the basis of the individual’s beliefs or opinions about the referent” (p. 9). Gardner noted that “there is a good chance that attitudes towards the course or the teacher may be important because the course and the teacher can be viewed as focuses of the language” (p. 7). Therefore, within socioeducational views of L2 acquisition—because the teacher represents the target language in the classroom and because a favourable attitude towards the teacher predicts a positive language learning experience (Gardner, 1985)—students’ attitudes towards the teacher (which Gardner classifies as “educational attitude”) are an essential variable to consider when discussing the NNS language teacher issue.

Since studying learners’ attitudes does not happen in a vacuum, an important aspect to consider when investigating student attitudes towards language teachers is that of context. In L2 learning, context is important for both students and teachers. As Llurda (2005) stated, “one of the necessary conditions of research on NNS issues is that it should take into account the specific characteristics of the local setting where the teaching will take place” (p. 3). Similarly, Ellis (2004), referring to the situated nature of L2 learning, stated that students are “influenced by the specific setting in which the learning takes place” (pp. 546–547). Relating the issue of context to

that of teachers' suitability based on their NS–NNS status, Canagarajah (2005) suggested that because of their cultural knowledge, NS teachers would be better suited to teach in EFL contexts. In contrast, because of their multicultural perspective, NNS teachers would be more suited to teach in ESL settings. Therefore, no analysis of the implications of being a NNS teacher, including student attitudes towards NNS teachers, can be complete without considering “locally meaningful settings” (Llurda, 2005, p. 3).

It is essential to highlight that, to date, research on the topic of student attitudes towards L2 teachers has been conducted separately, either in EFL or ESL contexts, neglecting contexts representing a hybrid of the two. However, such contexts not only exist (one of them being the setting of the current study—the Canadian province of Quebec), they are also increasing in number due to globalization and migration (Czaika & Haas, 2015). Nonetheless, how students view their L2 teachers in such hybrid contexts has not been investigated yet. Therefore, this study aimed to fill this gap, thereby opening the door for investigative efforts in similar hybrid settings.

Chapter 2

Introduction

The last few decades have witnessed a surge in research focusing on language teachers who are nonnative speakers (NNSs) of the target language. The contentiousness of the issue first came to light in 1961, at the Commonwealth Conference on the Teaching English as a Second Language, where it was pronounced that native speakers (NSs) are the “ultimate” language teachers. Since then, countless teaching professionals, language learners, and members of the public shared into the largely unsubstantiated belief that the majority of learners prefer NS over NNS teachers.

In order to refute this idea, researchers (many of whom are NNS teachers themselves) have investigated student attitudes towards NNS teachers, following the idea put forward by Gardner (1985), who posited that “attitudes influence the success with which another language is acquired” (p. 4). Moussu (2010), for example, created a theoretical framework for research targeting student attitudes towards language teachers and discussed the relationship between students’ attitudes and their beliefs, behaviour, and affect. Briefly, Moussu argued that students will “assign memories and emotions to the concept of NS and NNS... teachers, have specific beliefs about the characteristics of NS and NNS teachers, and subsequently act in certain ways towards NS and NNS teachers” (p. 750). How teachers are perceived by their students is therefore a paramount aspect of second language (L2) learning.

Thus far, though, investigations on students’ attitudes towards L2 teachers have been conducted in either a foreign or a second language context. However, considering “locally meaningful settings,” as Llurda (2005) pointed out, requires performing research in settings that feature characteristics of both settings. The current study was conducted to address this need.

Literature Review

Student Attitudes Towards NNS Teachers in EFL Contexts

In English as a foreign language (EFL) contexts, students appreciate NNS teachers for their approach to the teaching of grammar (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Ma, 2012; Madrid & Perez, 2004; Ramila Diaz, 2015), perceived by students as being more structured, more efficient, and with better explanations of grammar rules, compared to grammar teaching by NS teachers. EFL students also prefer NNS teachers for their proficiency in students' first language (L1) (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Ling & Braine, 2007; Ma, 2012; Madrid & Perez, 2004; Medgyes, 1994), a view more markedly expressed by lower than higher level students (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Madrid & Perez, 2004). Sharing students' L1 allows NNS teachers to translate and offer L1 equivalents of words and concepts that are difficult for students to grasp in the target language. Additionally, having the same linguistic background helps NNS teachers better understand students' mistakes, as well as the reasons they make them, while students can use their L1 to ask questions that they cannot ask in the target language. Moreover, sharing students' L1 has been reported as a factor leading to an increased understanding of lessons among students (Ma, 2012), particularly in terms of specific grammar items (Madrid & Perez, 2004).

Two reasons often mentioned by EFL students for favouring NNS teachers are specific to teachers' background as learners of the target language themselves. The first reason relates to the teaching of various learning strategies, including memory strategies (creating mental linkages, applying images and sounds), cognitive strategies (practicing, analyzing, structuring input and output), and compensation strategies (guessing intelligently), which students believe to be taught more effectively by NNS than by NS teachers (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Medgyes, 1994).

The second reason pertains to NNS teachers' ability to empathize with students, who find them "intrinsically more sensitive" to students' plight (Medgyes, 1994, p. 61), and appreciate them as attending to students' needs and difficulties to a greater extent than their NS counterparts (Ma, 2012; Madrid & Perez, 2004; Medgyes, 1994).

NNS teachers are also praised by EFL students for their pedagogical skills (Ling & Braine, 2007). Students consider that NNS teachers promote learning more efficiently by providing more exercises and practice (Ma, 2012), assigning more homework, consistently checking for errors and correcting students' mistakes, and assessing learning in a more realistic manner (Benke & Medgyes, 2005). NNS teachers also prepare students thoroughly for examinations (Benke & Medgyes, 2005), are better understood by students when speaking the target language (Madrid & Perez, 2004), and are good role models of what students can achieve (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Medgyes, 1994).

On the downside, students found disadvantages in NNS teachers' pronunciation (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Ma, 2005), their inaccurate or artificial sentence structure (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Ma, 2005), as well as their outdated language use (Benke & Medgyes, 2005). According to students, NNS teachers also offer learners fewer occasions to practice language (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005), mostly due to NNS teachers' old-fashioned or inflexible teaching styles, perceived by students as being less conducive to learner participation (Ma, 2005) or due to teachers' excessive L1 use and therefore limited use of the target language (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Ling & Braine, 2007; Ma, 2005). Other factors revealed by EFL students as disadvantages are NNS teachers' reduced cultural knowledge (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005), their scarce use of colloquial expressions (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005), their exam-

focused approach to teaching, and their tendency to overcorrect students' work (Ling & Braine, 2007).

Student Attitudes Towards NNS Teachers in ESL Contexts

In English as a second language (ESL) contexts, students appreciate NNS teachers for their grammar teaching skills (Filho, 2002; Mahboob, 2004; Moussu, 2002, 2006; Pacek, 2005; Torres, 2004), for their teaching styles/methods and pedagogical skills (Mahboob, 2004), as well as for the teaching of learning strategies (Filho, 2002; Mahboob, 2004). Students also favour NNS teachers for their personal characteristics, especially the ability to empathize with students because of their shared background as language learners, and because they view these teachers as models of successful learners (Filho, 2002; Mahboob, 2004). Conversely, NS teachers are preferred over NNS teachers for their teaching of communicative/productive skills, such as speaking, pronunciation, and writing (Filho, 2002; Mahboob, 2004; Moussu, 2002; Torres, 2004), as well as for their target culture knowledge (Filho, 2002; Mahboob, 2004; Pacek, 2005; Torres, 2004). However, students have expressed dissatisfaction with NS teachers' lack of knowledge about cultural differences among learners (Filho, 2002) and their grammar teaching methods (Filho, 2002).

In terms of student-related factors, findings show that students having previous unsatisfactory experiences with NNS teachers, especially in the area of pronunciation, prefer NS teachers (Filho, 2002; Torres, 2004). Students' L2 proficiency level also appears to affect their attitudes. Torres (2004) found that advanced students have more positive attitudes toward NS teachers, while beginner-level students have more positive attitudes towards NNS teachers, particularly if these teachers share a linguistic background with students (but see Filho, 2002). Students' status as refugees or immigrants appears to make no significant impact on student

attitudes towards either NS or NNS teachers (Torres, 2004). However, students who intended to return to their country of origin held slightly more negative attitudes towards NNS teachers than those who wished to stay in the ESL environment (Moussu, 2002). Finally, Korean and Chinese students expressed negative feelings towards NNS teachers more frequently than Spanish, Portuguese, and Japanese students (Moussu, 2002; Moussu & Braine, 2006), suggesting that students' linguistic and cultural background has bearing on attitudes towards teachers.

Time and exposure variables also appear to have positive associations with student attitudes towards NNS teachers. For instance, more students would recommend that their friends take classes with NNS teachers at the end of the semester than early on (Moussu, 2002, 2006; Moussu & Braine, 2006). Lastly, the more exposure and familiarity students have with a teacher's variety of English, the more favourable their attitude towards that teacher appears to be (Kelch & Santana-Williamson, 2002). To summarize, language learners identify strengths and weaknesses in both NS and NNS teachers, and they generally appreciate teachers for their competencies and for their professional and personal attributes (Ling & Braine, 2007; Liang, 2002), regardless of their NS versus NNS status.

The Current Study

Inasmuch as the characteristics of the setting where the learning takes place are important for the investigation of student attitudes towards teachers, one feature appreciated by students in the EFL context, but absent in the ESL setting, is the shared linguistic background between teachers and learners. Unlike EFL students, ESL students often represent a variety of cultures and languages that do not necessarily match those of their teachers. Similarly, a variable associated with students' attitudes towards their teachers in ESL settings, but absent in EFL contexts, is learner status. For example, ESL students' status may vary (e.g., resident, immigrant,

refugee, international student), while EFL students are, for their most part, nationals of the country where the learning takes place. However, it is largely unknown how learners view teachers performing in settings other than those considered strictly as second or foreign language contexts. Thus far, prior research has looked at the two types of contexts separately, assuming that they represent dichotomous, nonoverlapping environments. Nevertheless, some learning contexts display characteristics of both ESL and EFL settings, and to the best of my knowledge, a study examining student attitudes towards NNS teachers in such hybrid contexts had yet to be performed.

Perhaps a more important reason to investigate students' attitudes towards NNS teachers in hybrid contexts pertains to the fact that the NS–NNS distinction is not only a linguistic construct but also a social one (Brutt-Griffler & Samimi, 1999), with roots that may be traced back to the cultural construction of colonialism (Pennycook, 1998). Nonetheless, research exploring the concept of NNS in ESL/EFL teaching has seldom taken into consideration the different “characteristics within the NNS constituency” (Moussu & Llurda, 2008, p. 337) and for the most part has regarded NNS teachers as a single group (Moussu & Llurda, 2008). For instance, no prior research on student attitudes has considered the majority/minority status of either teacher or student populations, which is typical of hybrid EFL/ESL contexts.

The Canadian province of Quebec represents not only a context where characteristics of both EFL and ESL settings meet, but also a setting where Quebec's NNS teachers of L2 English and their students (learners of L2 English) can be members of the francophone majority group (francophone Quebecers) or members of immigrant minority groups (nonfrancophone immigrants whose L1s are neither English nor French). Additionally, the hybrid context of Quebec is likely not a unique context, with similar social and linguistic landscapes being present

in other multilingual and multicultural societies such as Belgium, Catalonia, Texas, and Southern California. Therefore, the chief objective of this study was not only to investigate student attitudes towards NS and NNS teachers in the blended ESL/EFL setting of Quebec, but also to clarify if and how the majority/minority status of both NNS teachers and their students influences these attitudes. To this end, the study aimed at uncovering students' attitudes towards their ESL teachers in relation to three variable clusters, namely, teachers' ability to teach specific linguistic skills and teachers' pedagogical and professional characteristics.

Thus, in response to Moussu and Llorca's (2008) call for researchers to cover less investigated areas related to NNS teachers and taking into consideration the saliency of the local context, the goal of this study was to examine student attitudes toward their NNS L2 English teachers in the Canadian province of Quebec. To achieve this, the study addressed the following research questions:

1. Considering the minority/majority status of both students and teachers, what does students' perception of teachers' ability to teach various linguistic skills reveal about student attitudes towards NS teachers and towards NNS teachers?
2. Considering the minority/majority status of both students and teachers, what does students' perception of teachers' pedagogical styles reveal about student attitudes towards NS teachers and towards NNS teachers?
3. Considering the minority/majority status of both students and teachers, what does students' appreciation of teachers' professional characteristics reveal about student attitudes towards NS teachers and towards NNS teachers?

Method

Research Context

The target context of this study (Quebec) encompasses characteristics of both second and foreign language contexts. Kachru's (1985) framework of world Englishes involves three concentric circles—the Inner circle, where English is spoken as an L1 (e.g., Great Britain, USA, Canada, Australia); the Outer circle, where English is an L2 in the multilingual societies of formerly colonized countries (e.g., Singapore, India, Philippines); and the Expanding circle, where English is learned as a foreign language and does not serve institutional purposes (e.g., Russia, China, Japan). In this framework, Quebec falls into more than a single circle. As the only unilingual French province of Canada, Quebec is part of the Expanding circle; yet, as a province within Canada, theoretically at least, Quebec also belongs within the Inner circle. Because French is the official and most widely spoken language in Quebec, studying English could be classified as foreign language learning. However, because English is one of the two official languages of Canada, the language most widely spoken outside Quebec and the language used in Quebec by the anglophone community, studying English can be viewed as L2 learning. In Quebec, when students learn English, regardless of their majority or minority status, they are labeled as learners of English as a second language (ESL learners).

Another contextual feature particular to Quebec—the minority/majority distinction—is salient due to immigration, which is a major source of population growth in Canada. According to the 2016 Census, more than one in five Canadians are foreign born (the highest proportion among the G8 countries), and almost 18% of the total number of immigrants coming to Canada between 2011 and 2016 settled in Quebec. According to the 2016 Census, 77.1% of the Quebecers reported French only as their mother tongue, 7.5% reported English only, while

15.4% of Quebec's residents (commonly referred to as "allophones") reported mother tongues other than English or French, which included the 0.6% of the population speaking an aboriginal language only and 2.3% of the population being native speakers of two languages or more (Statistics Canada, 2017). The proportion of allophones in Montreal (where the present study is carried out) is even greater, at 34.9% of the 1,704,694 total inhabitants (Statistics Canada, 2017), with languages such as Arabic, Cantonese, Mandarin and other Chinese languages, Spanish, Vietnamese, Russian, Romanian, Tagalog, Tamil, Punjabi, Creole languages, and Persian (Farsi) cited as common home languages. Therefore, Quebec's ESL teachers and students come from diverse demographic backgrounds.

While there is no reliable source describing the corpus of Quebec's L2 English teachers based on their linguistic and cultural backgrounds, the 2011 survey by Collins and French, which investigated the challenges faced by L2 English teachers across Canada, used a sample of 326 Quebec teachers. In this sample, 61.6% declared French as their mother tongue, 31.8% declared English, 19.4% identified themselves as simultaneous bilinguals/trilinguals, and 5.2% cited other native languages. Because immigration levels increased significantly since the survey took place, and because Montreal attracts and retains a large number of immigrants, the proportion of allophone ESL teachers in Montreal may be greater and the proportion of francophone ESL teachers practicing in Montreal may be smaller than those suggested by Collins and French. Similarly, Quebec's ESL students can be classified into francophone (students with French mother tongue) and allophone (students with mother tongues other than French) groups. With minor exceptions, most allophone students are schooled in French because the public education is governed by the 1977 French Language Charter (Bill 101), which embodies the monolingual policy aimed at strengthening the French ethnolinguistic vitality of the province and which

stipulates that all children under 16 must receive their primary and secondary education in French (unless their parents had been educated in English elementary schools in Quebec and elsewhere in Canada).

Participants

The total participant sample (representing seven intact classes) included 150 (87 male, 63 female), 15- to 17-year-old Secondary 4 and 5 (Grades 10 and 11) ESL students enrolled in a school belonging to one of the largest French school boards in Montreal. At the time of data collection, the students were taught by three ESL teachers, two allophone teachers (one female native speaker of Portuguese and one male native speaker of Kabyle) and one (male) francophone teacher (the researcher was not affiliated with the school in any capacity at the time of the data collection). All three teachers belong to the expert category as described by Berliner (1992), because each regularly make decisions beyond their classrooms (i.e., curriculum, choice of textbooks, student progression from level to level). In terms of methodology, all three teachers regularly used a communicative learning approach, with the goal of developing students' English oral interaction competency, which is the cornerstone of the program used in schools throughout Quebec and the backdrop for the development of two other key competencies (understanding of texts and writing and producing texts). The average number of students per group was 24.4 (*range* = 17–32), and the students represented multiple L1s: French (51), Arabic (32), Spanish (17), Bengali (4), Kabyle (4), African languages (4), Tamil (3), Vietnamese (3), Creole (3), Portuguese (3), English (3), Chinese (2), Albanian, Farsi, Hungarian, Khmer, and Malagasy (1 each). One participant failed to declare his L1, while 12 of the 150 participants described themselves as bilinguals.

The teachers generally described their students' proficiency level as intermediate (students being able to understand the main ideas of fairly complex texts and interact in L2 English with a degree of spontaneity but having some trouble with grammar and vocabulary). The students had studied L2 English for a mean of $M = 7.4$ years ($range = 3-11$) in classrooms taught by anglophone ($M = 1.1$ years, $range = 0.6-7.0$), francophone ($M = 2.4$ years, $range = 1.0-10.0$), and allophone ($M = 3.4$ years, $range = 1.0-10.0$) teachers. Since the school where the research was conducted is a multiethnic environment, with students coming from different countries, 29 out of the 150 participants also studied English in their countries of origin (prior to immigrating and settling in Canada) for a mean of $M = 3.44$ years ($range = 0.5-9.0$).

Instruments

The data for the study were collected through two questionnaires, created in English, a learner background questionnaire, and a learner attitudes questionnaire. The learner background questionnaire (Appendix A) contained 16 factual questions targeting demographic data about the students and assessing their experience as ESL learners, including their experience with NS and NNS teachers. The learner attitudes questionnaire (Appendix B) focused on students' attitudes towards NNS and NS teachers, with 15 attitudinal statements targeting students' perceptions and opinions about their ESL teachers. To obtain quantitative data suitable for statistical analysis, students answered each statement using continuous semantic differential scales (a 100-millimeter line) organized in sets of three, one continuum for each teacher category (anglophone, francophone, and allophone). To ensure that the students understood the three labels, the questionnaire contained explanations of each category; additionally, at the time of data collection, the researcher explained, in both English and French, the differences between anglophone, francophone, and allophone teachers. Each continuum, anchored at the extremes by

endpoint statements, required students to mark with a checkmark or a cross the position between “strongly disagree” and “strongly agree” that best represented their answer to each statement. For example, to answer the statement “The most effective teacher to teach me speaking/pronunciation is...,” the students were instructed to place a checkmark or a cross on the continuum belonging to each of the three options given to them: “The native (anglophone) teacher,” “The nonnative francophone teacher,” and “The nonnative allophone teacher.” Additionally, three out of the 15 statements included an open-ended feature (*Explain why*), for students to supplement their answers with more information and for the researcher to explore and interpret qualitative data for a more comprehensive assessment of their attitudes.

Procedure

Prior to the survey administration, the researcher made sure to follow the guidance for research ethics and obtained the approval to conduct the study in the school from the school principal, from the participating teachers, and, because the participants in the study were minors, consent was obtained from both students and their parents. Only the students who provided both their and their parents’ consent participated in the study.

The study was carried out within a 75-minute class period per group. The researcher distributed, presented, and explained, in English and French, the questionnaires to students, and was available during the entire session to clarify any questions. Students started by completing the learner attitudes questionnaire and then proceeded to fill out the learner background questionnaire. For the learner attitudes questionnaire, the participants were reminded of the difference between native anglophone, NNS francophone, and NNS allophone teachers. The researcher also demonstrated the procedure for marking answers on the rating continua and encouraged students to supplement their answers in the open-ended question sections. To ensure

that language would not deter the students from providing answers to the open-ended questions, the students were informed that they could write their answers in either English or French.

Data Analysis

The students' background information was summarized descriptively. The students' attitude ratings were converted to numerical values by measuring the distance, in millimeters, from the left endpoint of each scale to the rating (checkmark or cross) and assigning a numerical value to it out of 100. Additionally, the qualitative data provided by the students to open-ended questions was coded thematically to uncover patterns arising from their answers. To this end, initially, the researcher familiarized herself with students' answers, then she searched, reviewed, organized, labeled, and refined broad themes that emerged from the data. For instance, to discover the main themes underlying the students' answers to the question "The teacher I admire the most is..." the researcher first broadly divided all responses by teacher type, then further organized responses according to the reasons for which participants admired the respective teacher(s) (e.g., teacher being a role model, teacher being a multilingual competent speaker, teaching of language learning strategies, empathy). A total of 22 questionnaires were discarded either because the students failed to provide complete answers (8) or because the students could not be clearly categorized as either allophone or francophone (14), which included the 12 who declared themselves bilingual. Thus, the total participant sample included 128 students (50 francophone and 78 allophone).

Results

Linguistic Factors

The first analysis focused on the students' ratings eliciting their opinion about which teacher they rate as being the most effective at teaching vocabulary, grammar, speaking, reading, writing, strategies, and anglophone culture (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics). The ratings for each target linguistic skill were submitted to a two-way repeated-measures ANOVA, with student L1 status (francophone, allophone) as a between-subjects factor and repeated measurements for the three teacher types (anglophone, francophone, allophone).

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations of ESL Students' Ratings for Linguistic Factors

Rated factor	Student group	Teacher type		
		Anglophone	Francophone	Allophone
Vocabulary	Francophone ($n = 50$)	72.44 (20.46)	71.60 (13.91)	55.16 (23.26)
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	72.84 (19.00)	61.78 (21.22)	63.10 (17.26)
Grammar	Francophone ($n = 50$)	73.27 (19.52)	71.10 (15.37)	62.22 (21.06)
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	72.20 (21.28)	64.81 (21.22)	65.54 (18.15)
Speaking	Francophone ($n = 50$)	80.46 (20.33)	66.00 (17.13)	56.00 (22.75)
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	81.77 (19.23)	56.47 (21.32)	56.38 (21.03)
Writing	Francophone ($n = 50$)	77.82 (17.66)	69.25 (17.94)	61.43 (21.87)
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	75.68 (17.72)	61.55 (20.68)	68.71 (16.54)
Reading	Francophone ($n = 50$)	71.54 (23.32)	70.57 (21.14)	62.59 (21.00)
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	73.30 (20.50)	65.38 (21.31)	70.65 (14.96)
Strategies	Francophone ($n = 50$)	65.12 (24.05)	77.70 (18.59)	68.65 (24.49)

	Allophone ($n = 78$)	56.65 (23.86)	73.73 (17.97)	79.15 (18.63)
Culture	Francophone ($n = 50$)	84.81 (18.78)	58.59 (18.23)	56.41 (23.96)
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	84.71 (18.72)	58.42 (20.25)	59.37 (19.15)

As summarized in Table 2, for all linguistic factors, the ANOVA consistently yielded a statistically significant main effect of teacher type accompanied by no significant main effect of students' L1 status. These analyses also revealed a statistically significant interaction between students' L1 status and teacher type, but only for four linguistic factors (vocabulary, writing, reading, and strategies).

Table 2

Summary of ANOVA Results for Linguistic Factors

Rated factor	Source	Test statistics			
		df	F	p	η_p^2
Vocabulary	Students' L1 status	1, 126	0.05	.83	< .0001
	Teacher type	2, 252	17.82	< .0001	.12
	Interaction	2, 252	7.73	.001	.06
Grammar	Students' L1 status	1, 126	0.31	.58	.002
	Teacher type	2, 252	7.70	.001	.06
	Interaction	2, 252	2.27	.106	.02
Speaking	Students' L1 status	1, 126	1.46	.23	.011
	Teacher type	2, 252	51.44	< .0001	.29
	Interaction	2, 252	2.67	.071	.02
Writing	Students' L1 status	1, 126	0.11	.74	.001
	Teacher type	2, 252	23.09	< .0001	.16

	Interaction	2, 252	7.48	.001	.06
Reading	Students' L1 status	1, 126	0.33	.57	.003
	Teacher type	2, 252	4.00	.02	.03
	Interaction	2, 252	4.78	.009	.04
Strategies	Students' L1 status	1, 126	0.71	.79	.001
	Teacher type	2, 252	19.64	< .0001	.14
	Interaction	2, 252	7.37	.001	.06
Culture	Students' L1 status	1, 126	0.11	.74	.001
	Teacher type	2, 252	107.51	< .0001	.46
	Interaction	2, 252	0.36	.67	.003

Note. Effect size (η_p^2): .01 = small, .06 = medium, .13 = large (Cohen, 1988)

The significant main effects of teacher type (in the absence of a significant two-way interaction) were explored first through pairwise comparisons (using Bonferroni correction) for the students' ratings of grammar, speaking/pronunciation, and culture. For grammar, all students (regardless of their L1 status) rated anglophone and francophone teachers higher than allophone teachers ($p < .001$), preferring both types of teachers to allophone instructors for the teaching of grammar. For speaking/pronunciation and culture, all students (again regardless of their L1 status) rated anglophone teachers higher than francophone ($p < .001$) and allophone ($p < .001$) teachers, thus giving preference to anglophone teachers for their ability to teach pronunciation and give information about the anglophone culture.

Next, the significant two-way interaction effects were explored through pairwise comparisons (using Bonferroni correction) for the students' ratings of vocabulary, writing, reading, and strategies. For vocabulary, there was a difference in how francophone and allophone

students rated teachers. Francophone students rated both anglophone and francophone teachers similarly, preferring them over allophone teachers ($p < .001$). However, allophone students clearly preferred anglophone teachers over francophone and allophone teachers ($p < .003$). For writing, both groups of students preferred anglophone teachers but differed in their rankings of other teacher types. Francophone students rated francophone teachers as second highest ($p = .015$) and allophone teachers the lowest ($p < .001$), whereas allophone students ranked allophone teachers as second highest and francophone teachers the lowest ($p < .001$). For reading, francophone students rated both anglophone ($p = .039$) and francophone ($p = .024$) teachers higher than they rated allophone teachers. On the other hand, allophone students rated anglophone teachers significantly higher than they rated francophone teachers ($p = .016$), with allophone teachers rated midway between these two teacher types. Finally, for teaching strategies, francophone students gave higher ratings to francophone teachers relative to both anglophone ($p = .007$) and allophone teachers ($p = .012$). In contrast, allophone students rated both francophone ($p = .001$) and allophone ($p = .001$) teachers higher than anglophone teachers.

Table 3

Summary of Significant Between-Group Differences

Rated factor	Student group	Difference
Vocabulary	Francophone ($n = 50$)	Anglophone = Francophone > Allophone
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	Anglophone > Francophone = Allophone
Grammar	All ($n = 128$)	Anglophone = Francophone > Allophone
Speaking	All ($n = 128$)	Anglophone > Francophone = Allophone
Writing	Francophone ($n = 50$)	Anglophone > Francophone > Allophone
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	Anglophone > Allophone > Francophone

Reading	Francophone ($n = 50$)	Anglophone = Francophone > Allophone
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	Anglophone > Francophone = Allophone
Strategies	Francophone ($n = 50$)	Francophone > Allophone > Anglophone
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	Allophone = Francophone > Anglophone
Culture	All ($n = 128$)	Anglophone > Francophone = Allophone

Pedagogical Styles

The second analysis targeted students' ratings eliciting their opinion about teachers' pedagogical styles in terms of assigning homework, error correction, and grading (see Table 4 for descriptive statistics). The ratings for each pedagogical style factor were submitted to a two-way repeated-measures ANOVA, with student L1 status (francophone, allophone) as a between-subjects factor and repeated measurements for the three teacher types (anglophone, francophone, allophone).

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations of ESL Students' Ratings for Pedagogical Styles

Rated factor	Student group	Teacher type		
		Anglophone	Francophone	Allophone
Homework	Francophone ($n = 50$)	53.30 (20.04)	46.57 (21.82)	49.65 (26.14)
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	59.76 (23.95)	59.33 (18.30)	67.26 (20.70)
Errors	Francophone ($n = 50$)	74.20 (18.07)	63.82 (15.96)	58.13 (21.39)
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	76.23 (19.52)	62.96 (16.44)	63.38 (19.63)
Grades	Francophone ($n = 50$)	60.79 (24.88)	44.12 (21.10)	51.35 (23.52)
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	68.61 (24.42)	53.76 (21.91)	54.33 (22.17)

As Table 5 shows, the ANOVAs yielded no statistically significant interactions between students' L1 and teacher status for any of the three factors but revealed a statistically significant main effect of teacher type for error correction and grades, and a significant main effect of students' L1 status for homework and grades.

Table 5

Summary of ANOVA Results for Pedagogical Styles

Rated factor	Source	Test statistics			
		df	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	η_p^2
Homework	Students' L1 status	1, 126	22.14	< .0001	.15
	Teacher type	2, 252	2.19	.12	.02
	Interaction	2, 252	2.18	.12	.02
Errors	Students' L1 status	1, 126	0.91	.34	.01
	Teacher type	2, 252	25.10	< .0001	.17
	Interaction	2, 252	1.00	.37	.01
Grades	Students' L1 status	1, 126	6.07	.02	.05
	Teacher type	2, 252	18.50	< .0001	.13
	Interaction	2, 252	0.81	.45	.01

Note. Effect size (η_p^2): .01 = small, .06 = medium, .13 = large (Cohen, 1988)

The significant main effects of teacher type were explored through pairwise comparisons (using Bonferroni correction) for student ratings of teachers' error correction and grading. All students, regardless of L1 status, rated anglophone teachers higher than both francophone ($p < .001$) and allophone ($p < .001$) teachers, indicating thus that anglophone teachers are more

demanding in correcting student errors. Also, all students designated anglophone teachers as harsher graders than both francophone ($p < .001$) and allophone ($p < .001$) teachers, with allophone students giving higher ratings than francophone students ($p = .015$). Pairwise comparisons for teacher ratings of homework revealed no significant differences after Bonferroni corrections were applied ($p > .05$). Table 6 provides a summary of the significant between group differences.

Table 6

Summary of Significant Between-Group Differences

Rated factor	Student group	Difference
Homework	All ($n = 128$)	Anglophone = Francophone = Allophone
Errors	All ($n = 128$)	Anglophone > Francophone = Allophone
Grades	All ($n = 128$)	Anglophone > Francophone = Allophone

Professionalism and Effectiveness

The third analysis focused on the students' ratings eliciting their appreciation of teachers' professional characteristics, more precisely which of the three teacher types they perceived as being more prepared, having more classroom authority, and which of the three teacher types they admired most (see Table 7 for descriptive statistics). Additionally, this analysis targeted students' ratings eliciting their opinion about their teachers' effectiveness based on whether the teacher shares students' L1 or is a NS of English. The ratings for each target characteristic were submitted to a two-way repeated-measures ANOVA, with student L1 status (francophone, allophone) as a between-subjects factor and repeated measurements for the three (anglophone, francophone, allophone) or two (maternal L1 teacher or English L1 teacher) teacher types, as relevant.

Table 7

Means and Standard Deviations of ESL Students' Ratings for Professional Characteristics

Rated factor	Student group	Teacher type		
		Anglophone	Francophone	Allophone
Prepared	Francophone ($n = 50$)	65.54 (22.46)	65.65 (22.00)	56.81 (22.69)
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	64.62 (20.97)	66.66 (17.93)	65.24 (19.38)
Authority	Francophone ($n = 50$)	64.04 (23.44)	62.07 (23.14)	56.66 (24.27)
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	67.33 (21.16)	66.15 (20.19)	62.60 (21.27)
Admire	Francophone ($n = 50$)	44.53 (29.07)	67.05 (27.83)	59.03 (28.82)
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	54.10 (26.32)	60.12 (24.37)	74.49 (19.87)

Rated factor	Student group	Teacher type	
		Maternal L1	English L1
Most effective	Francophone ($n = 50$)	58.30 (30.48)	64.37 (22.81)
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	54.82 (29.60)	60.06 (24.13)

Note. Effect size (η_p^2): .01 = small, .06 = medium, .13 = large (Cohen, 1988)

As summarized in Table 8, the ANOVAs revealed a statistically significant main effect of teacher type for teacher preparedness and authority, as well as a significant interaction between students' L1 status and teacher type for the question about which teacher is most admired. There were no significant main effects or interactions for the ratings of most effective teachers.

Table 8

Summary of ANOVA Results for Personal Characteristics

Rated factor	Source	Test statistics			
		df	F	p	η_p^2

Prepared	Students' L1 status	1, 126	1.05	.31	.008
	Teacher type	2, 252	3.11	.05	.02
	Interaction	2, 252	2.58	.08	.02
Authority	Students' L1 status	1, 126	2.36	.13	.02
	Teacher type	2, 252	3.50	.03	.03
	Interaction	2, 252	0.17	.85	.001
Admire	Students' L1 status	1, 126	3.57	.06	.03
	Teacher type	2, 252	20.03	< .0001	.14
	Interaction	2, 252	7.82	.001	.06
Most effective	Student L1 status	1, 126	1.48	.23	.01
	Teacher type	2, 252	2.35	.13	.02
	Interaction	2,252	.01	.91	< .0001

The significant main effects of teacher type were explored through pairwise comparisons (using Bonferroni correction) targeting student ratings of teachers' professional characteristics of preparedness and authority. However, no significant differences in ratings were revealed after Bonferroni corrections were applied ($p > .05$), suggesting that the students did not perceive any teacher type as being more organized or as having more authority. Similar analyses exploring the significant two-way interaction for the question about which teacher was most admired revealed that the francophone students rated both francophone ($p < .001$) and allophone ($p = .01$) teachers higher than anglophone teachers, while the allophone students rated allophone teachers higher than both francophone ($p < .001$) and anglophone ($p < .001$) teachers. Table 9 provides a summary of the significant between group differences.

Table 9

Summary of Significant Between-Group Differences

Rated factor	Student group	Difference
Prepared	All ($n = 128$)	Anglophone = Francophone = Allophone
Authority	All ($n = 128$)	Anglophone = Francophone = Allophone
Admire	Francophone ($n = 50$)	Francophone = Allophone > Anglophone
	Allophone ($n = 78$)	Allophone > Francophone = Anglophone
Most effective	All ($n = 128$)	Maternal L1 = Anglophone

Analyses of the students' comments revealed multiple reasons underlying their admiration for their teachers. For instance, the francophone students highlighted francophone teachers' background as language learners with whom they share their L1 and francophone teachers' ability to share useful strategies for language learning (8 out of 18 comments):

- “[I most admire] The franco[phone teacher] because he can explain better what is the meaning of an English work in French.”
- “He understands me because he has the same language as me and he can give me tricks to learn English.”
- “He knows how I can learn English by using the same strategies that he used to learn it.”

The francophone students also emphasized the fact that francophone teachers are their role models (6 out of 18 comments):

- “If he was able to learn English very well that I can tell myself that I could learn it as well to that level.”
- “I want to be like him, a francophone who mastered English.”

- “He did what I want to do; speak and understand English.”
- “Is difficult to learn English as a francophone so I am impressed and I respect him.”

Without much elaboration, the francophone students mentioned other reasons for their preference (6 out of 18 comments), such as “I feel more near to them” (hinting here probably at the social dimension of their admiration for francophone teachers), “they are able to master and teach a ‘rival’ language” (a reminder of the historic tension between French and English in Quebec), “they are more passionate,” “more helpful,” and they “made me enjoy the English class that used to be boring for me.”

The allophone students similarly elaborated on the reasons for their admiration of allophone teachers, commenting on allophone teachers’ background as language learners, their multilinguistic competence, their experience with language learning strategies which they share with their students, and their empathy for students’ struggle to learn a new language. For example, the students described allophone teachers’ background as language learners (14 out of 40 comments):

- “The allophone teachers had to learn English very well to master it and I think they are more knowledgeable about grammar...”
- “This teacher had to learn another language to teach us.”

They also referred to allophone teachers’ multilingual competence (11 out of 40 comments) and their ability to share language learning strategies (8 out of 40 comments):

- “They [allophone teachers] speak more languages.”
- “He has a different maternal language other than English or French and it was harder for him to learn English well. He had to learn very good English to teach it to students and to have good pronunciation even though they still have an accent.”

- “If an ESL allo[phone] teacher is teaching in Quebec this probably means they speak 3 languages; I have a lot of respect for people who can speak 3 languages and master them well enough to teach [them]”

Similarly, the allophone students commented on allophone teachers’ empathy for students’ struggle in learning a new language (7 out of 40 comments):

- “They understand us more.”
- “The allophone teacher understands me more because this person didn’t know English before so he know[s] how difficult it is [to learn English].”
- “He would most understand the problems of his students.”
- “They don’t get upset when we make mistakes”
- “They know how difficult it is.”

Discussion

The current study explored francophone and allophone ESL students’ attitudes towards their NS anglophone and NNS francophone and allophone ESL teachers in Quebec focusing broadly on three categories of issues—linguistic factors, pedagogical styles, and professional characteristics. While the students showed no particular preference for any of the three teachers types in response to four of the 15 attitudinal statements (homework, preparedness, authority, effectiveness), they placed anglophone teachers at the top of their preferences in response to eight of the 15 statements (vocabulary, grammar, speaking, writing, reading, culture, error correction, grades), revealing therefore an overall more positive attitude towards NS than towards NNS teachers. Additionally, a pattern of in-group preference, more visible in the responses by francophone students, was discovered. Indeed, the francophone students displayed

more positive attitudes towards francophone teachers in response to five of the 15 statements (vocabulary, reading, grammar, strategies, admiration), whereas the allophone students displayed more positive attitudes towards allophone teachers in response to only two of the 15 statements (strategies and admiration).

Student Attitudes Towards NS and NNS ESL Teachers in Relation to Linguistic Factors

The first research question targeted student attitudes towards NS and NNS ESL teachers, as revealed by their perception of teacher effectiveness in relation to their ability to teach vocabulary, grammar, speaking/pronunciation, reading, writing, language learning strategies, and anglophone culture. Overwhelmingly, the results showed that the students had more positive attitudes towards NS teachers than towards NNS teachers. More precisely, NS teachers were perceived as being more effective than NNS teachers for the teaching of vocabulary, grammar, speaking/pronunciation, reading, writing, and anglophone culture by the majority of the students. In fact, the only linguistic area where anglophone teachers were not given preference over the other two teacher types was the teaching of language learning strategies. Francophone teachers were preferred by the majority of the students for their teaching of grammar (alongside anglophone teachers) and strategies (alongside allophone teachers).

These findings align with the results of prior research in EFL and/or ESL contexts showing that NS teachers are preferred as teachers of speaking/pronunciation and anglophone culture (Filho, 2002; Mahboob, 2004; Pacek, 2005; Torres, 2004), with the results of research in ESL contexts indicating NS teachers as preferred teachers of writing (Filho, 2002; Mahboob, 2004; Pacek, 2005; Torres, 2004), and with the results of research in EFL contexts indicating NS teachers as preferred teachers of vocabulary and reading (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005). Students' preference towards NNS teachers for the teaching of language learning strategies

confirms previous research showing that, in both ESL and EFL contexts, students appreciate NNS teachers' abilities in this respect (Filho, 2002; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Mahboob, 2004; Medgyes, 1994) more than they appreciate those of the NS teachers. Conversely, the findings related to the teaching of grammar contrast with the results of studies in ESL and EFL contexts, where NNS teachers were preferred as teachers of grammar (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Filho, 2002; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Ma, 2012; Madrid & Perez, 2004; Mahboob, 2004; Moussu, 2002, 2006; Pacek, 2005; Ramila Diaz, 2015; Torres, 2004). In the current study, though, students preferred both NS anglophone and NNS francophone teachers for their teaching of grammar, and possible reasons for this finding are discussed below.

The results also revealed a pattern of in-group preference, which was more clearly visible in the francophone students' responses. In addition to showing general preference for NS anglophone teachers in six of the seven linguistic categories (language learning strategies being the only exception), the francophone students also demonstrated positive attitudes towards francophone teachers in five of the seven linguistic categories, namely, the teaching of vocabulary, grammar, reading, writing, and language learning strategies. Indeed, the francophone students rated francophone teachers as equal to anglophone teachers for the teaching of vocabulary and reading, and second best to anglophone teachers for the teaching of speaking/pronunciation and writing. Conversely, the allophone students showed preference towards allophone teachers for one linguistic category only, namely, the teaching of language learning strategies (alongside francophone teachers). To summarize, the francophone students appeared to display more positive attitudes towards francophone teachers (along with their positive attitudes towards anglophone teachers), while expressing no positive attitudes towards allophone teachers. Meanwhile, the allophone students seemed to have a more balanced view of

their NNS teachers, expressing equally positive attitudes towards both francophone and allophone teachers.

A possible reason for the in-group preference expressed by the francophone students may reflect their perception of benefits of sharing the same L1 as their teachers. For instance, such benefits might extend to teachers' ability to translate difficult words or concepts into learners' L1 and learners' increased understanding of lesson content in classes taught by instructors with the same L1 (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Ling & Braine, 2007; Ma, 2012; Madrid & Perez, 2004; Medgyes, 1994). However, the school board where the study took place requires all non-francophone ESL teachers to pass a B level French proficiency test as a prerequisite for being hired. As a result, allophone and anglophone teachers—at least in the current instructional context—appear equally capable of codeswitching, translating difficult words, or explaining complex concepts in French, and this might explain francophone students' ratings of anglophone and francophone teachers as being equally effective in teaching vocabulary and reading. This might also be the reason why anglophone and francophone teachers were given preference for their teaching of grammar, a finding that, as noted above, contradicts most results of previous research performed in ESL and EFL contexts indicating NNS teachers as preferred teachers of grammar. However, teachers' French proficiency does not explain why allophone teachers were downgraded in this respect since they, too, have the ability to use French when needed; because previous studies did not look at different types of NNS ESL teachers, these results offer new insights into students' attitudes towards their ESL teachers.

The in-group preference revealed in this study may also stem from the hybrid characteristics of the research setting. For example, it is possible that the francophone students' preference for francophone teachers may be an expression of their social identity and

accommodation behaviours. According to the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), a person's social group is an important source of pride and self-esteem; therefore, the favourable ratings given by the francophone students to francophone teachers may be an expression of their shared social and cultural identity. Additionally, according to the accommodation theory (Giles et al, 1991), interactions between people might involve behaviours that minimize in-group differences and accentuate between-group distinctions, which—in the current research context—may involve the shared ethnic speech patterns between francophone students and teachers. Such identity- or accommodation-related behaviors might therefore explain the francophone students' higher ratings of francophone teachers relative to their ratings of allophone teachers. Unlike francophone students and teachers, who represent the majority ethnic group in Quebec, the allophone students and teachers include speakers from a variety of linguistic backgrounds, meaning that they have fewer in-group commonalities or shared social and cultural identities. This linguistic and cultural diversity may explain why the allophone students favorably rated the allophone teachers in response to only one of the seven rated categories.

Kelch and Santana-Williamson (2002) noted that the more exposure and familiarity students have with a teacher's variety of English or a teacher's accent, the more favourable is their attitude towards that teacher, and this may be an additional explanation for the francophone students' preference of francophone over allophone teachers. In this study, the francophone students may have been more exposed to, and more familiar with, francophone teachers' speech in English because these teachers represent the majority linguistic group in Quebec and thus most likely constitute the bulk of ESL teachers in Quebec's classrooms. In fact, of the Quebec teachers included in the sample used by Collins and French (2011) in their study focusing on the challenges faced by ESL teachers in Canada, 66.6% were francophone teachers, a percentage

that likely reflects the composition of the Quebec ESL teachers. On the other hand, allophone teachers are not only fewer in number (5.2% in Collins and French's sample), but they also come from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds and also likely demonstrate a variety of accents in English which may have been less familiar for francophone and allophone students alike. Therefore, familiarity with teachers' accents may be another reason underlying the francophone students' more positive attitudes towards francophone teachers, compared to their attitudes towards allophone teachers.

Considering that the students in this research studied ESL with NNS teachers for an average of 7.3 years, but with NS teachers for an average of 1.1 years only, the results suggest that, although students have a positive outlook towards NS teachers, this attitude seems to originate from students' preconceived ideas of what a NS teacher is like rather than from their particular experience taking classes with actual NS teachers. Also, according to Medgyes (1992), the "ideal" NS teacher has a high degree of proficiency in students' mother tongue, which may be the case in the current setting: In order to be employed, all non-francophone teachers (including NS teachers) have to demonstrate their French proficiency. Therefore, the NS teachers with whom the students participating in this research had previously studied may have indeed fit this criterion of an "ideal" teacher as brought forth by Medgyes, and this may have influenced the students' ratings of NS teachers. In sum, the students in this study had little experience with NS teachers, but their preconceived beliefs may have led them to rate these teachers highly.

Student Attitudes Towards NS and NNS ESL Teachers in Relation to Pedagogical Factors

The second research question aimed at uncovering student attitudes towards ESL teachers by considering their perception of teachers' pedagogical styles. The analysis showed that the students identified NS teachers as being the most demanding graders and as being the most

inclined towards error correction. Conversely, none of the three teacher types were perceived as giving more homework than the others. These results contradict previous findings in the EFL context identifying NNS teachers as being more predisposed towards error correction, harsher grading, and assigning more homework, compared to NS teachers (Benke & Medgyes, 2005, Ling & Braine, 2007). Nonetheless, as discussed above, the students in this study had more experience with NNS teachers than with NS teachers; thus, perceiving NS teachers as more demanding graders and more attentive to errors may have been an expression of students' beliefs about an ideal teacher. For instance, the students may have presumed that a teacher's NS status allows him/her to be harsher at judging their work and also to be more likely to notice and correct their errors, which resulted in higher ratings given to NS teachers than to NNS teachers.

In addition, the current results may also reflect students' opinions often revealed in previous research, namely, that NNS teachers—compared to NS teachers—are more understanding of students' mistakes and difficulties (Medgyes, 1994), which would be consistent with more lenient ratings assigned to NNS teachers for grading and error correction.

Furthermore, NNS teachers' status as language learners themselves and their empathy for their students' struggle in language learning may inform NNS teachers' pedagogical approach to providing corrective feedback. For instance, it may be that NNS teachers filter the type and quantity of corrective feedback they provide to students through their own experience, which may lead them to provide implicit, constructive, and motivating feedback resulting in increased uptake rates and improved student self-confidence. Therefore, increased mutual understanding between teachers and students—based on their shared NNS status—may have contributed to the students' perception that NNS teachers are less likely to correct errors and are also less demanding graders.

Student Attitudes Towards NS and NNS ESL Teachers in Relation to Teachers'

Professional Characteristics

The third research question asked about students' attitudes towards NS and NNS ESL teachers in terms of their perceptions of teachers' professional characteristics. The students did not seem to perceive significant differences between teachers when evaluating the three teacher types for their preparedness and their authority in the classroom. The results in relation to teachers' preparedness contradict the findings from Medgyes and Benke's (2005) study performed in an EFL context which showed that students perceive NNS teachers as more prepared than NS teachers. However, the current results in relation to teachers' classroom authority are in agreement with the study performed by Moussu and Braine (2006) in an ESL context which showed that students perceived NNS teachers as having as much authority as NS teachers. The results of the current study may be explained by the fact that the NS teachers in Medgyes and Benke's study were perceived by students as less inclined to the use of textbooks, less committed to a lesson plan, and more inclined to a free conversational classroom atmosphere on a diversity of topics, which may have led students to believe that the NS teachers engaged in less preparation of their lessons; the reverse was found for the NNS teachers in that study, and for this reason, students may have perceived them as being more prepared. In Quebec, the goal of the ESL program is student development in three different competencies—speaking, understanding, and writing—with the speaking competency being the main competency to be developed in a synergetic and integrative manner. Also, in Quebec, the ESL curriculum is developed in accordance to the "Progression of Learning" document put forward by the Ministry of Education, which presents in detail the knowledge students need to acquire at each level and which governs and guides teachers' interventions throughout their students' language

development. It is possible that these pedagogic guidelines may have minimized differences across teachers, at least in terms of their level of preparedness, which in turn may have led students in this research to perceive their teachers as equally prepared.

Possible reasons for which the students in this study did not perceive differences between the three teacher types in terms of classroom authority may be the result of Quebec teachers' path towards professional accreditation. Indeed, to be certified by Quebec's Ministry of Education, all ESL teachers, including those teachers who came with teaching qualifications from their countries of origin, are mandated to follow pedagogy courses in Quebec's universities where they learn (among other pedagogic content) classroom management techniques that are most appropriate to the local context (i.e., multiethnic, multilevel classes). Also, future ESL teachers are required to successfully pass four internships in order to graduate and be certified, and during these internships, much emphasis is put on future teachers' classroom management skills. Therefore, it is possible that teachers' common path in being certified as ESL teachers in Quebec may have encouraged all teachers—regardless of their language status as anglophone, francophone, or allophone—to implement similar classroom management approaches, which in turn may have led the students in this research to perceive all teachers as equal in terms of classroom authority.

Additionally, the students did not find that either a NS teacher or a teacher with whom they share a common L1 makes a more effective teacher. It was reported previously that students in EFL contexts appreciate NNS teachers' ability to use students' L1, and this was one of the reasons NNS teachers were considered more effective (Ling & Braine, 2007; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Ma, 2009). Conversely, in ESL contexts, the use of students' L1 was less appreciated (Mahboob, 2004; Pacek, 2005) and seen as a counter-effective method of teaching

ESL. The results in this research seem to support findings from both EFL and ESL contexts, in agreement with Medgyes' (1994) argument: NS and NNS teachers have different strengths (resulting from their nativeness or lack of it), but they are not superior one to another. Indeed, in this study, one student's comment on the issue of effectiveness seems to aptly summarize these results: "Everything depends on how s/he teaches, explains, gives examples, and finds ways for us to understand quickly." In other words, the students seemed to acknowledge that teachers' professional characteristics were more important than their effectiveness based on sharing a common L1. Additionally, these results may be a natural outcome of Quebec's heterogeneous linguistic makeup of both student and teacher populations. As discussed previously, Quebec is host to a variety of linguistic minorities, particularly in Montreal's schools, and the current results indicate that this is a reality to which students seem to be well accustomed. In essence, the students appeared to evaluate all teachers—regardless of their native language—as effective professionals.

Nonetheless, the students' admiration was clearly directed towards NNS teachers. Given the opportunity to support ratings with comments, the students remarked that both francophone and allophone teachers had to learn the language in order to teach it. According to the students, this makes NNS teachers better able to share strategies facilitating students' own language learning, helps them empathize more with students' struggle to learn English because of teachers' own background as language learners, allows them to become more understanding of students' errors, and overall makes them perfect role models of what students can achieve, which aligns well with findings from prior research (e.g., Filho, 2002; Medgyes, 1994). The in-group preference shown with respect to the students' linguistic preferences also emerged in relation to the students' opinions of teachers' professional characteristics, more precisely in relation to

students' admiration of their teachers. The francophone students admired the most teachers from their own linguistic background, compared to allophone and anglophone teachers, while the allophone students admired the most allophone teachers, compared to francophone and anglophone teachers. In sum, the results of quantitative analyses and of the students' observations—written in response to open-ended questions—generally supported the conclusions of previous studies performed in EFL contexts (Ling & Braine, 2007; Ma, 2012; Medgyes, 1994) and in ESL contexts (Filho, 2002; Mahboob, 2004), all showing that students appreciate NNS teachers' specific pedagogical attributes deriving from their own background as language learners.

Pedagogical Implications

Although the current research took place in a mixed setting, with characteristics of EFL and ESL contexts, where teachers may be NS anglophone or NNS francophone and allophone teachers, in actuality, the students were exposed to NS teachers to a lesser extent than assumed. Yet, while the students' experience with NS teachers was limited, their attitudes towards these teachers were overall more positive, compared to their attitudes towards NNS teachers, leading to the conclusion that the students must have idealized their NS teachers. This finding is important not only for the school board where the study took place or for school boards across the province of Quebec, but in general, for any school system in similar hybrid contexts elsewhere. If ELT professionals wish to break away from the stereotypes associated with teachers' NS–NNS status, then school administrators should strive to offer learners comparable opportunities to experience language instruction in classrooms with NS and with NNS teachers. Furthermore, in contexts where NNS teacher groups are represented by teachers belonging to the majority and minority groups, the fact that the students from the majority linguistic group have

more positive attitudes towards teachers from their own group should not be seen by school administrators as instances of students downgrading minority group teachers as professionals. Rather, these attitudes likely reflect strong social and cultural identity ties shared by all members of a given group.

Limitations and Further Directions

The most notable limitation of this study is the disparity in students' experience with NS versus NNS teachers. This research relied on intact groups of students whose past experience with NS and NNS teachers was unknown before the study. Therefore, in future work, researchers might wish to first isolate a group of participants whose experience with target teacher types is as comparable as possible, before evaluating their perceptions and attitudes towards these teachers. Other limitations of the study come from the instrument used for data collection. For instance, the study did not provide qualitative insights into students' previous experience with their ESL teachers. Prior research showed that students having previous unsatisfactory experiences with NNS teachers (especially in the area of pronunciation) prefer NS over NNS teachers (Filho, 2002; Torres, 2004). This research yielded no data concerning the quality of the students' prior ESL experience, which makes it difficult to know the extent to which the attitudes expressed by the students reflect their immediate previous experience or stem from their preconceived beliefs developed outside schooling, for example, from the family or the media.

Additionally, although the questionnaire included three open-ended questions allowing students to reveal more information about their beliefs, follow-up interviews would have been useful to confirm and broaden the interpretations based on survey data. Considering Baker's (1988) five characteristics of attitudes (cognitive and affective; loaded with emotions; falling on a continuum rather than a dichotomy; learned from experiences; modifiable), follow-up

interviews would have allowed for more in-depth and detailed responses as well as for more understanding of the reasons behind students' statements. For instance, interviews would have helped determine if students' ratings concealed nuanced opinions and if students' ratings were reflective of stable or transient beliefs (e.g., related to the teachers they had at the time of data collection).

Previous research also demonstrated a positive correlation between the amount time students spend with NNS teachers and their attitudes towards these teachers (Moussu 2002; 2006; Moussu & Braine, 2006), but this relationship was not salient in this study, especially with respect to allophone teachers, which is another limitation of the study. Future studies using more sensitive instruments of students' educational experiences may be needed to investigate possible reasons for this finding, while also targeting a related idea, namely, whether the less experience students have with NS teachers, the more they idealize and therefore appreciate them. Finally, future work should focus on uncovering specific beliefs underlying students' preference for NS teachers, despite little actual experience taking classes with them, and should target possible ways of mitigating such biased opinions.

An additional limitation of this study stems from the underlined assumption of this research that that the school selected for this study and the participants tested were representative of the general ESL population of students in Quebec; however it remains to be seen how representative these findings are of other locations in Quebec, because the demographic situation of other places in Quebec, although similar to the one where the research was conducted, may differ. Therefore, it remains to be determined how ESL students from other locations in Quebec would respond to the same questionnaire, and how their responses would compare to the findings obtained in this research.

Conclusion

Contributing to research on learner attitudes towards NS and NNS ESL teachers, this study revealed that learners in a hybrid language learning context had a complex image of their ESL teachers. Unlike in previous studies performed in ESL or EFL contexts, the students targeted here did not upgrade one teacher type over others with respect to the amount of homework assigned, being organized and well-prepared, having authority in the classroom, or being more effective on the basis of having a shared L1 with students. However, consistent with prior research, the students overwhelmingly appreciated NNS teachers' instruction of language learning strategies, and they appeared to admire NNS teachers more than NS teachers. Also, similar to previous studies conducted in EFL contexts, the students preferred NS teachers as reading and writing teachers, and (in agreement with studies in ESL contexts) preferred NS teachers as speaking/pronunciation, writing, and target culture teachers.

A surprising finding was that the students appeared to appreciate both NS anglophone teachers and NNS francophone teachers for their grammar teaching abilities, a result that contradicts findings of prior research from both ESL and EFL contexts. Additionally, the students expressed more positive attitudes towards NS teachers, particularly in terms of the effectiveness of NS teachers as instructors of various linguistic skills, although the students' experience with NS teachers as instructors was limited. This implies that the NS myth is still alive. Finally, in a context where teachers and students represent linguistic and cultural majority and minority groups, the preferences expressed by students appeared to be influenced by their group membership, which was especially true for students representing the majority linguistic (francophone) group. Social identity likely plays an important role in students' attitudes towards their teachers.

Chapter 3

Conducted in a context with shared ESL and EFL characteristics, the current study revealed that, in this hybrid context, ESL students' attitudes towards their teachers involve composite opinions, some of which are comparable with, while others diverge from, those documented for students in ESL and/or EFL contexts. This research found that students had more positive attitudes towards NS teachers than towards NNS teachers, especially in relation to their ability to teach specific linguistic skills (vocabulary, reading, writing, speaking/pronunciation, grammar, target language culture). Considering teachers' pedagogical skills, the study also found that NS teachers were perceived as more demanding than NNS teachers in terms of student error correction and grading. However, in terms of teachers' professional characteristics (preparedness, authority, effectiveness based on shared teacher/student L1), the study did not reveal more positive attitudes towards any teacher type. Additionally, the study found that NNS teachers were preferred for their instruction of language learning strategies and were more admired than their NS counterparts for their own background as language learners. Therefore, the current study supported some of the previous findings, extended other findings to hybrid contexts, such as the current one, and complemented the existing body of research with new findings.

To the best of my knowledge, this study is among the first performed in a hybrid context, which precludes its findings from being compared directly with results from other settings. Although the students targeted in this study overall showed limited exposure to NS teachers, their attitudes, for the most part, were consistent with work suggesting that students make the assumption that only NS teachers know "proper" English and only they are "real" ESL teachers (Amin, 2000). The results were also in line with the view vehemently disputed by Widdowson

(1994), namely, that native speakers “not only have a patent on proper English, but on the proper ways of teaching it as well” (p. 388). As discussed in Chapter 1, in Gardner’s interpretation, attitude (as a reaction to some referent) is conditional on the individual’s beliefs about that referent, and this study indicated that the students’ beliefs about their teachers were more important than the specific characteristics of each teacher type. Indeed, this study discovered not only that the students’ positive beliefs about NS ESL teachers were pervasive in the current hybrid context, but also revealed that these positive beliefs seemed to have strongly conditioned students’ positive attitudes towards NS teachers, notwithstanding NNS teachers’ more significant presence in these students’ classrooms.

One implication of this study is that for the students in the hybrid context of Quebec, a positive language learning experience is closely related to studying with NS teachers, whom students seem to idealize. In light of the worldwide spread of English, Paikeday (1985) suggested that the NS concept is dead, and Cook (2005) similarly proposed to replace this concept with the construct of a near-native speaker, which could provide a more attainable and less intimidating model for students. However, Davies (2013) distinguished between the NS that is like “all of us” (p. 26)—where “all of us” refers to speakers of at least one language, based on the definition of the NS presented in Chapter 1—and the ideal NS, which is an abstract construct underlying language teaching and testing practices. In Davies’ view, educated NNSs (which NNS ESL teachers themselves are) have been “imbued with the knowledge of the (idealized) native speaker, that is of the Standard Language” (p. 26) used in language teaching and testing, and for this reason, the norm of the idealized NS native speaker is useful. It is possible, therefore, that the positive attitudes towards NS teachers expressed by the students in this research are directed not towards NS teachers themselves, but towards an ideal NS ESL teacher akin to the ideal NS

described by Davies; nonetheless, the findings of this research suggest that, at least in the current context, the concept of a NS does not appear to be “dead.”

A second implication of this study pertains to the hybrid quality of the research setting and concerns the heterogeneity of both NNS teacher and student groups. In the hybrid context of Quebec, one way of ensuring student success in L2 learning is for students to study with teachers from their own linguistic background to whom students can relate more closely. Previous research on student attitudes towards their ESL teachers was conducted along the lines of the NS–NNS dichotomy, but the current research went beyond this traditional division—on the assumption that, where the context warrants it, it is as important to know students’ attitudes towards different types of NNS teachers as it is to understand their reactions towards NS teachers. Quebec’s NNS ESL teachers are either francophone or allophone; the same is true for Quebec’s learners. The study discovered that the francophone majority/allophone minority status of both teachers and students appears to influence how students perceive their teachers. Francophone students clearly expressed in-group preferences in their attitudes towards ESL teachers, and the root of this phenomenon seems to be threefold: the existence of a shared L1, students’ familiarity with teachers’ variety of English, and social identity and accommodation-related behaviours.

Francophone students’ and teachers’ shared L1 may be partly the reason for this in-group preference, and not necessarily because francophone teachers are able to use French to assist students in their learning. In fact, in the hybrid context of Quebec, anglophone and allophone teachers are also competent French speakers, yet francophone students seemed to identify more with francophone teachers than with other teachers, likely because francophone teachers share their culture and also have traversed a similar learning path in order to learn English. As students

progress in L2 learning, francophone teachers may in fact have a better understanding of learner errors associated with the students' L1 and may be better at predicting and assisting with specific difficulties faced by them (McNeill, 2005). For allophone students and teachers, on the other hand, French is their second or additional language. Although allophone teachers were praised by students too for their multilingual competence (French competence included) and for their ability to share language learning strategies, their admiration did not translate into higher ratings of allophone teachers' ability to teach specific linguistic skills, perhaps due to reasons related to students' and allophone teachers' heterogeneity and minority status.

Teachers' accent/spoken English variety seems to play an important role in the current research context and to permeate students' attitudes towards their ESL teachers. In fact, according to Derwing and Munro (2002), accent is the most noticeable aspect of a teacher's speech; in addition, L2 learners better understand accents that are similar to their own, and this could lead to better understanding of teachers' speech. For instance, Bernaisch (2012) showed that Sri Lankan students rated the Sri Lankan variety of English just below British English (which they placed at the top of their preferences), but perceived it more favourably than American English, suggesting that students judge their own variety of English positively. In the current study, the francophone students preferred francophone teachers more than they preferred allophone teachers likely because the students had less difficulty with the English speech by fellow francophone speakers.

Reviewing several social factors that affect language learning, Ellis (1994) identified ethnic and social identity as one of the four factors (along with age, sex, and social class) that determine the success of L2 learning. Indeed, languages are not only instruments for conveying meaning, they are linked with the identities of social or ethnic groups (Ihemere, 2006). The

social identity and accommodation-related behaviours most likely responsible for the in-group preferences revealed by this study suggest that students take pride and acquire an increased sense of self-esteem from the social group with which they affiliate. As a result, students upgrade the individuals with whom they identify the most and downgrade those with whom they have few commonalities. Medgyes (1994), among many others, has advocated that both NS and NNS teachers bring multiple advantages to the language classroom, and the results of this study show that, to a certain extent, students agree with this. However, when NNS teachers are considered further—in terms of teachers representing linguistic majority and minority groups—NNS teachers who are members of the linguistic majority appear to bring more advantages than those who are members of a linguistic minority, at least for the students from the majority group.

A third implication of this research extends from the fact that NNS teachers generally have to work harder than NS teachers in order to prove their worth and legitimacy in the ELT field (Thomas, 1999). In Quebec, as the results of this research suggest, it appears that allophone NNS ESL teachers are those who must work the hardest to convince students that they are worth of more than admiration, and that they possess desirable professional characteristics that extend beyond those resulting from their own background as language learners. It was encouraging to see in the results of this research that students perceived all three teacher types as equals in terms of some targeted constructs (preparedness, authority, effectiveness). Perhaps starting from these constructs, allophone NNS teachers could build up their legitimacy in the ELT field, at least in the current context. As one student commented, "...at the end of the day, all ESL teachers speak English and... have the same studies..." Indeed, as previously discussed, attitudes (including students' attitudes) are modifiable (Baker, 1998). If some of the students in this research were able to acknowledge that allophone NNS teachers are ESL professionals first and foremost, and

as such they are as valuable as other teachers, then maybe more students could recognize this too. For this to occur, though, allophone NNS teachers need to find convincing ways to showcase the entire array of the characteristics that they, as ESL professionals, possess.

A last implication of this research is that Quebec school administrators deserve to be praised for their nondiscriminatory hiring practices, seeing that both NS and NNS ESL teachers have a place in the ESL teaching field. However, they may wish to tailor NNS ESL teachers' placement in schools by matching each school's student populations with NNS ESL teachers representing those particular populations in order to ensure student success in language learning in a context characterized among other aspects by a significant multiethnic presence.

In closing, taking into account Ellis' (1994) suggestion that the levels of students' L2 proficiency are determined not only by factors such age, sex, social class, and ethnic identity, but also by the attitudes and social conditions associated with these factors, this study suggests that, by understanding and addressing students' beliefs and attitudes towards their teachers, school administrators and teachers might be in a more favourable position to promote students' success in L2 learning, both in Quebec's classrooms and in other similar hybrid contexts.

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Appendix A

Learner Background

1. Name (first and last):

2. Age:

3. Gender:

4. Grade: Secondary

5. Mother tongue(s)/maternal language(s):

a) French

b) Arabic

c) Spanish

d) Chinese

e) other (specify)

6. Do you speak other languages in addition to French or English?

a) Yes b) No

7. If the answer to question 6 is “Yes”, list the languages in the order of proficiency:

.....

8. Do you understand other languages better than you can speak them?

a) Yes b) No

9. If the answer to question 8 is “Yes”, list the languages in the order of proficiency:

.....

10. If you were born outside of Quebec, have you studied English anywhere else outside Quebec?

a) Yes b) No

11. If the answer to question 10 is “Yes”, for how many years have you studied English outside Quebec?

a) Less than a year/A few months

b) 1 year

c) 2 years

d) 3 years e) 4 years f) Other (specify)

12. For how many years have you studied English as a second language in Quebec?

a) Less than a year/A few months b) 1 year c) 2 years
d) 3 years e) 4 years f) Other (specify)

13. Have you ever studied English with a native speaker (Anglophone) teacher?

a) Yes b) No

14. If the answer to question 13 is “Yes”, for how many years have you studied English with an Anglophone teacher?

a) Less than a year/A few months b) 1 year c) 2 years
d) 3 years e) 4 years f) Other (specify)

15. Have you ever studied English with a Francophone teacher?

a) Yes b) No

16. If the answer to question 15 is “Yes”, for how many years have you studied English with a Francophone teacher?

a) Less than a year/A few months b) 1 year c) 2 years
d) 3 years e) 4 years f) Other (specify)

17. Have you ever studied English with an allophone teacher?

a) Yes b) No

18. If the answer to question 17 is “Yes”, for how many years have you studied English with an allophone teacher?

a) Less than a year/A few months b) 1 year c) 2 years
d) 3 years e) 4 years f) Other (specify)

19. To the best of your knowledge, in addition to English and French, what other language(s) did the allophone teacher speak?

.....

Thank you for participating in this study!

Appendix B

Questionnaire

In this questionnaire, the following terms are used:

- *Anglophone teacher* refers to a teacher whose first language (maternal language) is English.
- *Francophone teacher* refers to a teacher whose first language (maternal language) is French.
- *Allophone teacher* refers to a teacher whose first language (maternal language) is neither English nor French (a teacher whose first language is Arabic, for example, is an allophone teacher).

Remember!

- When answering the questions, take into consideration all the English teachers you have had since you started learning English.
- If you studied English in another country, take into consideration only the English teachers you have had in Quebec.
- A complete answer means that you have to place a check mark ✓ or a cross “X” on each line. See the example below.

Helen’s favourite movie genre is:

Comedy	Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree
	●-----✓-----●	
Love story	Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree
	●-----✓-----●	
Action movie	Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree
	●-----✓-----●	
Science fiction	Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree
	●-----✓-----●	

Learner Attitudes

Answer each question by placing a check mark ✓ or a cross ✗ on each line provided to you.

1. The teacher who can effectively teach me *vocabulary* is the:

Anglophone teacher

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree



Francophone teacher

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree



Allophone teacher

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree



2. The teacher who can effectively teach me *grammar* is the:

Francophone teacher

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree



Allophone teacher

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree



Anglophone teacher

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree



3. The teacher who can effectively teach me *speaking/pronunciation* is the:

Allophone teacher

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree



Anglophone teacher

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree



Francophone teacher

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree



4. The teacher who can effectively teach me *writing* is the:

Anglophone teacher

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree



Francophone teacher

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree



Allophone teacher

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree



5. The teacher who can effectively teach me *reading* is the:

Francophone teacher

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

Allophone



teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



Anglophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



6. The teacher who can effectively teach me *strategies about how to best learn English* is the:

Francophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



Anglophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



Allophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



7. The teacher who can effectively give me *information about the Anglophone culture* is the:

Allophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



Anglophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



Francophone teacher

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree



8. In my opinion, the most effective ESL teacher is the one who speaks my maternal language.

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree



Explain your answer:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

9. In my opinion, the most effective ESL teacher is the Anglophone speaker.

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree



Explain your answer:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

10. The teacher who gives the most homework is the:

Allophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



Anglophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



Francophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



11. The most exigent (corrects most of my mistakes) teacher is the:

Allophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



Anglophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



Francophone

teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



12. It is more difficult to get high grades with the:

Francophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



Anglophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



Allophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



13. The most organized and well-prepared teacher is the:

Allophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



Anglophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



Francophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



14. The teacher who has the most authority in the classroom is the:

Anglophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

Francophone teacher



Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



Allophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



15. The teacher I admire the most is the:

Francophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



Allophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



Anglophone teacher

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree



I most admire the teacher I indicated in my answer to question 15 because

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....