

Native-speakerism in the EFL Job Market: A Corpus-based Study of Teaching Advertisements

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Abstract— This study aimed to investigate the extent to which native-speakerism appears as a challenging discriminatory practice favoring native speakers (NSs) as better language teachers in the EFL job market. To do this, content analysis was utilized to analyze and critically review a corpus of 200 online teaching posts taken from an online TEFL website which presents the employers' needs for recruiting English language teachers in different EFL contexts. From the analysis, the study also sought to examine the criteria which were used in the posts to recruit only NS teachers as well as the relationship between the posts favoring NSs and the origin of the educational agencies needing the language teachers.

The findings revealed that discrimination was highly practiced in the ads as they unprofessionally preferred NSs as EFL teachers depending on linguistic, political and ideological grounds rather than on social, cultural, professional and pedagogic appropriateness. The concept of native-speakerism was strongly present in the ads as 76% (153 ads) showed a preference of NS teachers. The analysis also indicated a significant relationship between NS preference and the origin of recruiting agencies and institutions as most ads (101 out of 153 ads with NS preference) were posted by agencies and institutes that were branches of larger educational organizations originated in native-speaking countries. According to these findings, several recommendations were put in hand concerning TESOL professionalism and teaching competency.

Keywords— Native-speakerism in ELT, EFL job market, Corpus-based advertisements, NS-NNS discrimination.

I. INTRODUCTION

Research on native-speakerism in English language teaching has indicated that both native speakers (henceforth, NSs) and non-native speakers (henceforth, NNSs) have their own strengths and weaknesses as language teachers (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Darmanto, 2020; Devrim & Bayyurt, 2010; Fathelbab, 2011; Holliday, 2015; Ma, 2012; Sondari, 2019; Tezgiden-Cakcak, 2019; Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2014; Wang, 2012) and that none is more favored than the others

(Fathelbab, 2011; Mahboob, 2010; Medgyes, 1992, 1994; Liu, 2010; Wang, 2012). However, the findings of this body of research do not reflect reality in relation to the hiring practices in the EFL world where a large portion of recruitment posts preferably require native speakers as model teachers of the language and thus disadvantage NNS teachers from being recruited just because they are not born as native speakers. It seems that these recruitment practices follow the saying that teachers are born not made, and thus give superiority to NSs as EFL teachers based on their nativeness status as the first valued recruitment criterion. By so doing, they admit Phillipson's (1992) coinage of NS fallacy which describes the native speaker as the best teacher of the language across times and cultures. What is questionable here is the extent to which this preference of native-speakerism is present in the EFL job market and whether NS teachers are preferred depending on a set of variables including certification, qualifications, experiences, interpersonal skills, professionalism, teaching competency, interest, or dedication to teaching as a profession.

This gives the rationale for conducting research that could provide evidence to how the native-speaker concept is strongly present in the EFL market when analyzing the discourse of the teaching posts requiring English teachers for employment. In fact, there might be scarcity of qualitative analyses that address how the native-speaker concept has been manipulated to display NSs as better EFL teachers and thus leave little employment opportunity for NNS teachers. Moreover, it is worth investigating the criteria upon which the selection of English teachers in the EFL teaching posts is made. This might give a clearer picture of whether NS teachers are favored and NNS teachers are discriminated in the EFL job market. The results of such research, when obtained, might be the best window opening for awareness raising and seeking professional equity in foreign language teaching as a profession.

To this end, the study seeks to analyze the content of a randomly selected corpus of online TEFL advertisements requiring teachers of English in different EFL countries. The analysis is suggested to help in showing how NS teachers are more preferred as better language teachers in the EFL world. It also intends to indicate how much such presence of native-speakerism might reflect discrimination to NNS teachers despite their certification, knowledge, qualifications, experiences, and dedication to the profession.

It is also important to describe the basis upon which the hiring practices in the ads require NSs teachers compared to

their NNS counterparts. Put differently, the study aims at displaying how teachers of English are desired and preferably required in these TEFL ads based on a set of suggestively-developed criteria that will help analyze each ad quantitatively, qualitatively and systematically to show the extent to which superiority of NSs as EFL wanted teachers is present. These suggested criteria include information about teachers' nativeness status, qualifications, experiences, nationalities and passport origins, as well as information about the style of writing that presents native-speakerism in the ads and the origin of recruiting agencies or institutes. All in all, the study attempts to provide evidence from a collection of EFL teaching ads through which it can be indicated that NNS teachers are disadvantaged in the EFL job market (Braine, 1999, 2010; Higgins, 2003; Jenkins, 2006; Liu, 1999; Tezgiden-Cakcak, 2019) compared to those having superiority in language teaching (i.e., NS teachers).

Based on the above-mentioned, the study seeks answers to the following questions:

- To what extent is native-speakerism present in the EFL job market, taking into consideration the following two points when analyzing a collection of the TEFL ads:

- * how NS teachers are viewed in the EFL job market based on the analysis of TEFL advertisements.

- * if these advertisements give any preference to NS teachers at the expense of NNS teachers of English in EFL contexts?

- What are the criteria used in the TEFL ads to recruit only native speakers as more preferred English teachers in the EFL world?

- Is there any relationship between the preference of recruiting NSs as English teachers and the nature or origin of the employing agencies in the ads?

The importance of this study lies in its unique purpose to collect a corpus of TEFL ads and objectively analyze their content to show evidence of NSs' superiority and the discriminatory practices used against NNS teachers in the EFL recruitment. This objective systematic analysis is suggested to explain why NSs are more preferred as language teachers and identify the criteria that underlie such preference as indicated in the ads specifying the employers' choices and needs for NSs. With such evidence, the study may ring a warning bell to the negative impact of this imperialistic and commercial native-speakerism on NNS teachers' opportunities in the EFL job market. Moreover, the findings of the study will enable NNS teachers to determine where they stand in terms of professionalism and teaching competency and be more aware of the discriminatory hiring practices that make NSs more credible and competent as EFL teachers than their NNS counterparts. It is believed that this awareness will empower NNESTs in a way that makes them able to write back (Pennycook, 1994) and fight against these discriminatory practices in the profession both locally and globally.

II. THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

This section sets off the theoretical grounds of what the study proposes and aims for, reviewing at the same time the literature on NS-NNS dichotomy and its possible negative

effects on TESOL and ELT in ESL/EFL contexts. Put simply, this part discusses issues such as native-speakerism from center to periphery as well as the effects of this dichotomy on the hiring process in the EFL/ESL job market.

A. *Native-speakerism from Center to Periphery*

Within the English as an international language paradigm, the discussion of the center-periphery concept can be traced back to the Kachruvian (1986) work of the three concentric circles (i.e., inner, outer, and expanding) where the idea of native-speakerism originates in the inner circle representing those countries where English is the first language. This concept is based on the assumption that native speakers are perfect models of teaching their own languages (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Liu, 1999; Paikeday, 1985). Following this, NS teachers of English are considered the best-placed for teaching English worldwide (Pakir, 1999); a fact that has urged inner-circle countries to export NS teachers and begin their journey to the peripheral world (Braine, 1999; Edge, 2003) to teach the language, exploiting the international linguistic, pedagogical, and political status it has gained (Bourdieu, 1991; Braine, 1999, 2010; Canagarajah, 2006; Crystal, 2003; Devrim & Bayyurt, 2010; Holliday, 2006, 2015; Liu, 1999; Pennycook, 1994, 2001; Phillipson, 1992; Tezgiden-cakcak, 2018; Tomlinson, 2005).

The idea that the best who teaches English has been monopolized to those people from the inner-circle world and who have acquired the language during childhood, to the extent that even those ESL immigrants who acquired English by birth do not belong to the monarchy of native-speakerism. It has also been monopolized not to consider ESL contexts where varieties of English have been culturally adopted, nativized and indigenized such as Singaporean English, Malaysian English, Nigerian English, among others (Alptekin, 2002; Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Pakir, 1999; Rajagopalan, 2004; Tomlinson, 2005; Warschauer, 2000; Y. Kachru, 2005). Accordingly, one may presume that by birth acquisition and sociocultural norms, a native-speaker from the inner-circle world is said to be the qualified language teacher who could be sent to the peripheral world (e.g., EFL contexts) regardless of his or her qualification in foreign language teaching. In fact, the literature has presented this assumption by considering the native-speaker's linguistic and sociocultural norms as loaded weapons as far as foreign language teaching is concerned (Bourdieu, 1991; Prodromou, 2006). What is more, being an NS with an inner-circle country's passport has become a mandatory qualification to teach English in most EFL contexts. This fact may be validated by just having a look at the teaching advertisements in the EFL job market.

Relating NS-NNS dichotomy to critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992), it seems that NNSs of English, either users or teachers are being labeled with certain expressions which might have negative connotations like the others, peripheral people, peripheral world, outsiders or deficient (Braine, 1999, 2010; Higgins, 2003). Such examples of the NS-NNS discourse may appear to disadvantage ESL/EFL learners and teachers and prevent them from understanding what native-

speakership means, how a native speaker is defined, and how this concept can be appropriately used for pedagogical goals (Davies, 1996), not as a measure that classifies people as self and others (Davies, 2007; Said, 2003). By the same token, the status of NNSs in relation to English language teaching is proposed to be threatened as they seem to be linguistically, culturally, socio-economically, politically, ideologically, and professionally discriminated. Braine (1999) gives an example of such discrimination where immigrant women teachers in Canada were discriminated due to their non-native speaker status in addition to racism and sexism.

It can also be concluded that the NS-NNS dichotomy might be built on Krashen's (1981) learning-acquisition dichotomy (Alptekin, 2002; Braine, 1999). If so, it seems to segregate acquirers from learners, and thus prevent EFL/ESL learners from being labeled as native speakers of English as a second language, which can be achieved either by institutional instruction (Davies, 1996) or by childhood learning in a native-speaking country. One more last thing is that this dichotomization simply discards the fact that those who have learned the language are better in teaching it; that is to say, NNS teachers of English.

B. NS-NNS Dichotomy and EFL/ESL Job Market

The NS-NNS dichotomy has largely impacted foreign language teaching, in general, and English language teaching ELT and TESOL, in particular. For example, it has created noticeable distinctive features between NS and NNS teachers of English and played a key role in imperializing NS teachers and peripheralizing non-native teachers in the hiring process in ESL/EFL contexts. An evidence that could be reported here is the westernization of educational systems and language institutions in the EFL world which has resulted in the shift of emphasis in the EFL job market towards hiring NS teachers of English to be real symbols, or as Arva & Medgyes (2000) put it, "status symbols" (p. 369) of the language no matter how qualified and experienced they are as language teachers (Braine, 1999; Liu, 1999, 2010; Tezgiden-Cakcak, 2018; Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2019). As such, the dichotomy leaves no space to consider the effectiveness in language teaching in a way that could make distinctions between competent speakers and competent teachers (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Sondari, 2019; Sowden, 2007), depending on not only linguistic grounds but also on other criteria such cultural, social, and pedagogic appropriateness. Seidlhofer (1996, as cited in Arva & Medgyes, 2000) provides a warning bell for the danger that can be brought up by automatically differentiating both competent speaker and competent teacher on the linguistic basis alone; she states "there has often been the danger of an automatic extrapolation from competent speaker and competent teacher based on linguistic grounds alone, without taking into consideration the criteria of cultural, social, and pedagogic appropriacy" (p. 369).

In discussing the impact of the labels NS and NNS TESOL professionals on the hiring process, Liu (1999) concluded that being an NNS TESOL professional appeared to be less preferred than being an NS TESOL professional in the

EFL/ESL job market. Importantly, it has been argued that such a preference might entail a potential danger of having a common perception that native speakers of a language are model exemplars to the teaching of their language (Braine, 1999; Davies, 2004; Higgins, 2003; Liu, 1999; Medgyes, 1994; Wang, 2012). Moreover, the desire to have NS teachers in EFL contexts has led to some negative consequences on NNS teachers of English, which can be exemplified by being discouraged to apply for teaching jobs or adopting certain strategies to avoid mentioning their non-native status to the prospective employers in the initial screening process of application. Some have minimized their identity as an NNS by Englishizing their names (i.e., having an English name) in order not to be overlooked or rejected before their applications and qualifications are considered (Liu, 1999, 2010; Tezgiden-Cakcak, 2019). Braine (1999) has brought this issue in the form of discrimination in employment and socio-political championing. He states that many NSs in the ELT field do not support NNSs to be employed as English teachers in ESL contexts. He continues discussing the issue by bringing an example of NNS graduate students who were struggling against ELT job restrictions in ESL/EFL contexts where few of them could have succeeded the championship and broken the unwritten rule "No non-native speaker need apply".

What is worse, many employers around the EFL/ESL world still do not prefer to hire non-native speaker teachers. Most state this openly in their advertisements, job interviews, or even at professional conferences despite the explicit opposition of the TESOL organization to those hiring policies and practices that may discriminate NNS teachers. According to the literature, such employers mainly attribute their preference of recruiting NS teachers to the students' preferences to be taught by NS teachers (Alptekin, 2002; Braine, 1999; Jenkins, 2006; Liu, 1999; Prodromou, 2006; Tezgiden-Cakcak, 2019; Sondari, 2019; Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2014). This fact has been referred to in the literature as ESL/EFL students' (those studying in the inner-circle world) subscription to the NS fallacy (Alptekin, 2002; Braine, 1999; Jenkins, 2006; Liu, 1999; Phillipson, 2002; Prodromou, 2006), especially when these students newly arrive in native-speaking countries. Their naïve subscription to the NS model is said to stem from their experiences with local incompetent and less proficient teachers in their home countries (Liu, 1999). Nonetheless, it is argued that if these students become better equipped with knowledge, competence, and qualifications, they will discover how less empathetic NS teachers are, and thus they will ask for being in NNS teachers' classes; they recognize the fact that NNS teachers are better in understanding their students' language problems (Liu, 1999; Higgins, 2003; Braine, 1999; Jenkins, 2006). More danger to ELT and TESOL can be posed by the new recruitment trends in the EFL market. Tezgiden-Cakcak (2019) provides a good example from Turkey where some private educational institutes and language schools present their highly competent teachers as native speakers and ask these teachers to disguise their personal and linguistic backgrounds and "behave as if they are monolingual NESTs" (p. 1) to increase their prestige in the clients' eyes. According to the results obtained from these "pseudo-NESTs", Tezgiden-Cakcak (2019) concluded

that this 'pseudo-native-speakerism' strategy is a dehumanizing practice which could affect teachers' mental and psychological health, threaten their face and identity, and damage their professional future and their relationship with students.

III. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

A. Research Design

This study takes a qualitative research paradigm in order to objectively and systematically analyze a collection of online TEFL ads by deploying content analysis as a research technique to critically review the extent to which native-speakerism is present in the EFL job market. The first coinage of content analysis appeared in Berelson (1952) who defined it as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (p. 18). Later definitions were used in the literature. For example, Babbie (2003) described it as "the study of recorded human communications, such as books, websites, paintings and laws" (p. 350), whereas Krippendorff (2004) characterized it as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context" (p. 18).

Content analysis is usually associated with generating theoretical assumptions from the analysis and the results obtained (Creswell, 1998). It is pointed out by Creswell (1998) that the intent of grounded theory is to generate a theory, an abstract analytical schema of a phenomenon that relates to a particular situation. Accordingly, the researcher develops and interrelates categories of information, and writes theoretical propositions or hypotheses, or presents a visual picture of the theory. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), the founders of grounded theory, social science research theories should be grounded in data from the field, especially in the actions, interactions, and social process of people. They also reported that a theory is a plausible relationship among concepts and sets of concepts. This theory is articulated toward the end of a study with the possibility of taking the form of "a narrative statement, a visual picture, or a series of hypotheses or propositions" (Creswell, 1998, p. 56).

With this in mind, the study exploits the interconnectedness between content analysis and grounded theory research to qualitatively and objectively analyze the content of a large collection of TEFL job ads to find out how native-speakerism as a concept is being given a superior status in recruiting NSs as EFL teachers. The exploitation is also aimed at validating the theoretical assumptions that native-speakers are unprofessionally preferred as English language teachers based on linguistic grounds, political relations and passport issues rather than on professional and pedagogic appropriateness. Such theoretical assumptions will emerge and be grounded in the data if the analysis proves these hypotheses as valid in the context of the study. Following this, the researcher will seek to develop and interrelate categories of information (i.e., suggested criteria that, when related to native-speakerism, will prove the unprofessional NS favoritism in the EFL job market), write theoretical propositions, or present a visual picture of the generated theory.

B. Context and Instrument

According to the literature, content analysis is a research tool that researchers employ when they want to determine the presence of themes or concepts within the qualitative data (e.g., texts, ads, etc.), or quantify and analyze the meanings and relationships of these themes or concepts (Babbie, 2003; Berelson, 1952; Krippendorff, 2004). In the context of this study, Content analysis was used as a method of data collection to qualitatively and systematically analyze a collected corpus of 200 ads taken from the website www.tefl.com. Selecting this website as a data source was attributed to being one of the most popular websites that offer a large number of ads for English language teaching positions across almost every single country in the EFL world. Although there were many online websites addressing language teaching positions, they did not seem to scrutinize their focus on EFL job market as this website did. Instead, they represented a wide range of ads taken from different contexts (e.g., EFL, ESL, and ENL contexts). The positions advertised on the TEFL website depicted a wider range of EFL countries, levels (from pre-K to intensive English programs 'IEP' or university), and functions of the job (English language teaching, inspection, coordination, lecturing, research, and directing programs).

A number of countries from the above-mentioned website were chosen for completing the purpose of the study as these countries offered large numbers of teaching positions and required a large number of teachers. The ads were taken from three distant dates which were randomly selected from three different months during 2022 (i.e., Feb. 10, March 20, and April 28). This selection aimed to avoid repetition of some ads and have a bigger number of new ads from new countries.

Implementing content analysis in the context of the study attempted to objectify the content of the ads and quantitatively, qualitatively, and systematically manifest how native-speakerism was being practiced in a way that imperializes NS teachers of English and marginalizes their NNS counterparts in the hiring practices. The content of each ad was reviewed and analyzed according to a set of criteria which showed a grounding basis for NS favoritism to an extent that makes it possible to judge how fair or discriminatory these criteria were. These criteria included:

- Country name and number of ads for each country
- Native speakerism
- Academic qualification
- Teaching experience (qualified)
- Nationality (passport)
- Company name and origin
- Style of writing (discourse and utterances used)

The criteria were suggested to facilitate and simplify the analysis of the ads in a way that enabled the researcher to examine their content and seek convincing answers to the research questions asked. Put differently, these criteria constituted grounded theory analysis in which objectifying the content of the ads might prove such criteria as influential in defining native-speakerism based on linguistic and historic grounds and showing evidence of its predominance in the EFL job market.

To sum, the selection and systematic objective analysis of the collected ads took a multi-stepped process that could be exemplified in, a) randomized selection of the ads from three different dates, b) quantifying and classifying the ads according to the percentages of those ads requiring/non-requiring NESTs in total and as per country, and c) analyzing qualitatively the content of each ad according to the criteria suggested.

The selected published ads in the specified three days were saved electronically by converting the web pages into Microsoft word documents for the sake of re-organizing them later for the purpose of this study. The re-organization process started with classifying the ads to a specified day, a specified EFL country, the relevant wording emphasizing native-speakerism, nativeness background (i.e., Passport), teaching experience, educational qualifications, and the origin of the recruiting or hiring agency or institute.

C. Analysis Procedure

Data were analyzed using different methods to approach the quantitative and qualitative results needed. These included objective content analysis (Babbie, 2003; Berelson, 1952; Krippendorff, 2004), thematic-comparative analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), and discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992; Gee, 1999; Van Dijk, 1993). For the quantitative part, the study utilized the objective systematic quantification of the content of the ads using Descriptive Statistics numeracy counting (Palys, 1997) in terms of numbers and percentages. According to Krippendorff (2004), labeling the content of data set helps analyze the content quantitatively using statistical methods. For this purpose, the ads were grouped according to the themes (i.e., NS requiring) and subthemes (i.e., a particular country, citizenship, qualification, experience, etc.) generated from the data. The resultant numeracies would then reflect relevance to the theoretical assumptions used in the research.

The qualitative part, on the other hand, applied thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Braun, Clarke, Hayfield, & Terry, 2019; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017) to critically review the content of each ad and capture (sub)themes representing answers to the research questions or address the criteria underlying the grounded theoretical assumptions of NS fallacy, unprofessional favoritism of NSs, and NS-NNSs discrimination. The qualitative part also took a discourse analysis perspective (Fairclough, 1992; Gee, 1999; Van Dijk, 1993) to interpret the contextual and pragmatic meanings of the language patterns and written utterances used in the ads (e.g., modals, capitalization, aggravators, etc.) and illustrate how these meanings would be socially (in)acceptable among a larger community (i.e., NNS teachers, ELT educators, and TESOL practitioners). This interpretation was embodied in the basic theoretical stances of critical discourse analysis which focuses on producing, changing, and negotiating meanings from the perspectives of a power-empowerment (Van Dijk, 1993; Gee, 1999) and dominance relations enacted or legitimated by texts (Fairclough, 1992).

Thematic analysis refers to such a method where both data collection and analysis simultaneously occur and when data is analyzed by themes emerging from the data (Braun & Clarke,

2006; Braun, et al., 2019; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis undergoes multiple processes to cope with qualitative data such as identifying, analyzing, describing, and reporting themes within a data set. As thematic and comparative analyses are often closely connected (Braun, et al., 2019), the data from different ads were compared in relation to the themes and sub-themes generated. Having these two analysis types together was proposed to enable the researcher to move backwards and forwards between the sources of the data, e.g., transcripts, texts, notes, ads, etc. (Braun, et al., 2019; Gee, 1999; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

In a nutshell, to capture the discourse, i.e., themes (native-speakerism) and subthemes (criteria of requiring both NS and NNS teachers), the written patterns were categorized as quotes that were tabulated under a particular theme (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017; Seliger & Shohamy, 1989) addressing a research question or part of the question.

IV. FINDING AND ANALYSIS

A total number of 200 TEFL ads were randomly selected from three different dates taken from three different months of the year 2022 (i.e., Feb. 10, March 20, and April 28). The samples represented 24 EFL countries where China was the most dominant (72 ads), followed by Indonesia with 12 ads. The sample of the ads selected in the first date (Feb. 10) was 55 (27.55%), whereas the second (March 20) and the third (April 28) dates represented a sample of 84 (42%) and 61 (30.5%), respectively. See Figure 1.

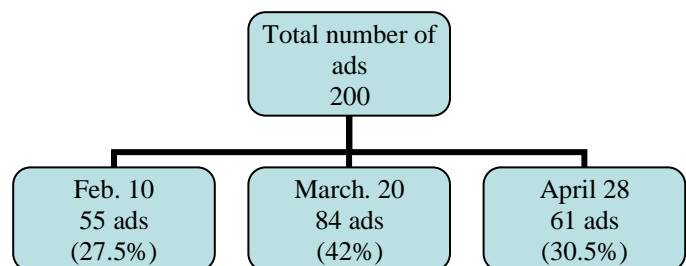


Figure 1. Numbers and Percentages of the Ads per Date

The ads of the first day (Feb. 10) represented 21 countries with the largest number of ads (20) given to China (36.36%). The rest were shared by the other countries in the list with a range of 1-4 ads for each country. The ads in Day 2, on the other hand, were taken from 24 countries; once again, China took the lion's share with 28 ads, followed by the Russian Federation and Turkey with 6 ads each. Unlike the two previous dates, the third day (April 28) included 61 ads (30.5%) representing 20 countries. Over again, China was the most dominant country in the teaching posts with 24 ads (39.34%). A good reference to the numbers of ads per country and per date is presented in Tables 1, 2 and 3 in the appendix.

Moreover, the total numbers of the ads for each country were calculated to prioritize the countries that required the largest numbers of ads. As usual, China ranked the highest (72 ads), followed by the Russian Federation and Spain (11 ads each), and then Vietnam (10 ads). Table 4 shows the total numbers of ads for each country in the three-day lists.

TABLE 4
TOTAL NUMBERS OF ADS FOR EACH COUNTRY

Country	Total No. of Ads
Azerbaijan	3
Chile	2
China	72
Czech Republic	3
France	1
Germany	1
Greece	3
Hong Kong	4
Indonesia	12
Iraq	1
Italy	6
Japan	3
Jordan	1
Kazakhstan	5
Kyrgyzstan	1
Macau	1
Oman	2
Poland	1
Portugal	1
Russian Federation	11
Saudi Arabia	7
Slovakia	1
South Korea	8
Spain	11
Taiwan	1
Thailand	9
Turkey	9
Ukraine	2
United Arab Emirates	8
Vietnam	10
Total of Ads	200

A. The Presence of Native-speakerism in the Corpus

The analysis revealed strong predominance of the native-speakersim concept in the EFL market as more than 76% of the ads directly favored NSs as teachers of English. This preference was clear as all these ads included a statement that considered being a native speaker as a must qualification. As the corpus was selected from three different dates, the percentages of those ads that required NSs on each date also proved to be high in such a requirement. For example, around 73% (40) of the ads of the first date (i.e., Feb. 10) showed a preference of NSs. The percentages of the next two dates were even greater with 76.20% and 80.33% for both March 20 and

April 28, respectively. Table 5 gives a clear picture of the total numbers of ads and their percentages across the three-monthly

TABLE 5
TOTAL NUMBERS OF ADS AND THEIR PERCENTAGES ACROSS THE THREE DATES

Date	No. of Ads	Ads required NS	Percentage of NS ads
Feb. 10	55	40	72.73%
March 20	84	64	76.20%
April 28	61	49	80.33%
Totals	200	153	76.42%

dated corpus.

B. Native-speakerism as a Qualification

The analysis of this part depends on two major questions, *is the native status a qualification?* And *who is the qualified teacher?* Such questions may indicate that a qualified teacher is essentially the one who acquired the language by birth, regardless of their academic and professional qualification or their methodological preparation. Without a doubt, being a native speaker in a language should not be treated as a qualification requirement in a language teaching post as it will inherently show the ideological, historical, and sociopolitical power of the English language in EFL contexts and worldwide.

In the dictionary usage, both the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (American Heritage Dictionaries, 2000) and Collins English Dictionary (Harper Collins, 2003), provided different meanings of the word 'qualification'. They described it as *'the act of qualifying or the condition of being qualified'*, *"a quality, ability, or accomplishment that makes a person suitable for a particular position or task"*, and *"a restriction or modification"*. Relating these definitions to native-speakerism might shed light how this concept was dealt with in the selected ads as more related to ability, condition, and restriction rather than an act, accomplishment, or modification. In other words, the native-speaker concept was regarded in the ads as the ability to speak English fluently that is restricted to only those who acquired it as their first language. It was also treated as a fixed condition that is not possible to accept modifications. In this sense, native-speakerism was considered as a qualification despite its mismatched meaning with purpose (a good EFL teacher). A qualification should entail an act and accomplishment that makes a person (i.e., a teacher) suitable for a particular position or task (i.e., foreign language teaching as a profession).

C. Native-speakerism and Nationality

Native-speakerism in the ads that preferred NS teachers (N=153) appeared to have a strong relationship with nationality. More than 95.4% (146) of the ads specified the nationality of these teachers by holding a passport from specific countries, including the US, the UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, and sometimes South Africa. This intensive focus on passport issues as being powerfully related to English language teaching as a profession, cannot be justified clearly because it creates a discriminatory practice

that is politics-driven. Such findings make us question the very basic concept of foreign language teaching as an act that is perfectly done only by native speakers of that language who hold a passport of the country where this language is spoken. These findings are suggested to draw an ineffective mathematical equation for grounding native-speakersim on political and ideological issues in teachers' recruitment in the EFL market. This equation states 'being an NS plus a powerful passport of a native-speaking country equals the best English language teachers' (*NS+ NS passport = best teachers*). The equation in this sense smells power, ideology, commerce, discrimination, negligence, and unprofessional preference; things that prevent the very basic definition of an equation to be formulated.

In fact, language teaching should not be treated only as a political and commercial issue, as it has been dealt with in our today's world. Instead, it should be socially treated in a way that provides justice and equality to all its practitioners regardless of political power or passport origins. Preferences should be built upon professionalism, qualification, experience, devotion, and interest in the profession (i.e., foreign language teaching).

D. Native-speakerism and Teaching Experience

The ads which preferred NS teachers (153 ads) varied in their requirement of the number of years of teaching experience. The highest number was given to the experience criterion *No Preference* with a total number of 51 ads (33.33%), followed by *No Experience Required* with 48 ads (31.37%). Thirty-one ads (20.26%) specified only one year of experience to require NS teachers, whereas only eleven (7.19%) and four (5.23%) ads required two years and three years, respectively. Very few ads needed NS teachers with five years of teaching experience and above. Flipping the coin to the NNS teachers' side, only 47 ads (23.5% from the total 200) did not specify being an NS as a fixed condition to recruit EFL teachers. Nonetheless, most of these ads (44 ads) specified at least 5 years of teaching experience as a recruitment condition, leaving only three ads needing NNS teachers with two (1 ad) and three (2 ads) years of experience. Figure 2 indicates the total numbers of ads requiring NS teachers and their percentages across the years of teaching experience.

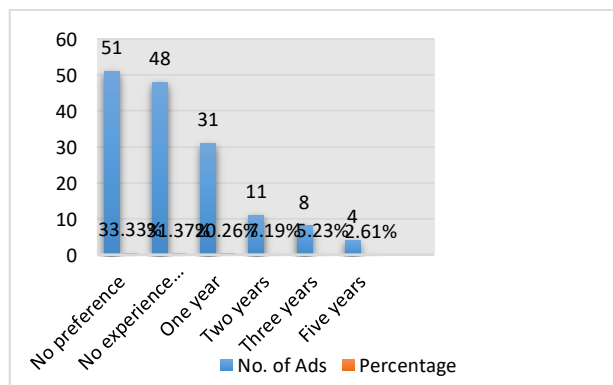


Fig. 2. Total Numbers of NS-related Ads and their Percentages across Years of Teaching Experience

E. Native-speakerism and Academic

Most of the ads (128 ads, 83.66%) that required NS teachers specified having a bachelor's degree in any discipline (or unspecified university degree) plus a TEFL/TESL teaching certificate as major qualifications for the wanted NS teachers. Twenty-two ads (14.38%) showed favoritism to those NS teachers with a first university degree in English Language Teaching, Linguistics or TESOL and preferably any teaching certificate like CELTA, TEFL, or TESL. Only three ads (1.96%) required NS teachers holding a master's degree in English language or any other related fields.

On the other hand, all the ads that expressed non-native-speakerism (47 ads) stated their need for those NNS teachers who must hold at least a bachelor's degree in English Language and Literature, Linguistics, TESOL, English Language Education, or in Modern Languages with other certifications as an additional requirement. For example, around 83% (39 ads) required a teaching certificate like CELTA, TEFL, or TESL, or DELTA Diploma as a must in addition to the specialized university degree. Very few ads (8, 17%) preconditioned only a university degree in English without any additional certification requirements. However, around 77% of these ads (36 ads) stated their preference of NNS teachers holding a master's degree in any fields in English. Some ads made it clear that they needed EFL teachers with high TOEFL or IELTS scores as an acceptance prerequisite.

I wonder how an NS will be qualified with only a TEFL or TESL certification or any university degree in any field. Is it only about speaking the language perfectly as native speakers which makes an NS more preferred as a language teacher? Does such four-week certification and teacher-training courses build up qualification, teaching skills, devotion to the profession, or experience in teaching?

Teaching is a lifelong profession that requires all the aforementioned criteria to build up teacherism. Not only certification and perfectionism in speaking a language create successful teachers. An NS teacher with a TEFL/TESL teaching certificate cannot be considered as an experienced teacher, let alone the one with a bachelor's degree in any non-English related field. Even certification in language teaching does not guarantee experience in teaching it; nowadays, we see many language teachers with certification and academic qualifications, but unfortunately, they are neither experienced nor expert in teaching as a social academic practiced act. It is also strange to require NNS teachers who have five and above years of teaching experience to get high scores in TOEFL or IELTS international tests. *Are we just checking the teachers' language proficiency? Do these standardized tests examine the teachers' abilities to teach English as a foreign language? Or do they help teachers in developing their teaching skills?* It seems that the purpose of such a requirement is only to speak the language as native speakers do, and thus teaching in EFL contexts is a matter of how linguistically proficient a person is,

not how methodologically, professionally, or motivationally he/she is in ELT as a lifelong profession.

In terms of discourse, preferring NS teachers with a qualification in any field to teach English in the EFL world may be criticized because language teaching is different from the teaching of other subjects. According to the literature, language teaching is not only teaching a language, but also teaching cultures, values, assumptions, beliefs, and traditions of others (Richards, 2001; Borg, 2009). This is a burden that needs sufficient experience and expertise in the discourse and practice of language teaching as a profession. What goes on in language classroom is different from what is done in a classroom of any other fields, let's say Chemistry, for example. The discourse of the EFL classroom is closely related to language, language aspects, and cultural and social elements of an unfamiliar society or societies, whereas the discourse of the Chemistry classroom is often knowledge-based and doing-driven. In this case, native-speakersim practiced in the ads appeared to mistakenly encourage non-English-certification holders or teachers of other fields to teach English in EFL contexts. It looks as if NSs are a commodity to be exported to the peripheral world for money-driven benefits and economic returns to their native countries. They may also be treated as imported goods that are highly valued by the EFL welcoming countries. This lays bare the discrimination being practiced against NNS teachers of English in the EFL market to the extent that diminished NNS teachers' opportunity to teach the language they experienced as learners.

F. Native-speakerism and Style of Writing

This part takes a critical discourse analysis (CDA) perspective to display the results. This is because CDA is interested in presenting how power, ideology, and inequality are inherently laid in the choice of linguistic forms and strategies (Fairclough, 1992; Trappes-Lomax, 2004). Such perspective gives a rationale for investigating how discrimination and power issues are being practiced in the EFL teaching with reference to the linguistic choices that represent native-speakerism in the selected corpus of ads.

Although it was left to the advertising agencies or educational institutes to specify their requirements in the ads, the choice of language for such specification ran the risk of expressing discriminatory practices against NNS teachers when focusing on native-speakerism. A lot of linguistic forms and semantic formulas used in the ads were stated in a way that might be face-threatening and offensive to NNS teachers. Table 6 presents some examples of the linguistic written utterances that show native-speakerism in a discriminatory way.

TABLE 6:
SOME EXAMPLES OF LINGUISTIC PATTERNS USED TO SHOW NATIVE-SPEAKRISM IN THE ADS

Examples	
"N.B. Please note, due to Indonesian employment regulations, we are only able to employ native speaker teachers	We require native English teachers for positions commencing in February 2022 and onwards. The successful teacher will be required

holding passports from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the Republic of Ireland, the United Kingdom, or the United States. While we thank all applicants for their interest, only those who meet our minimum requirements will be contacted"	to work in one of a group of eight British owned and managed extra-curricular English Schools located in Hong Kong.
NATIVE ENGLISH SPEAKERS ONLY	ONLY NATIVE SPEAKER. OTHERS NEED NOT APPLY
- speak English as a first language - can interview in London on or around 22 March 2019 If you do not meet these requirements then you will not receive a reply due to the number of applicants.	Must be a citizen of only the UK, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, or Ireland.
Native English speaker Recognized by SAFEA (from US, UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa)	If you are a native English speaker who would like to travel and work abroad and if you are looking for an EFL job overseas, BKC-IH Moscow will be glad to help you.
WE WOULD LIKE TO HEAR FROM TEACHERS WHO; - Are either a Canadian, UK, Irish, American, NZ, Australian or RSA Native English Speaker	Candidates interested in applying for this position should: 1) hold a university degree in any discipline 2) be a native English speaker holding a passport from one of the following countries – The UK, The USA, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, the Republic of Ireland, or Australia. 3) hold one year of work experience after graduation.

The previous table makes apparent that the language patterns used are threatening the social and psychological face and the professional identity of NNS teachers in the EFL world. The style of writing indicated discrimination and marginalization of their status as English language teachers. For example, the capitalized statement NATIVE ENGLISH SPEAKERS ONLY with the specification (*only*) carries the meaning that NNS teachers are warned not to apply. The other capitalized from ONLY NATIVE SPEAKER. OTHERS NEED NOT APPLY does not only warn but brings the issue of *othering* (Said, 2003; Higgins, 2003) which discriminatorily label NNS teachers as others and thus disparage their position. Without a doubt, this manifests native-speakerism as a political and ideological instrument of holding power over the world in terms of language and language education, an instrument that labels teachers as self (NSs) and others (NNSs) and repeats the historical adventures of the English language in the post-colonial orientalist era (Said, 2003).

Having a citizenship was expressed by holding a passport from a native-speaking country. Many language forms were used in the ads to address this fact such as those presenting obligation like the modals '*must and should*', conditional statements '*if you are a native-speaker,*', or capitalization with some warning words like "only" or "others". What seemed worse was the use of the statement '*Native English speaker Recognized by SAFEA (from US, UK,*

Canada, Australia, New Zealand or South Africa)'. Such a statement necessitated that native speakers should be recognized by The State Administration of Foreign Expert Affairs.

Several questions may arise here concerning what makes native-speakerism related to expertise in foreign language teaching. Should we consider being an NS teacher with a passport from either the USA, the UK, Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, or South Africa as part of expertise in English language teaching, especially in the EFL world? It looks as if being an NS or holding a passport from an NS country outweigh NNS teachers' expertise and professionalism.

The political issues concerning international relations between native-speaking countries and some countries in the EFL world appeared on the surface while dealing with native-speakerism in the English language recruiting practices indicated in the ads. This could be clearly underlined in the statement that expressed the Indonesian employment regulations in issuing work Visas for only native speakers with native-speaking-country passports.

"N.B. Please note, due to Indonesian employment regulations, we are only able to employ native speaker teachers holding passports from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the Republic of Ireland, the United Kingdom or the United States. While we thank all applicants for their interest, only those who meet our minimum requirements will be contacted" (Feb. 10, 2022).

G. Native-speakerism and Origin of Recruiting Agencies and Institutes

This entry seeks to provide an answer to whether there is a relationship between the preference of recruiting NSs as English teachers and the origin of the employing agencies in the EFL world. The analysis proved that there was a significant relationship underlying the preference of recruiting NS teachers in many EFL contexts as most of the recruiting agencies belonged to either British, American, or Australian-owned international educational organizations. Out of 153 ads which preferred NSs teachers, 101 ads (66%) were posted by agencies and institutes that were branches of mother companies in native-speaking countries (especially, the US and the UK). Examples of such institutes were *Wall Street, Oxford Language Academy, English Excel, Kaplan International Colleges, Saxoncourt Training and Recruitment, The British Institute, Interlingua Schools, Oxford Vision, Bell International Training and Recruitment Agency, English First, International House World Organization, King's College, York Foreign Language School, Yale language School, Education First, Shane English School, Westgate Corporation, M & K, Direct English, Watts English, Gold Star TEFL Recruitment*, among others. The remaining ads were posted by local language institutes and educational agencies whose names and logos indicated some Englishized origins as 'pseudo-native-speakerist' commercial strategies to attract clients (Tezgiden-Cakcak, 2019). Some examples of those institutes were *China Europe English School, Anglo-Hellenic Teacher Recruitment, Best English Training, RAY English Recruitment, Disney English*, among others.

V. DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The findings of the study strongly assert the deployment of Phillipson's (1992) Native speaker fallacy in the recruiting practices in the EFL market where native-speakers are seen as the best teachers of their native language, depending on the nativeness status and childhood acquisition. They also go in line with Krashen's (1981) distinction of both acquisition and learning, where those who have acquired the language (i.e., native speakers) are better in teaching it than those who have consciously learned it in structured institutional settings (i.e., non-native speakers). Expertise and professionalism in the EFL teaching were not given a high value in the presence and predominance of native-speakerism. Seidlhofer's (1996) theoretical assumption of expert speaker-expert teacher (an expert speaker does not guarantee being an expert teacher) was not given attention to non-native EFL teachers during recruitment. The findings also support Medgyes' (1994) unprofessional favoritism of NS teachers of English at the expense of their NNS counterparts just because they are more biologically experienced and qualified in their language.

The NS-NNS dichotomy appeared to be negatively affecting EFL teaching as a profession. The objective systematic analysis of the ads indicated discriminatory practices expressed by the unprofessional preference of NS teachers of English in employment. Such preference is assumed to devalue, marginalize, and disregard NNS teachers from being recruited as EFL teachers. This discrimination was proved in the requirement of NS teachers in many ads (153 ads, 76.4%) in the selected corpus. Such a statistical representation addresses how powerful the NS-NNS dichotomy is in offending the modesty of language teaching, the dichotomy that has been supposedly treated as time-honored in a world where most people tend to be English-knowing bilinguals (Pakir, 1999) and where more than 80% of ELT and TESOL professionals are non-native speakers (Braine, 2010; Crystal, 2003; Gnutzmann, 2000; Tezgiden-Cakcak, 2018).

The situation is even worse when experience, expertise, qualification, and professionalism were equal to being a native-speaker holding a powerful passport from a native-speaking country. In making a simple comparison between NSs and NNSs when related to their recruitment opportunities in the ads, it seemed evident that the native-speakerism scale ranked heavier with political and ideological power, no or less teaching experience, a native-speaking-country citizenship, a university degree in any discipline, and/or any TEFL/TESL teaching certificate. The NNS teachers, on the other hand, appeared to be of a lower class despite having more years of teaching experience, and more qualifications and certifications. Equalizing an inexperienced non-English-majoring NS teacher with an experienced and qualified NNS teacher holding a master's degree in English-related fields is not fair and discriminatory in the recruiting practices in the EFL world, is it?

Analyzing the discourse and the linguistic patterns written to show the preference of NS teachers in the ads, NSs were treated in a super-status position. Examples of these patterns would be those linguistic devices that implicitly indicated

warnings and obligations (e.g., conditionals, modals like 'must' and 'should' followed by the verb be, capitalization, aggravators such as 'only' and 'other', etc.). It was obvious how the style of writing in presenting native-speakerism in the ads smelt discrimination and marginalization to NNS teachers of English as such style appeared to be threatening to their social and psychological face and causing injustices to a group of practitioners in the ELT field (i.e., NNS teachers in the EFL world). We also saw that most of the ads requiring NS (76%) were posted by those education institutes and recruitment agencies that were in fact branches of mother international organizations originated in native-speaking countries, more specifically the UK and the US. The remaining ads were posted by local educational agencies with Englishized names and labels for economic competitiveness in the English language teaching enterprise.

Such wide spread of the British and American-owned branches of institutes, schools, and agencies in the EFL world might be the reason why native-speakerism is dominating English language teaching, in general, and TEFL recruitment, in particular. Accepting NSs to teach English in EFL contexts with little or no experience and insufficient qualifications or certifications is said to commoditize native-speakerism. Accordingly, the English language turns out to be a tool for spreading power and gaining economic returns to their native-speaking countries. In other words, teaching English for them is a monetary business and the English language is a commodity that is sent to the peripheral areas affected by native-speakerism and diseased with language deficiency. Following this, terms like 'productification of NSs' or 'self-commoditization' seem to suit the context of the study with its considerable findings.

All in all, the findings of this study proved the deployment of the Native-speaker fallacy which imperialistically and unprofessionally considers NS teachers of English as superior and more preferred as EFL teachers only based on the linguistic grounds and the political and ideological power of English (Bourdieu, 1991; Braine, 2010; Canagarajah, 2006; Holliday, 2015; Pennycook, 1994, 2001; Phillipson, 1992; Tezgiden-Cakcak, 2019). Moreover, the findings go in line with the literature on the negative effects of NS-NNS dichotomy in TESOL and ELT. For example, the dichotomy leaves no space to consider the effectiveness of language teaching in a way that makes distinctions between competent speakers and competent teachers (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Higgins, 2003; Medgyes, 1992; Seidlhofer, 1996; Sondari, 2019; Sowden, 2007; Wang, 2012), depending on not only on linguistic grounds but also on other criteria such cultural, social, and pedagogic appropriateness (Alptekin, 2002; Braine, 1999; Davies, 1996; 2004; Fathelbab, 2011; Liu, 1999, 2010; Seidlhofer, 1996; Walkinshaw & Oanh, 2019).

Increasingly, the obtained results proved that NNS teachers of English were discriminated and disregarded in the EFL market. The highly-practiced native-speakerism in recruitment unpleasantly affected NNS teachers' employment opportunities as EFL teachers, no matter how methodologically or professionally they were prepared for the profession (Arva & Medgyes, 2000; Braine, 1999, 2010; Liu,

2010; Fathelbab, 2011; Higgins, 2003; Holliday, 2006; Jenkins, 2006; Ma, 2012; Mahboob, 2010; Liu, 2010; Seidlhofer, 1996; Prodromou, 2006; Sowden, 2007; Tezgiden-Cakcak, 2018, 2019). It is to this end, we may suggest that the TEFL ads were grounded on Phillipson's (1992) native-speaker fallacy to the extent that makes one think that EFL teachers are born not made (Fathelbab, 2011).

VI. IMPLICATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

The findings of the study seem like a wake-up call that might inform every TESOL and ELT practitioner about the possibly negative impact of native-speakerism and the NS-NNS dichotomy on creating discriminatory practices in the ELT profession only based on linguistic and ideo-political grounds and biological childhood acquisition of the language. The study indicated how unfair for NNS teachers to unprofessionally favor NSs as EFL teachers in the ads depending on their nativeness status and without reference to other criteria such as social, cultural and pedagogic appropriateness to teach English in the EFL world. The study also rings a warning bell to tell us about the danger that can be brought in by automatically differentiating both competent speaker and competent teacher on the linguistic basis alone.

Furthermore, the study draws our attention to the fact that the English language and native-speakerism should not be commoditized and sent to the EFL world for monetary-driven purposes. It also suggests that NNESTs could be better English language teachers as they have experienced it as learners and devoted themselves to it as a lifelong profession. If we (every NNS TESOL practitioner) were to accept such discrimination that is represented by the unprofessional preference of inexperienced and disqualified NS teachers in our EFL world, it would look as if we flagellate our experiences, values, professionalism, and ourselves as teachers. Such a situation might resemble the case of bringing a lame coach to teach a group of healthy athletes how to run a race.

The study with its humble findings offers a readable objectified reflective analysis of the content of many online TEFL ads. This is itself unique as it showed social injustices and discrimination practiced against NNS teachers of English by deploying content analysis to critically analyze the discourse of the ads, being grounded on a set of criteria for NS favoritism. Such a readable analysis can be handled as a reference by TESOL specialists, ELT educators and decision-makers in a way that might make all more attentive to the extent that native-speakerism and NS-NNS dichotomy can affect foreign language teaching as a profession, leading to discrimination or marginalization between its practitioners.

Although many recommendations could be stated for the TESOL organization worldwide, one must look through the global perspective. At first, there should be a forward move towards redefining 'the legitimate communicative competence' (Bourdieu, 1991) in a way that provides justice to all ELT/TESOL practitioners, be natives or nonnatives. This move should embrace professionalism, pluricentricity of EFL/ESL teachers and teaching, and identity-revealing regardless of historical, geographical, linguistic, and

sociopolitical boundaries. At the same time, it should avoid the native-speakerist recruitment policies and the monolingual approaches to foreign language instruction, both of which could smell discrimination and lead to NNS teachers' identity crisis. Simply, the move should call for the big suggestion, *'Let's live in a better EFL/ESL world where just education and professional rights really matter'*.

Further research could be conducted to address the extent to which native-speakerism may negatively or positively affect ELT as a profession by analyzing a large collection of recruiting ads. Such analysis might be subsidized with a descriptive investigation of NNS teachers' perceptions of the unprofessional favoritism of NS teachers in the hiring practices in the ELT enterprise. Insights could also be taken from NNS students to show how effective NS teachers are in the EFL classroom. Moreover, this study can be widened in its purpose to comparatively find out the extent to which native-speakerism is present in both ESL and EFL contexts and investigate perceptions of how effective NS and NNS teachers are in the ESL/EFL classroom. Accordingly, we could reach a valuable profile that indicates who a good language teacher is and discards the superiority-inferiority construct created by the NS-NNS dichotomy. By then, we could also make a record that preserves teachers' professional rights, natives, or nonnatives.

VII. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study is limited in its focus to address only those TEFL ads which were taken from the www.tefl.com website and posted by recruiting agencies and educational institutions in the EFL world. This is because the website is concerned with teaching posts from EFL countries. Moreover, although the website contains a huge database of teaching ads, only three dates were randomly selected for the purpose of preparing the corpus and objectively, quantitatively, and qualitatively analyzing its content to answer the questions of the study. The study could have included advertisements from ESL contexts, but it preferred to stick to its theoretical assumptions that native-speakerism might be highly present in EFL contexts than in ESL environments.

VIII. CONCLUSION

This study tried to identify the extent to which Phillipson's (1992) native-speaker fallacy was practiced in the English language teaching enterprise in a way that shows discriminatory preference of NS teachers at the expense of their NNS counterparts in the EFL hiring practices. Through a collection of corpus-based ads, the study looked for evidence for such discrimination in the EFL job market depending on a set of grounded criteria that indicated the unprofessional favoritism of NSs as language teachers in EFL contexts. According to those criteria (e.g., nationality and passport, experience, qualifications, and style of writing), the findings acknowledged that there were many injustices practiced in the ads. An example here would be equalizing NSs who had little or no experience in teaching and no English university degrees

but were weaponed with both childhood acquisition and NS citizenship with an experienced and qualified NNS teachers who had English-related degrees (Bachelor's and Master's, or PhDs) and spent most of their lifetimes in EFL teaching. Such parallelism is in fact paralyzed since it smells discrimination, unprofessional preference, and power-based marginalization in the TEFL hiring practices. The findings also revealed a strong relationship between NS preferences and the origin of the recruiting agencies and educational institutes most of which were branches of widely recognized organizations located in native-speaking countries, e.g., in Britain and America.

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