IDEOLOGIES OF ENGLISH TEACHING

AND LEARNING IN TAIWAN

Submitted by

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ABSTRACT

This study is motivated by a critical need to engage in socio-linguistic analysis, within the field of English language teaching (ELT) and second language acquisition (SLA) in English-as-a-Foreign-Language (EFL) countries. The ideologies alluded to in my title are: 'English-as-the-global-language'; 'the-ideal-English-teacher'; 'the-ideal-English-teaching-methodology'; 'American-English-as-standard-English'; and 'the-younger-the-better'. The methodology used in this research is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). I am employing this methodology to investigate language school promotional materials that may, at first cursory examination, seem mundane and even ideologically naive, but which in fact convey these very concepts. Source material is drawn from a corpus of advertising materials for private language schools in Taiwan specifically: school fliers, websites, television commercials and television English teaching programs. They all deal with English teaching and learning.   The premises of English language teaching and learning in Taiwan are based on the assumption that English language mastery is the key to achieving a better life and future for the aspiring individual, particularly in the context of globalization. However, the study reveals that English teaching and learning has, in fact, resulted in wide spread social, cultural, educational, and linguistic inequalities in contemporary Taiwanese society. A search for the reasons and possible ramifications of these disparities would appear to be more than justifiable, on both pedagogical and humanitarian grounds.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0   Introduction

The focus of my research interest is English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in Taiwan, in particular, the social, cultural, and political contexts of EFL. Much of EFL research has been conducted in relation to English teaching methodologies and student learning behaviors in Taiwan (Liu, 2000). However, ideologies of English language teaching (ELT) and second language acquisition (SLA) have been given very little attention. The aim of this research is to investigate ELT and SLA ideologies responding to the imperatives of globalization in Taiwan. I view my research as essentially concerned with escaping these ideologies. This research fills a lacuna, because, to the best of my knowledge, there exists no other published work investigating ideologies of ELT and SLA in Taiwan through media discourses, and particularly through the promotional materials of private language schools.

The central argument of this research is that private language schools, the promoters of English teaching and learning, are critical to the promotion of ideologies of ELT and SLA. The ideologies identified in this research are English-as-the-global-language, the ideal-English-teacher, the ideal-English-teaching-methodology, American-English-as-standard-English, and the-younger-the-better.   These ideologies have become fundamental driving forces in the acquisition of English in Taiwan and have concomitantly contributed to various forms of social inequality. To investigate these ideologies, we need to begin by examining the role of English in the world, the role of English in Taiwan, and the role of language schools. I will do this in the following three sections of this introductory chapter. Finally, this chapter will present the questions proposed for this research and provide an overview of the thesis.

1.1 The Role of English in the World

Many researchers (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Crystal, 1997; Kachru, 1992; Smith, 1983; Widdowson, 1997) argue that English has spread to become a global language. Crystal (1997: 2) claims that "a language achieves a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country". This special status can be achieved either by making it an official language of a country or by a country giving special priority to learning it as a foreign language. English has obviously achieved this global status (Crystal, 1997). According to Crystal (1997: 57–61), an estimate of a total of 337 million people have learned English as a first language (L1) and an estimate of a total of 235 million people have learned English as a second language (L2). Dependent upon how great a command of English is considered acceptable to count as a speaker of English, estimates of the number of people who have learned English as a foreign language (EFL) range between 100 and 1,000 million. There is no denying that English is now spoken across the world. Although, there are very few accurate figures to support exactly who is learning English, English is the most frequently studied modern language across the world (Graddol, 1997), and is a required school subject in almost every country in the world.

Moreover, there is ample evidence in studies and surveys that English is the global language. In 1996, the British Council predicted that "By the year 2000 it is estimated that over one billion people will be learning English. English is the main language of books, newspapers, airports and airtraffic control, international business and academic conferences, science, technology, diplomacy, sport, international competitions, pop music and advertising" (Graddol, 1996: 181). Similarly, Crystal (1997) argues that English has achieved a global status because English is the language for several important arenas such as international relations, the mass media, international travel,

international safety, education, and communications. Smith (1983: 9) points out that "English is a means of communicating identity, culture, politics, religion, and 'way of life'". In yet another survey, Fishman (1996: 28, as cited in Bamgbose, 2001: 357) focuses on the use of English in 20 countries. The result shows that "the world of large scale commerce, industry, technology, and banking, like the world of certain human sciences and professions, is an international world and it is linguistically dominated by English almost everywhere, regardless of how well-established and well-protected local cultures, languages, and identities may be".

Clearly, English is the international language and it seems to be sufficient for most purposes. One very significant factor of the global spread of English is via second or foreign language acquisition (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). Kachru (1992) questions what it is that draws an increasing number of people in the world to the study of English. Many studies (e.g., Alm, 2003, for Ecuador; Friedrich, 2000, for Brazil; Kubota, 2002; for Japan; Nielsen, 2003, for Argentina; Nino-Murcia, 2003, for Peru; Yong and Campbell, 1995; for China) conducted in EFL countries show that English holds a special place because it is generally associated with status and modernity. Taiwan is no exception. The Taiwanese government and many scholars (e.g., Chen, 1998; Chow, 2001; Dai, 2002, as citied in Chou, W., 2002; Lee, M. F., 2000; Wong, 1998; Zen, 1998) believe that English is an essential instrument to access the world of finance, economy, technology, and science which Taiwan needs for social modernization, economic growth, and internationalization. I shall look at the role of English and its association with power and status in Taiwan in detail in Chapter 4.

As mentioned earlier in the Introduction, the central argument of this research is that language schools are critical to the promotion of ideologies of ELT and SLA.

Taiwanese residents who want to learn English can easily find a language school that claims to meet their needs. Next, I shall look at ways in which language schools respond to globalization.

1.2 The Role of Private Language Schools

Language schools or cram schools (*Buxiban* in Mandarin) have sprung up to meet the need for English language instruction. The schools vary widely in their approach and specialization. Some provide English for all age groups, children and adults.   Others prepare students for English proficiency tests which are required for foreign students to study in an English speaking country. Although English is taught as a subject in Taiwan, the private language schools fill a gap for students who have special objectives such as working on their oral fluency or preparing for an exam.

Language schools are a necessary part of life. Many people attend these schools at least once in their lifetime, from students wanting to improve their English to office and factory workers (Liu, L., 2002). People who are not familiar with English education in Taiwan may question the need for these language schools since English is taught from primary schools to senior high schools. The main reason is that inadequate English language instruction in public schools has made the language schools extremely popular.

Given the international prominence of English as described above, Taiwanese people will readily agree that Taiwan needs more competent English language speakers now. However, Taiwanese English language teaching has a very negative reputation for producing less than competent speakers of English. It is widely believed that three obstacles to English teaching – unqualified English teachers, inappropriate teaching

materials, and traditional teacher-centered teaching methodologies – have caused problems in English learning in Taiwan (Chen, 1998; Huang, 1998; Lee, 1998; Lin, 1992; Liu, 1992; Mao, 1993; Wong, 1998; see Chapter 4 for further details). Another major obstacle to the mastery of spoken English in Taiwan has been the lack of opportunity to speak (Her, 2002).

Next, I will show the differences between language schools and public schools in terms of their teaching methods and teaching and learning environments.

English teaching in Taiwan's schools has been accused of putting too much stress on grammar, vocabulary, reading and writing, while neglecting the importance of speaking proficiency. Most Taiwanese English educators have been following the same teaching methodology for decades. Researchers (e.g., Shu, 1988; Su, 1998; Yang, 1992) point out that the traditional style of teaching in Taiwan, either a grammar-translation-method or rote memorization, is an absolutely teacher-centered method, so Taiwanese classrooms provide a stultifying atmosphere and the learners are spoon-fed and passive. Consequently, the traditional English teaching method cannot produce fluent English speakers. On the other hand, the methods used in private language schools focus on active participants in learning processes, and as a result, a variety of teaching materials or aids, handouts, activities, and games are heavily used to help learners to acquire English proficiency (Su, 1998). Students learn to use the language as a tool of communication rather than viewing it as one more subject to be learned, and the teaching methodologies provided by language schools are claimed to help them to achieve their goals.

In many EFL countries there are not enough properly trained English teachers

available (Bailey, 2001). The use of native speaking English teachers is another factor in the success of private language schools.　Liu (2000: 151) argues that Taiwanese people seek help from private language schools because they provide native speakers who have superior teaching methods.

Another factor in the success of language schools is the learning environment. The creation of an ideal learning environment, with small class sizes of under 15 students, or even under ten, as provided by language schools contrasts with the existing big class sizes in public schools in which the chances of honing communicative skills are slim. There are 33 students and 44 students respectively in a typical elementary school and secondary school class, and things are not much better at college level (Chang, 1998: 31).　In contrast to public schools, where students are seated in a traditional classroom setup, with seats arranged in rows facing the blackboard at the front of the classroom, the chairs in most of the private language schools are arranged in a U shape which makes them very different in terms of teaching and learning environment. It is believed that one very important advantage of small sized classes is that teachers can give personalized attention to individual students' needs.

Finally, by attending language schools, children are exposed to the foreign language at an early age. They grow up with English. The school provides an environment that is similar to an immersion situation. This kind of learning environment is regarded in Taiwan as English-only, rather than Chinese environment (Her, 2002). Parents want their children to become competent in English at any cost. Language schools are highly competitive and expensive, but parents consider it worth the effort.

There is obviously an enormous demand in government schools for good English

learning environments, especially when compared with language schools. The public schools have to learn some valuable lessons from language schools (Her, 1998), but find it hard to compete with them in terms of trained staff, equipment, and teaching aids due to budgetary restrictions (Her, 1998). Because of these budgetary restrictions in public education, private English language schools are widely seen as an important contribution to the improvement of English proficiency.

Language schools are regarded as the solution to the problems of English teaching and learning in Taiwan. English is viewed in Taiwan as the key to globalization. In other words, language schools are viewed as a very important factor in Taiwan's globalization. The central argument of this research is that ideologies of English teaching and learning in private language schools (micro domain) stem from the role of English in the world or English as the key to globalization (macro domain). Next, I shall look at the relationship between language schools and globalization before I present my research questions in **1.4.**

1.3 Language Schools and Globalization

English is seen as the most useful and powerful language for international communication in Taiwan. Mastering English not only makes Taiwanese people citizens of the world but also fulfills their emerging practical needs. English is seen to be the solution to current economic and social problems. However, some scholars (Chang, 2000; Chang, S. E., 2003; Liao, 2000; Liao, 2003, as citied in Chang, M. C., 2003; Wang, 2002) argue that the provision of English instruction in schools is not a panacea.

Wang Wei-ming (Wang, 2002), an assistant professor at Nan-Jeon Institute of

Technology, claims that Taiwanese people do not have a clear understanding of globalization, nor of the crucial role English plays in globalization. Moreover, he argues that widespread use of English is not an economic panacea. Liao (2000), a professor at National Taiwan University, points out that the globalization slogans currently popular in Taiwan are aimed exclusively at economic globalization which is a form of "neo-colonialist globalization" led by the Western World. Western-led globalization substitutes old colonialist power with a form of economic colonialism. He also argues that Taiwan does not need this kind of globalization but it needs a "critical globalization" with cultural and humanitarian characteristics. Liao (2000) and Wang (2002) worry that if the teaching of the English language in lower grades is implemented and English becomes a second official language with no complementary measures to get students firmly rooted in native cultures, Taiwan will soon become a colony of neo-colonialist globalization. As a result, Taiwan will turn into a globalized society where everything is led by commercialized capitalist values from the West.

However, Taiwanese people have reached a general consensus that English is the key to globalization. English learning "has become almost a mania with the government, the schools, and the people themselves all clamoring for more English" (Her, 2002). Liu, L. (2002) describes English learning as a "national obsession". In this research, I will explore how the ideology of English-as-the-global-language making it "natural, neutral and beneficial" (Pennycook, 1994a) is discursively constructed in Taiwan. As pointed out in the previous section, one of the most extraordinary results of English-as-the-global-language in ELT and SLA in Taiwan is the large number of language schools that have mushroomed throughout the island and the ever increasing number of native speakers of English who keep coming to teach English mainly, in language schools. More and more parents send their pre-school children for English

programs at language schools. The language school's role in building up social institutions and welding together disparate English teaching and learning phenomena has yet to be researched.

Taiwanese people who are learning or teaching English are dealing with more than a language; in fact, they are dealing with a set of ideologies. Ideologies of ELT and SLA deserve more attention from lay people as well as from English educators and researchers, since these ideological concepts have a powerful impact on the educational system. English teaching and learning cannot be viewed as merely teaching or learning a language. Taiwanese people need to take into consideration political, cultural, and social factors in both micro (local) and macro (global) domains.

1.4   Conclusion and Research Questions

Based on the objectives and the problems identified in the previous sections the major questions and sub-questions posed for ideologies of ELT and SLA in Taiwan in the context of globalization are:

(1) What are the underlying ideologies of English teaching and learning in Taiwan?

Sub-questions:

A. How has English become a form of "linguistic capital" in Taiwan?

B. What kind of English is taught in Taiwan and how?

C. How are these ideologies perceived as solutions to the problems of

English teaching and learning?

(2) Why are English teaching and learning regarded as essential elements of social

change in Taiwan?

Sub-questions:

A. How does English teaching and learning affect the traditional Chinese teacher-student relationship?

B. Why are English teachers assessed on other than their linguistic and pedagogical ability and how are they judged?

(3) What are the implications of English teaching and learning in Taiwan in the 21st century?

Sub-questions:

A. Why do English teachers and learners need to take the sociolinguistic and social pedagogical context into consideration in the terms of English teaching and learning?

B. Why do English teachers and learners need to be aware of ideologies of English teaching and learning?

C. How can English teachers and learners work together towards the goal of escaping these ideologies?

D. What are the implications of English teaching and learning for EFL in Taiwan?

1.5   Overview of the Thesis

This chapter has identified the ideologies of ELT and SLA and research questions, it has noted the current status of English in the world and in Taiwan, and the role of language schools. It has outlined the major themes of this research.

Chapter Two provides a review of previous work relevant to the present research. It explores power, inequity and ideologies of ELT and SLA in the context of globalization. The chapter examines critical discourse analysis, as a useful theoretical

framework. Then the chapter argues for the need of a critical media discourse analysis for ELT and SLA.

Chapter Three presents the major themes of the study then it describes the methodology used in the research. Next, it explains how the data were collected, and provides background information and descriptions of the data. The chapter ends with an analysis of features of the data.

Chapter Four describes the English language situation in Taiwan in its historical and social contexts. Then, the chapter argues that current English language policies have resulted in social, educational, and linguistic inequalities.

In Chapters Five to Nine, I report findings from this research on five major ideologies: English-as-the-global-language (Chapter 5), the ideal-English- teacher (Chapter 6), the ideal-English-teaching-methodology (Chapter 7), American- English-as-standard-language (Chapter 8), and the-younger-the-better (Chapter 9).

Chapter Five argues that globalization has made English a highly valued commodity and ELT and SLA are viewed from an economic perspective. This has resulted in structural and cultural inequalities in Taiwan.

Chapter Six looks at such issues as the native speaker fallacy; the native and non-native division, and white and non-white native speakers and ideal-English-teachers. These issues shape the lives of learners, teachers, policy makers, and every individual, since they are embedded in the social, economic, and political context.

Chapter Seven argues that there is no single best English teaching method. The best

teaching method depends on the teaching context.

Chapter Eight points out that the ideology of American-English-as-standard-English has more social and political causes than linguistics ones. This ideology implies that Taiwan needs to maintain a dependency relationship with the USA for pedagogical advice.

Chapter Nine argues that English for young Taiwanese learners may be negative and can be counterproductive, since there is a lack of well-designed teaching materials, a well-designed curriculum, qualified English teachers, and appropriate English proficiency assessments.

Chapter Ten concludes the thesis by outlining findings and implications in this research. Aspects of the contribution of this research, limitations of this research and suggestions for future research are discussed at the end of the chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0   Introduction

This literature review looks at English language teaching and learning as part of the complex social, political, and economic system of the world. The spread and influence of the English language worldwide has drawn much recent interest. Not unexpectedly, there is a considerable literature on English language teaching and learning and on globalization, but as Phillipson (2002: 10) points out there is an alarming absence of literature that brings the two together. To bring the two together, a multidisciplinary approach to the analysis of language and power is needed (ibid.: 10).   A multidisciplinary approach to ideology is based on the premise that cognition, society, and discourse are related to each other in highly complex ways (van Dijk, 1998: 5). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a multidisciplinary approach devoted to the study of relations between discourse, power, dominance, and social inequality. CDA aims to reveal how texts operate in the construction of social practice by examining the choices that discourse offers (Kress, 1991). CDA also aims to demand urgent attention to persistent problems of oppression, injustice, and inequality in society.

This chapter attempts to bring globalization, English language teaching and learning, power, and ideologies together. This literature review will first deal with different theories or academic studies regarding ideologies of ELT and SLA in the context of globalization. Then, the chapter will focus on Critical Discourse Analysis, critical applied linguistics, and critical approaches to ELT and SLA. A novel critical media discourse approach to ELT and SLA will then be suggested for this research which focuses on ideologies of ELT and SLA as evidenced in promotional materials of language schools.

2.1 Ideologies of English Teaching and Learning

Fairclough (1993: 136) argues that ideology is pervasively present in language, so the ideological nature of language should be one of the major themes in modern society. He (1989: 2) also points out that "ideologies are closely linked to language", because language is the major means used for the operation of power.   Tollefson agrees (1991: 10) that "ideology is connected to power" and adds that, "in modern societies, language policy is used to sustain existing power relationships, i.e., it is ideological" (ibid.: 11).   As Fairclough (1989: 33) states, we are not aware that our everyday practices constitute "ideological power".   Other researchers also suggest similar terms to describe ideologies in ELT and SLA, such as "taken for granted practices" (Auerbach, 1993), "common-sense assumptions" (Tollefson, 1991) and "everybody knows" (Lightbow, 2000: 433). Therefore, concepts such as English-as-the-global-language, native speakers as the ideal-English-teachers, the ideal-English-teaching-methodology, American-English-as-standard-English, and the-younger-the-better which have been taken for granted as natural and common sense in Taiwanese society are ideologies. The ideologies in Taiwan mainly coincide with five basic tenets in the Makerere Report which emerged from a conference held in Uganda in 1961 by the British Council (Phillipson, 1992a: 185). These five basic tenets are:

1. English is best taught monolingually.

2. The ideal teacher of English is a native speaker.

3. The earlier English is taught, the better the results.

4. The more English is taught, the better the results.

5. If other languages are used too much, standards of English will drop.

In reviewing the ideologies of English teaching and learning in Taiwan, I find the five

basic tenets in the Makerere Report useful to maintain such as distinction, as will be made clear in the following sections.

2.1.1   English-as-the-Global-Language

Fishman (1996: 8, as citied in Clayton, 1999: 143) claims that the spread of English is neutral and beneficial. English does not directly serve purely Anglo-American territorial, economic, or cultural expansion. Crystal (1997: 110) argues that the primary reason for the spread of English is that it has "repeatedly found itself in the right place at the right time". He speaks of the 'taken for granted' status of English, and "the emergence, by the end of the century, of a climate of largely unspoken opinion" that "English [was] the natural choice of progress" (ibid.: 75).   However, Phillipson (1992a: 71–72) and Pennycook (1994a: 146) point out that the development of English language teaching worldwide can be traced back to British neocolonial policies in which political and economic benefits are involved. They claim that the development of ELT as a profession in the world is a response to a political imperative. ELT can no longer be taken as simply concerned with teaching language. Rather, the assertion that the spread of English is "natural, neutral and beneficial" is in itself ideological (Pennycook, 1994a: 9). The spread of English is central to the ideologies of English teaching and learning (Tollefson, 1995: 2).

The questions raised by the spread of English are diverse and complex. However, there are two main challenges – the political and the economic. First, globalization has changed the terms in which people debate issues of language and power (Block & Cameron, 2002: 6).   Second, people have learned English for economic reasons, because English competence represents "linguistic capital", a term used by Bourdieu (1991, as cited in Block & Cameron, 2002: 5). As a result, English language teaching

and learning have become more political and ideological, because they are discussed in terms of economics and politics.

Next, I will look at linguistic imperialism, linguistic capital, and language policy paradigms to further examine power and inequality in the terms of the global spread of English.

2.1.1.1 *Linguistic Imperialism*

The term "linguistic imperialism" arose in the 1930s as part of the Basic English movement (Read, 1974, as cited in Clayton, 1999: 139). Basic English was a simplified form of English briefly promoted internationally by the British Council as a "universal second language" (Pennycook, 1994a: 87). Currently, the term "linguistic imperialism" is most closely associated with the work of Robert Phillipson. Phillipson (1992a: 52) follows Galtung's (1988) theories on imperialism in which a distinction is made between a "dominant Center (the powerful Western countries and interests) and dominated Peripheries (the underdeveloped countries)". The dominant groups consist of native speakers of English, such as the British and the Americans and the dominated periphery groups consist of former colonial countries such as Nigeria, India, Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia, and EFL (English as a Foreign Language) countries such as Taiwan, Japan, or the countries of Scandinavia. The spread of English was a deliberate policy of the dominant Center to maintain dominance over the dominated Periphery. Phillipson uses the term "linguistic imperialism" to describe the linguistic relations between the Center and the Periphery. Linguistic imperialism is a sub-type of cultural and social imperialism (Phillipson, 1992a, 1998). English linguistic imperialism involves "the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and

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other languages" (1998: 104). Structural refers to "material properties" and cultural refers to "immaterial or ideological properties" (ibid.: 104). Phillipson (1992a) looks upon the ELT enterprise as imperialistic, because it is seen as a way for those with power to oppress those who are powerless.   He shows how ELT is defined to favor the professionalism and expertise of western academics. The dominant professional tenets such as "the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker of English" (see, 2.1.2, chapter 6), "English is best taught monolingually" (see 2.1.3, chapter 7), "the earlier English is taught, the better the results" (see 2.1.5, chapter 9) and "the more English is taught, the better the results" (see chapter 4) serve vested interests of center expertise.

Another significant contributor to the discussion on linguistic dominance is Braj Kachru (1985, 1986, 1992). Much of his work deals with local or nativized varieties of English or new Englishes. He views World Englishes as consisting of 3 concentric circles: native speaking countries (the Inner Circle), second-language speaking countries (the Outer Circle), and foreign language speaking countries (the Expanding Circle). Both Phillipson's 'Center' and 'Periphery' distinction and Kachru's concentric circle model reflect language and power relations in these contexts.

Kachru warns of the danger of centralized linguistic power. "In the past, the control and manipulation of international power have never been in the hands of users of one language group" (Kachru, 1986: 14). This one group, the Inner, controls in different ways in different situations.   First, the monolingual contexts of the Inner Circle are the result of extreme linguistic dominance. In other words, the method of control is by displacing native languages altogether and replacing them with English. Second, English as a colonial language is linguistic imperialism in its most literal sense. English may not displace the native language and may even concede dominance to it

in certain areas, but English establishes itself as the official language. Examples are the countries in the Outer circles. Finally, the Outer or Expanding Circle is affected by the English dominance in the Inner Circle. Native-speaker standards of English have become the model, even though the countries in the Outer and, to a lesser degree, Expanding Circles have developed local varieties of English. The Inner Circle claims that the Outer and Expanding varieties are impure leading to the Outer and Expanding Circles constantly having to purify their English against a standard found only in the Inner. For example, Bolton (2000b: 445) points out that Hong Kong English has frequently been linked to studies of error analysis.

There are obvious similarities between the two theories: Phillipson's 'Center' and 'Periphery' and Kachru's concentric circle model (Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles). First, English teaching and learning must be examined within the context of the spread of English as a world language. Second, the central issue in the spread of English is power. Third, English teaching and learning in the context of globalization is an outcome of power struggles and an arena for those struggles. Fourth, English teaching and learning is associated with political, social, economic, and linguistic inequality. Fifth, the spread of English is also associated with national, social, and cultural identity, that is, how people perceive themselves and the world. Sixth, the spread of English involves a threat to existing languages. Seventh, a critical pedagogy of English is needed in the context of English-as-the-global-language.

In short, the central argument of the linguistic dominance paradigm is the relationship between English and political and economic power.   In the following section, I shall discuss how English is viewed from an economic perspective and especially, how English competence constitutes a form of "linguistic capital".

2.1.1.2 Linguistic Capital

Many researchers (Canagarajah, 1999a, 2002; Garcia, 1995; Phillipson, 1992a; Pennycook, 1995; Tollefson, 1991, 1995, 2000; Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1995) argue that the spread of English is part of wider social, political, and economic processes that contribute to economic inequity. They show that the English speaking countries have an interest in supporting the concept of English-as-the-global-language which affords them "symbolic power" (Bourdieu & Boltanski, 1977, as cited in Loos, 2000: 39).

Bourdieu (1992, as cited in Loos, 2000) uses economic metaphors like "capital" and "market" to explain people's positions and interrelations in a community. Bourdieu (1992: 43–65, as cited in Loos, 2000: 38) distinguishes four different kinds of capital: economic capital (material wealth), cultural capital (knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions), and symbolic capital (that is, accumulated prestige or honor). "Linguistic capital" is related to Bourdieu's view of "cultural capital" and develops out of linguistic imperialism (Bourdieu, 1976, as cited in Morrison & Lui, 2000: 473). Linguistic capital can be defined as "fluency in, and comfort with, a high-status, world-wide language which is used by groups who possess economic, social, cultural and political power and status in local and global society" (ibid.: 473). Linguistic capital affords its holders symbolic power (Loos, 2000). Symbolic power is exercised on markets and it enables actors to convert one form of capital into another (Bourdieu & Boltanski, 1977, as cited in Loos, 2000: 39).

If a peripheral country possesses English (linguistic capital), it raises its national competitiveness and then it gets access to world wide economic markets (economic capital) and accelerates towards globalization (symbolic capital). If a society d

offers access to a high status language – English (linguistic capital) – there are better life chances (economic capital) for those who can master that language.   This benefits those who already possess linguistic capital and so have a better opportunity to be successful in the local or global society (symbolic capital).

As a result, English has been viewed as linguistic capital in many regions, such as the European Union (Loos, 2000), Ecuador (Alm, 2003), Hong Kong (Morrison & Lui, 2000), Peru (Nino-Murcia, 2003), Singapore (Chew, 1999, as cited in Rubdy, 2001: 343–344), and Ukraine (Bilaniuk, 2003).   The variety of descriptions of English demonstrates the power of English. In Argentina, English has become a "means of social ascension" (Friedrich, 2000: 222, as cited in Nielsen, 2003: 199). English is viewed as 'a more valued economic commodity' (Gimenez, 2001) or 'a highly marketable commodity' (Rajagopalan, 2002) in Brazil, in Canada (Heller, 2002), in Japan (Kubota, 2002), and in Taiwan (Ho, 1998; Li & Lee, 2004; Troester, 1990).   In this linguistic commodity market, English has higher value than other languages. Consequently, people need and want to acquire this commodity. "The hunger for learning the language – with whatever degree of competence - is simply insatiable" (Kachru, 1997: 69, as cited in Seidlhofer, 2001: 141). Kachru argues that "knowing English is like possessing the fabled Aladdin's lamp, which permits one to open, as it were, the linguistic gates to international business, technology, science and travel. In short, English provides linguistic power" (1986: 1). The possession of English is an issue of power. English provides its speakers with linguistic, economic, and symbolic capital.

Those with less linguistic capital have fewer opportunities for improving their lives. Morrison and Lui (2000: 473) argue that "social stratification and patterns of

domination and subordination are reproduced albeit by a school system initially intended to provide equal opportunity to all". Tollefson (1991: 8–9) also points out that if English is viewed as a means for getting better jobs with higher salaries and as one criterion for determining which people will complete different levels of education, it results in "unequal social and economic relationships". In many countries (see above) English has become a highly converted form of linguistic capital providing access to education, employment, and economic advantages for those who are proficient in it. As a result, English proficiency has created an educational hierarchical and a social hierarchical system.

The concept of linguistic capital manifests itself in language policies. Language policies are linked to the struggle for power and they structure unequal educational, social, economic, and linguistic relationships (Tollefson, 1991, 1995, 2000). Next, I shall examine some paradigms of language policies.

2.1.1.3   Language Policy

Both Tollefson (1991, 1995, 2000) and Tsuda (1994, as cited in Phillison & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996: 436) explore the relationship between language policy and language education with a particular emphasis on power and inequity. Tollefson (1995) points out how current language policies are influenced by globalization and the spread of English, and how language policy and political power are inextricably linked. He argues that English language policies are often associated with "a rhetoric of equality and opportunity", but, in reality, they create unequal social and economic relationships (ibid.: 3).

Tsuda (1994, as cited in Phillison & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996: 436) posits two global,

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contemporary language policy options which show power relationship between the center and the periphery. The following are Tsuda's language policy options.

Diffusion-of-English Paradigm

1. capitalism

2. science and technology

3. modernization

4. monolingualism

5. ideological globalization and internationalization

6. transnationalization

7. Americanization and homogenization of world culture

8. linguistic, cultural, and media imperialism

Ecology-of-Language Paradigm

1. a human rights perspective

2. equality in communication

3. multilingualism

4. maintenance of languages and cultures

5. protection of national sovereignties

6. promotion of foreign language education

The **Diffusion-of-English paradigm** is associated with "capitalism" and "science and technology". "Modernization" and "globalization and internationalization" are marketed as the key to the future success of an economy and culture. This paradigm entails the promotion of "monolingualism" – one language (American English) and one culture (American culture) at the expense of others. Clearly, there is an unequal

power relationship between the dominant and the dominated, that is, Western values in the guise of language education rather than empowerment of the individual.

The **Ecology-of-Languages paradigm**, by contrast, attempts to ensure equality for speakers of all languages. In other words, this paradigm promotes "linguistic human rights" (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996).

If we relate Tsuda's diffusion-of-English paradigm to English teaching and learning in EFL countries, the next questions are: Should English be taught monolingually (see 2.1.3) by native speakers of English (see 2.1.2)? Moreover, should American English be the standard (see 2.1.4)?

Next, I shall start with the ideological concept of ideal-English-teacher (see 2.1.2), before moving on to other ideological concepts.

2.1.2   Ideal-English-Teacher

Another issue in relation to language and power is that the spread of English has also led to questions of "the ownership of English" (Widdowson, 1994). Who really owns English?   The answer to this question has implications for a variety of issues in relation to ELT and SLA such as how English should be taught (see 2.1.3), what standards of English are acceptable (see 2.1.4), when English should be taught (see 2.1.5), and who is the ideal-English-teacher (this section). The spread of English has created a tremendous demand for ever increasing numbers of teachers of English. When Medgyes (1992: 344) poses the question "Who's worth more: the NEST (native English speaking teacher) or the non-NEST (non-native English speaking teacher)?", the implications are that there is a native and non-native dichotomy and there is a

concept of the ideal teacher for English learners. Next, I will look at concepts regarding this issue such as the "native speaker fallacy" and the "native speaker model".

2.1.2.1   Native Speaker Fallacy

Much of the SLA research focus on the success and failure of L2 learners is often measured against the native speaker's language use (Cook, 1999: 189). Freudenstein (1991, as cited in Phillipson, 1992b: 13) and Quirk (1990, as cited in Phillipson, 1992b: 13) support the concept that ideal English teachers are native speakers because they have better knowledge of the target language. Stern (1983: 341) argues that "The native speaker's 'competence' or 'proficiency' or 'knowledge of the language' is a necessary point of reference for the second language proficiency concept used in language teaching". As a result, native speakers of English are taken for granted as better English teachers and as the ideal model for non-native speakers.   Phillipson (1992a: 185) describes this phenomenon as the "native speaker fallacy". He also argues that the native speaker fallacy in ELT is closely linked to the concepts of center and periphery in neocolonial policies. The British Council is a typical example of an organization where "the native speaker has been sent worldwide to teach, train teachers and advise" (Phillipson, 1992b: 14). For Phillipson, native English speaking teachers are vectors of cultural and linguistic imperialism.

More and more researchers (Braine, 2000; Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Canagaragjah, 1999a; Cook, 1999; Kaplan, 1999; Kirkpatrick, 1997; Liu, 1999; McKay, 2003a; Medgyes, 1992; Pennycook, 1998; Phillipson, 1992a; Rampton, 1990) challenge the concept of the native speaker ideal. For example, Phillipson (1992a: 194) claims that many of the qualities native speakers possess such as fluency, appropriate

usage, and knowledge of the cultural connotations of the language can be acquired through training.   He claims that non-native speakers possess certain qualifications which native speakers may not have, such as the experience of acquiring English as a second (foreign) language and insights into the linguistic and cultural needs of their learners (ibid.: 195).   Rampton (1990: 97) has outlined five features of expertise regarding native speakers and demonstrates that it is special education or training that makes one an expert in one field or another.   A native speaker is not necessarily qualified and has not necessarily acquired the "expertise" required in the language classroom.   In other words, training and experience play a greater role in defining a teacher's success in a language classroom (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Cook, 1999; Kirkpatrick, 1997; Liu, 1999; Medgyes, 1992; Nunan, October/November 1999, Phillipson, 1992a; Rampton, 1990). Medgyes (1992: 346–347) argues that non-NESTs have the following advantages as English teachers.

    a. Only non-NESTs can serve as imitable models of the successful learner of

      English .

    b. Non-NESTs can teach learning strategies more effectively.

    c. Non-NESTs can provide learners with more information about the English language.

    d. Non-NESTs are more able to anticipate language difficulties.

    e. Non-NESTs can be more empathetic to the needs and problems of their learners.

    f. Only non-NESTs can benefit from sharing the learners' mother tongue.

Some researchers (Medgyes, 1992; Singh, 1998, as cited in Martohardjono, 2001: 1644) try to get rid of the native and non-native speaker dichotomy.   Medgyes (1992) argues that both native and non-native speakers have an equal opportunity to become successful teachers. He argues that the ideal English teacher is a NEST who "has achieved a high degree of proficiency in the learner's mother tongue"; or a

non-NEST who "has achieved near-native proficiency in English" (ibid.: 348–349).

2.1.2.2   Native Speaker Model

Although the above researchers object to the concept of the native speaker fallacy, in practice, the native speaker ideal or model remains firmly entrenched in ELT and SLA (Cook, 1999; Seidlhofer, 2001). Especially in the job market, native speakers of English are given preference in hiring both inside and outside western settings (Braine, 2000; Govardhan et al., 1999; Kaplan, 1999; Liu, 1999; McKay, 2003a; Rampton, 1990). In addition, native English speakers without teaching qualifications are more likely to be hired than qualified and experienced NNESTs, especially outside the Center countries (Bamgbose, 1998; Braine, 2000; Cook, 2000; Kirkpatrick, 1997; Rampton, 1990).   The main reason is that there is a widespread belief that they are superior to non-native English speaking teachers in language teaching, because of their language ability, in particular, their accent (Canagarajah, 1999a; Flynn, 1999; Lippi-Green, 1997; Mawhinney & Xu, 1997; Tang, 1997).   Quirk (1995: 26, as cited in Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999: 8) states that "The implications [of the alleged lack of adequate competence of NNS] for foreign language teaching are clear: the need for native teacher support and the need for non-native teachers to be in constant touch with the native language". Here are some examples of the native speaker model in ELT and SLA.

Govardhan et al. (1999) found that in their survey of ads for teaching English abroad, the main and common requirement was to be a native speaker of English. A study of non-native speaking professionals in TESOL in the USA conducted by Liu (1999: 89–91) reports on seven participants who have ESL/EFL teaching experiences ranging from 5 to 10 years.   All of them had taught English in both ESL and EFL

settings but did not necessarily agree that being a non-native speaker was beneficial. All of them had experienced discrimination in hiring practices in the USA.

In the USA, the Director of the Credit ESL Division at Glendale Community College points out that any non-native English speaker (NNES) who wishes to teach ESL in the US needs to have some basics. One of them is an easy-to-understand accent. If an NNES can sound more native-like, "he or she moves up a notch in the eyes of both colleagues and students" (Flynn, 1999: 7). Lippi-Green (1997) found that teachers with non-native accents are perceived as less qualified and less effective, if compared with their native-English-speaking colleagues in the US.

In Canada, Mawhinney and Xu (1997) conducted a study on the relationship between native and non-native English speaking teachers in terms of their language proficiency. Non-native speaking English teachers were constantly questioned about their accents in English. One principal claimed, "If these teachers want to be accepted in my school, they must totally get rid of their accent because the students will have trouble understanding them" (ibid.: 636). Non-native English speaking teachers felt that they were subject to discrimination. In the words of one teacher, "Talk about difference? The only difference is that I am not white" (ibid.: 637).

In Sri Lanka, accent is one of the major issues in ELT, as Canagarajah (1999a: 84–85) points out:

> Many Periphery professionals feel compelled to spend undue time repairing their pronunciation or performing other cosmetic changes to sound native. Their dominant concern is in effect "How can I lose my accent?" rather than "How can I be a successful teacher?" The anxiety and inhibitions about their pronunciation can make them lose their grip on the instructional process or lack rapport with their students.

2.1.2.3   Implications for English teachers

Despite the many challenges for NNESTs, they are beginning to be viewed by others as equal partners in ELT. In 1998, TESOL, the international professional association that represents teachers of English to speakers of other languages, approved the formation of the Non-native English speakers in TESOL Caucus (Braine, February/March 1999).   According to the NNEST caucus website (http://www.unh. edu/nnest; last accessed on May 5, 2003), the major goals of the caucus are:

1. to create a nondiscriminatory professional environment for all TESOL members

   regardless of native language and place of birth,

2. to encourage the formal and informal gatherings of non-native speakers at

   TESOL and affiliate conferences,

3. to encourage research and publications on the role of non-native speaker

   teachers in ESL and EFL contexts,

4. to promote the role of non-native speaker members in TESOL and affiliate

   leadership positions.

The aim of the caucus is to strengthen effective teaching and learning of English around the world (Braine, February/March 1999). However, as the Caucus states there is a persistent native and non-native dichotomy. Particularly, non-native English speaking teachers are discriminated against in terms of employment in L1 and L2 environments, research, and publication.

The complexity of the native and non-native issue needs to be explored further so as to help the teaching and learning process. Next, I shall explore how the native speaker ideology is closely linked to the ideal-English-teaching-methodology (see 2.1.3), the standard English ideology (see 2.1.4) and the younger-the-better ideology (see 2.1.5).

2.1.3   Ideal-English-Teaching-Methodology

Another area of English language pedagogy that has been influenced by a tendency to rely on a native speaker model is English language teaching methodology (McKay, 2003a: 13). If native speakers of English are considered as the ideal teachers of English that also implies that English should be taught monolingually (Phillipson, 1992a: 185).   Tollefson (1991: 83) argues that the spread of English is closely linked to what he terms "modernization theory". According to this theory, "Western societies provide the most effective model for 'underdeveloped societies' attempting to reproduce the achievements of 'industrialization'".   In other words, the ideal English-teaching-method is linked to the cultures of the Center countries and is based on a native speaker model.   I shall investigate two popular teaching methodologies, CLT and English-only immersion, the premises of which are based on a native speaker model.

2.1.3.1   Communicative language Teaching (CLT)

The spread of English has led to the widespread promotion of CLT as the ideal-English-teaching-methodology (McKay, 2003a; Tollefson, 1991, 1995, 2000). CLT is based on the notion of "communicative competence" as introduced by Hymes   (1971, as cited in Hyde, 1998) in the early 1970s, and the notion has been the most significant influence on the language teaching curriculum design almost everywhere in the world. CLT can be characterized by the following features (Nunan, 1991: 279):

   1. An emphasis on learning to communicate through interaction in the target language.

   2. The introduction of authentic texts into the learning situation.

   3. The provision of opportunities for learners to focus, not only on language, but also on the

      learning process itself.

   4. An enhancement of the learner's own personal experiences as important contributing elements

to classroom learning.

5. An attempt to link classroom language learning with language activation outside of the classroom.

Many researchers (Breen, 1985; Breen & Candlin, 2001; Brown; 1994; Harmer, 2003; Long, 1991; Richards & Rodgers, 1985; Savignon, 2003), particularly in Inner Circle countries, argue that CLT is and should be the dominant method in ELT. As a result, CLT has been largely promoted by both private language schools and governments in Inner Circle countries, as well as Outer and Expanding Circle countries. Take some EFL countries for examples. The CLT method has been promoted by governments in Chile (McKay, 2003b), China (Yu, 2001), Indonesia (Lamb, 1995; Pasassung, 2004), Japan (LoCastro, 1996; Matsuya, 2004), Korea (Li, 1998), Morocco (McKay, 2002) and Vietnam (Sullivan, 2000). Taiwan is no exception. There, CLT has been promoted since 1996's Nine-year Comprehensive Curriculum. However, the widespread acceptance of CLT has not gone unchallenged. Current research findings indicate that CLT in Outer and Expanding countries has been generally difficult to implement (Burnaby & Sun, 1989; Ellis, 1996; Lamb, 1995; Li, 1998; McKay, 2002; Medgyes, 1986, as cited in McKay, 2002; Pasassung, 2004; Yu, 2001). The following are some Confucian-influenced countries that found it difficult to implement the CLT.

In China, a survey was conducted by Burnaby and Sun (1989). They found that CLT would not help students to pass the traditional grammar-based examinations. Many Chinese students felt that some CLT activities seemed more like games rather than serious learning. Large class size, limited resources and equipment made it difficult to implement. In addition, English teachers have deficiencies in oral English and sociolinguistic and strategic competence. Even now, a number of educators,

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researchers, and practitioners are skeptical whether or not CLT is really superior to the traditional analytical approach (Yu, 2001). Yu argues that current constraints on CLT in China include the low incomes of English teachers, big class size, a Confucian view of teachers as holders of knowledge, and a shortage of qualified teachers. The most recent research conducted by Liu & Gong (as cited in Yu, 2001) shows similar findings to Burnaby and Sun's (1989) survey.

In Japan, LoCastro (1996) argues that several factors make CLT problematic. Japanese teachers are ill prepared for communicative instruction, although the curriculum aims to emphasize communication skills. Japanese students' motivation may not support CLT, since most Japanese study English in order to pass tests for university and employment (Matsuya, 2004). Pacek's (1996) research on introducing CLT to experienced Japanese secondary teachers of English, found that CLT was not implemented by many teachers, due to student, peer, and parental resistance and poor textbooks. The teachers had to use the grammar-translation method to help students pass exams.

In Korea, Li (1998) interviewed Korean secondary school teachers on the difficulties involved in implementing CLT. The difficulties fell into four categories: "those caused (a) by the teacher, (b) by the students, (c) by the educational system, and (d) by CLT itself" (ibid.: 686). First, the teachers felt their deficiency in spoken English and sociolinguistic competence, their lack of relevant training and limited time for material development. Second, students' low English proficiency, little motivation for communicative competence and resistance to class participation made it difficult to implement CLT. Third, the difficulties related to the educational systems were large class size, grammar-based examinations, insufficient funding and lack of support for

teacher education in the implementation of CLT. Finally, CLT's inadequate account of EFL teaching and lack of effective and efficient assessment instruments also contribute to the difficulties of CLT implementation.

In Vietnam, Sullivan (1996a, as cited in Sullivan, 2000) points out that Vietnamese teachers want to learn the newest and best methods of teaching. Many have taken part in workshops on CLT. However many have also complained that CLT just does not work for them. The main reason is that Vietnam has a strong Confucian heritage, and in Confucianism teachers are viewed as knowledge holders. As a result, the Vietnamese English class is mostly "uncommunicative" since the class is generally teacher-fronted with whole-class responses, and there is little group work, pair work, or use of authentic materials (Sullivan, 2000: 130).

In China, Japan, Korea and Vietnam, the appropriateness of CLT has been challenged. The main reason is that a particular culture plays an important role in teaching methodology. Some researchers (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996; Ellis, 1996; Flowerdew & Miller, 1995; Scollon & Scollon, 1995, as cited in Liu & Littlewood, 1997) argue that CLT is not feasible in some Asian countries because Confucian values still prevail.

Other important factors that make CLT impracticable are pedagogical goals and national examination systems. Pedagogical goals play an important role in determining which teaching methods should be applied. The purpose of ESL is primarily designed to help individuals function and survive in an English speaking community "with little or no curricular demands and pressure of examinations". On the contrary, EFL is usually a part of the school curriculum and depends on "national curriculum goals" (Ellis, 1996: 215). Therefore, communicative competence

probably is not the main goal in EFL, but other proficiencies, such as translation, reading and writing or grammar are needed. In addition, examinations in EFL countries test for grammar and translation skills.

2.1.3.2 *English-Only Immersion Method*

The tenet that English should be taught monolingually reflects the notion that ideal-English-teachers are native speakers of English. It is assumed to be the goal of English education to achieve native-like competence. The English-only immersion method is probably the most popular method in Taiwan. It is derived from the Natural or Direct method (Auerbach, 1993; Howatt, 1984). An immersion program aims to educate a child principally in a language that is not his or her mother tongue (Obadia, 1981: 270, as citied in Berthold, 1990: 31).

Immersion language programs have grown in popularity since their origins in the mid-1960s in Canada (Walker & Tedick, 2000). Clearly, the concept of language immersion is well accepted and encouraged by many researchers (Berthold, 1990; Genesee & Cloud, 1998; McCarty, 1993; Swain & Johnson, 1997). The advocates of the immersion method argue that there is extensive and widely accepted research supporting bilingual education for children.

However, many researchers (Auerbach, 1993; Cummins, 1986a; Lotherington, 1996; Lucas & Katz, 1994; Morrison & Lui, 2000; Rothstein, April/May 1999; Wiley & Lukes, 1996) believe that a monolingual approach to teaching English is ideological. Auerbach (1993: 12) argues that monolingual approaches in the USA are determined by "political rather than pedagogical factors", because of the increase in immigration since the 19th century. Monolingual instruction became a means to "enhance loyalty"

to the USA (ibid.: 12). According to Auerbach (1993: 9, 15), English-only immersion methods are rooted in a "particular ideological perspective" and rest on "unexamined assumptions".   She indicates that much research on children becoming bilinguals is through an "immersion program", not in EFL settings and these immersion programs initially allow learners to use their L1 to communicate with each other and their teachers.

Lotherington (1996) questions the appropriateness of English language immersion education in three Micronesian countries, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Nauru. In none of these countries is English used as a community language. According to Lotherington (1996: 355), English immersion in these three Micronesian countries promotes subtractive bilingualism and puts Melanesian children at risk of poor educational achievement. The English immersion programs have led to early fossilization of non-standard English forms, since they attempt to require students of very limited English to use English in early immersion programs. In addition, there is a lack of community and home support of children's schoolwork in English.

Using students' native languages in schooling can help them develop English proficiency (Auerbach, 1993; Cummins, 1986b; Lucas & Katz, 1994; Morrison & Lui, 2000). Research by the Education Department of Hong Kong (Morison & Lui, 2000: 480) both worldwide and in Hong Kong demonstrated that (1) students learn better through their mother tongue; (2) they are more motivated to learn in their mother tongue; (3) those who learn in the mother tongue generally achieve better than their counterparts who use English. This implies that L1 literacy or schooling can be beneficial at all levels of English learning.

In short, CLT and English-only immersion methods do not provide a solution to

English teaching problems in EFL countries.   Moreover, some essential conflicts will arise in the transfer of a Western teaching approach into an EFL context.   This also implies that a Western teaching approach needs to be applied with care. Therefore, more and more researchers argue that a context-based approach is needed in EFL countries.

2.1.3.3.   Context-Based Approach

Most English language teaching methodologies, theories and practices, based on a native speaker model, which have originated from the Center countries have been taken for granted by many English educators in the world without critical examinations of the local classroom context (Cook, 1999). The above studies (see *2.1.3.1 & 2.1.3.2*) have raised the need for English educators to critically review their teaching practice and find workable teaching approaches which are responsive to their own classroom texts. An ideal-English-teaching-methodology should be consistent with the local cultural context (Bax, 2003; Brown & Baumgardner, 2003; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996; Cook, 1999; Ellis, 1996; Flowerdew & Miller, 1995; Hall & Eggington, 2000; Holliday, 1994; Kramsch & Sullivan, 1996; Kubota, 1998; Lantolf, 2000; McKay, 2002; Prabhu, 1990; Rockwell, 1998, as cited in Bax, 2003: 282; Sullivan, 2000).   Kramsch and Sullivan (1996: 211) argue that an appropriate pedagogy is in keeping with the political motto "think globally, act locally". An appropriate teaching method is both global and local. The implication is that English educators need to consider how English teaching is embedded in the local context. Prabhu (1990: 161) argues that "there is no one best method" in ELT, and the best teaching method is based on its own teaching context.

The first priority of a context-based approach is to identify key aspects of a teaching

environment, such as learning needs, strategies, coursebooks, local conditions, the classroom culture, school culture, and national culture before deciding what and how to teach (Bax, 2003: 285).   Moreover, teaching materials and language testing need to be localized to meet learners' needs (Bax, 2003). Therefore, a context-based approach raises another important issue, that is, "which English should be taught?" since all three Circles must take the local context into consideration (Brown & Baumgardner, 2003: 249). The question of method is closely related to the question of "which English", which I shall address in the next section.

2.1.4   American-English-as-standard-English

Standard English is "a sociolinguistic construct, reflecting both the reality that English is a pluricentric language, and the popular notion that one or another variety has greater social cachet" (Kaplan, 1999: 5). There has been a debate over standards in English in the global context. Two key figures, Randolph Quirk and Braj Kachru, expressed very different views on this issue (Quirk & Widdowson, 1985). Quirk (1985: 6) argues for the recognition of a single global standard for both the Inner Circle and those outside the Inner Circle.   Kachru (1985), on the other hand, argues for a recognition of a multiplicity of standards both in native speaking communities and those in the Outer Circle. Both Quirk and Kachru agree that in the Expanding Circle, where "English does not have an official role, its use should be norm-dependent since there is no regular internal use of the language" (McKay, 2002: 54). In Kachru's Expanding Circle, English is learned as a foreign language for international communication, relying on Inner Circle norms (Alm, 2003; Bex, 1993; Friedrich, 2000; Nino-Murcia, 2003; Petzold, 2002).

In Expanding Circle countries, central to this debate is what standard English is and

which model of English should be taught and learned. There are two main standard varieties for the Expanding Circle countries – British and American English (Trudgill & Hannah, 2002). Standard English is the language of "the educated"; "educated speakers as the sole possessors of the standard language"; "all variants that are used by educated speakers"; and "the form of English taught in school". These are some definitions from three well-known dictionaries (*Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, *Cambridge International Dictionary of English*, and *Chambers Dictionary*, as cited in Lippi-Green, 1997: 54–55). Lippi-Green uses these definitions to demonstrate that standard English is mythical and ideological. These definitions create an educated and less-educated or uneducated dichotomy and suggest that the educated group serves as the model for other groups in terms of both spoken and written forms. Standard language ideology has been defined as "a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language which is imposed from above …, which takes as its model the written language" and, which has as its goal the "suppression of variation" (Lippi-Green, 1994: 166). In other words, access to standard English means access to power.

Bhatt (1997: 12, as cited in Brutt-Griffler, 1998: 384) asserts that "the teaching of English, with the entire framework and institutions that support it world-wide, is a critical site where the dominant – Standard English – ideology is constantly evolving and continuously bargaining with the secondary ideologies for power". As a result, native speakers of English are "the only valid referees to establish and authorize the rules of correct English around the world" (Bhatt, 1997: 1, as cited in Brutt-Griffler, 1998: 384). Not surprisingly, many ESL teachers believe so-called standard English is the only acceptable language for communication in the classroom (Auerbach, 1995). When a country chooses a pedagogical model, there is acceptance of the beliefs and

behaviors of the speakers of the model (Petzold, 2002). Terms such as "McCommunication" and "McDonaldization" have been used to describe the current influential SLA paradigm, and the associated method, task based language teaching, which originated in the USA and has been used world wide (Block, 2002). Researchers (Gary, 2002; Matsuda, 2002) investigated ELT coursebooks and they found that a majority of English textbooks are produced in either Britain or the USA. Although the textbooks are designed for use as core texts around the world, the content is generally based on Anglo-American culture.

Taiwan views American English as the standard English. This is a strictly perceptual and ideological issue.   When analyzing the English used in the rest of Asia and many other countries, a completely opposite perception is held.   In these countries, British English is the standard English.   Reasons for these contradictory views are normally associated with a country's history and their relationship with native speaking countries (Bex, 1993; Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997; Friedrich, 2002; McHenry, 2002; Preisler, 1999). For example, Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Singapore use British English because they were once British colonies. American English in Taiwan is associated with its political and historical relationship with the USA. American-English-as-standard-English in Taiwan reinforces the view that language both reflects and reinforces ideologies and the ideologies are mainly constructed out of the socio-historical relationship of USA and Taiwan and educational policies (see chapter 8).

The concept of standard English has pedagogical implications for English teaching and learning. First, for those who want a single English language, the achievement of native-like competence is often the goal for English learners. Users of English still

regard a native speaker model of pronunciation as having greatest prestige (McKay, 2002). Second, for those who treat English not as a single language but who recognize all varieties of English or adopt a World Englishes approach, the goal of English teaching and learning is cross-cultural communication. Therefore, since "English belongs to its users, there is no reason why some speakers should provide standards for others" (McKay, 2002: 126). Next, I shall look in detail at two implications of the concept of standard English – accent and a World Englishes approach.

2.1.4.1   Accent

Crystal (1995: 110, as cited in Mesthrie et al., 2000: 21) lists essential characteristics of modern standard English, but matters of pronunciation are excluded. "Standard English is not a matter of pronunciation, rather of grammar, vocabulary and orthography" (ibid.: 21).   In a similar vein, there is no standardized accent associated with standard English in Strevens's (1983: 88) definition of standard English.

> A particular dialect of English, being the only non-localized dialect, of global
>
> currency without significant variation, universally accepted as the appropriate
>
> educational target in teaching English; which may be spoken with an
>
> unrestricted choice of accent (Strevens, 1983: 88).

However, an early debate on the autonomy of World Englishes began in applied linguistics in the 1960s.   Halliday, MacIntosh and Strevens (1964: 292, 296, as cited in Bolton & Lim, 2000: 430) argued that "during the period of colonial rule it seemed totally obvious and immutable that the form of English used by professional people in England was the only conceivable model for use in education overseas". Similarly, "to speak like an Englishman is by no means the only or obvious target for the foreign learner". These quotes clearly show that the relationship between accent and identity

is an intriguing one. Fairclough (1989: 57–58) argues that standard English is viewed as "correct" English and "an asset" because "its use is a passport to good jobs and positions of influence and power in national and local communities". This applies to both written and spoken forms. Lippi-Green (1997: 41) suggests the notions of "non-accent" and "standard language" are myths and they are "magical and powerful constructs, because they can motivate social behaviors and actions which would otherwise be contrary to logic or reason". Lippi-Green's claim asserts that accent, one of many linguistic myths, is powerful enough to create discrimination or stereotypes among people in a society.

Lippi-Green (1997: 50) argues that accent reduction courses in the USA make an implied promise: "Sound like us, and success will be yours. Doors will open: barriers will disappear". She denies the effectiveness of this course of action by showing that claims that it is possible to eliminate an accent are unfounded. Secondly, she argues that the promise implies that discrimination is purely a matter of language and that it is primarily the "right" accent that stands between "marginalized social groups and a world free of racism and prejudicial treatment" (ibid.: 50). As a result, not many people realize that the idea of a standard English, like American English or accent, is an abstraction, a myth. A "one-size fits-all language" does not exist, except "as an ideal in the minds of the speakers". Most importantly, accent has little to do with what is generally called "communicative competence or the ability to use and interpret language in a wide variety of contexts effectively" (Lippi-Green, 1997: 44, 48).

However, for the majority of English learners, to achieve native-like pronunciation is a benchmark of achievement. A study was conducted by Timmis (2002: 242–243) on native-like English pronunciation. The questionnaire drew 400 responses from 14

countries and it was supported by 15 interviews.   The main finding was that none of the interviewees expressed a positive preference for the accents of their countries. In addition, 68% of the 400 respondents stated that although they currently use English more with non-native speakers than with native speakers of English, they want to pronounce English just like a native speaker.

In another study conducted in Malaysia, Gill (1993: 232–234, as cited in Bamgbose, 1998: 7) found that 95.9% of the respondents opted for Received Pronunciation (RP) as the model that should be taught.   In Norway, Christophersen (1992, as cited in Bamgbose, 1998: 7) found that Norwegian students would like to sound as close as possible to native speaker of English. In the USA, a study was conducted at the University of Illinois by McKay (1995, as cited in Bamgbose, 1998: 10) on 15 international ESL students' preferences for two groups of teaching assistants. The result showed that native speaker instructors were preferred over non-native speakers. The desirability of having a native speaker instructor was ranked on a 3-points scale as follows: highest (2.93) for Pronunciation, followed by Conversation (2.87), Listening Comprehension and General Purpose ESL (2.53, 2.53) and lowest for Grammar (1.93).   In Austria, advanced Austrian EFL learners display negative attitudes towards their own non-native English accent. Native accents – British or American are firmly in place as models for EFL learning and teaching (Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997).   Moreover, some studies in Section *2.1.2.2* show that learners perceive native speaking English teachers as ideal English teachers, because of their standard native accents.

Jenkins (1998, 2002), a scholar of World Englishes approaches, promotes intelligibility in the use of English as an international language. She argues that there

is nothing wrong with L2 pronunciation that does not conform to a native speaker accent, if the accent is intelligible. In short, the central argument of standard English tends to focus primarily on the importance of native speaker norms. However, a World English approach argues that if English as an international language belongs to every culture, then there are no reasons for promoting a particular variety of Englishes. Next, I shall examine this approach more fully.

2.1.4.2   *World Englishes (WE)*

Non-native speakers of English using English for international communication outnumber its native speakers (Crystal, 1997; Kachru, 1996; Graddol, 1997). This shift has major implications for ELT and SLA. The study of World Englishes (WE) began in the late 1960s (Gupta, 2001) and it is conceivable that the plurality of varietal Englishes will soon replace the singular English. English no longer belongs to America or Britain. World Englishes or English as an International Language (EIL), known by several other names with similar conceptual frameworks, have been proposed as a substitute for a wide range of English language users. Among the proposed models are English as an International or Intranational Language (EIIL, Smith, 1983), English as an International Auxiliary Language (EIAL, Smith, 1983) and English as a World Language (EWL, Nunan, December 1999/January 2000). Central to the EIL approach is the assumption that EIL is being learnt for cross-cultural, international, multicultural and intercultural communication (Jenkins, 2002; McKay, 2003a; Modiano, 2001a, b; Smith, 1983). In addition, English learners around the world need to view English as their own language of additional communication rather than as a foreign language controlled by the Center countries (Jenkins, 1998; Warschauer, 2000; McKay, 2002; Modiano, 2001a, b). The EIL approach seems to be an attractive option for many EFL countries (Matsuda, 2002;

Modiano, 2001a, b).

However, some researchers (Bamgbose, 1998; Brown, 1993; Hill & Parry, 1994; Jenkins, 1998; McHenry, 2002; Petzold, 2002;) predict it will be difficult to implement EIL in the world. Petzold (2002) argues that choice of a pedagogical model involves political, cultural and economic factors. Even if a community decides to teach a local variety, several conditions make this hard to achieve: few non-native varieties are codified (Bamgbose, 1998; Petzold, 2002); the proficiency tests do not exist (Hill & Parry, 1994; Petzold, 2002); and the scarcity of materials available to teach the Outer and Expanding Circles (Brown, 1993; Jenkins, 1998; Petzold, 2002). McHenry (2002: 452) points out that the majority of the world's English users live in the Expanding Circle, but little research has been done in relation to the pedagogical functions of a World English approach in EFL countries. As a result, two main standard Englishes – British and American – will continue to be the models for English teaching and learning in EFL countries.

If the two main standard Englishes continue to be models for EFL countries, then the goal of English teaching and learning will continue to focus on native-like competence. Another crucial issue in relation to the native speaker model is that English should be learnt at an early age so as to acquire native-like competence. In the next section, I will examine the ideological concept of the-younger-the-better.

2.1.5   The-Younger-the-Better

Not only has English as a foreign language been started early in elementary schools in European countries (Phillipson, 1992a), but the practice has also been implemented in elementary schools in many Asian countries such as China, Japan, South Korea and

Thailand (Su, 1998; Tucker, 2001; Zen, 1998). Taiwan started English instruction in all grade five and six classes nation-wide in September 2001.

"The more English is taught, the better the result" is a tenet well-supported in many countries around the world. The notion of the earlier English is taught, the better the results is described by Phillipson (ibid.: 185) as "the early start fallacy". Nunan (June/July 1999) and Tucker (2001) however argue that research into the education of immigrant children in the USA and Canada supports the concept of the-younger-the-better.   Relating to the concept of the-younger-the-better of English instruction in EFL countries have not been sufficiently researched (Cameron, 2001; Nunan, June/July 1999; Ong, 2003; Snow, 2001; Tucker, 2001).

Kirkpatrick (1997) argues that the earlier English is taught the better, is based on the experience of first language learning. Bhatt (2002: 80) argues that the theoretical assumptions in SLA underlie the construction of standard English ideology. Native speakers represent standard languages (Davis, 2003: 197). Therefore, there is a widespread belief that the ultimate goal of English language learning is to achieve native-like competence. Cook (1999) argues that "SLA research has often fallen into the *comparative fallacy* (Bley-Vroman, 1983, as cited in Cook, 1999: 189) of relating the L2 learner to the native speaker. For example, the view that fossilization and errors in L2 user's speech add up to 'failure to achieve native-speaker competence". The studies and research mentioned in 2.2.2 and 2.4.1 also demonstrate that ideal English teachers are native speakers of English and the L2 learner's goal is to achieve native-like competence. In ELT and SLA, people take it for granted that the native speaker has become the yardstick of language proficiency. As far as early childhood acquisition is concerned, the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) has been used by

many researchers to judge an L2 learner in relation to native speaker status (Davis, 2003).

2.1.5.1 Critical Period Hypothesis

The Critical Period Hypothesis was first proposed by Penfield and Roberts (1959, as cited in White & Genesee, 1996: 233). They claim that there is a critical period that terminates around 9-12 years old, after which it is difficult or unlikely to achieve complete or native-like mastery of a first (L1) or second language (L2). Later, Lenneberg (1967) refined the hypothesis.   Since then, researchers have argued either for or against the existence of maturational constraints and a critical period for language learning. Davis (2003: 178) labels pro-CPH arguments as a "psycho" approach and anti-CPH arguments as a "socio" approach to language learning and the native speaker.   Researchers who favor a "psycho" approach argue for an absolute distinction between native speakers and non-native speakers and, for the existence of a critical period. Those who favor a "socio" approach argue that "the appropriate social context can bring about native-speaker capacities" even after the onset of the critical period (ibid.: 178). The "psycho" party believes in the early child learning. However, the "socio" party argues there is no such thing as an absolute biological constraint on second language learning. Both parties have examined L2 performance across various linguistic domains such as phonology, lexicon, morphology and syntax, or grammar and language in use, to support their arguments.

Many studies (Long, 1990; Moyer; 1999; Oyama 1976, as cited in Moyer, 1999; Patkowski, 1990; Scovel, 1988, as cited in Bongaerts et al., 1999) have found that starting earlier is better for acquiring second language pronunciation. For example, Scovel (1988: 101, as cited in Bongaerts et al., 1997: 448) argues that there is a

critical period for the acquisition of the pronunciation of an L2, because pronunciation is "the only aspect of language performance that has a neuromuscular basis". If an L2 learner starts to learn an L2 later, they will never be able "to pass themselves off as native speakers " and will "end up easily identified as non-native speakers of that language" (Scovel, 1988: 185, as cited in Bongaerts et al., 1999: 448).

In grammar learning, many researchers (DeKeyser, 2000; Harly & Hart, 1997; Johnson & Newport, 1989; Weber-Fox & Neville, 1999) state that individuals past the critical period are worse than younger individuals at learning a language. The study has drawn widespread attention and one of most frequently cited references in SLA acquisition is to Johnson and Newport's study. Johnson and Newport (1989) administered a grammaticality judgment test with a wide variety of basic morphosyntactic structures of English to a group of 46 native speaker of Chinese and Korean who had begun to learn English at different ages (3–39). The subjects were professors, research associates, and graduate students at an American University. They had all been in the USA for at least 5 years. Johnson and Newport found there was a strong relationship between an early start to language learning and performance in the second language. Older learners will not have native-like English and are more likely to differ greatly from one another. However, Singleton argues:

> The notion that L2 age effects are exclusively neurologically based, that they are associated with
>
> absolute, well-defined chronological limits, and that they are particular to language looks less and
>
> less plausible. (Singleton, 2001: 85 as cited in Davis, 2003: 179)

In summation, age limits on language acquisition, post puberty or older L2 learners are always distinguishable from theose who have learned the language beginning in their early childhood. These studies indicate quite clearly that there are age-related

effects on L2 proficiency.

However, many researchers (Bialystok & Hakuta, 1999; Bongaerts et al., 2000; Birdsong, 1999; Coppieters, 1987, as cited in Davis, 2003; Hyltenstam & Abrahamsson, 2000; Juffs & Harrington, 1995; Krashen et al., 1979; Lightbown, 2000; Marinova-Todd et al., 2000; Piller, 2001b, 2002; Singleton, 1989; Slavoff & Johnson, 1995; White & Genesee, 1996) argue that the CPH needs to be refined.

Many researchers argue that late or adult learners can achieve native-like proficiency in various linguistic domains, when conditions are favorable. In the phonological domain, many researchers (Bongaerts, 1999; Bongaerts et al., 1997 & 2000; Flege et al., 1999; Flege & Liu, 2001; Slavoff & Johnson, 1995) argue that it is possible for post-critical period learners to achieve a native-like pronunciation. For example, Bongaerts (1999) reports evidence that 11 adult Dutch speakers of British English escaped the clutches of the critical period clutches and achieved a native-like accent.

In the grammatical and lexical domain, some researchers (Birdsong, 1992; Ioup et al., 1994; White & Genesee, 1996) show that adult learners can achieve linguistic competence which is indistinguishable from native speakers. For example, White and Genesee (1996) tested 19 native, 44 near-native, and 45 non-native speakers of English on their knowledge of some aspects of universal grammar. The average age of subjects (non-native) was 29 years old, with a range of 16–66.   The average age of controls (native) was 28 years. Their results suggest that native-like attainment is possible regardless of age of initial exposure to the L2.

Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson (2000) argue that a number of questions in relation to

the CPH remain. As far as maturational constraints in second language acquisition are concerned, they question "Who can become native-like in a second language? All, some, none?" (ibid.: 150). From a pro-CPH perspective, only younger learners can achieve native-like proficiency in L2, while later learners can never become native-like.   On the other hand, from an anti-CPH perspective, everyone can become native-like. However, in reality, few second language learners (both younger and late learners) achieve native-like proficiency.   Next, I shall argue that the relevance of the CPH in EFL countries is questionable.

2.1.5.2   Early English Education in EFL Countries

Many researchers (Bialystok & Hakuta, 1999; Birdsong, 1999; Davis, 2003; Hyltenstam & Abrahamsson, 2000; Lightbown, 2000; Marinova-Todd et al., 2000; Piller, 2001b) argue that, in the context of EFL, the relevance of the CPH is ideological.

Lightbown (2000: 48) argues that "Even when learners begin at an early age, the reality is that perfect mastery of a target language is rarely attained". There are many reasons for this. First, there is a lack of qualified English teachers, that is, many English teachers may not provide a native-like language model (Bailey, 2001; Cameron, 2003; Lightbown, 2000; Lightbown & Spada, 1994; Murphey, September/October/November 2003; Nunan, June/July 1999; Ong, 2003; Takada, April/May 1999; Tucker, 1999; Tucker, 2003).   As a result, all other input, coming from learners like themselves, may not provide an adequate level for learners to aim at (Lightbown, 2000; Lightbown & Spada, 1994; Wong Fillmore, 1991). Second, there is a lack of time available for contact with the language (Cameron, 2003; Lightbown, 2000; Lightbown & Spada, 1994). Learners within an English speaking

environment have the opportunity to practice their English skills immediately outside the classroom, but EFL learning is limited to classroom instruction and the number of hours is limited. Third, when learners begin learning English at an early age and then do not continue with the language, the proficiency they have developed may be lost (Cameron, 2003; Lightbown, 2000; Lightbown & Spada, 1994; Stern, 1983). Finally, if the total amount of English instruction time is limited, some researchers (Cummins, 1981; Harley & Hart, 1997, Krashen, 2001; Krashen et al., 1979; Lightbown, 2000; Lightbown & Spada, 1994; Singleton, 1989) argue that it is likely to be more effective to begin instruction when learners have reached an age with established L1 literacy skills, since they can make use of a variety of learning strategies, including their L1 literacy skills.

Phillipson (1992a: 209) points out a number of examples in underdeveloped countries, which have opted for English from early on in the primary system, either as a subject or as a medium, and where the results have been disappointing. In addition, many researchers (Gonzales, 1998, as cited in Tucker 1999; Hakuta, as citied in Tucker 1999; Swain & Johnson, 1997; Swain, 1996; Tucker, 1999, 2003) argue that L1 proficiency is the basis for learning a second or additional language. Learners who start learning a foreign language at an early age do not necessarily have an advantage. Tucker (2003: 466) points out that "the best predictor of cognitive/academic language development in a second language is the level of development of cognitive/academic language proficiency in the first language".

Advancing the starting age for English learning creates more jobs for teachers of English. Phillipson (1992a: 215) suggests that the notion of the-younger-the-better strengthens dependence on aid and expertise from the core countries. There is an

ideological dependence on the Center for teaching. It is believed that not only foreign or Western expertise, but also norms, teaching methods, teaching materials and aids, and anything in relation to English education and by implication language policy will rely heavily on English speaking countries. The aim of an earlier start for English education is assumed to lead to modernization and internationalization in many EFL countries, but before achieving this goal, it creates an unequal relationship among the people in the society, and a division between Center and Periphery.

2.1.6   Conclusion

The central theme of this research is that language school promotional materials reflect and construct ideologies of English teaching and learning which play a key role in Taiwan's social, educational, and economic inequalities. The focal point throughout this research is that language school promotional discourses, on the one hand, and the   ideologies of ELT and SLA, on the other, although they may be perceived to be distinct and separate, do, in fact, reflect and reinforce each other. The ideologies and the advertisements are in a symbiotic relationship – each feeding into the other and each feeding on the other. The ideologies inform the advertisements and the advertisements encourage acceptance of the ideologies. The relationship is self-sustaining and self-nourishing, becoming ever more naturalized and self-evident, and ever less open to critique, or subject to contradiction.   To examine the complex interaction between language school promotional discourses and academic theories of ideologies of ELT and SLA, a critical media discourse analysis is needed.

2.2   Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Media Discourses

To explore these ideologies of ELT and SLA set out in previous sections, a critical discourse approach is needed. The following sections provide a theoretical framework

of CDA and media discourse. Before moving on to critical media discourse, it is necessary to examine the differences between discourse analysis (DA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA).

2.2.1   Discourse Analysis vs. Critical Discourse Analysis

Gee (1990: xix) argues that discourses are a "way of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing that are accepted as instantiations of particular roles by a specific group of people".   CDA considers "the social, cultural, economic and political ways in which people are inequitably positioned" and "how the production and reception of texts is ideologically shaped by relations of power" (Pennycook, 1997: 23, 28).   Van Dijk (1993: 279) suggests that CDA can only make a significant and special contribution to society if it is able to provide "an account of the role of language, language use, discourse or communicative events in the (re)production of dominance and inequality". Fairclough (1992b: 12) points out the difference between critical approaches and non-critical approaches by stating that CDA does not just describe discursive practices, but shows "how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants".   A critical approach on discourse analysis explores issues such as class, cultural difference, ethnicity, ideology, identity, gender, and power, and how they are manifested in particular texts.   Moreover, it is believed that awareness of the ideological effects of discourse can lead to changes in discourse practice that will result in greater social equality and justice (Fairclough, 1992a: 10).   CDA is an important tool for critical applied linguistics (CAL) (Pennycook, 2001: 13). I will look at the role CDA of particular media discourses plays in CAL in **2.3.** Next, I shall

explore media discourses.

2.2.2   Media Discourses

Analyses in the field of CDA often focus on media texts, such as television, newspaper reporting, advertising, and so on, and "critical linguists go one step further in looking more closely at the social forces behind the linguistic persuasion" (Mesthrie et al., 2000: 327). Advertising is an inescapable fact of life in today's consumer societies and advertisements are everywhere, such as on TV, radio and the Internet, in newspapers, pamphlets and fliers, on buses and trains and so on. "Advertising can be expected to reflect pretty closely the current trends and value systems of a society" (Vestergaard & Schroder, 1985: 10). "Advertising has actually provided models for consumer needs, values, tastes and behavior" (Fairclough 1989: 207). An important aspect in advertising is the use of persuasive strategies which are reflected in the use of language and/or images.   As a result, audiences or readers may be influenced consciously or unconsciously through the persuasive strategies used. Hence, the persuasive strategies used by media constitute an important aspect in the study of media discourse (Beasley & Danesi, 2002; Cook, 2001; Fairclough, 1989; Goddard, 1998; Leiss et al., 1986; Myers; 1999; Sutherland & Sylvester, 2000; Vestergaard & Schroder, 1985).

In the following sections, I shall first look at how media discourses produced by language schools market ideologies of English teaching and learning to their customers.   Then, the Critical Linguistics' framework (Halliday, 1978, 1985; Fairclough, 1992b; Martin, 2000; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1990, 1996, 2000), which is regarded as a pioneer in media discourse analysis (Garrett & Bell, 1998: 5), will be

discussed in *2.2.2.2*.

2.2.2.1 Marketized English

Wernick (1991) sees contemporary culture as "promotional culture" which has been used as a means or tool for selling commodities, services, and organizations. "Marketized English" (Goodman, 1996b: 164) and "Selling English" (Pegrum, 2004: 3) are concerned with the reasons why English has been marketed as a product or commodity and the different media channels used to persuade customers to buy the product. As Fairclough (1995b: 38) suggests, there are important differences between "different type of media in their channels of communication and the technologies they draw upon". Before turning to examine how media channels are used by language schools to market their product, it is necessary to look at how educational institutions come increasingly to operate as if they are ordinary businesses competing to sell their products to their customers.

Wernick (1991: 155–178) shows how old and established universities, as well as newer ones, use advertising constantly to promote themselves for student recruitment. Fairclough (1993: 144–159) uses some advertisements for academic posts published by universities in England to demonstrate how the universities use "promotional discourse" to sell their products, such as courses and degrees to their customers – students. Wernick (ibid.: 164) particularly points out that the "course outline (containing course aims, reading lists, lecture schedule, and grading schema) which, circulated beforehand, sometimes in great numbers, can be a crucial promotional device". Fairclough (ibid.: 155) uses Lancaster University's undergraduate prospectuses for the years 1967-8 and 1993 to show how the aims of university

prospectuses have changed from a "take-it-or-leave-it" basis in the 1967-8 prospectuses to a "promotional function" as the first primary goal in the 1993 prospectuses.   When Lancaster University revised its prospectus in the late 1980s, the number of applicants went up by 15 percent for two successive years, because the content and form were designed based on market research, that is, on what applicants most want to know.

As far as language schools in Taiwan are concerned, although there is a bull market for English language schools, generally speaking, student fees are the language schools' only source of income, so the competition is great among old and well-established, and newer language schools. The older ones have a considerable advantage, because their inherited status can guarantee a substantial number of students, as well as teaching and administration quality.   A high reputation cannot be created overnight, so newer English language schools have to portray an image of higher or tighter academic standards to show their excellence by hiring qualified and experienced teachers, applying the most up-to-date teaching methods, providing the best learning outcomes and so on.

The differences in channel and technology have "significant wider implications in terms of the meaning potential of the different media" (Fairclough, 1995b: 38).   The significant wider implications used by different media all indicate that the aim of language schools is "to persuade potential customers that the publicized product or service is worth at least the price of purchase" (Wernick, 1991: 27).

One of the most effective means of print advertising is "direct advertising" (Beasley & Danesi, 2002: 79). Print advertising includes "all forms of sales appeals mailed, delivered, or exhibited directly to the prospective buyer of an advertised product or service" (ibid.: 79). Using school fliers is deemed to be a necessity for every language school in Taiwan. School fliers are used intensively in great number, especially before, during and after winter and summer vacations. Students are indeed consumers, just as different English classes or courses are commodities and different language schools are different brands. Whatever the rhetoric about excellence in language school fliers, the messages are essentially ideologies of ELT and SLA; and their main point is equally promotional: to attract more customers so as to sell more products.

Television advertising is the most effective contemporary medium for delivering products because it communicates directly to consumers through a combination of different modes: spoken and written words, music, images and graphics (Beasley & Danesi, 2002; Myers, 1999). Television advertising can reach a vast and nationwide audience, but it is not available to every language school; in fact, the majority of language schools cannot afford television advertising. In particular, a smaller size language school that is limited in capital or advertising budget and dependent on expanding its business has to use a quite different approach, such as fliers and websites.

The Internet has become a highly effective medium of advertising since its advent in the 1990s (Beasly & Danesi, 2002; Myers, 1999). All media produced by language schools can be interactive. The Internet offers a new way of response and participation which other advertising media cannot provide. Myers (1999: 138–139) sees the web as an "interactive catalogue". For example, normally customers do not

directly buy products from language school websites, but a customer may certainly use it as part of his or her research before going to any particular language school.

To investigate how advertising techniques such as language, pictures, graphic design and so on used in promotional materials to market English as a product, a critical approach to media discourse is needed. Next, I will look at Critical Linguistics – a Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) approach which will be used in analyzing language school promotional materials.

2.2.2.2 *Critical Linguistics – Systemic Linguistics*

"Critical linguistics" is an approach developed by a group of researchers in the 1970s. They tried to marry a method of linguistic text analysis with a social theory of the functioning of language in political and ideological processes, drawing upon functionalist linguistic theory – the systemic functional model of Michael Halliday (1978, 1985) and known as "systemic linguistics" (Fairclough, 1992b: 25). Halliday's systemic functional model is one of the most important approaches of CDA. This model has proved a very useful model in a number of areas of applied linguistics and the range of applications is growing all the time (Martin et al., 1997: 2).   In order to know how society and discourse shape each other, the analytical modal employed in my research is Halliday's (1978: 33) systemic functional model or three-metafuction model – "field", "tenor" and "mode". According to Halliday (1978: 112–113, 1985: 9–12),

> Field – the social action: "What is actually taking place?" This is the ideational component and it
>
> expresses "the phenomena of the environment: the things – creatures, objects, actions, events,
>
> qualities, states and relations of the world and of our own consciousness ".

Tenor – the role structure: "Who is taking part?" This is the interpersonal component. Speakers express "their own attitudes and judgments and seek to influence the attitudes and behavior of others."

Mode – the symbolic organization: "what role language is playing?" This is the textual component and it "expresses the relation of the language to its environment, including both verbal environment – what has been said or written before – and the non-verbal, situational environment."

Halliday (1978, 1985) points out that every clause or simple sentence of a text is multifunctional and is a combination of ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings. People make choices of their clauses to "signify (and construct) social identities, social relationships and knowledge" (Fairclough, 1992b: 76). Moreover, based on Halliday's three-metafunction model, Martin (2000: 1) represents these three metafuncations diagrammatically (Figure 2-1 & 2-2) to illustrate how language realizes the social context.

Figure 2-1:   Language Realizing Social Context (Martin, 2000: 1)
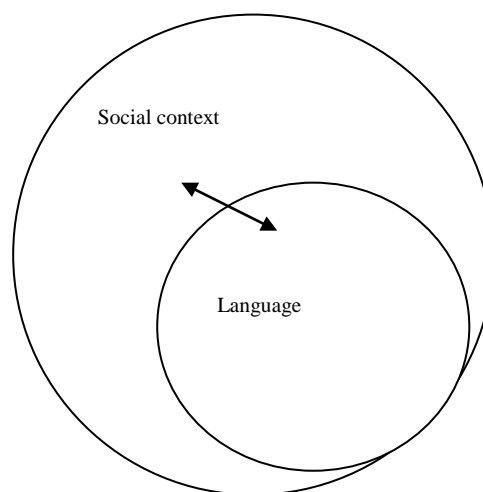
Figure 2-2:   Metafuncational Diversification (Martin, 2000: 1)
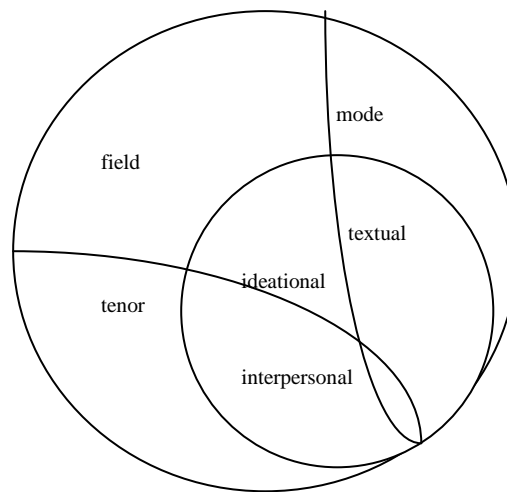
Fairclough's (1992b: 73) three-dimensional conception of discourse and Kress and
van Leeuwen's (1990, 1996, 2001) language and visual communication model apply
Halliday's systemic functional model. Fairclough (1992b: 73) uses "three dimensional
conceptions of discourse" to present discourse as simultaneously involving three
dimensions – text, "discourse practice and social practice" (see Figure 2-3).
According to Fairclough (1992a: 10; 1993: 135–136), 'Text' refers to a language text,
which may be spoken, written or signed. "Discourse practice" is involved with text
production and text interpretation. Social practice refers to wider social, cultural and
political relations.

Figure 2-3:   Three-dimensional Conception of Discourse (Fairclough, 1992b: 73)
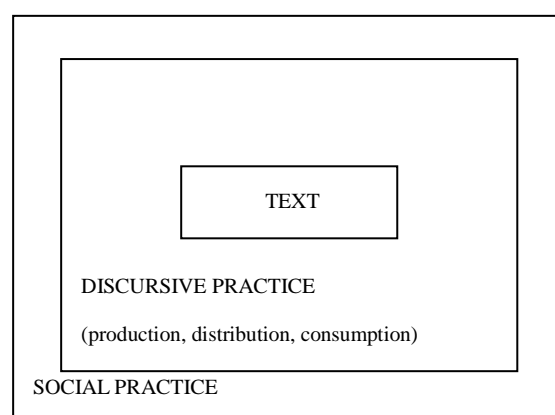
Fairclough also demonstrates the relationships among "text", "discourse practice" and "social practice" by using "a three-dimensional view of discourse analysis" (Figure 2-4). The relationship between social action and text is mediated by interaction. That means the nature of the interaction, how texts are produced and interpreted, depends upon the social action in which they are embedded (Fairclough, 1992a: 10).

Figure 2-4:   A three-dimensional View of Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992a: 10)
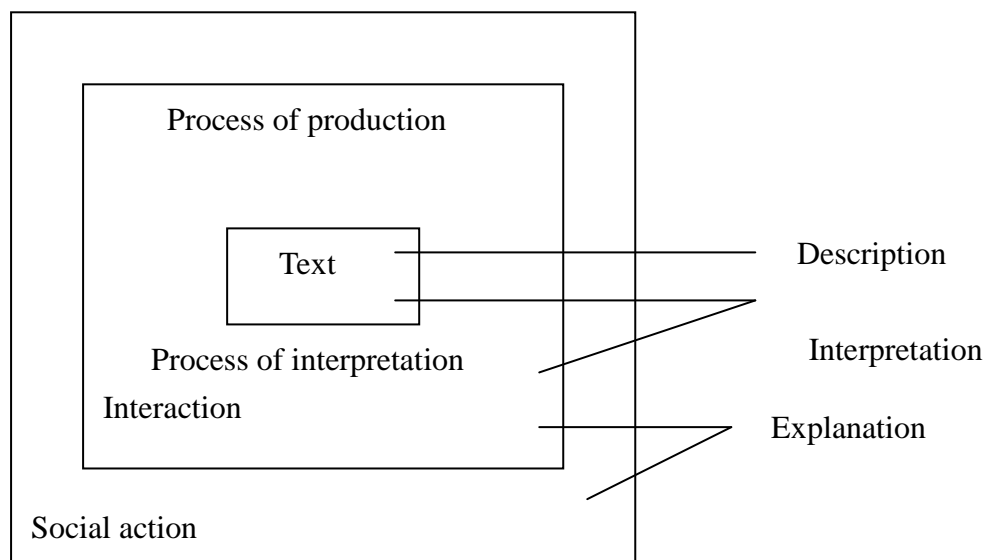
Fairclough (1993: 36) argues that "any text can be regarded as interweaving 'ideational', 'interpersonal' and 'textural' meanings". Therefore, his three-dimensional framework for exploring a particular discursive event based on Halliday's systemic functional model is used for the analysis of text – form and meaning analysis (Fairclough, 1992b).

In their discussions of visual images, Kress and van Leeuwen (1990: 5) point out that "texts composed of different media show these social differences in contrasting encodings in the different media", so that in a text using images and writing, the writing may carry one set of meanings and the images another. While Kress and van

Leeuwen (1990, 1996, 2001) analyze images of texts or visual communication, their visual grammar is also based on Halliday's systemic functional model as well (see also chapter 3).

In short, CDA is used in this study to provide tools for a critical media analysis of language school promotional materials. In the next section, I will look at the role of CDA in critical applied linguistics.

2.3   CAL and CDA

Critical Applied Linguistics is a critical approach to applied linguistics (Pennycook, 2001: 1).   Recently, some researchers (Auerbach, 1995; Canagarajah, 1999a; Kubota, 2002; Pennycook, 1994a, b; Peirce, 1995; Phillipson, 1992b) argue that there is a need for a critical approach in ELT and SLA. More importantly, these researchers have attempted to persuade ESL/EFL educators that English teaching and learning is part of wider social, political and economic processes that contribute to social, political and economic inequalities. They argue for a critical approach that would empower teachers and learners, and consequently result in greater social, political and economic equality and justice.

Pennycook (1994b: 691) points out three important features of critical pedagogical research to ELT and SLA in CAL. First, the aim of critical pedagogical research is not merely descriptive or interpretive, but rather it is transformative.   Secondly, a goal of critical pedagogical research would be "to change those conditions of inequality that it describes; it requires research to be answerable to a broader politics of social transformation".   Finally, critical pedagogical research attempts to pursue different

possibilities of research and a self-reflexivity. Self-reflexivity means "raising a host of new and difficult questions about knowledge, politics, and ethics" (Pennycook, 2001: 8).

In addition, Pennycook (2001) points out that some researchers have used critical approaches to present their different critical concerns in ELT and SLA, such as, critical approaches to language teaching, critical approaches to language testing, and critical approaches to language planning and language rights. These studies have different critical concerns such as the relationships between language and identity, language and culture, language and power.   In a recent study, Pegrum (2004: 3–9) analyzed advertisements by universities, English textbook and English dictionary publishers, and English testing services (TOEFL, TOEIC and IELT) from English speaking countries in four well-known ELT publications: *IATEFL* (UK-based, International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language), *TESOL Matters* (US-based, Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), *ET Gazette* (UK-based), and *Language Travel Magazine* (UK-based) to investigate how the inner circle countries make huge profits from "selling English" (ibid.: 3) to the outer and expanding circle countries. His main finding is that ELT is ideological, since English is promoted as a native speaker's asset (cf. chapter 6), an "inevitable concomitant of modernization, globalization, self-development and a cosmopolitan enjoyment of life" (cf. chapter 5).   However, the media discourse used by language schools in EFL countries that have ideological and political functions of ELT and SLA have not yet been researched.

In many EFL countries, English is considered indispensable for social and professional success and private language schools are numerous (Friedrich, 2001;

Alm, 2003). The media perform a function which is both ideological and political (Kress, 1983). In this research, I hope to demonstrate the value of analyzing promotional materials of language schools to show linkages between discourse practices, social relations, and ideologies of ELT and SLA.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the ideological concepts of ELT and SLA such as English-as-the-global-language, the ideal-English-teacher, the ideal-English-teaching-methodologies, American-English-as-standard-English, and the-younger-the-better, which have been virtually non-existent until recently in Taiwan. These ideologies stem from the global spread of English that contributes to significant social, political, and economic inequalities. To explore these inequalities, a critical discourse analysis approach is needed. CDA seeks to show how social, political, economic, and cultural inequalities are grounded in discourse. The ultimate goal of CDA is to help people become aware of the use of language in the exercise of power and, in many instances, the victimization of individuals. Therefore, I will explore the close interrelationship between English language schools and society as reflected in discourse practices. To explore how language school promotional materials convey ideologies of ELT and SLA, a critical media research method is needed. Next, I will provide a description of, and the rationale for, the research methods used in this study.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.0   Introduction

The aim of this study is to discover current ideologies of English teaching and learning in Taiwan as expressed in media discourses, and particularly promotional discourses for language schools.   Both quantitative and qualitative methods are used to analyze language school promotional materials. The materials may seem mundane and ideologically innocent at first sight, but in fact they convey ideological concepts of English teaching and learning. The examples are drawn from a corpus of advertising materials, English teaching job ads, language school fliers, English and Mandarin Chinese websites, television commercials, and television English teaching programs. A quantitative method is used to yield numerical data which are treated statistically to determine whether significant relationships exist between variables (Taylor, 2000: 164).   A qualitative method is used to "generate rich, detailed and valid data" (Steckler, 1992, as cited in Taylor, 2000: 171) to obtain a holistic picture of ideologies of ELT and SLA in Taiwan.

There are three parts in this chapter. The first part of this chapter deals with the rationale for the research method.   The second part provides background information and description of the collected data. The last part of the chapter focuses on the methods of data analysis.

3.1   Rationale for Research Method

Larsen-Freeman & Long (1991) argue that researchers should choose a research method or approach based on their study.

What is important for researchers is not the choice of a *priori* paradigms, or methodologies, but rather to be clear about what the purpose of the study is and to match that purpose with the attributes most likely to accomplish it. Put another way, the methodological design should be determined by the research question (ibid.: 14).

Therefore, the established themes identified in the previous chapters and the aims of the research were important in determining what research methods would be used. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were jointly employed in my research based not only on the nature of the identified problems and aims of the research but also on mutual dependence of quantitative and qualitative research methodologies (Reichardt & Cook, 1979, as cited in Chaudron, 1988: 15; Taylor, 2000: 181). There is no simple dichotomy between quantitative and qualitative methods, so a multiplicity of orientations to research exists (Cumming, 1994: 673; Lazaraton, 1995: 464; Taylor, 2000: 179). Research methods are selected according to the purposes that guide specific projects or are appropriate to particular contexts. Cumming (1994: 674) argues that one designated research orientation might actually entail a variety of potentially different analytic units and methods.

To investigate ideologies of English teaching and learning, a critical approach is employed. Critical research does not imply a particular approach or research method but rather is concerned with the extent to which research is answerable to larger moral and political questions (Pennycook, 1994b: 692). A critical discourse approach will be employed in the study to investigate the relationships between English language, power and inequity which are central to the field of English teaching and learning, and to investigate how these ideologies stem from larger political, social, and

economic contexts.

3.2 Data Collection

"Indefinite triangulation" is a research strategy which "provides details on how various interpretations of 'what happened' are assembled from different physical, temporal, and biographically provided perspectives of a situation" (Cicourel, 1974: 5). In this study, in order to provide multiple sources or "triangulation" of more accurate and convincing evidence than a single source of information, a corpus of texts advertised by language schools, such as English teaching job ads (102 texts), language school fliers (79 texts), English and Mandarin Chinese websites (73 texts), television commercials (9 texts) and television English teaching programs (2 texts) were collected.

Additional data are provided by media discourses on the World Wide Web (see documentation). There are four online sources: Taiwanese government publications, English newspapers in Taiwan, English teaching and learning related websites in Taiwan, and the government websites. The Taiwanese government publications are *Taiwan Headline*, *Taipei Journal*, *Taipei Review*, and *Sinorama*. The English language newspapers are the *Taipei Times* and *China Post*. Other English teaching and learning websites are, generally speaking, English teachers' websites, such as Murphy's *Teaching in Taiwan* or Banerjee's *Teach English in Taiwan* or websites for English teachers, such as oriented.org.com and teach-in-Taiwan.com. The government websites refer to those hosted by the Ministry of Education and Ministry of the Interior. The additional data were not analysed quantitatively, as the promotional materials are. Rather, they were used as further qualitative evidence to triangulate

the results of the analysis of the advertisements, and also other themes in this research.

The rest of this section describes the main corpus, language school advertisements, in detail.

3.2.1   English Teaching Job Ads

As the introduction indicates, Taiwan is actively recruiting ever more native speakers of English, seeking their involvement in ELT to help the Taiwanese people to acquire better English so as to accelerate the process of internationalization.   Different ways can been used by native speakers of English to get an English teaching job in Taiwan. Some are recruited through agencies or organizations overseas such as Fulbright, Teach Taiwan, and other branches of major language schools such as Hess and Joy. The majority of native speakers of English come to Taiwan on visitor visas and then get teaching jobs in language schools. Many World Wide Web sites (e.g., www.geocities.com/Tokyo/Flats/7974/teachtai.htm, www.geocities.com/Athens/ Delp hi/1979/index.html, http://users.evl.net/~turton/mainindex.html, www.geocities.com /Tokyo/Towers/5657/ FAQ.html) point out that the most common method of finding an English teaching job in Taiwan is through English language daily newspapers in Taiwan and the Internet, because both private language schools and many colleges hire native English speaking teachers by advertising in Taiwan's English language press, or on the Internet (*Taiwan Headlines*: August 28, 2001, http://th.gio.gov.tw /show.cfm? news_id=10801; last accessed on October 18, 2001).

There are three English language newspapers in Taiwan: *China Post*, *Taipei Time*s,

and *Taiwanese News*. In terms of English teaching job ads, the papers are fairly similar and there does not seem to be any one day which features more job advertisements than the others. The above-mentioned websites suggest that *China Post* is the best source for English teaching job seekers.   Some websites also provide English teaching job ads, such as www.linguistlist.org and www.teach-in-Taiwan.com. The job service of www.linguistlist.org advertises English teaching jobs mainly for college or university level throughout the world. Therefore, it has been set up for various countries in the world and it is not specific to any area or country. The latter is specifically for people who are interested in English teaching jobs in Taiwan.   It is probably the most popular Internet source for all levels of English teaching in Taiwan. Therefore, in this study, English teaching job ads from *the China Post* and teach-in-Taiwan.com were collected and analyzed.

Taiwan Headlines states "Summer a language opportunity" (*Taiwan Headlines*: July 11, 2000, http://th.gio.gov.tw/ show.cfm? news_id=4270; last accessed on October 18, 2001). This is so because students are free to pursue language studies during the summer period and consequently teaching opportunities during the summer period are more numerous than at any other time during the year. The data for English job ads were therefore collected from two sources during the summer vacation in 2001; *China Post* and www.teach-in-Taiwan.com.   There are 102 advertisements for English teaching job ads in this study and 54 of them are drawn from the July 19, 2001 *China Post* and 48 of them are drawn in July and August, 2001 from www.teach-in-Taiwan.com.   The date July 19, 2001 was randomly selected.   On July 19, 2001, as many as 62 jobs which required English proficiency were advertised on page 16 and 17 in the classified section of *China Post*. 8 (13%) of 62 job ads were not related to English teaching jobs. 54 (87%) of them were English teaching jobs. Therefore, a

total of 54 job ads were analyzed.   Another 48 job ads appearing during the summer vacation – July and August 2001 – on www.teach-in-Taiwan.com were also added to the corpus.

A typical English job ad (see Figure 3-1) in *China Post* runs about 6 to 7 lines and very few have only 3 or 4 lines.   English job ads with larger headings and boxed are very common in English newspaper advertising in Taiwan. The format of English teaching job ads on teach-in-Taiwan.com is different from *China Post*.   There is a certain format on Teach-in-Tawian.com, i.e., two boxes for advertisers to complete (see Figure 3-2). The first box contains job title, school location, number of viewers, school's location, school's or employment service's name, and date of ads advertised. The second box is the content of job advertisements. There are no limits to words or lines in the content part.   Some ads are as short as 3 lines with less than 30 words, some are as long as 37 lines with more than 370 words.   In three job ads in the data, school homepages are provided and viewers are asked directly to log on their homepages for detailed information. There is a "read more – comment>>" function at the bottom right corner of the second box. Viewers can apply for the jobs they are interested in on the Internet by clicking this button. The following are two examples. School address, school names, phone numbers, email addresses, and contact people are excluded and the symbol "XXX" is placed to protect their identities.

Figure 3-1:   C25 English Teaching Job Ad from *China Post*, July 19, 2001

English teachers wanted,
XXX area, Mon. to Fri, 9:30 –
11:40 a.m. Western look is a
must, American accent preferred.
Call XXX at XXX

Figure 3-2: T17 English Teaching Job Ad from <u>teach-in-Taiwan.com</u>, July 18, 2001

English teacher (views:111)

Location: **XXX**

Email School: **XXX American Children School** (XXX)

This job was added on Wednesday July 18th 2001 @ 09:02 AM EST

We are looking for native speakers, North American

accent, college degree, love to teach children

age 3-8 years old. Part time/ Full time,

for more information, Please call XXX/XXX

option 1. near Howard Prince Hotel (XXX)

option 2. near Morrison Academy (XXX)

read more--comment>>

3.2.2 School Fliers

With regard to written advertisements, language schools in Taiwan normally do not use either glossy brochures or prospectuses or detailed course outlines, but school fliers. Like glossy brochures, prospectuses, detailed course outlines or other forms of written advertisements, school fliers which contain various information are designed to sell the school's courses to potential customers. School fliers are the most popular promotional devices. They have been used as an important marketing strategy to make contact with potential and existing customers.

A total of 79 school fliers was collected in three cities, mainly Tainan, Kaohsiung, and Pingtung, in the southern part of Taiwan, by visiting these locations in July and August 2001 and 2002. 32 out of the 79 are English language school fliers, 31 of them

are *buxiban* fliers and 16 of them are for other kinds of language schools such as kindergarten, nurseries and language schools specializing in English camps.

School fliers normally present not only written text but also pictures or images to demonstrate how, where, when, what and by whom English is taught. School fliers provide useful and factual information of English teaching and learning based on perceived students' desires or social trends. The following is a description of school fliers.

As far as layout of school fliers is concerned, a standard size of a language school flier is A4. Some schools use smaller sizes such as A5 or B5 and some use bigger sizes such as A3 and B4. Some fliers have a border around them. Every flier is printed on colored paper. The fliers with images or pictures, generally speaking, are multicolored and in larger sizes. The fliers without pictures in them are plain and normally in smaller sizes. Established or leading schools do not necessarily use bigger sized and multicolored school fliers. Some images are accompanied by a written text and some images do not have a written text, but a heading. Some images are used as a background to the flier without an accompanying written text or heading. The language used in the fliers is mainly Mandarin Chinese and some English is also used. Mandarin in the data will be transliterated into English with the transcription system, *Pinyin*. More detailed information about Mandarin Chinese analysis in this study will be provided later in this chapter (see 3.4).

Generally speaking, the content of school fliers has four parts: the school **name** and

logo; a **slogan** and/or **short paragraph**; **body text**; and **contact information**. First, a school flier starts with its school **logo** followed by its school **name** (both in Mandarin Chinese and English). Following the school **logo** and school **name** normally is a school **slogan** and/or a **short paragraph** which provides information about the school or anything related to English teaching and learning. However, some schools in the corpus provide their slogans at the bottom of their fliers. Following that, language schools present a **body text**. A **body text** provides information such as how, where, when, what and by whom English is taught. In addition, it provides information such as tuition fee, class size, school history, and school rules. School fliers usually conclude with their **contact information**, such as school address, telephone number, fax number, and website.

3.2.3 Websites

The World Wide Web has become an attractive environment for advertising. Websites use both visual and audio channels and rely not only on technologies of photographic reproduction, graphic design and printing but also on sound. Color pictures, audio, and even video can be presented on the websites inexpensively if compared with television advertising. Therefore, advertising on websites has proved to have substantial advantages over other means of advertisements. For example, the web is a very different medium; it is a high involvement and interactive medium. As far as the advertisers are concerned, most importantly it is possible to build a wide audience without extensive and costly promotion and advertising. According to Sutherland and Sylvester (2000: 238), web advertising "accounts for about the same as outdoor advertising, barely more than 1 per cent of all advertising expenditure". Any brand of any substance today has a website, and the company website often starts out its life

as just one more way to advertise its products (ibid.: 238). The growing number of language schools that provide their websites in their school fliers or English teaching job ads demonstrates that the web is virtually the principal point of contact, the place people know where to look for more information about the schools.

Prior to the invention of the web, if learners wanted to acquire some information on courses provided by language schools, they had to visit the schools in person or by phone. A visit to a language school involves considerable inconvenience and traveling time. People are more likely to do something that takes less effort such as dialing a language school, but they cannot obtain visual information by phone. With web pages, inquirers can log on when it suits them and get both visual and verbal modes. A survey conducted in the USA on people's preferences on the Internet revealed that the first preference is e-mail, and then news and the third preference is advertising (Rutsohn, 2001). An Internet usage and behavior measurement firm revealed in its recent survey report that Denmark had taken the lead in the world in terms of household Internet market penetration, with 52.2 percent of households using the Internet. The USA stood a close second with 52 percent, followed by Singapore with 47.4 percent and Taiwan with 41.6 percent, among others (Rutsohn, 2001). According to the results of another survey, a clear majority of Internet users in Taiwan can accept the current level of advertising on the Net, 68.7% of a total of 1,949 respondents saying that the current amount of online advertising is reasonable. Close to half of all Taiwanese Net surfers say they always or frequently click on advertisements (*Taiwan Headlines*: October 19, 1999, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id=1170; last accessed on October 21, 2001).   Today more and more people locate language schools by logging on to the school's website. Advertising on websites from language schools is different from their school fliers. Sutherland and

Sylvester (2000: 239) suggest that companies having web addresses are seen as "more customer oriented and responsive; more informative; more sophisticated and hi-tech; more geared to a younger market".

www.kimo.com, www.yahoo.com.tw and www.yam.com are the most popular search engines among Taiwanese people. People can use these search engines to explore the subject of education and type in the search string "English education or language schools" either in English or Chinese.   The page that downloads will show their search results – a list of websites of language schools in Taiwan. The search string functions like a "product category" (Sutherland & Sylvester, 2000: 245).   The search string elicits not only the particular language school users want, but also alternatives within the language school category.   It can be said that web advertising elaborates on the main features of school fliers, such as teachers, teaching methodology, class sizes, teaching materials, and curriculums by providing pictures and more detailed information. Many school websites are associated with information or news related to English teaching and learning that users are currently interested in. The websites also push their brand – school names – to the forefront, making them salient when learners need to choose a language school.

A total of 73 websites was collected and downloaded through www.kimo.com, www.yahoo.com and www.yam.com search engines in July and August of 2001 and 2002.   39 of them are from English language schools, 27 are from *buxiban* and 16 are from other language schools. Here I will use one language school's website to demonstrate how other websites look and how they have been used to advertise their English products.

When one links to the KNS Language Institute website (www.kns.com.tw), the homepage starts with the school name and school logo, that is, the brand, and then it goes on to a paragraph long introduction to this site. According to the introduction, it is designed to provide information for both EFL teachers and learners. Then, the homepage provides nine different graphics with different functions to direct people to the school. If people are interested in some information about KNS's teaching staff they click on "KNS Summary" and then enter and browse. In the "Photo Gallery" section is a brief summary of teachers with recent photos, and in the "Teacher's Comments" section, the teachers talk about their fascinating, enlightening and worthwhile teaching experiences at KNS. If people cannot find the information they want, they ask interactively or leave a message by using the school's e-mail address at the bottom of the homepage. There is a frequency indicator at the bottom of the homepage that indicates the number of people who have visited this website. Although this homepage is designed bilingually, with both English and Chinese versions, the Chinese version is "under construction". Therefore, their target audience is people who understand English.

3.2.4   Television Commercials and Television English Teaching Programs

When television began, advertisers started using the power of this new medium to draw mass audiences in order to sell their products.   The rise of television created an instant demand for new forms of promotional expertise from the world of commercial advertising. Since then television advertising has become "the privileged intermediary of imaging everything" (Wernick, 1991: 138). However, only prominent and well-established language schools use television advertising to sell their products.   In general, it is those which have economic power that have the access to television (Fairclough, 1995b). In Taiwan, there are about six leading language schools that

regularly advertise their products on television.

Another obvious and important feature of television advertising is that it is available to the great majority of population. Choice of the most appropriate time slot to reach their target audiences is crucial for advertisers. When advertisers buy time, they try to buy it for particular programs (Myers, 1999: 116). "The different times are as crucial to understanding television advertising as different spaces are in understanding posters" (ibid.: 116).

Four out of nine television commercials were taped on television in August 2001 and five were taped in August 2002. These commercials were shown on *Dongsen Yoyo Tai* (ETTV Children Television Station) daily during summer in 2001 and 2002. ETTV Children Television Station provides children programs such as cartoons, educational programs, and movies for children. Clearly, advertisers' target audiences are school children. These television commercials are shown at commercial breaks in children's programs.

Two one-hour long English teaching programs by *buxiban* broadcasts on Saturday mornings on TTV (Taiwan Television) were collected in August 2002. Their target audiences are those who want to get higher marks in high school entrance examinations.

According to a survey conducted by the Cabinet-level Council for Cultural Affairs commissioned by the National Taitung Teachers College, watching television dominates Taiwanese schoolchildren's leisure time. A total of 1,794 respondents, from second to sixth graders at 16 randomly selected elementary schools had more than two hours of leisure time each day, and 73.4 percent spent most of their free time

watching television, with cartoons the most popular shows (*Taiwan Headlines*: January 6, 2000, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id=240; last accessed on October 29, 2001).   According to an advertising director in a leading language school in Taiwan, their commercial films are shown mainly at three periods of the year – winter vacation, summer vacation, and fall (November). The frequency of advertising is about 250 times per period and about 750 times a year. With such a great number of exposures, one can imagine that advertisers would expect it to be generating a reasonable return. Television advertising has a great effect on the choices prospective learners will make. People have been exposed to television commercials for English schools so much that they do not have to take the initiative to go the schools' physical addresses to inquire about their service.

Sutherland and Sylvester (2000: 191) point out that there are important seasonal influences on advertising.   Therefore, some products are advertised only in certain seasons, such as winter, summer, or for seasonal events. Television commercials for English language schools are seasonal, and normally advertised before, during and after the winter and summer vacations, that is, February, March, July, August and September. The television commercials analyzed in this study were shown intensively during the winter and summer vacations in 2001, and/or 2002.   Television English teaching programs were broadcast every week on Saturday mornings in 2001 and 2002. The languages used in both television commercials and television English teaching programs are both English and Mandarin.

3.2.5   Summary

The following table provides a summary of background information about the data. I will discuss how the data are analyzed in the following section.

Table 3-1:   Background Information of the Data

English Teaching Job Ads			
China Post		www.teach-in-Taiwan.com	Total
54		48	102
School Fliers			
English Language School	*Buxiban*	Other Language School	Total
32	31	16	79

School Websites						
English Language School		*Buxiban*		Other Language School		Total
English	Mandarin	English	Mandarin	English	Mandarin	
15	24	3	24	2	5	73

Television Commercials		
English Language School	*Buxiban*	Total
9	0	9

Television English Teaching Programs		
English language School	*Buxiban*	Total
0	2	2

3.3   Data Analysis

A hybrid research method is used in analyzing the data. The data fell into five categories: (1) English teaching job ads, (2) slogans and short paragraphs of fliers and websites, (3) body texts of fliers and websites, (4) still images of fliers and websites, and (5) television commercials and television English teaching programs. The data are analyzed in the framework of Burthiaux's Classified Ads Register (CAR) and Hallidayan systemic functional grammar (SFG) using insights from discourse analysis, critical linguistics, and critical discourse analysis. Bruthiaux's CAR (1994, 1996) was used to analyze English teaching job ads. Hallidayan SFG was used to analyze slogans, short paragraphs and body texts of fliers and websites. Kress and van Leeuwen's semiotic visual analysis framework based on SFG (1990, 1996, 2001) on reading images was employed on multimodal texts. I shall now discuss each of these

frameworks in detail.

3.3.1   Classified Ads Register (CAR)

Bruthiaux (1996: viii) argues that newspaper ads analysis has not received much attention from linguistics in general, nor from discourse analysis. Classified Ads Register (CAR) has the following characteristics.   First, "the language of advertising is by definition nonreciprocal " (Lakoff, 1982, as cited in Bruthiaux, 1996: 23) and CAR is no exception (Bruthiaux, 1996: 23). In other words, there is no immediate feedback from readers (ibid.: 24). Second, the message of classified ads must be "explanatory", because "the medium offers no second chance for clarifications" (ibid.: 24).   They need to be attention grabbing, since persuasive elements, such as catchy visuals, tend to be absent from these texts (ibid.: 24). Finally, there are constraints on what and how much may be written in classified advertisements (ibid.: 24). Therefore, classified ad writers concentrate on essential information to fit these spatial constraints. In short, the language used in classified ads reflects cognitive, functional and social conditions, and it is constrained by the absence of feedback, and by spatial limitations (ibid.: 168).

Ferguson (1982: 49–66) introduces a typology of features characteristic of simplified registers and they are adopted in Bruthiaux's works (1994, 1996) analyzing classified advertising. These features of linguistic simplification are: lexicon, syntax, morphology, and phonology.   The analysis of English teaching job ads will focus on lexicon analysis. Bruthiaux's (1996) study examines four different types of classified ads. They are secondhand autos, personals, apartments for rents, and job offers.   He (ibid.: 88) indicates that the transparent semantics of "the specialized lexis" in job ads makes referential assignment mostly non-problematic. Moreover, job ads tend to use highly integrated nominal groups, for example, *nice Hollywood office*   (ibid. 126).

Therefore, "lexical collocations" which can be defined as "recurring combinations of content words such as nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs, normally containing no prepositions, infinitives, or clauses" (Bruthiaux, 1996: 97) are used in analyzing English teaching jobs. Figure 3-1 will serve to demonstrate how classified ads register is used in analyzing English teaching job ads.

Figure 3-1:   C25 English Teaching Job Ad from *China Post*, July 19, 2001.

English teachers wanted,
XXX area, Mon. to Fri, 9:30 –
11:40 a.m. Western look is a
must, American accent preferred.
Call XXX at XXX

Lexical collocations in Figure 3-1 are <u>English teachers</u> (1 token), <u>Western look</u> (1 token), and <u>American accent</u> (1 token). After counting the occurrences of these lexical collocations, they are classified into the five elements of job ads (Bruthiaux (ibid.: 126). These five elements are: target, recruiter, requirement, contact, and reward (see also 6.1.2). For example, <u>English teachers</u> belongs to the target element and <u>Western look</u> and <u>American accents</u> belong to the requirement element. The results of English teaching job ads are presented based on these 5 elements. Finally, moving from quantitative to a more qualitative interpretation of use, CDA is used to demonstrate how the functions of these lexical collocations convey the ideologies of ELT.

3.3.2   Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG)

Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) developed by Halliday (1985) is used in analyzing slogans, short paragraphs and body texts of fliers and websites. SFG is a social semiotic approach which views language as a "strategic, meaning-making

resource" (Eggins, 1994: 1). There are four main theoretical claims about language:

"that language use is functional; that its function is to make meaning; that these meanings are influenced by the social and cultural context in which they are exchanged; and that the process of using language is a semiotic process, a process of making meanings by choosing" (ibid.: 2).

In addition, systemic linguistics is interested in authentic, every day texts of people interacting in naturally occurring social contexts (ibid.: 3). In the next section, I will demonstrate how language schools use language to make meaning in their advertisements and how language itself is structured to enable those meanings to be made.

Halliday (1985) argues that language is structured to make three main kinds of meanings simultaneously. These three main kinds of meanings or three metafunctions are ideational, interpersonal and textual (see *2.2.2.2*). The interpersonal (social and expressive) function of SFG is about how language is used by people to express their interpersonal relationships, such as power, solidarity, intimacy, attitudes and judgment (Eggins, 1994: 193). The main purpose of advertisements produced by language schools is to persuade customers to buy their products. To achieve this purpose, the language used in these advertisements is chosen to suggest that language schools have authority and expertise. Power relationships in the interpersonal grammar of SFG are realized through the systems of Mood and Modality. The systems of Mood and Modality are the keys to understanding the interpersonal relationships between interactants (Eggins, 1994: 196; Gerot & Wignell, 1994: 22). The following is a brief summary of the Mood and Modality systems.

There are four types of speech functions: statement, question, offer and command in

the Mood system (see Table 3-2). In Table 3-2 the arrows represent the realizational move from semantic category or speech functions (statement, question, command, offer) to grammatical one (declarative, interrogative, imperative). Take <u>Let's speak English!</u> (LWM16), a slogan from a language school website for example (see 5.2.2.1).   The language school wants to demand some goods or services of the reader "Let's speak English!". Therefore, an "imperative" rather than a declarative is used in the slogan which shows the unequal power relations between the writer and reader. In other words, by looking at the grammatical choices language schools make in the Mood system is to understand the social role language schools play in ELT.

Table 3-2:   Speech Function Choices and Mood Realizations

	Good and services	Information
Giving	OFFER ↘ (various)	STATEMENT ↘ declarative He will help me.

Demanding	COMMAND
	↘ imperative
	   Help me!
		QUESTION
		↘ interrogative
		   wh- who will help me?
		   yes/no Will he help me?

Source: Martin et al. (1997: 58)

Modality also expresses interpersonal meanings. There are four kinds of modality: probability, usuality, obligation and readiness (see Table 3-3).   When modality is used to argue "the probability or frequency of propositions", it is referred to as modalization. When modality is used to argue about "the obligation or inclination of propositions", it is referred to as modulation (Eggins, 1994: 179). In addition, modalization is a way for speakers to express their attitudes towards what they are saying and modulation is a way for speakers to express their judgments or attitudes about actions and events (ibid.: 180, 188). The selections in Mood or speech functions,

the choices of modalization or modulation contribute significantly to the meanings being made in the advertisement texts.

Table 3-3: Kinds of Modality

Kind of modality	Finite: Modal	Mood Adjuncts
(modalization) Probability	May, might, can, could; will, would; should; must	Probably, possibly, certainly, perhaps, maybe
Usuality	May, might, can, could; will, would; should; must	Usually, sometimes, always, never, ever, seldom, rarely
(modulation) Obligation	May, might, can, could; should; must	Definitely, absolutely, possibly, at all cost, by all means
Readiness: Inclination Ability	May, might, can, could; will, would; must; shall, can, could	Willingly, readily, gladly, certainly, easily

Source: Martin et al. (1997: 64)

The following is BF16 a short paragraph which shows how the modal 'will' is used.

Nowadays in the 21st century, being a citizen of the world with excellent foreign language skills will give a great advantage in study and self-improvement, and give a head start in any chosen career. (BF16)

This short paragraph shows that the language school is projected as an expert, who knows the facts and who has the right to say so. The audience is projected as receptive. They are waiting to be told and they want to know. In this study, modality is mainly used in analyzing slogans and short paragraphs (see *5.1.2.1*).

3.3.3   Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA)

A text is traditionally viewed as a piece of written language. There was a "strong tradition of prioritizing the strictly verbal over the pictorial" in the earlier twentieth century because the images were considered to be less important than writing (Goodman, 1996a: 39). Texts are not necessarily linguistic at all, "any cultural

artefact – a picture, a building, a piece of music – can be seen as a text" (Fairclough, 1995a: 4).   As texts in contemporary society are increasingly multi-semiotic, new technologies are playing an important role in providing various types of visual forms of communication and opening up new possibilities for persuasion.   Television and websites, which combine language with visual images, music and sound effects are the most obvious examples. However, it is not only hi-tech media which provide multi-semiotic texts, but also written texts are becoming multi-semiotic.   The reason is that written texts incorporate not only photographs and diagrams, but also the graphic design of the text, such as layout techniques and typography (Fairclough, 1995a: 4; Goodman, 1996a: 39).   As far as print material is concerned, "people increasingly need to draw on knowledge of *visual* codes to interpret *written* information" (Goodman, 1996a: 39).   In this sense, texts are becoming increasingly "multimodal – that is they use devices from more than one semiotic mode of communication simultaneously" (ibid.: 39). Multimodal strategies used by advertisers aim to create a friendly or informal style of presentation so as to make the texts more readable, lively and accessible. There is no denying that texts are becoming "market-oriented" (ibid.: 141), since multimodal strategies in all media draw increasingly on strategies that have long been found in commercial advertising for a long time.

As far as language school advertising is concerned, it is difficult or probably impossible, to find a single text which uses solely verbal language.   At least some form of visual information alongside the verbal language is used in any form of advertising such as television commercials, school fliers and websites. Generally speaking, school fliers and websites contain numerous photographs, diagrams and changes of typeface, and company letterheads usually contain graphic devices such as

logos or borders. Music can be found in school websites and television commercials as well. This is because the advertisers aim to sell and to persuade their customers to buy their products by using sophisticated technology to produce various forms of glossy, professional looking advertising.

Many analysts, such as Fairclough and Kress & van Leeuwen, take a functional approach and link the analysis of multimodal texts to Halliday's (1978, 1985) SFG theories. The Hallidayan framework is useful since a semantic dimension is added to the analysis of the text (Goodman, 1996a: 52). Based on Halliday's metafunctional model, Kress and van Leeuwen (1990: 116) outline "a visual semiotics, a descriptive framework" in which they demonstrate how images and visual design create meaning and "the use of social semiotics as a tool for the critical reading of text". Kress and van Leeuwen's social semiotic analysis "provides essentially a descriptive framework" and the method is "effective in bringing out hidden meanings" (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001: 154).   In this study, school logos, photos, graphics and television commercials were analyzed based on Kress and van Leeuwen's social semiotic analysis.

The visual semiotic approach is based on the three metafunctions of SFG. Any semiotic mode (words, photos, graphics, and so on) can be used for fulfilling the three metafunctions; ideational, interpersonal and textual. The ideational metafunction in visual semiotic analysis means any semiotic system "has to be able to represent objects and their relations in a world outside the representational system" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 40). In other words, "what is actually taking place" in the world (Martin, 2000: 10). The interpersonal function in the visual semiotic approach demonstrates the complex relations that exist between viewer and image (Kress & van

Leeuwen, 1990: 23). The interpersonal function is about interactions and relations between the communicating parties (such as writers and readers, painters and viewers). Horizontal and vertical angle, the choice between long shot and close up can be used in still images as an indicator of social relations (see 5.1.3). Not only human figures but also objects, size of frame can also show social relations between the viewer and objects, buildings and landscapes. Finally, in a visual semiotic approach, textual metafunction is about how images are composed, how meanings are sequenced and integrated into dynamic texts. Two important integration codes of structuring texts are: layout, the code of spatial composition, and the rhythm, the code of temporal composition (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1990: 95).

Except for English teaching job ads, all other collected examples – school fliers, websites, television commercials, and television English teaching programs – are multimodal texts. Both Mandarin and English are used in these multimodal texts. However, there are different types of romanization system of Mandarin Chinese, such as Wade, Yule, *Kwoyue Romatzyh*, General and *Pinyin*. A standard, both romanization system and coding, has to be set for the representation of the data. In the following section, I will present the transliteration and coding system of the data.

3.4   Transliteration and Coding

The Chinese data are presented in *Pinyin* with English translations. *Pinyin* is the transcription and official romanization system of the People's Republic of China. *Pinyin* is also the most widely used system in the media and scholarly writings on Chinese in the West (Li & Thompson, 1981: xvi). My translation of Chinese data into 'English' is underlined and within single '   ' quotation marks. Data that are in English in the original are underlined only to distinguish them from the transliterated

ones within single quotation marks. Mandarin in this data is presented in italics within single quotation marks. The following are two examples of slogans from school fliers.

'*Yong liuli de meiyu kuaiyi tita quanshijie.*' (LF5a)

'<u>To use fluent English, to travel around the world.</u>' (LF5a)

<u>We live in English.</u> (LF24a)

The following table provides an overview of the coding of the data.

Table 3-4:   Coding of the Data

English Teaching Job Ads			
China Post		<u>www.teach-in-Taiwan.com</u>	Total
C1 – C54		T1 – T48	102
School Fliers			
English Language School	*Buxiban*	Other Language School	Total
LF1 – LF32	BF1 – BF31	OLF1 – OLF16	79
School Websites					
English Language School		*Buxiban*		Other Language School		Total
English	Mandarin	English	Mandarin	English	Mandarin	
LWE1 – LWE15	LWM1 – LWM24	BWE1 – BWE3	BWM1 – BWM24	OLWE1 – OLWE2	OLWM1 – OLWM5	73
Television Commercials			
English Language School		*Buxiban*	Total
TC1 – TC9		0	9
Television English Teaching Programs			
English language School		Buxiban	Total
0		TET1 – TET2	2

3.5   Conclusion

This study examines ideologies of English teaching and learning in Taiwan. Both quantitative and qualitative methods are used. Triangulation, a research strategy, is used to provide multiple sources and convincing evidence in the collection and

analysis of data. The data consist of promotional texts emanating from language schools, such as school fliers, websites, English teaching job ads, television commercials and television English teaching programs. Additional data are collected from media discourses from the World Wide Web. There are four main sources of media discourses: Taiwanese government publications, English newspapers, English teaching and learning related websites, and Taiwanese government websites. Additional media discourse have been used as evidence to testify to issues raised in this study. As far as the analysis of features is concerned, a quantitative method is used to identify the occurrence and distribution of lexical collocations and semantic and semiotic components of ideological concepts of ELT in these texts. For the second examination of the data, a qualitative method, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used to analyze how the functions of these linguistic and semiotic features convey the ideologies. The results of analyses are presented in Chapter 5 – English-as-the-global-language, Chapter 6 – the ideal-English-teacher, Chapter 7 – the ideal-English-teaching-methodology, Chapter 8 – American-English-as-standard-English, and Chapter 9 – The-younger-the-better ideology. Before I present the analysis, Chapter 4 provides an overview of the socio-historical context in which English teaching and learning takes place in Taiwan.

CHAPTER FOUR: ENGLISH IN TAIWAN

4.0　Introduction

This chapter describes the status of the English language in Taiwan in its historical and social perspective, as well as the English language policy implemented by the government.　Taiwan was never colonized by the British or the Americans. English language use used to be discouraged, but now it is highly supported by the government. Especially with Taiwan's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) in November 2001, the government argues that the importance of English cannot be overstressed (Her, 2002). In accepting the ideology of English-as-the-global-language, the Taiwanese government plans to make English the nation's quasi-official language over a period of six years. To understand the dramatic changes in the status of English, several factors, including social, economic, educational, and political need to be considered.

There are three parts in this chapter. First, to understand English teaching and learning in Taiwan, some socio-historical factors need to be taken into consideration. Therefore, I will give a general introduction to the Taiwanese socio-historical context. Second, I shall present a brief introduction to the educational system and current English language policies. Finally, I shall examine the ways these policies have resulted in social, educational, and linguistic inequalities.

4.1　Background onTaiwan

4.1.1　Location

Taiwan is a small island separated from southeastern China by 150 kilometers of the Taiwan Strait. Taiwan's neighbors are Japan to the north, the Philippines to the south, and Mainland China to the west. Taiwan is 377 kilometers long and 142 kilometers broad at its widest point. It has a total land area of nearly 36,000 square kilometers. It is about the size of Switzerland.

4.1.2   People and Languages

The population of Taiwan is about 23 million. Taiwan is a multilingual and multicultural country. Its population includes four ethnic groups: the Taiwanese or *Minnanren* (Southern Min people), the Mainlanders, the Hakka and the Austro-Polynesian aborigines. According to Huang's estimate (1991: 21, as cited in Tsao, 1999: 329), the percentage of each group is: the Taiwanese (73.7%), the Mainlanders (13%), the Hakka (12%), and Austro-Polynesians (1.7%). The national language is Mandarin Chinese. Hokkien is also widely spoken. Hakka and various other Chinese dialects brought to Taiwan with the immigration of around two million mainlanders in 1949 are heard around Taiwan as well. The aborigines speak a number of Austro-Polynesian languages.

4.1.3   Colonialism

In 1517 Portuguese vessels sighted Taiwan and named it Ilha Formosa – beautiful island, but the Portuguese did not try to colonize it. In 1624, the Dutch (1624-1661) invaded the south of the island and established colonial rule there. A year later, the Spanish (1626-1642) invaded the north of the island and ruled the area until they were driven out by the Dutch colonial government in the south. *Zheng Cheng-gong* (*Koxinga*) drove out the Dutch in 1662. In 1683, the *Qing* Dynasty formally set up a Taiwan prefecture. In 1895, Taiwan was ceded to the Japanese after China lost the

Sino-Japanese war. 1945 was the last year of World War II and colonialism in Taiwan, because Japan surrendered and Taiwan was returned to China. In 1949, the Nationalist government (KMT - *Kuomingtung*) lost Mainland China to the Chinese Communists and was forced to retreat to Taiwan.

4.1.4   Economy

Taiwan lacks natural resources, so its economy depends heavily on international trade. The development of Taiwan's economy in the 1970s and 1980s is often described as a "miracle". English is believed to be helping Taiwan create its second economic miracle, since it is the language of international trade and commerce in this time of globalization. Since entering the WTO, the gateway to the world market, the Taiwanese government is well aware of the importance of its people mastering English. Taiwan's economic development and political stability depend on its international competitiveness. And English is considered to provide competitiveness (see 4.2.4 & Chapter 5).

4.2   Current Educational System

This section is about the current educational system with special emphasis on English language learning. There are four parts in this section. They are: the goals and legal basis, the educational administrative system, an educational overview, and current English language policies.

4.2.1   The Goals and Legal Basis of the Education System

The goals of education in Taiwan are based on the national "father" Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People: nationalism, democracy, and social well-being. According to the Three Principles,

Education is to improve the livelihood of the people, and ensure each individual's decent existence in the society; to pursue economic development and national regeneration so as to achieve independence of the nation, implementation of democracy, and advancement of social well-being, and to attain the ideal world of universal brotherhood (http://www.edu.tw/statistics/english/d2.htm; last accessed on August 1, 2003).

The legal basis for education is the *Articles of Constitution of the Republic of China*, *Taiwan* and the following are some of them http://www.edu.tw/statistics/english /d2.htm; last accessed on August 1, 2003).

Article 159

All citizens shall have equal opportunity to receive an education.

Article 161

The national, provincial, and local governments shall extensively establish scholarships to assist students of good scholastic standing and exemplary conduct who lack the means to continue their school education.

Article 163

The state shall pay due attention to the balanced development of education in different regions, and shall promote social education in order to raise the cultural standard of the citizens in general. Grants from the National Treasury shall be made to frontier regions and economically poor areas to help them meet their educational and cultural expenses. The Central Government may either itself undertake the more important educational and cultural enterprises in such regions or give then

financial assistance.

4.2.2   Educational Administrative System

There are two levels of educational administration: the Ministry of Education (MOE) in the central government; and the Bureaus of Educations in the municipal governments and in the county governments. The following is a brief introduction to the powers and duties of these authorities (http://www.edu.tw/staistics/english/d3.htm; last accessed on August 1, 2003).

The Ministry of Education (MOE)

(1) The MOE is in charge of nation-wide affairs in connection with academic, cultural, and educational administration.

(2) The MOE provides direction and supervision to the highest local administrative executives for the fulfillment of their responsibilities.

The Bureaus of Education

(1) in charge of school education

(2) in charge of social education

(3) supervising ventures operated by educational and academic institutions

(4) in charge of other educational administrative affairs

4.2.3   An Educational Overview

The following is a brief overview of Taiwan's present educational system and current English language polices.

4.2.3.1   School Classification

The present education structure supports 22 years of formal study; 2 years of preschool education, 6 years of elementary school, 3 years of junior high school, 3 years of senior high school or vocational high schools, 4-7 years of college or university, 1-4 years of a graduate school program, and 2-7years of a doctoral degree program. In addition, there is special education for the mentally and physically challenged and the gifted.

Private cram schools or *buxiban* (*bu* - supplementary, *xi* - study, *ban* - classes or schools) are not part of the official Taiwanese educational system, but are a common sight in Taiwan. These schools charge relatively high tuition and have classes in every imaginable subject and skill including foreign languages, rapid math calculation, computers, art, music, calligraphy, swimming, dance, and so on. Cram schools also prepare students for the high school entrance exam, university entrance exam, civil service exam, TOEFL, GRE, and IELT tests. The terms '*buxiban*' and 'cram schools' are used interchangeably in English in Taiwan. However, in this study, to avoid any confusion, 'English language schools*'* refers to those that offer general English courses for different age groups (such as preschool children, elementary, secondary and tertiary students, adults) and whose purposes are not geared for academic tests. '*Buxiban*' refers to schools that offer arduous supplementary English courses for test purposes such as junior high, senior high school English, TOEFL, and GRE. 'Language school' is the generic term for both the 'English language school' and '*buxiban'*.

4.2.3.2   *English Curriculum, Textbooks andTeaching Materials*

Curriculum standards have been implemented for elementary, junior high, senior high schools and vocational high schools. Universities and independent colleges set their

own curriculum based on the Implementation Rules for the University Law. In 1996, the integration of elementary schools and junior schools was called the Nine-year Comprehensive Curriculum for Elementary and Junior High Education. As far as the English curriculum for elementary and junior schools is concerned, the major objective of English teaching at the elementary level is to cultivate students' interest as well as basic speaking and listening abilities. At the junior high school and high school level it is to cultivate students' four skills – speaking, listening, reading, and writing.

Since 1996, the MOE has de-standardized elementary and junior high school textbooks. Elementary school and junior high school administrators have the freedom to choose their own English textbooks and teaching materials, which must be approved by the MOE. Scholars have been contracted to compile and edit English textbooks by the MOE for the senior high level for English curriculum standards. Colleges and Universities have the freedom to choose their own English textbooks and teaching materials based on their English curriculum standards.

4.2.3.3   English Teacher Qualification

Teacher education is divided into three categories. First, teachers colleges are designed to train teachers for elementary schools. Second, normal universities are designed to train teachers for secondary schools. Third, all public and private colleges and universities which have colleges, departments and graduate schools specializing in English education may participate in teacher education. All graduates are required to pass the teacher qualification exam. After that they are eligible to be employed by an elementary school or secondary school.   To obtain an English teacher qualification at elementary level, candidates have to pass the advanced level of the

General English Proficiency Test (GEPT). Junior high and high school English teachers are required to have a degree in an English related-field and are required to pass the teacher qualification exam. College and university English teachers are mainly from graduate institutes.

4.2.4   Current English Language Policies

Educational reform has been a major issue in recent years. The premises of current English language policies are based on a widespread belief that English is necessary for Taiwan to compete globally.   The following are the current English language policies and a critical examination of these English language policies will be provided in the next section.

The MOE's "Education Reform Action Program" was approved by the Executive Yuan in May 1998. There are 12 projects in this education reform and two of them are related to English learning. These two policies demonstrate that the government not only encourages the study of English by younger age groups, but also encourages the concept of English study for life by different age groups. First, *Towards a Learning Society,* promulgated in March 1998, was designed to promote the concept of lifelong education. There are 14 tasks in the White Paper, *Towards a Learning Society*. One of the tasks is to promote foreign language learning. The follow-up campaign "English learning for all people" or "whole nation learning English" has been promoted nationwide by the MOE (*Taiwan Headlines*: April, 30, 2002, http://th.gio.tw/show. cfm?news_id=13971; last accessed on July 2, 2002). Second, in order to promote the internationalization of Taiwan, the MOE has started English instruction for all elementary school 5th graders since September 2001.

Another important English language policy is that the government wants to make English Taiwan's quasi-official language. "Since entering the WTO and generally pushing for greater political and economic integration into the world community, Taiwan's government is well aware of the importance of mastering the global lingua franca. In its formulated six year national development plan, Challenge 2008 … This project, with a planned budget of NT34.2 billion (US$1 billion), emphasized the ability to master foreign languages, especially English. The government also plans to designate English as a quasi-official language within six years" (Her, 2002).

As far as assessment is concerned, The General English Proficiency Test (GEPT) is an English test system developed by the Language Training and Testing Center (LTTC) in 1999 under the commission of the MOE. The GEPT was developed as part of the government's lifelong learning project. Now it serves as a certification system to check the language abilities of government workers, students and teachers (Her, 2002).

The MOE announced that, starting in the 2005 academic year, elementary school students will have to pass general proficiency tests in Chinese, English, and mathematics in order to graduate (Wu, 2002). Moreover, the MOE may soon require university students to pass the high-intermediate level of the General English Proficiency Test (GEPT) before they are allowed to graduate. According to *Taipei Times Online* (October 13, 2002), starting from the new semester in September 2002, several national universities, such as the National Taiwan University and the National Sun Yat-sen University have already made English proficiency a requirement for graduation   (http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2002/10/13/175506; last accessed on December 6, 2002).

4.3 Ideologies and English Language Policies

In this section I will argue that the ideological assumptions of current English language policies have contributed to social and linguistic inequalities. Tollefson (1991: 16) views language policy as the "institutionalization of language as a basis of distinctions among social groups (classes)". Phillipson (1998: 104) argues that educational language policy is of crucial importance "in social reproduction and linguistic hierarchization". The premises of English language policies in Taiwan are based on the notion of English-as-the-global-language (see chapter 5). The implication is that English is the key to internationalization of the economy. People are expected to have a better life and a richer future, if they have a good command of English. Therefore, English has been learnt by people for predominantly economic and career reasons. When vastly more resources and power are allocated to English than to other languages, including Chinese, that expectation is problematic not only in the education system, but also in society.

In this section, two main issues will be discussed. First, current language policies are a force towards further stratification in education and employment. Second, there is a structural favoring of English in current language policies. As a result, the vigorous promotion of English education has a direct and indirect impact on how Taiwanese people view their mother tongues and identity.

4.3.1 English as an Instrument of Social Stratification

According to Article 159 of the Constitution of the Republic of China, Taiwan (see 4.2.1), "All citizens shall have equal opportunity to receive an education". Clearly,

education is for all people and not only for some particular groups. The campaign 'English learning for all people' or 'whole nation learning English' has been promoted vigorously by the MOE (see 4.2.4). The implication is that the government wishes to strengthen English language learning for the entire population to promote internationalization. Although the campaign 'English learning for all people' is based on the concept of "education for all", in fact it is "education for some" (Tollefson, 1991: 47). In the following section, I shall explain why that is.

4.3.1.1 Education

Two language policies are examined in the section, English for elementary schools and the General English Proficiency Test (GEPT) as the standardized requirement for graduation and employment.

English for Elementary Schools

English courses have been a requirement for fifth and sixth graders since September 2001. Before that, students would have had their first official English lesson only when they entered junior high schools. The reason for English learning at elementary school level is that English is considered the key to the world. It is thought that English needs to be learnt at an early age. The ideological concepts of English as the key to the world and the-younger-the-better will be discussed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 9 respectively. Liu I-chuan, the director-general of the MOE's Department of Elementary and Junior-High Education, points out "the newly formulated nine-year comprehensive curriculum for elementary and junior high education places a special emphasis on helping students acquire a global perspective – and English, as the international language, is the bridge to the rest of the world" (Her, 2002). The government intends to provide equal English opportunity for all, to narrow the gap in

English education between the urban and rural areas, because many elementary schools in cities had started English courses long before the government's implementation of English courses in September 2001 (see chapter 9).

English education at the elementary level does not bridge the education gap between the urban and rural areas, but widens the gap. "Elementary schools in seven counties and cities in Taiwan have included English courses in their first grade curricula, instead of the third grade as prescribed by the Ministry of Education. Many parents are sending their children to bilingual kindergartens, fearing their kids will fall behind" (*Taipei Times Online*: November 22, 2001, http://www.taipeitimes.com/ News/edit/archives/2002/11/22/180514; last accessed on November 23, 2002). As the Education Minister points out, many urban children begin going to bilingual and English language schools as early as kindergarten. In contrast, children from rural areas do not have English classes until the fifth grade. As a result, their English ability lags far behind their urban counterparts (*Taiwan Headlines*: May 14, 2002, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id =14125; last accessed on September 12, 2002).

The gap between the urban and rural areas probably will keep widening, because rural areas do not have enough qualified English teachers and they have fewer resources (see 9.3). For example, elementary schools in the eastern coastal county of Haulien and Taitung, Pingtung county on the southern tip of the island, and the mountainous Nantou county in central Taiwan are having difficulty recruiting qualified English teachers for their fifth-graders (*Taipei Times Online*: October 13, 2002, http://www. taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2002/10/13/175506; last accessed on December 6, 2002). To solve this problem, the MOE will import native speakers of

English with very high salaries to teach in these rural areas in 2004. This policy raises another issue – the native speaker ideology which will be discussed in Chapter 6. On the other hand, urban areas have a huge advantage, since parents in these areas are more eager to have their youngsters learn English at an earlier age. Urban schools in general will start an English teaching program earlier with parents' support.

Another troubling effect of English education at elementary school level is that the poor and lower middle class families feel pressure to produce English-speaking children. The government's intention in expanding English education to elementary schools is to bridge the education gap between rich and poor. This assumes that each family can afford for their children to have after-school learning in language school to enhance the student's performance in class. Rich parents spend a lot of money for their preschool children to learn English, but those children whose parents cannot afford to do the same will find themselves in an inferior position on their first day in school. If poorer children or Aboriginal students, have trouble finding the extra resources to master English, they will remain poor because they cannot afford, or don't have ready access to, after-school learning. Inequality in English is not responsible for the existence of the gap between rich and poor in current society in Taiwan, but the problem will become worse if more impoverished students give up learning English because of their financial difficulties.

This economic and geographical separation between the rich and the poor is often accompanied by linguistic separation as well. As a result, students in urban areas are much more likely to speak English, and English may be a criterion for schooling and employment in these areas. In contrast, students in rural areas often do not speak English and may have no opportunity to learn it. Because of the inevitable unbalanced

distribution of educational resources between urban areas and remote regions, there is a resultant great imbalance in English teaching in urban and rural areas. The government needs to provide rural areas with more resources in order to minimize the differences between urban and rural students.

The General English Proficiency Test

Madaus (1990, as citied in Shohamy, 2001: 18) points out that tests reflect the values of test makers, test users and policy makers and have the potential to perpetuate current social and educational inequality. An important policy of the MOE is that elementary school students and university students have to pass the General English Proficiency Test (GEPT) before they are allowed to graduate (see 4.2.4). The implication is that the purpose of learning English is to graduate. Therefore, students with English ability have significant advantages in all levels of education in Taiwan. Clearly, the GEPT does not provide educational equality. I shall now discuss the view that the GEPT has "detrimental effects on test takers" and that it is used as a "disciplinary tool" (Shohamy, 2001: 15).

The GEPT is used to measure the English-language aptitude of candidates applying for college admissions, government promotions, and jobs in the private sector. Chang Han-liang, a professor of semiotics at the National University and the Language Training and Testing Center's executive director, believes that "The GEPT is a positive and practical development since our mentality is so dominated by the propensity to learn English" (Chang, V., 2002). However, the GEPT has detrimental effects on test takers by creating "winners and losers, successes and failures, rejections and acceptances" (Shohamy, 2001: 15). Test scores are often the sole criterion for determining whether students will be allowed to continue in their futures

studies, for being accepted to higher education and for obtaining jobs. People who do well on the GEPT can go to better universities. Doing well on the GEPT may mean that a person can be classified as a success, while doing poorly may mean that he or she will be classified as a failure. In other words, English proficiency is becoming of the utmost importance in every discipline. Even students who possess outstanding specialist ability cannot graduate without English proficiency. The detrimental effects of tests in shaping the future of students are described by Madaus (1990: 5, as cited in Shohamy, 2001: 16).

> a single standardized test score independently triggers an automatic admission, promotion, placement, or graduation. These decisions are non-negotiable even in the act of contradictory judgments from educators about what a student knows or can do.

Tests can be used as disciplinary tools which means that "test takers are forced to change their behavior to suit the demands of the test" (Shohamy, 2001: 17). As Shohamy (ibid.: 17) suggests, tests are capable of dictating to test takers what they need to know, what they will learn and what they will be taught. Wu Ching-shyue, an associate professor in the Department of Applied Foreign Languages of Chaoyang University of Technology, argues that the requirement to pass the GEPT at certain levels before graduation in order to strengthen the nation's English ability stems from the ideology – English as the key to the world (see chapter 5). "The policy basically amounts to trying to manipulate students' learning by using tests" (Wu, 2001). Therefore, students will prepare for the GEPT specifically by working on the types of questions involved in it. Teachers will teach what is going to be tested in the GEPT. Rich families will send their children to *buxiban* to have extra English classes on passing GEPT. Wu (2001) suggests that to truly improve English language proficiency is to promote life-long learning, but not to introduce more tests.

Shohamy (2001: 18) argues that the role of tests as disciplinary tools affect not only the individual but also the whole society. At school level, the GEPT is used as a disciplinary tool when teachers have to teach what is going to be tested in the GEPT to motivate students to learn, and to impose discipline. At the national level, the GEPT is used as a disciplinary tool when the government views Taiwan's standards of English proficiency as the key to internationalization.

To sum up, the implication of the GEPT as the main requirement for graduation or for employment is that English is the solution to Taiwan's educational, economic and social problems (see chapter 5). In the following section, I shall look at the view that the imposition of English learning has resulted in further stratification in employment.

4.3.1.2 *Employment*

In Hong Kong, those who possess English proficiency or "linguistic capital" are groups who "possess economic, social, cultural and political power and status in local and global society" (Morrison & Lui, 2000: 473). This has resulted from a 'labor-market-driven' ideology (Lin, 1997). Under this ideology, the goals of English education are not primarily based on the development of learners' potential or social, intellectual, cultural development, and enrichments, but primarily for fulfilling labor market needs (Lin, 1997). Unlike Hong Kong, English is not associated with colonialism in Taiwan (see 4.1.3), but it is viewed as "linguistic capital" there, too. As in Hong Kong, English ability is seen to give Taiwanese people a competitive edge, and English can signal social status and prestige. The following policies show that English ability is viewed as "linguistic capital" in Taiwan.

In a bid to improve Taiwan's chances of assimilating into the international community, Deputy Minister of Education Fan Sun-lu yesterday said that anyone applying for a job at the government's foreign affairs offices should be able to communicate in English. This echoes a Cabinet order that government workers who can't speak good English six years from now must be penalized" (Chuang, J., 2002).

"The government will spend NT$1.5 billion to increase the English speaking ability of the public and provide life-long learning programs for government employees" (*Taiwan Headlines*: August 30, 2002, http://th.gio.gov.tw./show. cfm?news_id=15228; last accessed on December 6, 2002).

"Hoping to advance in the ranks, police officers are brushing up on their English, despite the fact that they may never use it and are unlikely to ticket foreigners" (Frazier, 2000).

"Taipei is offering free English lessons to a group of taxi drivers and is studying whether to let those who can speak the language charge extra fares" (Ko, 2001).

As can be seen in the above recent public discourses, English proficiency has become a basic goal for people who want to work not only in foreign affairs offices, but also in the Council for Economic Planning and Development, and the National Science Council (Chuang, J., 2002). The reason is that Taiwan needs English as the global language to be accepted by the international community. The government asserts that Taiwan's future and economic prosperity depend on English proficiency, the key to competitiveness. This argument has subsumed all educational goals within the single goal of mastering English. To achieve this goal the government will spend NT$1.5 billion to improve the English speaking ability of government employees and will provide English classes not only for public servants but also for lay people. It has

targeted people whose occupations bring them in contact with foreigners, such as night market vendors, taxi drivers, telephone operators, shop assistants, waiters and tourist guides. The implicit ideology is clear that English provides entry not only into lucrative careers but probably into any career in an increasingly competitive job market in Taiwan. As a result, both the general public and the government require people to learn English to obtain work; but if people cannot acquire English fluency, they will find themselves locked into poorly paid, marginal employment in the future. The rationale is that English will help raise the image of Taiwan as an international nation – English as the key to internationalization.   It is clear that English is regarded as "linguistic capital".

The implication of the market-labor driven ideology is that English learning is an isolate set of skills which can be imparted to learners in the classroom. As with short English courses provided by the government for both government employees and various others and English education in schools, learners are assumed to be able to readily acquire whatever English a possible future employer might want without financial, intellectual, and sociocultural factors being taken into consideration. If English learning is viewed as an authoritative imposition and transmission of a set of useful linguistic skills, the result is that "English is being convertible into dollars … the boys leave as soon as they can perform the duties of compilers and copying clerks" (*Hong Kong Government Gazette*, 1866: 138, as cited in Tung et al., 1997: 443), as suggested by the headmaster of the Central School in Hong Kong in 1865. This attitude towards the study of the English language has persisted not only in the minds of the general public, but also at the highest levels of government concerned with educational policy in Taiwan. It is not surprising that the Taipei City Government is considering allowing taxi drivers with English ability to charge foreign passengers

more money. Moreover, despite the fact that police officers may never use English and are unlikely to ticket foreigners, nearly every police officer in Taiwan wants to learn English, because it is necessary for advancing in the ranks and getting higher pay. The underlying message is that English can bring not only material rewards but also power. Clearly, English learning in Taiwan, in the context of internationalization is based on "employer-defined language goals for education and job market value as the incentive for language learning" or a "market-labor driven" ideology (Lin, 1997: 440). The "labor-market-driven" ideology has created a linguistic inequality which I shall explore in the next section.

4.3.2   Linguistic Inequality

The result of labor-market-driven English learning is that it may create a two-tier society, like the current situation in Hong Kong (Tung et al., 1997: 441–459).   In Hong Kong, those who can speak English are in the upper stations of society, but those who cannot speak English are in the lower ones. In addition, according to Lin (1997: 434), when a language is used in government, official, or economic domains, it is characterized as a 'high' language. On the contrary, when a language is used in everyday, mundane domains it is characterized as a 'low' language. When a language is a gateway for employment and higher education, it may become a powerful tool for sustaining inequality and hegemony (Tollefson, 1991: 136). The English language is viewed as a solution to inequality rather than a cause driven by an "implicit monolingual ideology" (ibid.: 43).

Here, I will discuss some impacts of monolingual policies, namely, how language polices, ideologies and national identity are closely linked.   In addition, I shall discuss the difficulties in having English as a quasi-official language in Taiwan.

4.3.2.1   Monolingual Language Policies

This section considers the effect of the principle "one language - one national ideology of language policy and national identity" (Hornberger, 2002: 27) which pertained under Japanese and *Kuomingtang* (KMT) rule, on Taiwan's multilingual and multicultural society. Under both Japanese and KMT rule there were serious problems of identity and distortions of Taiwanese cultural development (Tsao, 1999).

Neither the Dutch nor the Spanish damaged Taiwanese indigenous languages during their occupations (Copper, 1990: 19). However, Taiwan did experience problems and cultural confusion caused by enforced monolingual language policies during both Japanese and KMT rule. During the Japanese colonial era (1895-1945), Taiwanese people were forced to learn Japanese, and to use Japanese names. Especially at the final stage of complete Japanization (1937-1945), not only was Chinese banned in all public domains, but also all publications in Chinese were banned. In addition, the Japanese rulers launched a fierce 'only-Japanese-speaking-families' campaign.   The main purpose of this campaign was to eradicate indigenous languages from the family domain which is usually believed to be "the best stronghold for language maintenance" (Tsao, 1999: 332). As a result, ethnic Chinese and native Austro-Polynesians were in fact second-class citizens and their languages were seriously damaged.

In 1949, four years after Taiwan was returned to China, the Nationalists were forced to retreat to Taiwan after losing Mainland China to the Chinese Communists. In terms of language education, history repeated itself. When the KMT government (the

Nationalists) arrived, they enforced Mandarin Chinese education. The purpose of these language policies during KMT and Japanese rule was to accelerate the monolingual and monocultural assimilation of Taiwanese people into Japanese or Mandarin Chinese culture. In both colonial and national history, language had typically been used as a means for social control. During those fifty years of Japanese administration, the Chinese immigrants were largely cut off from their ancestral home in Mainland China. Chan (1994, as cited in Tsao, 1999: 365) points out that the language policy of the Nationalist government can be described as "uni-directional bilingualism". This means that all speakers (about 87% of the total population) of a local language have to learn to speak the national language, Mandarin. The Mainlanders, most of whom could speak some form of Mandarin were not required to study a local language. As a result, indigenous languages have declined significantly and some of them face extinction in a generation or two. Moreover, according to Tsao (ibid.: 366), Taiwanese people were split in their perceived identities. Most Mainlanders consider themselves Chinese and most local people consider themselves Taiwanese.

4.3.2.2   English Language Policy – Implicit Monolingual Language Policy

With the increasing hegemony of English, Taiwan has to revisit its language policies, especially the priority Taiwan gives to cultivating English proficiency for entering this era of economic globalization. The elevation of the status of English may impact on mother tongue learning. Taiwanese people may not take pride in their mother tongue, because speaking English has been taken as a status symbol.

Since becoming a member of the WTO in 2001, Taiwan has been trying to develop a new national identity as an "economically upper class country" in the world

community (*Taiwan Headlines*: June, 4, 2001 http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id =9022; last accessed on December 12, 2002). As a result, the internationalization of Taiwan has been trumpeted in recent years in slogans and goals of the government. For example, the goals of Taiwan's English education are "letting Taiwan embrace the world: letting the world embrace Taiwan" (Chow, 2001). In other words, widespread possession of the English language has become a key indicator of internationalization. English has been promoted as a solution to Taiwan's existing economical, social, and educational problems without any possible side effects. In fact, the use of English as the main communicative language is threatening not only to small languages such as Hokkien, Hakka and aboriginal languages, but also Mandarin, a large language.

> The Ministry of Education's announcement that local language classes (referring to Taiwanese Hokkien, Hakka and Aboriginal languages) will be made compulsory for elementary school students in Taiwan starting from the 2001 academic year has sparked intense debate over the learning of these languages. … The first relates to the added burden of learning a local language, which some believe will get in the way of acquiring more important languages, such as English (Chi, 2000).

The preference for English over learning a local language has to do with the perception of English in contemporary Taiwanese society. When language learners believe language learning is for future success, and consider the usefulness of a language as the most important factor in relation to language learning, it is not surprising that English is so popular in Taiwan. As suggested by Tsao (1999: 354), "the pragmatic attitude" of Taiwanese people towards English has actually made it become increasingly popular. It is English, not local languages, that is part of school entrance and civil examinations, and is valuable in the employment market as well.

Not only lay people but also educators have the same perception that English is more important than local languages because of its usefulness.   According to *Taiwan News Online*: October 14, 2002, a meeting at the education ministry was held to discuss whether or not elementary school students should be taught English at an earlier grade level.   An elementary school principal, was quoted in the media as saying "Though I speak local dialects quite well, that ability did not help me to achieve much. … Learning local dialects cannot help you find a job." He considered that English teaching should take priority over Mandarin and other local languages (http:/th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm? news_id=15613; last accessed on December 6, 2002).

In addition, a TV opinion poll was conducted by a prestigious TV station - TVBS in March 2002. The result showed that 60 percent of respondents were in favor of making English the second official language, alongside Mandarin   (Wang, 2002). According to another poll conducted by the *United Daily News* in April, 47% of adults in Taiwan support having English lessons form a major part of the elementary school curriculum. Many consider it more important for their youngsters to learn English than Mandarin Chinese (Chou, 2002).   English-as-the-global-language promotes English as the norm and depreciates other languages, both small and large. In the past, the KMT rulers used a monolingual policy – Mandarin Chinese only – and tried to completely replace all other local languages in Taiwan. Mandarin Chinese was used as a political tool to foster political unity among Taiwanese people. The KMT government openly discouraged the use of Hokkien and promoted the use of Mandarin as the mother language of Taiwanese people. That is farcical considering that, historically and demographically, it is Hokkien (73.7% of the population) not Mandarin (13% of the population) that is spoken as a native language by most Taiwanese people (Tsao, 1999: 329). Similar situations also materialized in Singapore

and Hong Kong. Both Singapore and Hong Kong promote Mandarin Chinese as the mother tongue and oppose the increased use of Hokkien and Cantonese as a medium of instruction (Ward, 1999). Although only very few people in Taiwan can use English as a second official language, many Taiwanese still choose English over Hokkien or even Mandarin. The main reason is that they are highly concerned about globalization or internationalization. The government views English is an important tool to make Taiwan more competitive. As a result, the government plans to make English the nation's quasi-official language over a period of six years.

4.3.2.3   *English as Quasi-official Language*

The government views Taiwan's accession to the WTO as marking the beginning of a new era in Taiwan's interaction with the international community. The six-year plan, Challenge 2008 (see 4.2.4) indicates that, as globalization advances, Taiwan needs to speed up its integration into the international community, and the key to that is English. As a result, English proficiency is becoming the most dominant issue for education officials in contemporary Taiwanese society. Under the plan, the government hopes to promote internationalization through language study and to strengthen the English abilities of the entire population.   The expected result of this plan is to expand the use of English as a part of daily life, since English will be designated as a quasi-official language. However, little attention has been paid to the effect of linguistic and cultural diversity in education. Phillipson (2000: 101) points out that World Bank, NAFTA (North American Free Trade Area) and the World Trade Organization policies "contribute to political instability, and provide less favorable conditions for education, democratization, cultural, and linguistic diversity". English, like the WTO, seems to be a key to opening up a new future for Taiwanese people in which there are opportunities everywhere, but also many difficulties to

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overcome.

First, the government does not give a clear definition of what a "quasi-official" language is and whether it entails that teachers will be required to instruct in English. All the government's official documents, websites, and road signs will be bilingual, but the government does not reveal whether the courts and the legislature will use English. A fundamental difficulty is that Taiwan is not ready yet to make English a quasi-official language because very few people in Taiwan speak English. For a public opinion poll conducted by *United Daily News*, a Chinese language newspaper, a total of 831 Taiwanese adults were interviewed. The result showed that only about 1 percent of the interviewees consider themselves as fluent English speakers, another 1 percent consider their English speaking ability as "so so", 28 percent said they are able to speak "some English", while a high of 60 percent admitted they "don't know English at all" (*Taipei Times Online*: April 25, 2002, http://www.taipeitimes.com/ news/2002/04/25/story/0000133292; last accessed on September 9, 2002). Not only the general public people but also public servants lack English proficiency. When commenting on English as a quasi-official language in Taiwan, the Taipei Mayor, Mr. Ma pointed out that because of current English language education and officials' lack of English proficiency, it would be very hard for Taiwan to make it happen now (Lin, 2002). In other words, in the current situation, English in Taiwan cannot play a role at the national level to meet the government's economic objectives. At the community level, English cannot be used as the language for inter-ethnic communication. At the individual level, not every one has equal access to English. As a result, not only the public but also the government will have difficulty launching English as a quasi-official language.

Second, a nation's official languages and national identity are closely interwoven, and the two can never be separated. As mentioned earlier, the issue of language influenced the growth and decline of ethnic groups during Japanese and KMT occupations. The Japanese rulers made every effort to Japanize the inhabitants of Taiwan and then KMT government tried to Chinese-ize Taiwanese people. At the present, Taiwan has a growing desire to be an English speaking country, with a new national identity. English education is intended to serve the goal of promoting a new national identity in the new era of knowledge-based economies. According to *Taipei Times Online*: May 3, 2002, "because of poor English ability … Taiwan's economy has not been able to surpass Asian 'dragons' such as Hong Kong and Singapore" (http://www. taipeitimescom/news/2002/05/03/story/0000134423; last accessed on September 9, 2002). In addition, the President of Taiwan, Mr. Chen Shui-Bian argues that English has helped Hong Kong and Singapore gain a competitive edge (Lin, 2002). If English were to become a quasi-official language in Taiwan, Taiwan might have to face a language and identity dilemma similar to the ones that Hong Kong and Singapore have encountered (see 9.3.3). Finally, it is a fact that English has a higher status than Mandarin Chinese, Hokkien, Hakka and the aboriginal languages in contemporary Taiwanese society. The six-year plan also indicates that a great amount of aid (US$ 1 billion) will be or has been put into English, and other languages will be or have been ignored. The government has spent most educational resources on English teaching and learning. The government favors and has strong support for English education and will allocate resources, because English directly affects, or is essential to, the achievement of the government's main objectives. Taiwan is adopting a Western-inspired monolingual approach that ignores the multilingual and multi-ethnic reality (Phillipson, 1994; Tollefson, 1991).

Although there is some degree of uncertainty associated with the plan to make English a quasi-official language, the plan has its ideological attractiveness that will encourage the government to proceed with tangible economic support. By 2007, under the "Building an English-Language Living Environment Plan", the government is doing its best to create an environment favorable for English learning, so as to achieve the objectives of building a more international living environment As a result, there is substantial expenditure on the promotion of English by the government, such as on-line English learning, more foreign English teachers, English programs via satellite for remote regions, English news channel on TV stations, free English courses for various occupations, nationwide English language competitions, English summer camps, and so on. When vastly more resources and power are allocated to English than to Chinese languages, problems arise not only in the education system, but also in society. As explained earlier in 4.3.1, current English language policies result in English becoming an instrument of social stratification not only in education but also in employment. The policies do not create greater equality in education, but social, economic and educational inequalities in contemporary Taiwanese society.

4.4 Conclusion

The premises of English language policies are based on English as the key to a better life and a better future in the context of globalization. As a result, English learning is believed to be additive rather than subtractive in current English language policies. However, current English language policies entail an implicit monolingual language policy ideology. The impact of this implicit monolingual language policy is that it creates educational, economic and linguistic inequalities. First, the Taiwanese government's intention is to provide equal opportunities for the entire population to promote internationalization by learning English.   However, the scheme has resulted

in an imbalanced distribution of English study resources between urban and rural areas widening the gap between rich and poor. Second, the plan creates economic inequality. Knowledge of English will be a prerequisite for joining the elite class in Taiwanese society. English is a major criterion for employment as well as for access to the key institutions dominating Taiwanese economic and political life. Finally, it creates linguistic inequality. The position of English is not being challenged, but other languages, such as Mandarin, Hokkien, Hakka and the aboriginal languages are. Now Taiwan faces the prospect of English taking supremacy over its native languages. To sum up, current English language policies are linked to the struggle for power and they construct unequal educational, social, economic, and linguistic relationships.

CHAPTER FIVE: "ENGLISH-AS-THE-GLOBAL-LANGUAGE"

5.0   Introduction

This chapter investigates the ideology of English-as-the-global-language based on advertisements produced by English language schools and *buxiban*.   Crystal (ibid.: x) argues that English is "a single world language" for "mutual understanding" and "international cooperation".   The implication is that English is the global language, because English serves the purposes of all the world's citizens equally well. English-as-the-global-language refers to English as a tool for international communication and a tool for an improved global future. Crystal (ibid.: x) also indicates that English has become a global language because it is a language "with a worldwide status" (ibid.: ix), "used by more people than any other language" (ibid.: 4) and because of the power of its people, especially their political power (ibid.: 7).   In short, the spread of English is presented as "natural" "neutral" "beneficial" and "unproblematic" (Pennycook, 1994a).

Pennycook (ibid.: 38) questions whether or not the assumption of English as the global language is an unproblematic construct. He argues that underlying political, social, cultural and economic questions are associated with English-as-the-global-language, and that this is true in the context of Taiwan, too. Therefore I would like to investigate how English language teaching and learning have become products of global English, how "English tends to be marked as a language of success, hedonism, and international mobility" (Bailey, 1992, as cited in Phillipson, 2001b: 2), and how this mindset is evident in Taiwanese language school and *buxiban* promotional

materials.

The chapter attempts a preliminary exploration of structural and cultural inequalities in the context of English-as-the-global-language in Taiwan and data consists of three parts. First, the representation of English-as-the-global-language is examined. Secondly, since English is viewed as a highly valued and desirable commodity in the context of globalization, I will show how English language schools and *buxiban* sell the idea that their teaching has global relevance in English teaching and learning. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the potentially significant impact on ELT and SLA in Taiwan, that is, the mavericks of the language school marketing world have been quick to cash in on the context of English-as-the-global-language.

5.1 Data Analysis

First I shall examine how English language school and *buxiban* advertisements contain the notion of English-as-the-global-language. Every written advertisement text can be classified according to two aspects – "what is being advertised – a product, an idea, an image?" and "who is being addressed?" (Goddard, 1998: 7). The same can be said for television commercials. The only things that are being advertised in English language school and *buxiban* advertisements are that English is the language of international communication and understanding, and that it is the solution and panacea for future success. In the following sections, I wish to reveal the range of strategies, both implicit and explicit, used to market English as a highly valued commodity.

5.1.1 TC7 Television Commercial

In TC7 television commercial, two figures, a little Taiwanese girl and Jerry, a native

speaker of English, an American, a Catholic Father in his 50s, an English educator, a well-known public figure in Taiwan, and the founder of Giraffe Language School are walking on the beach. The little girl is looking at the sea and says the world is very, very big and then she asks Jerry how to get to the other end of the world. Jerry says to her '*Meiyu shi heizi tongwang shijie zuijin de ru*' '<u>American English, for children, is the royal road to the world</u>'. It is one of the slogans in Mandarin of Giraffe Language School. Next, I shall apply a social semiotics approach to analyze this television commercial.

Iedema (2001: 201) takes a social semiotics approach to analyze tele-films in his study, and he argues that the analysis is powerful, because it does not accept that texts are made "by accident": "each aspect of tele-film contributes to its meaning potential in a meaningful way". Therefore, social semiotics is a means to "consciousness-raising and to informed social action" (ibid.: 201). In this commercial, the other end of the sea or ocean, which cannot be seen in the TC7 television commercial refers to the world – the diffusion of English paradigm, which is "characterized by triumphant capitalism, its science and technology, and a monolingual view of modernization and internationalization" (Tsuda, 1994, as citied in Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996: 429, see 2.1.3 for details). In Taiwan, English-as-the-global-language requires English as the language for news and information, for business and the professions, for entertainment and international travel and so on, a view based on the diffusion of English paradigm.

Generally speaking, written texts seem to be more authoritative, formal and credible than the spoken ones, but when a spoken text is addressed by a well-known public figure or a celebrity, like Jerry in this television commercial, it, too, becomes

relatively authoritative, formal and credible. The main character Jerry, an American, a Catholic Father and a famous English educator in Taiwan, implies that, English is an imported product from the USA. Moreover, the slogan – '*Meiyu shi heizi tongwang shijie zuijin de ru*' uses '*meiyu*' '<u>American English</u>' instead of '*Yingyu*' '<u>English</u>' in general. It reinforces perceptions of the close semantic relationship of native speaker, American English, proper English, standard English which are key concepts in English language teaching and learning. Another implication is that English-as-a-global-language entails the promotion of one English, American English – one dialect and one culture at the expense of others (see Chapter 8).

In the slogan – '<u>American English, for children, is the royal road to the world</u>', *children* does not necessarily refer only to that little Taiwanese girl who appeared in that television commercial, but by implication the slogan also refers to English language learners in general and to the television audience. English language learners in Taiwan, like that little Taiwanese girl in the television commercial ask – '<u>how to get to the world</u>'. This places them metaphorically in a child position vis-à-vis an omniscient Western father figure. The use of this little girl also implies that, as far as the acquisition of this global language is concerned, the-younger-the-better. In sum, this television commercial also reflects investment being put into English by language schools that constructs English as the universal medium, English-as-the-global-language and English as the "handmaiden of globalisation" (Phillison, 2001a: 196).

In terms of advertising techniques, one well-established distinction is between hard-sell and soft-sell. Cook (2001: 15) points out that "hard-sell makes a direct appeal", such as frequent repetition of the brand name, as well as direct and positive statements about what is being advertised. On the contrary, "soft selling relies more

on mood than exhortation, and on the implication that life will be better with the product". TC7 advertises English-as-the-global-language through soft-sell techniques. What is being advertised is not directly stated. Not until the very end of the commercial do we hear the slogan – 'American English, for children is the royal road to the world' – telling its viewers that English is the key to the world – leaving each viewer to fill "the world" with their own hopes and dreams.

5.1.2 Slogans and Short Paragraphs

In addition to the spoken TC7 television commercial, slogans and short paragraphs, still images (photos, drawings and logos) and school names in written advertisements also play an important role in advertising the ideological concepts in English language teaching and learning. As far as written advertisement texts are concerned, the idea of "the narrator and narrative point of view" is a good starting point to look at "who is initiating the communication" (Goddard, 1998: 28). I will apply the narrator and narrative point-of-view notion as a starting point to explore the concept of English-as-the-global-language.

The main theme of these short paragraphs, still images and school names within the concept of English-as-the-global-language is that English language schools and *buxiban* use several strategies to market two concepts. First, they are authoritative in presenting the fact that English-is-the-global-language. Second, they are experts in providing access for language learners to acquire this language, which is perceived as the key to the global village.

Before moving on to still images and schools names, first, I shall examine the way language schools present English-as-the-global-language in slogans and paragraphs. A

total of 192 slogans and short paragraphs come from English language school and *buxiban* fliers and websites in this research (Figure 5-1). 44 (22.9%) of these contain the concept of English-as-the-global-language.

Figure 5-1:   Ideological Concepts of ELT and SLA in Slogans and Short Paragraphs

192 slogans and short paragraphs from language schools & *buxiban*
192 = 100%

English-as-the-global-language	Ideal-English-English-Teacher	Ideal-teaching-methodology	American-English-as-the-standard-English	The-younger-the-better
44 texts = 22.9%	25 texts = 13%	51 texts = 26.6%	48 texts = 25%	21 texts = 12.5%

English language schools	English language schools	Other language schools	*Buxiban*
Fliers: Total = 29	Websites: Total = 7	Fliers: Total = 3	Fliers: Total = 5
Mandarin: 22	Mandarin website: 5	Mandarin: 3 texts	Mandarin: 3
English: 7	Mandarin: 3		English: 2
	English: 2		
	English websites: 2		

The decision about whether a text contains the concept of English-as-the-global-language or not is based on either the definition and/or the function of English-as-the-global-language as mentioned in the Introduction. The definition refers to English as the single world language for "mutual understanding" and "international cooperation" (Crystal, 1997). The following are three examples – a Mandarin text from LF5 and two English texts form LF24 in the corpus.

'*Yong liuli de meiyu kuaiyi tita quanshijie.*' (LF5a)

'To use fluent English, to travel around the world.' (LF5a)

We live in English. (LF24a)

Learning today for tomorrow. (LF24b)

A total of 38 Mandarin texts and one English text are counted twice or three times since they contain more than one ideological concept. 15 relevant to this chapter contain two ideological concepts. The following, LF24c, a Mandarin text is one of the examples. It contains two ideological concepts – English-as-the-global-language and the-younger-the-better in English learning.

'*Youyitian, xiaoxiao heizi jiang zhanzai shijie dada wuta shang, zaici shiqian ta gaizhuo naxie zunbei …*' (LF24c)

'One day, little children will occupy the world stage, how will they prepare themselves …' (LF24c)

The strategies used by narrators in slogans and short paragraphs to indicate that they are authoritative experts include the use of English as a symbol, semiotic constructions, and grammatical choices. I shall explore these issues one by one.

5.1.2.1 Foreign Language Words – English as a Marketing Strategy

Figure 5.1 indicates that the concept of English-as-the-global-language can be found in almost every written advertisement, but English language schools (39 out of 44 texts) play a key role in the diffusion of English-as-the-global language. 13 texts are in English with 9 slogans and 2 short paragraphs found in Mandarin fliers and

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websites, and 2 short paragraphs found on language school English websites. The implication of these linguistic choices is that, although most of the readers will know Mandarin only, "advertisers will not lose out by using English even if it not understood by consumers" (Eastman & Stein, 1993, as cited in Cheshire & Moser, 1994: 458). In a study of 543 advertisements in the *East Asian Magazine* (Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan), Neelankavil et al. (1995: 34–36, as cited in Graddol, 1996: 216) found that 74% contained some foreign language words – almost all English, which are used to connote Western cultural values and status. Their main finding suggests that the use of the English language is very common in Taiwan as well as the other countries. Another research by Shao et al., (1999: 61-71) on "shifting advertising appeals in Taiwan" indicates that advertising appeals in Taiwan tend to be dominated more by "Westernized cultural values than by Chinese traditional values", and the English language is used quite frequently as one of their advertising strategies (ibid.: 61, 64). Therefore, in this study, every reader of these English advertising texts can feel addressed by them and not excluded from the messages, even if the vast majority of the addressees are Mandarin speakers. Rajagopalan (2002: 118) points out that the use of foreign words, especially English words "lends an additional aura to the products being offered for sale" in Brazil, which is another case of English being used as a marketing strategy. Although the reader who knows Mandarin will probably skip these English texts unquestioningly, they are still impressed with the 'linguistic virtuosity' produced by the advertisers (Eastman & Stein, 1993: 195). It can be argued that the role of English in the advertising by English language schools and *buxiban* is purely a marketing strategy identifying with English rather than using it meaningfully. They are using the English language in slogans and short paragraphs to create an identity of authority and expertise in English teaching and learning, and to reinforce the concept of English-as-the-global-language.

5.1.2.2 Semiotic Construction

Another strategy used in these texts to show they are authoritative experts is in the presentation – the format and layout – of these written advertisements. Advertisers aim to ensure that a headline or a slogan sticks in the addressees' minds, that it reaches its target audiences. Therefore one of the main strategies used in the corpus is to deliberately highlight these slogans and short paragraphs by color, font, graphic devices, position and typographical design. Moreover, in his concept of heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981, as cited in Bell, 1996: 18) Bakhtin views texts and utterances from all kind of genres being made up by multiple 'voices'. Cook (2001: 219) argues that advertisements involve many voices, but they tend to be 'dominated' by one. In this study, the content and layout of these texts are powerful and persuasive. The language of these texts becomes the 'master voice' of the advertising to express "authority and expertise" (Piller, 2001a: 162). As far as layout techniques of these texts are concerned, except for 3 slogans at the bottom of the school fliers or the website and 3 texts found as headlines, the rest of the texts (38 texts) are found at the top of fliers and websites. In particular, 34 texts are found right below or next to school names. It can be argued that the layout of these texts appearing right below or next to the school names or logos are presented in both a "visual" and a "verbal" way (Goodman, 1996a: 38) in order to demonstrate the narrators' master voices. LF24b an English text from Henry Language School is an example.

Figure 5-2:   LF24 Language School Flier

School Logo

HENRY

English Pre-school

亨利Ｅ２雙語幼兒園
Learning Today for Tomorrow.

Logos and company names are "visual" and texts are "verbal" (Goodman, 1996: 39). In Figure 5-2, the reader can have the visual portrayal of the voice, because the text is right below the school name and logo. It seems that the narrator is saying something to the audiences.   The school name in Mandarin '*Hengli*' is the transliteration for Henry that is presented with a striking large print to show the school is authoritative and expert and it functions as "I". The "I" is using its voice directly to express the concept of English-as-the-global-language – Learning Today for Tomorrow to 'you', the reader. Many language schools name their schools with Western personal names. One of the reasons is to indicate that English is taught by native speakers (see chapter 6).   Logos and school names will be examined in 5.1.4.

5.1.2.3   Grammatical Choices in English Texts

Another important strategy used by narrators to express their authority and expertise is the grammatical choice in these texts. Grammatical choices reinforce the concept of English-as-the-global-language. This section applies Halliday's (1985) Mood and Modality to both English and Chinese texts. Halliday (1985) points out that whenever people use language to interact, it is done in order to establish a relationship between

them. To establish this relationship, people take turns to speak with different speech roles in the exchange. Therefore the Mood system in Systemic Functional Grammar refers to clauses as exchange. The basic speech roles are giving and demanding. If an advertiser or a language school gives its audience some information or a piece of news such as 'There is no doubt that English is the international language' (LF10), what the advertiser is trying to do is to invite the audiences to receive that information. If the advertiser demands: Let's speak in English (LWM16) of its audience, it is inviting the audience to perform an action, to speak English. Eggins (1994: 330) points out that ideology in texts is realized in linguistic choices such as "who initiates, what kinds of actions/events, who responds to those actions, and how". Therefore, I would like to demonstrate how grammatical choices such as imperatives, pronoun – 'we', interrogative – 'do' and modality – 'will' found in 13 English texts with 9 slogans and 4 short paragraphs (see Figure 5-1) of the corpus by English language schools and *buxiban* are used to market the ideological concept of English-as-the-global-language.

Table 5-1:   Grammatical Choices in English Slogans and Short Paragraphs

Grammatical Choices in13 English texts	Sentences
Imperatives – Verb phrase	5
Imperatives – *Let's*	2
Pronouns: *We*	3
Ellipsis	2
Interrogative – *Do*	1
Modality: *Will*	1
Total	14

Table 5-1 indicates that there are 14 sentences in these 13 English texts. 7 imperatives out of 14 sentences in these 13 texts are found in the corpus. They appear in two forms: one is that sentences start with a verb phrase and the other is that sentences

start with <u>let's</u>. LF5 and LWM16 are two examples from the corpus.

<u>Be your own superstar!</u> (LF5)

<u>Let's speak English!</u> (LWM16)

According to Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday, 1985; Martin et al., 1997; Eggins, 1994), an imperative clause in the Mood system indicates that the text is doing more than simply giving information. Eggins (1994: 314) points out that imperative clauses demonstrate that the writer has greater knowledge or power and the reader needs help. Therefore, the writer's role is perceived as "adviser" and "expert" – there is an unequal power relationship between the writer and reader. Gerot and Wignell (1994: 22) point out that if a writer gives commands or demands information of his or her readers, inherently they are invited to give that information. When the language schools (LF5 & LWM16) address their readers with <u>Be your own star!</u> or <u>Let's speak English!</u>, although the subject in LF5 is 'you' and in LWM16 is both 'you and me' (that is, the advertiser and their audiences), there is an implied unequal power relationship between them implied. The language schools perceived themselves as authoritative, because they are very much in control in these texts and they want their readers to execute commands.

Apart from these imperative sentences, 3 texts with the pronoun <u>we</u> are found in the corpus. According to Goddard (1998: 30), when the addressers use <u>we</u> inclusively to address the reader, it will certainly sound 'authoritarian' (ibid.: 30).   LWM12 is one of the examples.

<u>We are not only teaching English, but also values and goals for the future of your</u>

children. (LWM12)

In terms of Halliday's Mood system, there are two components in a sentence; one is the Mood element and the other one is the Residue element (see Table 5-2).

Table 5-2:　Mood and Residue of LWM12 Text

We	Are	not only teaching English, but also values and goals for the future of your children.
Subject	Finite	
Mood		**Residue**

The grammatical test Halliday (1985) uses to discover which part is Mood is to add a TAG question.　Halliday describes the importance of the Mood element as carrying "the burden of the clause as an interactive event" (as cited in Eggins, 1994: 155).　It means it cannot disappear when the responding speaker takes up his/her position. That is why it remains a constant and essential part of the clause containing the nub of the argument. For example,

A: We are not only teaching English, but also values and goals for the future of your children.

B: No, you aren't. or Yes, you are.

In LWM12, speaking for the language school in the role of the information giver, an expert talks to parents in an authoritative way: *We are not only teaching English, but also values and goals for the future of your children, aren't we?*　The parents, as a group, need to be warned, or they will end up making wrong decisions for their children, in terms of English education.

Two elliptical declaratives (LF24a, BF3) are found in the corpus and they are also used to demonstrate unequal power between the writer and reader.

<u>Learning Today for Tomorrow</u>   (LF24a)

<u>Excellence: our aim, your expectation</u>   (BF3)

Ellipsis is used for two effects, one is to "save space and omit direct appeal" (Cook 2001: 172).   Cook (ibid.: 173) also points out that the use of ellipsis in advertisements, generally speaking, creates an atmosphere of "proximity" and "intimacy". Eggins (1994: 310–315) argues that elliptical structures offer "personal experience".   Although personal experience does not involve getting other people to do things, it suggests that the addresser "possesses certain knowledge" (ibid.: 315), which implicitly indicates that there is unequal power between the writer and reader. Text LF24a and BF3 are straightforward enough to tell the reader that 'learning' in LF24 refers to learning English, and <u>Excellence</u> refers to fluent English, since the texts are from English language school and *buxiban* fliers. Where to learn English or to acquire fluent English is not specified in these texts; the advertisers do not want to make bold statements such as: *We are providing Learning Today for Tomorrow, so you should study at Henry English Pre-school.* They want to omit direct appeal as suggested by Cook (2001: 172).   In addition, based on Halliday's Mood theory (1985: 95–96), <u>Learning Today for Tomorrow</u> is an ellipsis or a minor clause which lacks a participant, so this minor clause can be reworded as *We are providing learning Today for Tomorrow and that is a must for Taiwanese people* or *Learning Today for Tomorrow is good for Taiwanese people.* Not surprisingly, it sounds authoritative, because the writer is telling the audience that everybody must learn English.

Although the advertisers use elliptical structures to minimize the power difference and alienation, they still take up the role of 'expert' as suggested by Eggins (1994: 325). The implication is that advertisers have authority and expertise, although they seek to minimize the formality and distance in writing in order to establish closeness with their readers.

Another grammatical choice that shows unequal power is the use of interrogatives. In the corpus, one modulated interrogative: <u>Do you speak English?</u> is found in LF6. According to Eggins (1994: 314), the use of interrogatives in a written text creates a 'rhetorical interactive context', since in fact no dialogue will happen between writer and reader. Especially when there is the pronoun *you* as subject in the question, it establishes the reader as respondent and the writer as questioner.   It is also suggested by Eggins (ibid.: 314) that the writer is in charge of the direction of the talk. In addition, Gerot and Wignell (1994: 45) point out that very often the more powerful person in the interaction has the right to ask, whereas the less powerful person answers. In the corpus, the language school creates an interactive context to question its audiences and the audiences are constructed as being asked by the expert – <u>Do you speak English?</u>

The last grammatical choice used in the corpus to show the writer's authority and expertise is the use of <u>will</u>.   One text (BF16) is found in the corpus.

> <u>Nowadays in the 21st century, being a citizen of the world with excellent foreign language skills will give a great advantage in study and self-improvement, and give a head start in any chosen career.</u> (BF16)

Based on Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday, 1985; Martin et al.,1997; Eggins, 1994), '*will*' as a realization of "modalization" in the Mood system is used to indicate the speaker's attitude towards what she or he is saying. It is the way the speaker expresses a judgment of the certainty, likelihood, or frequency of something happening. In this text, 'foreign language' refers to English language, since the content of the BF16 school flier is all about the English language. The implication of BF16 texts is that the writer is sure that English will give a great advantage not only in self-improvement but also in any career. The advice offered by the *buxiban* is guaranteed to work for their customers, because they have authority and expertise. It can be argued that all grammatical choices in these 13 English texts in the corpus construct the advertisers as authorities and experts.

5.1.2.4   Grammatical Choices in Mandarin Texts

The following section demonstrates how grammatical choices are also used to show unequal power between writer and reader in Mandarin written texts. Halliday's Mood and modality theory is applied to these texts, too.

Zhang (1991: 289–318) applies Halliday's (1985) mood and modality to Chinese to examine the correlations between mood markers and social (such as status, power) and interactional (such as giving, demanding) role relationships in personal participants' speech. His findings show two role relationships can "reinforce each other, offset each other, or override each other" in a particular social situation (ibid.: 289). I also would like to apply Halliday's (1985) Mood system to Chinese written advertisement texts to investigate the power relationship between language schools and *buxiban* and their audience. An analysis of mood and modality in the language of their advertising reveals that language schools and *buxiban* claim authoritative and

expert roles.

Table 5-3:   Grammatical Choices in Mandarin Slogans and Short Paragraphs

Grammatical Choices in 31 Mandarin texts	Sentences
Imperatives	15
Modality: Probability	14
Degree	4
Inclination	3
Obviousness	2
Usuality	1
Mood markers - le, ma, ne,	7
Total	46

Table 5-3 indicates that there are 46 sentences in these 31 Mandarin texts. 14 imperatives out of 46 sentence are found in the corpus. According to Chao (1968: 669), imperatives in Mandarin occur mostly with verbs of action. In the corpus, these 14 sentences all start with verbs of action. Li and Thompson (1981: 451) argue that commands involve judgments about what people should and shouldn't do; therefore, in normal social interactions, Chinese people tend to avoid giving direct orders or commands.   In written advertisement texts, when imperatives are used by language schools and *buxiban* to express commands to their audiences, the main purpose is to get the audience to do some action. The writers do not avoid using imperatives in the written advertisements. On the contrary, they employ them frequently to construct an image of authority and expertise. Li and Thompson (1981: 451–462) point out that to soften a command, one of these polite imperative makers "qing - invite, laojia - trouble you, or mafan - to trouble" is often used and with the sentence final *ba*. Moreover, *bubi* '<u>not necessary</u>' and *buyong* '<u>not use</u>' are usually used in negative

imperatives to express indirect commands in Mandarin (ibid.: 457). In the corpus, since neither polite imperative markers nor indirect command expressions are found in these examples, writers are giving their commands directly to their audiences. LWM16 and LF20 are two of the examples in the corpus.

'*Gei   haizi   zuihaode,   zuihaode zai   Zhimajie meiyu!*' (LF20)

give   children   the best,   the best   at   Sesame Language School

'Give children the best – the best is at Sesame Street Language School!' (LF20)

'*Rang   meiyu   chengwei   shequ   gongtong   de   yuyan!*'

Let   American English   become   community   common   NOM   language

NOM= nominalizer

'Let American English become our common language in our community!'

(LWM16)

Eggins (1994) points out that, apart from imperatives, some clauses do not have the grammatical structure of imperatives, but they have the meaning of commands. They can be expressed by using modality which allows speakers "to temper the exchange by expressing degrees of either probability, usuality or obligation and inclination" (ibid.: 192).   Take LF20, an imperative for example.

'*Gei   Haizi   zuihaode,   zuihaode zai   Zhimajie meiyu!*' (LF20)

Give   children   the best,   the best   at   Sesame Language School!

'Give children the best – the best is at Sesame Street Language School!'

(LF20)

The language school could have used modality such as '*huoxu*' 'perhaps' and

'*yinggai*' '<u>should</u>' in LF20 to temper the exchange.

'*<u>Huoxu ni yinggai gei haizi zuihaode, zuihaode zai Zhimajie meiyu</u>!*' (modification of LF 20)

Perhaps you should give children the best, the best at Sesame Language School!

'<u>Perhaps you should give your children the best – the best is at Sesame Street Language School!</u>' (Modification of LF20)

Table 5-3 shows that a total of 23 texts with a wide range of modality are found in the corpus. As many as 14 probability modalities are found in the corpus. According to Zhang (1991: 299) in Chinese, probability can be realized by a modal operator, such as '*neng*' '<u>can</u>' '*yinggai*' '<u>should</u>', etc. It can also be realized by clauses such as "mental clauses" – '<u>I think</u>', '<u>I know</u>' and "attributive clauses" – 'it is certain/true/possible', etc (Martin et al., 1997: 70). Apart from that, a total of 8 modal operators – 3 '*neng*' '<u>can</u>', 2 '*yinggai*' '<u>should</u>', 2 '*jiang*' '<u>will</u>' and 1 '*bixu*' '<u>must</u>' are found. There are 5 attributive clauses – the '*shi*' sentence pattern '<u>it is true that</u>' (Li & Thompson, 1981) and one mental clause – '*women liaojie*' '<u>we know</u>' in the corpus. These are Chinese modalities used in the written advertisement to temper the exchange in the corpus, but the advertisers are still constructed as authorities and experts. The following are two examples: one is a modal operator (LF10i) and the other one is a clause.

'*<u>Haizi yinggai zai naer xuexie yingwen?</u>*' (LF10i)

Children should at where learn English?

'<u>Where should children learn English?</u>' (LF10i)

'*<u>Meiyu shi haizi maixiang shijie zuijin de lu.</u>*' (LWM16)

American English is   children march toward   the world   shortest NOM

road.

NOM= nominalizer

'American English, for children, is the royal shortcut to the world.' (LWM16)

In addition, modalities such as expression of "degree" (4 texts), expression of "inclination" (3 texts), expression of "obviousness" (2 texts) and expression of "usuality" (1 text) (Halliday, 1985: 82), which temper the exchange are found in the corpus. In the corpus, degree is also realized by adverbial phrases such as '*jie*' (totally), '*jihu*' 'almost', and '*wanquan*' 'completely'.   Inclination can be realized by "*wei*" + V sentence pattern – 'purpose, reason, and/or cause, to be for' (Chao, 1968: 339). Obviousness is realized by adverb phrases such as '*burongzhiyi*' 'no doubt' and the adverbial forward-linking element '*budan*' 'not only'. Usuality is realized by frequency adverbs, such as '*yizhi*' 'always' and '*tongchang*' 'usually. The following are two examples, LF27a an example of expression of inclination and BF17 an example of degree, 'entirely'

'*Xierdun wei ni   dazao   tongwang   shijie   de   yaoshi.*' (LF27a)

Hilton   for you   to make   toward   the world NOM   key

NOM= nominalizer

'Hilton Language School is the key to the world for you.' (LF27a)

'*Nin   de   weilai, wanquan   kan   nin   you*

You (honorific) NOM   future   entirely   depend   You (honorific)   have

duoshao   jingzhengli!' (BF17)

how much   competitiveness

NOM= nominalizer

'Your future depends entirely on how competitive you are.' (BF17)

Eggins (1994: 195) states that modality is associated with the speaker's judgments, opinions and attitudes, but it also functions as a signal of "the unequal power and infrequent contact between the interactants". In the corpus, apart from imperatives, modalities such as probability, degree, inclination, obviousness and usuality are used to soften demands. This does not mean that the advertiser and his audience have equal power, since the most salient indication of power is who dominates the talking in a situation (ibid.: 193). The relationship of unequal power between the advertiser and audiences in the corpus is realized linguistically by the advertiser's simple dominance of the speaker role. When there is a lack of reciprocity, there are unequal status relations (ibid.: 193). The analysis of probability and the degree of inclination and usuality of the corpus provide another clear indication of the unequal power relations between the advertisers and their audiences. The advertisers possessing a higher status role tend to speak with 'decisiveness' and 'assertiveness' – such as '*yinggai*' 'should' and '*bixu*' 'must' – to show their authority and expertise and to exercise their role as a superior (Zhang, 1991: 303). As a result, the audience is assigned a lower status and is told what should and must be done in the age of English-as-the-global-language.

Another grammatical choice to show the English language schools' and *buxiban's* expert status are sentence final particles – '*le*', '*ne*' and '*ma*', which are mood markers in Mandarin (Zhang, 1991: 294). 6 texts with '*le*', one text with '*ne*' and one text with '*ma*' are found in the corpus. '*Le*' indicates a currently relevant state, '*ne*' indicates a response to expectation, and *ma* is a question marker (Li & Thompson, 1981: 238).

'*Quanmin* *meiyu*   *shidai* *lailin* *le!*' (LF20a)

Every citizen American English age has come CRS

CRS= currently Relevant State

<u>'The age that everybody is learning American English has come!'</u> (LF20a)

'*Women dou zai* *Losimeili xue* *yingwen,* *na*   *ni* *ne?*'
(LF21a)

We all at LMI learn English, in that case you Rex

Rex= Response to expectation

<u>'We are all learning English at MLI, how about you?'</u> (LF21a)

'*Meiyu*   *jiushi* *jingzhengli,* *nin*   *jubei* *le*

American English that is competitiveness, you(honorific) possess CRS

ma' (LF27b)

question?

<u>'American English means competitiveness, do you have it?'</u> (LF27b)

'*le*' claims that "a state of affairs has special current relevance with respect to some particular situation" (Li & Thompson, 1981: 204). Moreover, '*le*' is relevant to the here-and-now, when both the speaker and hearer are engaged in the situation of the speech context. In the corpus, 5 texts with the sentence final particle '*le*' are found and they all refer to the current moment. In other words, both advertisers and customers get involved in the same situation, which is presented as characterized by English-as-the-global-language. The use of "*le*" in LF20 says that '<u>The age that every body is learning American English</u>' is the current situation in Taiwan. The language school is explicitly telling its audience that the age of English-as-the-global-language

has come, and learning English is a must for everybody in Taiwan. The use of '*ne*' in

LF21a issues a demand: 'We are all learning English at MLI, how about you?' The

text implies that to learn or not to learn English is no longer a choice for Taiwanese

parents, but rather their main concern has become where their children should learn

English. The advertiser in fact is providing "a mild warning" (Chao, 1968, as cited in

Li & Thompson, 1981: 02) to the audience. In LF27b the final particle "*ma*" is a

question marker. In Chinese a '*ma*' question indicates that a speech situation is in

conflict with the speaker's assumption, so he or she "seeks confirmation or refutation

from the hearer" (Chu, 1983: 182). In LF27b – 'American English means

competitiveness, do you have it?', the statement that 'English means competitiveness'

is presented as true, but it is doubtful whether the audience has it. Therefore, the

question 'Do you have it?' serves to instill a sense of lack in those addressees who

have to answer the question in the negative. The analysis of final sentence particles

demonstrates that the advertisers claim higher status so they can explicitly instill the

message, that the age of English-as-the-global-language has come. In addition, they

give their audiences a mild warning to get with it.

One of the salient findings of the above English and Mandarin grammatical analysis is

that there is a high frequency of imperatives found in both English texts (7 out 14, see

Table 5-1) and Mandarin texts (15 out 46, see Table 5-3). This demonstrates that the

interaction between writers and readers tends to be realized in the Mood system. In

other words, language schools and *buxiban* want their readers to execute the

commands. There are 7 Mandarin texts with Mood markers – '*le*', '*ne*', and '*ma*'.

The Mood marker 'le' in the corpus indicates that both writers and readers are

involved in the same situation, English-as-the-global-language. The Mood marker '*ne*'

is a mild warning given to the reader by the advertiser. The Mood marker '*ma*'

indicates that the advertiser is seeking confirmation from the reader. In addition, there are 15 Mandarin texts with the modals 'should, can, will' and so on and 1 English text with the modality will in the corpus. These grammatical choices show that writers exercise their role as superiors. Other grammatical choices in English texts such as the pronoun we (3 texts), ellipsis (2 texts), and the interrogative do you (1 text) also indicate that the advertiser possesses the knowledge to give advice. To sum up, the above analysis shows that mood and modality used in slogans and short paragraphs show that language schools and *buxiban* present themselves as authoritative experts, particularly in relation to the role of English in the world.

5.1.3   Still Images

Apart from semiotic constructions, grammatical choices in both English and Mandarin texts, still images also play an important role in advertising strategy. Still images are used in written advertisements by English language schools and *buxiban* to further manifest their authority and expertise. Advertisements for English teaching and learning are becoming increasingly multimodal. Advertisers are using devices from more than one semiotic mode of communication simultaneously to express their voices. Still images in this study refer to photos and pictorials in school fliers and websites. New visual literacy based on images and visual design is regarded as the mode for "serious, 'real' " information (Goodman, 1996a: 38). Kress and van Leeuwen (1990, 1996) use a semiotic model, which derives from Halliday's SFG (1978). In other words, a social semiotic analysis aims to question the ways in which images present social reality. "Images, like verbal text, do not arrive by accident" (Goddard, 1998: 114). Therefore, still images are an integral part of the way written advertisements represent English teaching and learning. As far as image analysis is concerned, Kress and van Leeuwen's method of visual analysis "offers all

that is needed for the sociological interpretation of images" (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001:

154). Based on Kress and van Leeuwen's semiotic model, I will explore how still

images in the corpus are used to indicate three dimensions. First, I will examine how

still images are used by the advertisers to represent the concept English-as-the-global-

language in the corpus. Second, I will show how still images bring about interactions

and relations between the advertisers and consumers. Finally, we will see how still

images are used by advertisers in the corpus to convince their audiences of the truth of

English-as-the-global-language.

5.1.3.1   English-as-the-Global-Language in Still Images

Figure 5-3:   Ideological Concepts of ELT and SLA in Still Images
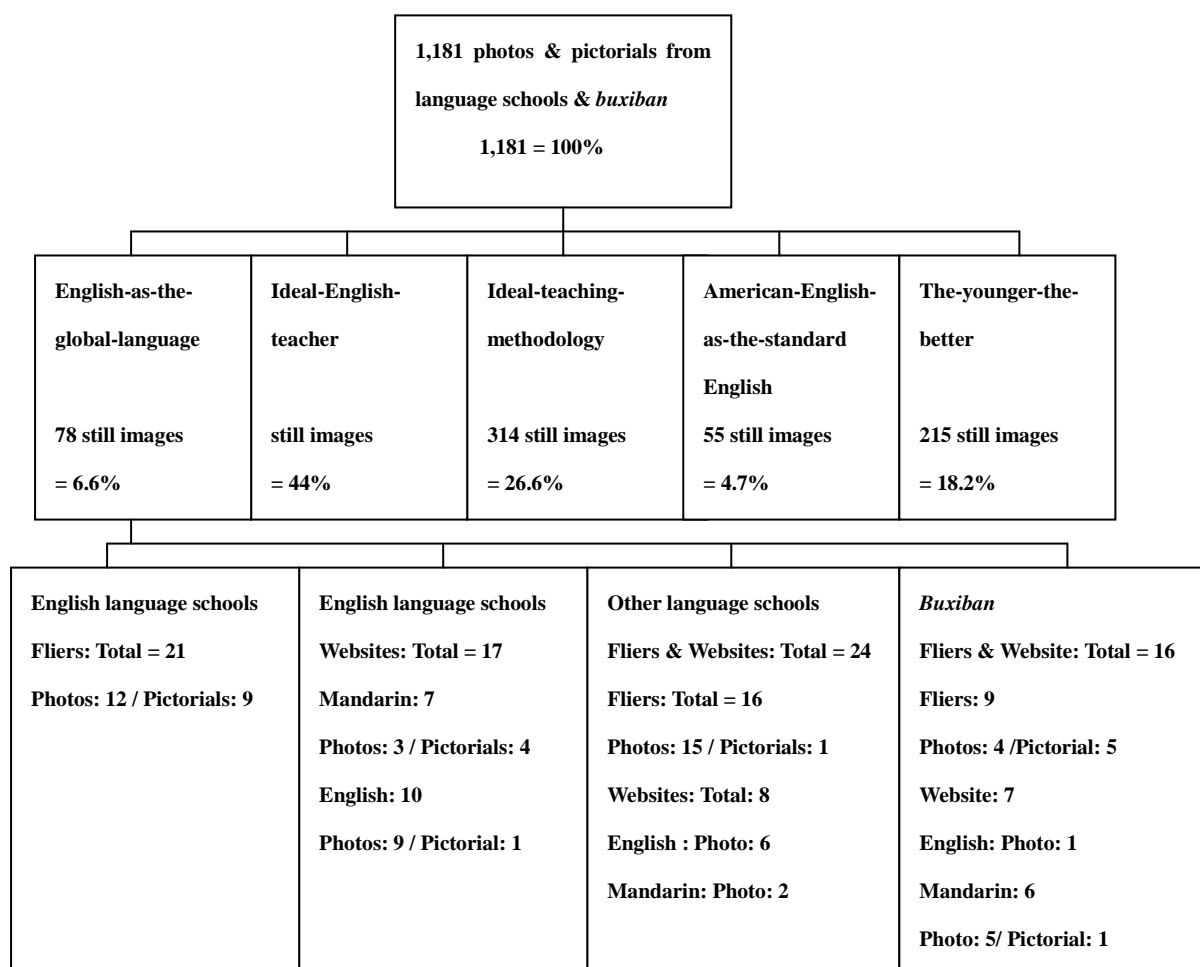
A total of 1,181 still images is found in the corpus (Figure 5-3). 78 (6.6%) photos,

drawings and logos contain the concept of English-as-the-global-language. The decision whether a still image contains the concept of English-as-the-global-language, as in the slogans and short paragraphs, is based on the definition and/or the function of English-as-the-global-language (see Introduction & 5.1.2.1).   A total of 7 photos were counted twice and 1 photo (LF22-p1) three times since they all contain two or more ideological concepts. Jewitt and Oyama (2001: 134–156) point out that images are used as records of people, places, things, actions or events. LF5-p1 (Figure 5-4) will serve as an example of how people, things, actions, events and so on are used in still images to realize the concept of English-as-the-global-language.

Figure 5-4:   LF5-p1

LF5-p1, shows a young Taiwanese man wearing a T-shirt with a huge language school logo on it. HESS English Adventures occupies more than three quarters of the round logo. The remaining quarter is taken up by the Chinese school name and the school email address. The young man is kicking a globe with his right foot and there is a speech bubble saying '*dapian taixia wudishou*' 'to smash whoever stands in the way in the world'. The school slogan says '*yong liuli de meiyu, kuaiyi tita quan shijie*' 'To use fluent American English, to travel around the world easily'. Language explains and amplifies a picture, but the picture has a story of its own to tell (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1990: 11). Symbolic structures define the meaning or identity of a participant in a still image (ibid.: 79). The photo depicts a small globe symbolizing the global village.   The man stands for the Taiwanese people.   The school logo depicts English as the commodity, and the kicking action means doing something to get to the global village. The photo is accompanied by the school slogan – 'to use fluent American English, to travel around the world easily'. LF5-p1 photo is directly telling its viewers that Taiwanese people need to acquire English, the global language for international travel.   Zandpour, Chang, and Catalano (1992, as cited in Shao et al., 1999: 63) analyzed 659 moving images in television commercials from Taiwan, France and USA. They found that Taiwanese advertisements are more prone to use symbolism than the USA or French advertisements, and this is also true for the still images in my corpus.

5.1.3.2   *Symbolism – Things*

One very important symbolic object in the corpus that indicates English is a global language is the globe. In their analysis of the front cover of *Our Society and Others*

Kress and van Leeuwen argue (1990: 61–62) argue that "the globe is not one of many objects 'naturally' present in a setting such as a classroom".   Moreover, they point out that the globe has been placed there deliberately in an "abstract and decontextualized way". Being decontextualized means that a represented participant (person, object) in still images becomes "generic, a typical example" and connected with a "particular location and a specific moment of time" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1990: 55).   The same can be argued for the images in my corpus.   TESOL's global logo represents TESOL spanning the globe. It is revealing that TESOL considers itself as a "liberal profession", but it is really an "industry" (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996: 439). As many as 24 still images with globes are found and 13 of these are school logos. Like TESOL's logo, these 13 (out of 73 in this study) language school logos have the school name initials spanning the globe indicating that English is the global language. Globes also symbolize the 'global village', and people need to do something, to take action to enter this global village. Apart from LF5-p1 in which the man is kicking the globe, 7 photos and 1 pictorial of globes involve people and actions. I will continue with this issue later in this section.

Two photos of globes without people or actions involved are found in the corpus. One (BF1-p1) is placed above the school name. The other one (LF9-p10) has eight small globes with four small globes located in the four corners of each side of the LF9 school flier. As a result the globes in these two fliers stand out as separate and distinct units.   In addition, these photos of globes are not accompanied by writing. These two photos can be read in terms of English-as-the-global-language. In terms of text format, there is a relation between the body texts and the images. It also can be read as English-as- the-global-language, since the body texts provide information in relation to the commodity being advertised, English. Apart from these two photos there are

two photos of world maps (BF30-p9, OLWE1-p1), one photo (OLF13-p1) of a globe with different countries' flags on it and one photo of different countries' flags (BWM20-p4). They have no people or actions and the accompanying text can be analyzed in the same way as BF1-p1 and LF9-p10.

5.1.3.3   Symbolism – People

A total of 21 still images with children are found. In the LF24-p1 photo, seven little children are standing in a line with their arms around each other in front of a huge drawing of a semi-globe.   It creates a visual concept of their different ethnic status, since they have different skin colors. The big globe or symbolic object is placed as the background of the photo, which draws the viewer's attention. These seven children are thus shown to be part of the world, a microcosm of the world. Photos like these are   "symbolic attributive process" images (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1990: 80). LF24-p1 shows that the children are standing 'on the world stage', and the accompanied writing suggests the same the thing – '*shijie wutai*' 'the world stage'. The little Asian girl with yellow skin stands out among this group of children, because she is wearing a shocking yellow colored tracksuit, while others are wearing more muted, softer less saturated colors. Strong and highly saturated color in still images suggests   "more real" and muted and softer less saturated color suggests "less real" (ibid.: 51).   Moreover, she is the shortest and may be the youngest. This little girl represents the Taiwanese younger generation, and in this representation, she has a much more significant role to play than the white, black and dark brown children. This photo contains two concepts – English-as-the-global-language and the-younger-the-better in English learning. In addition to this, two drawings (LF9-pi1, LWM3-pi2) are presented in a similar way to LF24-p1, with children from different ethnic groups standing around the globe.   In two drawings (BF10-pi2, BWM23-pi1) and two

photos (LWE13-p20, LWM5-p12) children are shown with different ethnic status. Although there are no globes found in these photos, they are still presented to be a microcosm of the world, and using English.

Children in still images play a crucial role in both concepts English-as-the-global-language and the-younger-the-better ideology. Human participants in symbolic attributive processes "usually pose for the viewer, and are not involved in an action" (Kress & van Leeuwn, 1990: 80). LF12-p1 shows a little Taiwanese boy holding a globe and staring at his viewers. Above this little boy, two graphic strokes lead the eye to another photo of a big globe, which consists of different photos such as English classes and English textbooks. Graphic information is used to represent "verbal English" (Goodman, 1996: 61). These two graphic strokes used in this photo show that the little Taiwanese boy is not only staring at his viewers, but is also telling them that English is the global language. LF17a-p1 and LF12-p10 are similar. In a total of 9 photos (LWE3-p1 – p4, p6, p10, p11, LWE6-p6, LWM1-p22) children are wearing language school T-shirts and there are two photos (LF17a-p1, p4) in which children are reading their language school English textbooks. Most of the children in these photos are staring at their viewers, except in one photo. These photos also use "symbolic attributes" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1990), since the language school T-shirts and language school textbooks are used as symbolic objects on display for the viewers. These photos can be transcoded as English equaling internationalism, and English as a must for those Taiwanese aspiring to internationalism for themselves or their children.

Adults are also used in the still images to portray that English is a global language. A total of 16 still images with adults are found in the corpus. LF5-p2 shows a geometric

abstract website world with www.hess.com.tw on it. In this website world, a Taiwanese young man, a surfer, is wearing a tropical shirt and a pair of shorts. He is not riding on a surfboard, but a giant computer mouse, which is as big as a normal surfboard. He is surfing not on the water, but in this geometric website world. The school slogan says '*Suini ziyou chuangdang wulu zinshijie*' 'To surf as well as you wish to on a New World – the World Website'. The photo depicts the geometric abstract website world, that is, a new cultural world of Hi Tech. Riding on the computer mouse stands for the acquisition of new knowledge and communication in this new cultural world, and the surfer for the Taiwanese people. The school's English email address suggests that English is the tool for this new cultural world of Hi Tech. The LF5-p2 photo is directly telling its viewers that English has become the medium for new knowledge and communication with the development and advance of Hi Tech. Obviously, LF5-2 is also a symbolic attribute. Apart from this photo, there are 8 symbolic attribute photos with adult participants doing something to symbolic objects, such as a computer keyboard (LF5-p3), a Time magazine, (LF5-p4), a globe, (LF5-p1, BF30-p1, p9), textbooks (LF17b-p3, LF18-pi4) and computers (OLWM4-p1).

A total of 7 still images show that English is regarded as the best language among entrepreneurs and businessmen. OLWM4-p1 shows two clasped hands. Viewers know that the hands belong to businessmen, not only because the heading says Uniting You with the World through Smart Business Communications, but also because the photo of shaking hands reveals that these two people are wearing shirts and business suits. Three similar photos are found in the corpus. Two photos (OLWM2-p2, OLWE2-p5) show two businessmen carrying briefcases and shaking hands. The LF18-pi2 pictorial shows that there is a bridge on a huge globe. A businessman carrying a briefcase and a businesswoman carrying an organizer are

shaking hands on the bridge. The background of this pictorial has different symbolic objects such as an airplane, ship, skyscraper, computer, spacecraft, and car to demonstrate that more and more occupations have to use the global language English. In addition, a total of three photos (OLWE2-p1, p2, p3) depict business meetings. These photos demonstrate the importance of good language skills to compete successfully in the global marketplace, since English is used as the medium of science, technology and international trade.

5.1.3.4 Symbolism – Places

Settings in still images also can be used to portray the ideology of English-as-the-global-language. Symbolic suggestive pictures focus on their "genericity, their quality of depicting, not a specific moment, but a generalized essence" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1990: 81). A total of 19 photos with settings overseas are found in the corpus. 14 photos (OLF13-p3 – p15, p18) in the OLF13 language school brochure show many different kinds of indoor and outdoor activities carried on by different ethnic people in English speaking countries, such as speaking on the phone, using computers, having English classes, outings, rafting, skiing, bicycling, and so on. The accompanying text deals with interactive English learning provided by the language school. These photos do not really focus on any particular participants in an activity or they de-emphasize details which are major features of symbolic suggestive pictures (ibid.: 81).   Apart from these photos, there are two photos of Caucasians (BWM18-p5, p6) wearing graduation gowns and hoods on the BWM18 school website. Below these two photos in the same website, another 2 photos (BWM18-p7, p8) show two cities in Canada, since the school focuses only on studying abroad in Canada. One similar photo is also found in a *buxiban* flier (BF30-p10). BF30-p10 shows a world map on the left and on the right, some cities in English speaking

countries, such as New York (the Statue of Liberty), Washington (the White House), Sydney (the Opera House). The accompanying text deals with study abroad in an English speaking country.   These photos demonstrate that English is the means for acquiring access to the global village, since it is used as the medium for wider communication and a contact language for different cultures in order to communicate with one another. In addition to this, English is also one of the most important means for acquiring access to the intellectual world.

5.1.3.5   *Point of View – Direct and Indirect Address*

Both language and still images can be used to address readers or viewers directly or indirectly. Language does it through grammatical choices, such as imperatives, modality, ellipsis and so on (see *5.1.2.3 & 5.1.2.4*) Still images do it through the ways in which representative participants (such as people, animals, and other objects if they have eyes) look at viewers. If the participants in the images look at their viewers, they address their viewers directly and that constitutes a demand. If they don't, they address their viewer indirectly, and they offer information to the viewers. To address directly or indirectly or to give a demand or offer information functions as "point of view" in still images (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 135–153). *Point of view* indicates how still images bring about interactions and relations between advertisers and consumers.

Apart from 13 school logos with globes and 9 still images without eyes, a total of 56 still images use gaze. A total of 28 still images directly address viewers or are "demand" pictures in Kress and van Leeuwen's term (1990, 1996). LF22-ph1 is the example containing three ideological concepts – English-as-the-global-language, ideal-English-teaching-methodology and the-younger-the-better ideology.   LF22-ph1

shows a little Taiwanese boy standing and smiling at his viewers with his English textbook *Big Bird's Yellow Book* open. The number "*2000*" which is bigger than the boy's size is placed horizontally as the background of the photo. The speech bubble says, No Chinese!. Above this photo is the school Mandarin slogan in a striking print '*Qianjin qianxi, gei haizi zuihao de*!' 'In the new millennium, give the best to your children!'. The little Taiwanese boy in this photo symbolizes the younger generation in Taiwan. No Chinese! Refers to the ideal-English-teaching-method (see chapter 7). The number "*2000*" with relatively big size as background symbolizes the need of the Taiwanese people for English in the new millennium. This photo constitutes a demand: the boy smiles at the viewer. He demands something from the viewer with an ingratiating smile. The viewer is asked to imagine entering a relation of "social affinity" with the represented participant in the photo (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1990: 27). Both the language and image address the viewer directly in this example. They are directly telling their viewers that English is the global language in the new millennium and it is a must for everybody. 27 out of 28 still images directly address their viewers with smiles. The only exception is a photo (LF5-p3) in which a Taiwanese young man looks excited with his mouth open. He is gazing at the viewer with his open arms and with a *Time Magazine* in his right hand. He is directly addressing his viewers with the message in Mandarin, '*Yong zui shishang de meiyou zhuozhu nide shidai*' 'To keep abreast of current affairs in American English, to keep you updated'. He is directly telling his viewers that American English is the language for the communication of information and news.

There are 28 still images in which human participants do not look at the viewer. Kress and van Leeuwen (1990, 1996) call such pictures "offers" and they serve different functions from the demand pictures. Demand pictures make contact with

the viewer, so they establish an imaginary relation with them (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 121–122). Pictures of offers, on the other hand, seek to be read as a piece of "objective" and "factual" information. In the corpus, still images of studying abroad, activities in English speaking countries and business meetings are often portrayed in the form of an offer. The setting of OLF13-p10 is an English classroom in an English speaking country.   The class consists of students from different ethnic groups and the teacher looks like a native speaker of English. This photo is indirectly telling its viewers that people should study English if they plan to interact in English with non-natives or with native speakers, or if they plan to further their studies abroad. English has already grown into a world property and it is the global language. In Taiwan, language schools and *buxiban* use still images to market the concept of English-as-the-global-language and then set into motion the actual process of selling their services.

Next, I shall look at how school names also play an important role in advertising the ideology of English-as-the-global-language.

5.1.4   School Names

Many researchers (El-Yasin & Mahadin, 1995; Herbert, 1999; Li, 1997; Lu & Millward, 1989; Song, 2002; Zhu & Millward, 1987) point out that name choice responds to changing sociocultural and political conditions. Herbert (1999: 249) argues that the act of naming businesses in South Africa is an act of social communication and embedded within a cultural framework.   He also points out how the shop name-giver in Johannesburg seeks to "send a community-oriented positive message" to the community via the name displayed on the shop front.   Similarly, language schools make meaning through their choice and use of words. The basic

orientation of this section is to view language school names as "visual communication", as suggested by Goodman (1996a: 38). I will explore school names from a sociolinguistic perspective to investigate how school names serve to convey ideological concepts of ELT and SLA. First the concept of English-as-the-global-language is examined.

Figure 5-5:   School Names


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                        ┌──────────────────────────┐
                        │     School Names:        │
                        │     Total = 150          │
                        └──────────────────────────┘

┌─────────────────────────┬──────────────────────────┬─────────────────────────┐
│ English language        │ Other language           │ Buxiban: 59             │
│ schools: 69             │ schools: 22              │                         │
│ Fliers: 37 (E&M - 37)   │ Fliers: 16 (E&M - 5,     │ Fliers: 32   (E&M - 6,  │
│                         │         E - 11)          │         M - 27)         │
│ English websites: 11    │ English websites: 1      │ English websites: 1     │
│ (E&M - 7, E - 4)        │ (E - 1)                  │ (E&M - 1)               │
│ Mandarin websites: 21   │ Mandarin websites: 5     │ Mandarin websites: 26   │
│ (E&M - 21)              │ (E&M - 1, E - 2, M - 2)  │ (E&M - 6, M - 20)       │
└─────────────────────────┴──────────────────────────┴─────────────────────────┘

                        ┌──────────────────────────┐
                        │ Ideological concepts: 92 │
                        │ Non-ideological          │
                        │ concepts: 58             │
                        └──────────────────────────┘

┌─────────────────────────┬──────────────────────────┬─────────────────────────┐
│ English language        │ Other language           │ Buxiban: 59             │
│ schools: 69             │ schools: 22              │                         │
│ Ideological concepts:58 │ Ideological concepts: 19 │ Ideological concepts: 15 │
│ Non-ideological         │ Non-ideological          │ Non-ideological          │
│ concepts: 11            │ concepts: 3              │ concepts: 44            │
└─────────────────────────┴──────────────────────────┴─────────────────────────┘
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(Note: E: English, M: Mandarin, E&M: English and Mandarin)

Figure 5-5 indicates that a total of 150 school names are found in the corpus and a total of 92 school names contain ideological concepts of English teaching and learning. A preliminary inspection of the data of *buxiban* names reveals that most school names contain the concept English-as-the-global-language, since they promote the idea that English guarantees future successes, e.g. *Future Scholar*, *Outstanding*,

Excellent Future and so on. After examining words appearing in *buxiban* names, 44 of 59 do not contain ideological concepts (Figure 5-5). Take '*Mingru Wenli Buxiban*' for example. '*Ming*' - 'tomorrow, future', '*ru*' 'scholar', '*wenli*' 'English, math, physics, chemistry' *Buxiban*, so '*Mingru Wenli Buxiban*' means 'Future Scholars in English, Math, Physics and Chemistry Supplementary School'. Therefore, not only English, but also other arduous supplementary courses, such as math, chemistry and physics make students become future scholars. In other words, what is crucial in *buxiban* names is that if school names contain '*wenli*' 'English, math, physics, chemistry', or contents of school fliers and websites indicate that they provide these arduous supplementary courses, they do not qualify for English-as-the-global-language analysis in this section. In addition, if a school's Mandarin and English names do not have the same meaning, they are counted twice. If both names have the same meaning, they are counted only once. For example, LF12's school name in Mandarin is '*Diqiucun Meiyu*' 'Global Village American Language School' and its English name is Global Village Organization. Both Mandarin and English possess the same meaning, so it is seen as a single school name and is counted only once in the corpus. Language schools, such as Hess, Giraffe, Joy, Jordan and so on are found in more than one form of advertising, such as school fliers and television commercials, but they are counted only once. 15 school names are counted twice, since their Mandarin and English names do not possess the same meaning. LWE2 is an example. Its Mandarin school name is '*Bokelai*', a transliteration of 'Berkeley', the famous US university town, and its English name is Jump Start. Berkeley contains the ideological concept of American-English-as-the- standard-English and Jump Start contains the concept of the-younger-the-better.

5.1.4.1   English as a Marketing Strategy in School Names

Most of the school names (46 out of 59) in *buxiban* fliers and websites are completely in Mandarin. Thirteen (out of 22) other language schools have Mandarin names only. By contrast, almost every language school has both English and Mandarin school names and five language schools have English school names only on their English websites. This reveals that an English name is given to every language school. We must ask, therefore, why school owners use Mandarin only or English only in their school names. Song (2002: 145–158) points out that the Chinese government (People's Republic of China) protests the use of "yangming (foreign names), because they are afraid such use represents aspects of cultural alienation". Research conducted into advertising in Taiwan by Neelankavil et al. (1995, as cited in Shao et al., 1999) investigated the use of foreign language and foreign models in magazine advertising in four Asian countries: Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Their finding is that the use of English language and foreign models is very common in other countries as well. In another study by Wang et al. (1997, as cited in Shao et al., 1999), it was found that Taiwanese advertising is considerably more westernized than Japanese advertising, which means English language and foreign models are used quite frequently. According to Wang et al. (1997), the main reason for the high frequency of Western advertising in Taiwan may be due to Taiwan's history of acceptance of foreign cultures, and admiration of products of Western origin. The above research indicates that English is used relatively commonly in advertising. Therefore one has to ask why a majority of *buxiban* names and slogans and short paragraphs (see Figure 5-1) are exclusively in Mandarin.

El-Yasin and Mahadin (1996: 408–416) conducted a study of shop signs in Jordan. They take a linguistic perspective to investigate whether the words in shop signs are Arabic or not, and what they are intended to convey to consumers. One of their

findings is that Arabic shop names reflect traditional business types rather than the modern ones. In other words, shop signs of modern business types (such as photo shop, supermarket, boutique, cafeteria, software, stereo and so on) are often given in English and Arabic. Similar results are also found in Herbert's (ibid.: 251) study in South Africa of the names of commercial enterprises (e.g., grocery, general dealer, barber, bottle shop), which are not part of traditional indigenous culture and are often given English or Afrikaans names. El-Yasin and Mahadin argue that the widespread use of foreign words (mainly English) in shop signs aim at promoting goods and services offered by the businesses that display them. Song (2002: 148) points out that "*yangming*" (*foreign names*), such as McDonald, Motorola, Kentucky and so on with their Chinese transliteration started to be introduced into China in the 1980s. Apparently, these are modern business types, too. As suggested by Song (2002: 156), "commercial neologisms are symbolic goods that have a two faced reality, a commodity and a symbolic object". Based on the above studies, English language schools can be viewed as modern business types and *buxiban* can be regarded as traditional ones. Next, I shall explore how both English language school and *buxiban* names are used to in advertising the ideology of English-as-the-global-language.

5.1.4.2 English-as-the-Global-Language in School Names

Figure 5-4 indicates that 92 school names contain ideological concepts of English teaching and learning, and Figure 5-5 gives 102 school names. Herbert (1999: 253) demonstrates that shop names often play on multiple meanings. The same is true of my corpus. Four school names; E-learning, The International English Village of Kidsland, Little Harvard, Giraffe are counted twice. Three names, (Famous, The Best, Deesson) are counted three times in the corpus. Take the LF13 school name, The

Best, for example. It has several layers of meaning. First, it can be decoded that students will be *the best* in the future if they master English. It also means the school employs *the best* English teachers. The Best can be decoded as the school using *the best* teaching methodology, so the school is *the best*. The name contains three ideological concepts – English-as-the-global-language, the-ideal-English-teachers, and the-ideal-teaching-methodology. The school is warning people that English is the key to success and warning people to be more careful of the quality of English teachers and teaching methodology.

Figure 5-6:   Ideological Concepts of ELT and SLA in School Names

102 school names 102 = 100%				
English-as-the-global-language 25 school names = 24.5%	Ideal-English-teachers 38 school names = 37.3%	Ideal-teaching-Methodology school names = 8.8%	American-English-as-the-standard-English 15 school names = 14.7%	The-younger-the-better 15 school names = 14.7%

English language schools Fliers: Total: 9 E&M: 8 M: 1	English language schools Websites: Total: 8 Mandarin: 6 E&M: 5, E: 1 English: 2 E&M: 1, E: 1,	Other language schools Fliers & Websites: Total: 6 Fliers: 3 E&M: 2, M: 1 Website: 3 English: E&M: 1 Mandarin: E&M: 1, E: 1	*Buxiban* Fliers & Websites: Total: 2 Website: 2 Mandarin: 2 E: 1, M: 1

(Note: E: English, M: Mandarin, E&M: English and Mandarin)

5.1.4.3   Symbolism – School Names

Herbert (1999: 251) points out that shop names are intentionally communicative in the same way that personal names are. Both of them have a dual function: one is identifying a particular individual and the other is "reflecting the subjective state of the namegivers". In Chinese, a pictographic language, each individual character carries with it a semantic component. Theoretically, any Chinese character can be used as a given name; thus the reference book for name givers is a dictionary (Zhu & Millward, 1987; Lu, 1989). Zhu and Millward (1987: 17) list eight groups: 1. Fame, achievement, ability, 2. Intellectual and moral quality, 3. Money and wealth, 4. Longevity, 5. Physical beauty, 6. Symbolic qualities, 7. Desire for additional children, and 8. Commemorative names. I will apply some of these groups to the school names in the corpus. Generally speaking, the 25 school names that contain the concept of English-as-the-global-language fall into 4 categories:

1. English for future success:

   Giraffe, Fly Dragon, Sunflower, Famous, The Best, Deeson, Win-Win, Secure, 'Future Saint', Elite

2. English as a global language:

   Bridging, The Big World, Global Village, Today, Everyday, The World, The International English Village of Kidsland, Asian International

3. English for business and information

   e-learning, United International Business, Global Professional

4. The importance of English

   Line up, Principal, Royal, The Best, Excellent

5.1.4.4   Symbolic Quality

Not only still images but also school names use symbolism to convey ideological concepts of English teaching and learning in this study. One of eight given names

groups by Zhu and Millward (ibid.: 17) is called "symbolic qualities". Based on the examples provided by Zhu and Millward, "symbolic qualities" refers to the meanings of names and are based on connotation, not denotation. Symbolic quality plays an important role in this study. School names such as Sunflower, Giraffe and Fly Dragon from Group One seem denotative at first glance and not to contain the concept of English-as-the-global-language. However, for Chinese speakers these names have very strong connotations.

To begin with, there is an old Chinese saying that the sunflower always turns toward the sun so the name suggests a bright future. This is one of the reasons Taiwan's teachers chose this plant as a symbol for their September 28, 2002 (Teachers' Day, the birthday of Confucius) solidarity march. Tens of thousands of teachers were waving sunflowers to express their determination to uphold teachers' solidarity and dignity and call for the right to form a teachers' union in Taiwan (Li, 2002). Therefore, the school name Sunflower implies that people mastering English will have a bright future. Second, giraffes are the "tallest" living animals in the world. There is a very positive connotation for '*giraffes*', which means '*gao gao zai zhang*' – '*gao*' 'high', '*zai*' 'at', '*shang*' 'above', that is, they are situated high above or they are much better than the others. In addition, the character '*gao*' is used to describe people who are much better than others not only physically but also mentally. The school name Giraffe means that if people can master English, they are better than the average. It also can be argued that the school has better teaching methodology or better English teachers. Finally, for Chinese, the dragon is always associated with emperor, fame, success, glory and so on, and has very positive connotations which are very different from the Western ones. Commercial neologisms often ignore syntactic rules (Song, 2002: 149). As a case in point, a school's Chinese and English names may seem

unrelated, but to a Chinese speaker the two names are connotatively very similar. <u>Fly Dragon</u>'s Chinese translation, which can be best be described as "Chinglish". Chinese '*feilung*' from '*fei*' '<u>fly</u>' and '*lung*' '<u>dragon</u>' means 'to ascend the throne'. The Chinese name of the <u>Fly Dragon</u> language school is '*zhanqun*' from '*zhan*' '<u>to expand, to extend</u>' and '*qun*' '<u>group of people</u>' or '<u>outstanding in a group of people</u>'. So, in the socioculture of Chinese language, any apparent divergence of meaning between the Chinese and English names fades to insignificance.

Sound symbolism also plays its part in school names. <u>Deeson,</u> an English language school name sounds like '*decent*' in English. In addition, the Chinese school name is "*De Sheng*". The transliteration of Thomas Alva Edison is '*Ai De Sheng*'. In the expression '*De Sheng*', '*de*' also means '<u>to advance, to teach</u>' and '*sheng*' - '<u>a student</u>'.

5.1.4.5 *Commemorative Names*

Another group of given names is called "commemorative names" (Zhu & Millward, 1987: 17). Chinese people normally do not give their children the given names of their parents, relatives, close friends or celebrities, but given names frequently commemorate an event, especially social or political events (Lu & Millward, 1989). One example in their study is that the given name '*Ya-Fei*' '<u>Asia-Africa</u>' commemorates the unity of Asian and African people. Lu and Millward (1989: 265–280) collected 714 names of Chinese students who were born before and after the Chinese Cultural Revolution. Their main finding is that given names reflect "political, social and cultural conditions at the time of naming" (ibid.: 265). An example is the character '*hong*' '<u>red</u>'. Before the Cultural Revolution, it was used in girls' names, but during the Cultural Revolution, it denoted not only the color red, but

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also "revolution". As a result, a number of names contain the character '*hong*' red' for the meaning of "Revolution", such as '*Hong Ya*' 'Revolutionary Asia', '*qing Hong*' 'celebrate the Revolution', '*zhong Hong*' and 'be loyal to the Revolution'. In other words, names often directly reflect contemporary culture and politics. The same is true of school names in the context of English teaching and learning. School names such as The Big World, Global Village, The World, Bridging, Global Professional, Asian International and so on all play on the status of English as a global or an international language. Thus, to a certain extent, the names mirror the current status of English in Taiwan.

5.1.4.6   *Fame, Achievement, and Ability*

The last group suggested by Zhu and Millward (1987: 16) is called "Fame, Achievement, Ability". Two of their examples are the names of Chiang Kai-Shek's sons *Jing-guo* and *Wei-guo*.   '*Guo*' in each name means 'country or nation', '*Jing*' means 'warp' (in weaving) and '*Wei*' means 'weft'.   '*Jing*' and '*Wei*' together means 'to manage or to run', thus each name means 'to run the country'. In the corpus, school names such as The Best, Win-Win, Excellent, Famous, Royal, Principal and Elite are used to celebrate not only their owners' achievements in having built a successful business in English teaching and learning, but also entail the promise that their prospective customers will be able to achieve the same. In addition, they are telling addressees that they are capable of providing their students the key to the world, namely English.

5.3   Conclusion

The texts analyzed in this chapter suggest that English is needed for news and information, for business, for professions, for international travel, for education both

in Taiwan and abroad, for self-improvement, and English for future success in general. English is promoted as a tool that is needed for most purposes. Several strategies are used to promote English, such as English as a marketing strategy, semiotic constructions and grammatical choices. In addition to textual strategies, still images play a crucial role. English language schools and *buxiban* use symbolic pictures such as logos, objects, people, and places to address their viewers directly (gaze at the viewer) or indirectly (absence of gaze at the viewer). Finally, school names are also used to send the message that English is the global language, and is essential for future success.

Based on the analysis of the advertisements, there is no clearly identifiable group, such as parents, English language learners, or children being addressed as the audience, viewers or message receivers. In other words, English language schools and *buxiban* target 'the general public – real readers' (Goddard, 1998: 31). English language schools and *buxiban* work to keep the ideology of English-as-the-global-language alive for their English market. Therefore, everyone (the real readers) is addressed as if each and everyone was preparing for the coming of the global village, although not everyone may participate in English learning. Shoemaker and Reese (1996: 190) point out that "buyers are advertisers", so they pay what it costs to run a campaign. Moreover, there is substantial evidence that "media content is affected – both directly and indirectly – by both advertisers and audiences" (ibid.: 190). The analysis shows that in Taiwan, English-as-the-global-language is viewed as a panacea or a solution to existing cultural, economic and political problems, and that the use of English is associated with an ideology of internationalism. Internationalization or globalization has made English a highly valued and desirable commodity, and English teaching and learning is viewed from an economic perspective, not from an

educational one.

CHAPTER SIX: THE "IDEAL-ENGLISH-TEACHER"

6.0   Introduction

This chapter looks at ideologies of the ideal-English-teacher in Taiwan based on advertisements produced by English language schools and *buxiban.*   "The native speaker fallacy" is a strong term used by Phillipson (1992a), questioning whether the ideal-English-teacher as a native speaker of English can serve as a model for non-native speakers. In addition, the ideology implies unfair treatment of qualified non-native English speaking teachers. Labov (1969, as cited in Cook, 1999: 94) argues that one group should not be measured against the norms of another. However, many researchers have found that in probably every non-English speaking country, there is major division or dichotomy between native and non-native English speaking teachers (Rampton, 1990; Phillipson, 1992a; Medgyes, 1992; Liu, 1999; Cook, 1999). It can be argued that this division stems from the native speaker ideology. Although there are many arguments against the native and non-native dichotomy (Rampton, 1990; Medgyes, 1992; Phillipson, 1992a, b), the main argument rests on the assumption and ideology that native speakers of English are ideal English teachers. Very little research has been done on the opposite notion that non-native speakers are ideal English teachers.

This chapter explores the identity of the ideal English teacher, it will be argued that the native and non-native dichotomy does not represent a linguistic construct but a socially constructed identity based on cultural assumptions of who conforms to the preconceived notion of an ideal-English-teacher. This chapter consists of four parts.

First, the native speaker ideology is examined. Secondly, I draw a distinction between a native and non-native dichotomy, and a white and non-white dichotomy in English teaching. Thirdly, I show that both natives and non-natives have an equal chance to become good English teachers, depending on their competence in the target language, the local language, knowledge of grammar, and professionalism. The last part of this chapter investigates implications of the ideology of the ideal-English-teacher.

6.1 Overview of the Data and Introduction to Analysis

Advertisements produced by English language schools and *buxiban*, such as television commercials, television English teaching programs, English teaching job ads, slogans and short paragraphs, contents of language schools, school names, and still images, play a crucial role in promoting the ideological concept of the ideal-English-teacher. The first step in analyzing the data is to indicate how the ideological concept of the ideal-English-teacher is realized in these advertisement texts.

6.1.1 Television Commercial and Television English Teaching program

Television commercials and television English teaching programs are analyzed as using the concept of the ideal-English-teacher if they depict a teacher.

6.1.2 English Teaching Job Ads

There are 102 advertisements for English teaching jobs in my corpus, and 54 of them are drawn from one English newspaper, *China Post*, and 48 of them are drawn from one world wide website, *Teach in Taiwan*. The first step in analyzing these ads is to identify terms, especially nouns, appearing in every ad and then count their occurrences. Take Figure 6.1 for example.

Figure 6-1:   C4 English Teaching Job Ad from *China Post*, July 19, 2001.

> **Language School needs**
> **English Teachers**
> ● North American Accent
>   preferred
> ● College/University graduate
> ● Teaching experience with
>   children (3-15 years old)
> ● Location: XXX Kaohsiung
> Please call XXX or XXX
> (07) XXX or XXX

Bruthiaux (1996:126) suggests that job ads typically consist of five components, mainly **target** element**, recruiter** element**, requirements** element**, reward** element and **contact** segment. After counting the occurrences of these lexical collocations, they are classified into these five elements which are all related to different degrees to the ideological concept of the ideal-English-teacher. Take Figure 6-1 for example, the collocation <u>English teachers</u> is a **target** element. <u>Language school</u> and <u>children classes</u> are **recruiter** elements.   <u>North American accent</u>, <u>college/university graduate</u> or <u>BA degree</u>, and <u>teaching experience with children</u> are **requirements** elements. Please call *XXX* (*name*) or *XXX* (*name*) at (*07*) *XXX* (*phone number*) is a **contact** segment and no **reward** elements are found in this ad. Any information in job ads which is related to the term <u>teacher</u> is analyzed.

6.1.3   Slogans and Short Paragraphs

25 (13%) out of a total of 192 slogans and short paragraphs or texts contain the concept of the ideal-English-teacher (cf. Figure 5-1, p. 121). Whether a text contains

the concept of the ideal-English teacher or not is based on Rampton's (1990: 97) inherited and other qualities of a language teacher. Inherited qualities of an English teacher means country of origin, accent, sex, physical features, and personality. Other qualities refer to a special education or training that make one an expert in one field or another, such as working experience and educational background. LF24e and BWM2 are two examples.

Why we are the best!

'*Tien Tien Meiyu, Waishi shouke*' (LF24e)

Why we are the best!

'Foreign teachers to teach American English every day' (LF24e)

'*100% hege TEFL huo jiashi zige, hefa zhuanyie, waiji laoshi shouke.*' (LWM7)

'100% qualified TEFL or certified teachers, legal and professional foreign teachers instruction.' (LWM7)

A total of 5 texts are counted twice since they contain two ideological concepts: the ideal-English-teacher and American-English-as-standard-English. Since American English equals standard English in Taiwan, a North American accent is popular and preferred. As a result, American and Canadian teachers who speak English with a North American accent are considered the ideal-English-teachers (see also chapter 8). The following, LF20, a Mandarin text, is one of the examples.

'*Tepien MeiJia you jingyan laoshi lai Tai shouke.*' (LF20)

'Particularly experienced American and Canadian English teachers are

<u>hired to teach in Taiwan.</u>' (LF20)

6.1.4 Body Texts

The techniques of analysis used in school fliers and website contents in this study, are similar to those used in English job ads analysis. The first step was to identify terms such as teacher, methodology, age, country of origins, and so on. Then these terms were put into five categories based on the ideological concepts under study (see Figure 6-2). Take LWE 8 for example.

Our Highly Qualified and Dedicated Teaching Staff

All of our teachers have university degrees and many have Master's degrees. All our teachers are legal resident visa holders. Our foreign teachers mostly come from the United States and Canada, England, and Australia, but we also have many teachers from other native English - speaking countries, giving our students the opportunity to listen to and learn from many different accents.

The headline, <u>Our highly qualified and dedicated Teaching Staff</u> is analyzed under slogans and short paragraphs section, because headlines are one of the strategies used by advertisers to market the notion 'authoritative expert' (see chapter 5). In the LWE 8 English website, a total of 4 tokens of the term <u>teachers</u> are found. They are counted four times, since they are modified by different modifiers in terms of meaning, such as <u>University/Master's degree</u>, <u>Legal resident visa holder</u>, <u>United States and Canada</u>, <u>England</u>, <u>and Australia</u> and <u>other native English-speaking countries</u>. In addition, Figure 6-2 shows that no terms conveying ideological concept of English-as-the-global-language are found, since they are always advertised in slogans, short paragraphs and headlines to show that the importance of English as the global

language cannot be overstressed.

Figure 6-2:   Ideological Concepts of ELT and SLA in Body Texts

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                          ┌─────────────────────┐
                          │     487 tokens      │
                          │    487 = 100%       │
                          └─────────────────────┘
```

English-as-the-global-language	Ideal-English-teacher	Ideal-teaching-methodology	American-English-as-Standard-English	The-younger-the-better
0 terms = 0 %	160 = 32.9%	153 = 31.4%	114 = 23.4%	60 = 12.3%

English language schools: 101	Other language schools: 10	*Buxiban*: 49
Fliers: Total = 61	Fliers: 5	Fliers: 19
Mandarin: 61	Mandarin websites: 5	Websites Mandarin: 30
Websites: Total = 40		
Mandarin: 27		
English: 13		

6.1.5   Still Images

519 (44%) out of a total of 1,181 photos and pictorials contain the concept of the ideal-English-teacher (cf. Figure 5-3, p.140). Photos and pictorials are deemed to contain the concept of the ideal-English-teacher if they show a teacher with a student or students, a teacher teaching in a classroom (even without students in the picture), or a teacher being trained in a teaching program. Photos showing teachers teaching, whether in the classroom or outside, are counted twice since two ideological concepts, the ideal-English-teacher and the ideal-English-teaching-methodology, are involved. There are as many as 270 photos containing these two concepts. I shall return the ideological concept of the ideal-English-teaching-methodology in ELT in chapter 7.

6.1.6   School Names

Herbert (1999: 251) argues that personal names used in shop names serve the dual function of "identifying a particular individual and reflecting the subjective state of the namegiver". Li's study (1997: 489–513) on bilingual Hong Kongers who have Western style English first names found that those with an English first name were using a "borrowed identity" to realize an "involvement strategy" (Scollon & Scollon, 1995, as cited in Li, 1997: 512). The test for the existence of the concept of the ideal-English-teacher in English language school names is simply the choice of an English rather than a Chinese name. On the other hand, the concept of the ideal-English- teacher in *buxiban* names is simply the choice of a Chinese rather than an English name.

6.2 Analysis

The strategies such as semiotic constructions and grammatical choices used in written texts (see chapter 5 analysis) will not be discussed again in this chapter. However, an overlap of these strategies is somewhat unavoidable at times in the corpus. In this chapter I will explore the concept of the ideal-English-teacher by using metadiscourse, which is associated with Halliday's textual and interpersonal metafunctions of a text (Fuertes-Olivera et al., 2001: 1296). Written advertisement texts are produced by English language schools and *buxiban* as a social and communicative engagement between writer and reader. Metadiscourse means "those aspects of the text, which explicitly refer to the organization of the discourse or the writer's stance towards either its context or the reader" (Hyland, 1998: 438). Fuertes-Olivera et al. (2001: 1291–1307) apply metadiscourse to their analysis of a corpus of slogans, headlines and subheadings of written advertisements to demonstrate the importance of metadiscourse to advertising in the creation of solidarity between addresser and addressee. They also argue that 'print advertising is one domain where an orientation

toward the addressee is crucial in securing rhetorical objectives" (ibid.: 1305). In addition, Rush (1998: 155–171) applies metadiscourse to various features of the noun phrase in the headline, signature line and body copy of English print advertising to demonstrate that successful advertising avoids pushing or forcing consumers to buy, but rather persuades them.

Emphatics, a subcategory of metadiscourse, examines how advertisers use adjectives, adverbs, or phrases, which have a heightening effect on the noun (i.e. the brand name or product) they modify, in order to persuade consumers to purchase what is being offered. In a similar vein, some main features of any quantitative corpus analysis are found in Bruthiaux's (1996) classified advertising analysis, such as lexical collocation, lexical compounds, adjectival and nominal chains. Emphatics is used not only in the discourse of English teaching job ads but also the discourse of fliers and websites in this research. The first step in applying Emphatics is to identify a set of terms, which are related to English teachers in every teaching job ad, slogan, short paragraph and body text of school fliers and websites that can be expected to appear in written advertisements. The following sections, 6.2.1 – The native speaker ideology, 6.2.2 – Native and non-native division, 6.2.3 – White and Non-white division, and 6.3 – Who can be an ideal-English-teacher, present the results of the analysis.

6.2.1   The Native Speaker Ideology

6.2.1.1   TC5 Television Commercial

TC5 television commercial starts with its title – '*Sishu Pian*' ('*Sishu*' - 'private schools in old China', '*Pian*' - 'chapter', 'about private schools'). It cuts to a long-distance shot of an ancient Chinese classroom with young pupils in traditional

Chinese clothes sitting in rows with their classical Chinese books open on the tables. It next cuts to a medium-range view of a young male foreign teacher, a Caucasian with a long beard in traditional Chinese clothes with a classical Chinese book on his left hand and walking around the classroom. He is reading out very loudly in Mandarin Chinese – '*Zhizhi wei zhizh*i'. The film then cuts to a close-up of the pupils. They are translating loudly together in English what their foreign teacher has just said – <u>If you understand, say you understand</u>. There is a close-up of the foreign teacher. He is reading out another verse in Mandarin Chinese – '*Buzhi wei buzhi*'. This is followed by another close-up of the pupils, who say very loudly together in English – <u>If you don't understand, say you don't understand</u>. After that, the buzzing sound of cicadas fades in and the shot cuts to a close-up of a cicada in a bamboo bowl. After that there is a close-up of the foreign teacher. He is reading the final verse in Mandarin Chinese – '*Shi zhi yie*'. And then there is a close-up of a little boy. He says proudly – <u>This is wisdom</u>.

The film cuts to a close-up of the teacher. He is walking toward a little boy who is playing and points at him. The boy is playing with the cicada in the bamboo bowl. The teacher asks the little boy in Mandarin Chinese '*Ni zhiliao*'? '<u>Do you understand?</u>' The little boy gives his cicada to the teacher and says, '*Zhiliao*' '<u>Yes! understand!</u>' (Pun: '*zhiliao*' means both 'understand' and 'cicada' in Mandarin Chinese). And then there is a close-up of the foreign teacher. He is laughing and says '*Jiaying gei hezi zhouyou lieguo de gongju he zhihui*' in Mandarin Chinese ('<u>Joy Language School provides children with the knowledge and skills to travel internationally</u>'). After that, superimposed on the foreign teacher is an animation of Confucius. Then the animation of Confucius gives the same message again, '*Jiaying gei hezi zhouyou lieguo de gongju he zhihui*' in Mandarin Chinese '<u>Joy Language</u>

School provides children with the knowledge and skills to travel internationally'. The commercial ends with the Language School's name and slogan – Think locally; Act globally. At the same time, children's voices are heard in Mandarin Chinese – '*Jiayin xue yingyu shijie zai shouli*' (this is the school's Mandarin slogan which is equivalent to its English one: Learn with Joy, embrace the world).

The television commercial equates the Western teacher with Confucius through both linguistic and non-linguistic inferences. At the beginning of the commercial, the title – '*Sishu Pian*' tells its audience that the commercial is about a private school in old China. After that, the audience sees Taiwanese children and a Caucasian in traditional Chinese clothes in a traditional Chinese classroom in a private school. This implies that it is not really a typical traditional Chinese classroom, since the English teacher is speaking Mandarin Chinese and his students are answering their teacher in English. However, it does tell the audience that this is a language classroom. The white foreign teacher is reading *Analects of Confucius, chapter 2, section 7* about wisdom, which is probably one of the most famous chapters from *Analects of Confucius* and most Taiwanese would know the chapter very well. This indicates that the white foreign teacher only looks like Confucius. Based on his appearance – clothes, a long beard, hairdo, a book in his hand – the audience is reminded of Confucius because this is the way Confucius is portrayed in paintings or textbooks in Taiwan.

The pun used in this commercial – '*zhiliao*' – means both 'cicada' and 'understand'. Puns in advertising are "double talk", they say one thing and suggest another (Redfern, 1982: 269–276). The foreign teacher does not merely ask the student whether or not he understands the translation in English of '*shi zhi yie*' 'This is wisdom'. The foreign teacher also asks the student whether he understands Confucius's concept of wisdom.

"Advertising is all about association" (ibid.: 270). In this commercial, English is associated with wisdom and the acquisition of English with the acquisition of wisdom. means acquiring wisdom. The animation of Confucius who repeats school slogan reinforces the idea that the native speaker of English equals Confucius in modern English teaching.

Confucius is revered among the Chinese as their '*zhisheng*' 'supreme sage' and '*xianshi*' 'foremost teacher'. The teachings of Confucius have tremendous influence among the Chinese. The commercial implies that native English speaking teachers play a similar role to the one of Confucius did in Chinese history. In the micro domain, Confucius was the first private teacher in China and the first one to engage in teaching as a means of reform as well as livelihood. He believed '*youjiao wulei*' which means that in education there should be no class distinctions (*Analects of Confucius, chapter 15, section 38*). In the macro domain, Confucius spent 13 years in '*zhouyou lieguo*' (that is, wandering from place to place) throughout China during a time of chaos in order to spread his political ideas. It was Confucius's ambition in life to restore social order. The term '*zhouyou liegu*' evoking the tour of Confucius is used twice in this commercial. The first time, it is evoked in the words spoken by the native English speaking teacher, and the second time by the animation of Confucius.

The analysis of Chapter 5 showed that English is widely viewed as a passport to success in Taiwan and that the improvement in English is considered a task of great urgency for Taiwan. The commercial suggests implicitly that the native speaker possesses the passports to two parallel domains. In the micro domain, the native English speaking teacher will help Taiwanese people to acquire English proficiency, so they have access to desirable, prestigious jobs in contemporary Taiwanese society.

In the macro domain, the native English speaking teacher offers English as the tool to get access to the international or global community.

The role of the native English speaking teacher is reinforced explicitly at the end of commercial by two school slogans. The children say together very loudly in Mandarin Chinese '*Jiayin xue yingyu shijie zai shouli*' '<u>Learn with Joy, embrace the world</u>'. This slogan is in accordance with the goal of internationalization in Taiwan "Let Taiwan embrace the world; let the world embrace Taiwan" (Chow, 2001). At the same time, the screen shows the school name in both English and Mandarin Chinese and an English slogan – <u>Act locally, Think globally</u>. Originally this slogan referred "the emergence of regional thinking and the revival of ethnic and regional cultures" (Kramsch & Sullivan, 1996: 200). Berman (1994, as cited in Kramsch & Sullivan, 1996: 200) translated it into language pedagogy as 'global thinking, local teaching'. In Taiwan, the implications are different. *Global thinking* means that English is the key to internationalization, and *local teaching* means that native speakers can help Taiwanese people to acquire English, so that Taiwan can compete globally. Explicitly and implicitly, there is a native and non-native division (see 6.2.2), a white and non-white division (see 6.2.3) and ideal-English-teachers are equal to white native speakers of English (see 6.2.3).

6.2.1.2 TET1 Television English Teaching Program

TET1 is an hour long English Teaching program which broadcasts on Saturday mornings on national television. Its target audiences are those who want to get higher marks in the high school entrance examination. There is only one teacher and one blackboard in the program. The English teacher is a female Taiwanese teacher and she is dressed brightly and freshly. She is young and beautiful. She teaches KK phonetics

(see 8.2.2) which was devised by two American linguists, John S. Kenyon and Thomas A. Knott (Shi, 1999: 68), and has been used exclusively and universally in Taiwan to help learners to acquire English or American English pronunciation since 1969 (see 8.2.2).   The teacher is extremely self confident while teaching. She keeps talking for an hour without any teachings aids or students about how to pronounce English.

She is one of the 'star teachers' in Taiwan's *buxiban*. Chen (1996a) describes some of her characteristics like this:

> They need the effect of an audience and a stage, but they are not actors. The eyes in the crowd are full of admiration, but they are not religious disciples. Like silver-tongued television talk-show hosts, they can strut their stuff for three hours without ever getting red in the face. Their spirits are sparkly, and they never allow the slightest uncomfortable pause. Their "work" is actually education, but many people believe that their image is quite different from pure' teachers. … They are "star" teachers in Taiwan's *buxiban*.

Star teachers are treated like movie stars. Apart from being able to teach well, they should be young, vivacious and attractive, both male and female teachers are good looking (Chen, 1996b). Some *buxiban* put pictures of star teachers' faces on posters, photographs and drawings and/or hang them high in front of the *buxiban* door. In advertising campaigns, they are made into fabulous superstars, even appearing on the sides of buses or on cable TV.

TET1 demonstrates that there are native Chinese-speaking star teachers who teach English in Taiwan's *buxiban*. The prosperity or demise of *buxiban* depends entirely on

these star teachers. They are non-native speakers of English. Clearly, there is another native speaker ideology. Native speakers of Chinese can also be ideal-English-teachers – for teaching grammar, reading and other exam-oriented English subjects.

6.2.1.3 Names

Volunteer English teachers who work in rural and mountainous areas in Taiwan are called "Albert Schweizer-like English teachers" (*Taipei Journal Online*: January 31, 2003 http://www.publish.gio.gov.tw/FCJ/current/03012142.html; last accessed on February 04, 2003) and foreigners who contribute to local education are called 'modern day Marco Polos' (*Taiwan Headlines Online*: August 28, 2001, http://www.th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id=10801; last accessed on October 18, 2001). According to Chen (1996b), star teachers' names are designed for signification. Besides being graceful and refined, they must have a clear lovely ring to them. Normally their names are similar to some characters from the novels of a very famous Taiwanese romantic writer, *Qung Yao*.

Not only teachers' names but also school names can be used to indicate the native speaker ideology and native and non-native dichotomy. Figure 6-3 shows that 27 English names and 11 Chinese names are used in the corpus. These English names can be put into four categories: 1. first names (16 tokens) such as David, Melissa, Jackson, Gloria, etc. 2. family names (6 names) such as Hess, Gram, Hilton, etc. 3. full names (2 names): Joel A. Newson and John Smith 4. others (3 names) – Famous, The Best and Elite. Chinese names can be categorized into three categories: 1. full names (6 names) such as '*Liu Li*', '*Wen Yen*', '*Tang Kai Ming*' … 2. title: Teacher XXX (3 names) – '*Xu laosh*' 'Teacher Xu', '*Hsu laoshi*' 'Teacher Hsu' and '*Hua*

laoshi' 'Teacher Hua'   3. others (2 names) – '*Mingren*' 'Famous People' and '*Xianjie*' Elite.

Figure 6-3:   School Names Containing the Concept of the-Ideal-English-Teacher
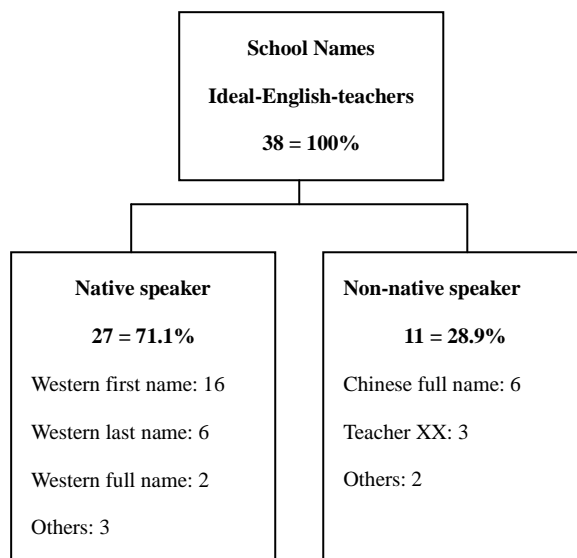
Confucius taught '*zheng ming*' 'rectification of names' to correct the disparity between the name and reality, in order to restore social order. He required Chinese people to specify "what kinds of behavior or referents, constitute the designata of the corresponding words in Chinese" (Li, 1997: 490).   When '*zheng ming*' is applied to school names, we can see that the extensive use of an English personal name or a Western-style name in English language schools demonstrates that English programs are mostly taught by native speakers of English and that they are considered the-ideal-English-teachers. On the other hand, the exclusive use of a Chinese name in *buxiban* shows that ideal-English-teachers there are non-native speakers or star teachers. Next, I shall explore the native and non-native division in more detail.

6.2.2   Native and Non-native Division

In addition to the TC5 television commercial and TET1 television English teaching program, the native and non-native dichotomy can also be found in other texts such as

English teaching job ads and language school and *buxiban* fliers.

6.2.2.1   English Teaching Job Ads

In the corpus of English teaching job ads, a *target* element states what kind of person is being recruited.   Job ads tend to emphasize targets rather than advertisers as suggested by Bruthiaux (1996:126). The targets of English teaching job ads in this corpus are teachers and they can be further broken down into five sub-categories. They are *English teachers* (62 tokens = 55.9%), *Native English speaking teachers* (33 tokens = 29.7%), *Teachers of children* (8 tokens = 7.2%), *ESL/EFL teacher* (4 tokens = 3.6%) and *English teachers*: *national origin* (4 tokens = 3.6%) (see Figure 6-4).

Figure 6-4:   English Teachers in English Teaching Job Ads
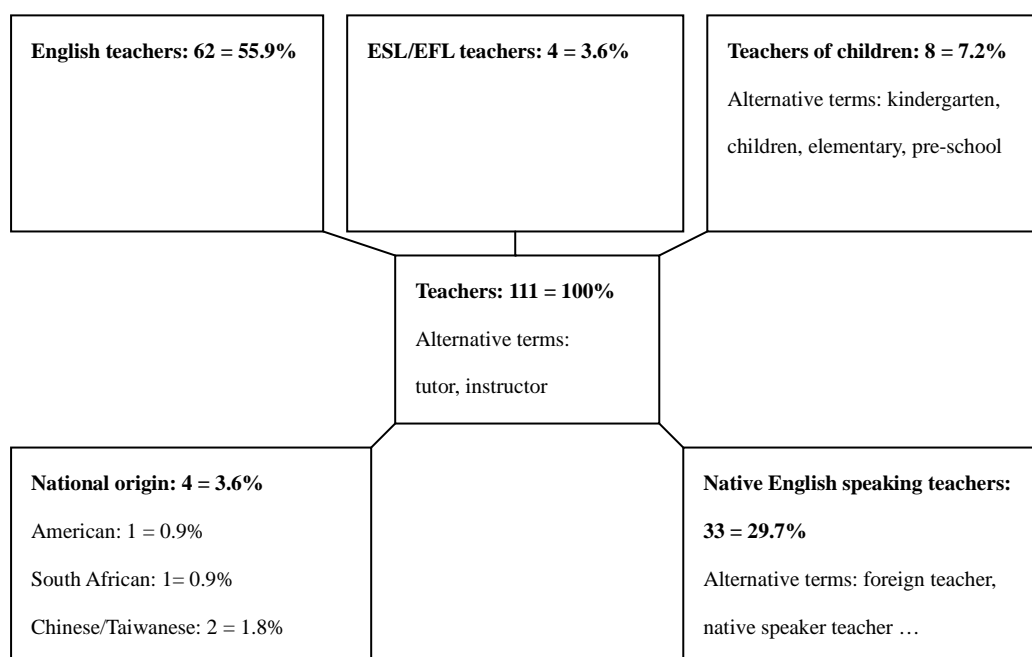
A total of 35 tokens (31.5%) of the job ads with terms such as <u>foreign teacher</u>, <u>English speaker teacher</u>, <u>American teacher</u> and <u>South African teacher</u> show that native speakers are targeted by the recruiters.   Although a total of 74 tokens (66.7%) of the terms such as <u>English teachers</u> (62 tokens = 55.9%), <u>Children teachers</u> (8 tokens = 7.2%) and <u>ESL/EFL teachers</u> (4 tokens = 3.6%) appear in job ads without any

indication of native speaker status, in fact, these terms refer to native speakers only. This is evident from job ads C29 and C37 (2 tokens = 1.8%) which show that recruiters are not looking for native English speaking teachers, since the terms Taiwanese and Chinese English teachers are used to differentiate them from the term English teacher.

    (C29) An international English school needs foreign & Taiwanese teachers.

    (C37) Chinese English teacher wanted, teaching …

C29 is particularly telling as it contrasts Taiwanese teachers with foreign teachers.

6.2.2.2 School Fliers and Websites

Apart from English teaching job ads, analysis of school fliers and websites also show there is a native and non-native speakers dichotomy in ELT and SLA in Taiwan (see Figures 6-5, 6-6 & 6-7).

Figure 6-5:   English Teachers in Slogans, Short Paragraphs and Headlines
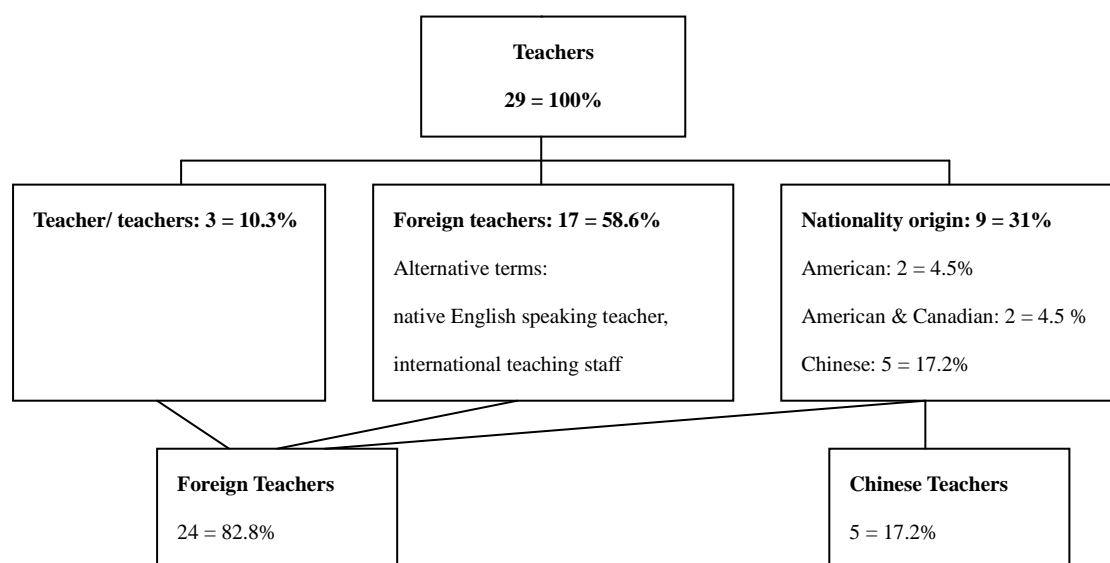
Figure 6-6:   The Term *Teacher/Teachers* in Body Texts

```
                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │   Teachers: 160 = 100%  │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
              ┌───────────────┴───────────────────┐
┌──────────────────────────┐        ┌──────────────────────────┐
│ Foreign teachers : 68     │        │ Nationality origin: 92    │
│                           │        │                           │
│ Alternative terms:        │        │ Chinese: 73               │
│                           │        │ American & Canadian: 9    │
│ English speaking country  │        │ North American Accent: 4  │
│                           │        │ USA/Canada/UK: 3          │
│ Native speaker            │        │ American: 3               │
└──────────────────────────┘        └──────────────────────────┘
              │       ┌────────────────────┘         │
      ┌──────────────────────┐          ┌──────────────────────┐
      │ Foreign Teachers     │          │ Chinese Teachers     │
      │                      │          │                      │
      │ 87 = 54.4%           │          │ 73 = 45.6%           │
      └──────────────────────┘          └──────────────────────┘
```
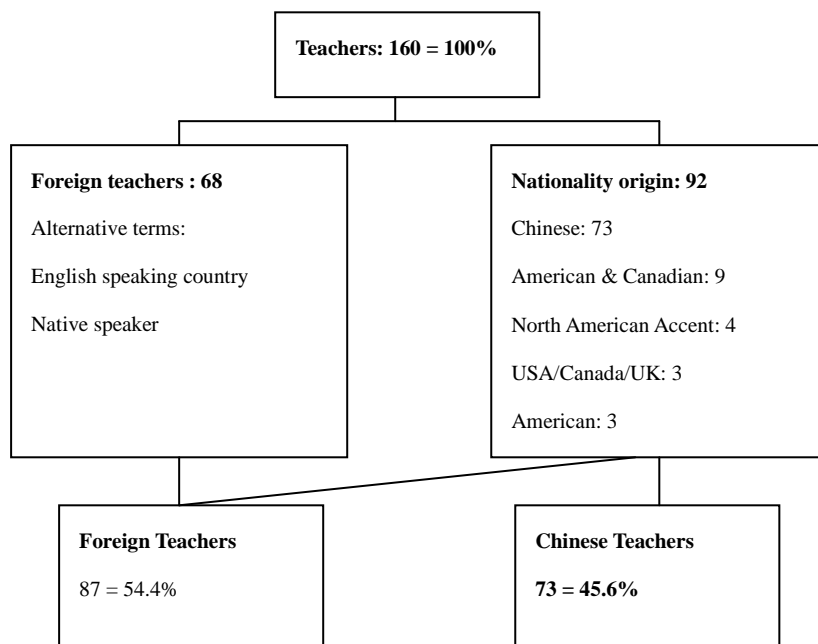
Figure 6-7:   Still Images – *English teacher/teachers* in School Fliers and Websites.

```
                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │   Teachers: 519 = 100%  │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
              ┌───────────────┴───────────────────┐
┌────────────────────────────────────┐  ┌────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Foreign teachers: 437 = 84.2%       │  │ Chinese teachers: 82 = 15.8%        │
│                                     │  │                                     │
│ Language schools: 381               │  │ Language schools: 24                │
│ Fliers: 90 / English websites: 184  │  │ Fliers: 11 / English websites: 6    │
│ Mandarin websites: 107              │  │ Mandarin websites: 7                │
│                                     │  │                                     │
│ Other language schools: 42          │  │ Other language school: 4            │
│ Fliers: 24 / English websites: 15   │  │ Fliers: 4                           │
│ Mandarin websites: 2                │  │                                     │
│                                     │  │ Buxiban: 54                         │
│ Buxiban: 14                         │  │ Fliers: 10 / English websites: 3    │
│ Fliers: 8 / English websites: 3     │  │ Mandarin websites: 41               │
│ Mandarin websites: 3                │  │                                     │
└────────────────────────────────────┘  └────────────────────────────────────┘
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Based on Figure 6-5, the unmodified term *teacher or teachers* has a very low frequency (3 tokens) in slogans, headlines and short paragraphs. Although unmodified, all these terms refer to native speakers as is evidenced either by the

accompanying texts or photos. Take LWE1 for example. The text says – We only hire top teachers!, and there are photos of foreign teachers who are in the middle of teaching in the classroom or outdoors followed by the text. As with English teaching job ads: the term *Chinese teachers* has a very low frequency (Figure 6-5: 5 tokens, 3 from *buxiban* and 2 from language schools) again indicating that there is a native and non-native dichotomy. Figure 6-6 indicates that *foreign teachers* (87 tokens = 54.4%) has a higher frequency than *Chinese teachers* (73 tokens = 45.6%). If Figure 6-6 is compared with Figure 6-4 and 6-5, it seems that the concept of native and non-native speakers is not a major issue. However, it needs to be recognized that the situations in which ELT is practiced vary widely.

In Taiwan, ELT situations range from private English language schools and *buxiban* through teaching in government schools, and college and university departments. Figure 6-5 and 6-6 show that the term *foreign teachers* always has a higher frequency than *Chinese teachers* in written advertising texts of English language schools. On the other hand, the term *Chinese teachers* always has a higher frequency than *foreign teachers* in written advertising texts of *buxiban*.

The analysis demonstrates that *buxiban* are advocating that the ideal-English-teacher is a non-native English speaker, while the English language schools are marketing native English speakers as ideal-English-teachers. This difference is confirmed by the occurrences of native and non-native English teachers in still images (see Figure 6-7). A total of 519 photos of ideal-English-teachers are found and 437 out of 519 (84.2%) are native speakers of English, while only 82 (15.8%) photos portray Chinese teachers. In addition, the higher frequency of non-native speakers (54 out of 82 photos) in *buxiban* written advertisements and higher frequency of native speakers (423 out of

437 photos) in language schools' advertisements indicate that ideal-English-teachers can be either native or non-native speakers. This will be further discussed in 6.3.

The results for still images shows that they play a role which goes beyond the mere illustration of what is communicated in the language of this corpus. Moreover, they demonstrate how arguments regarding the native speaker ideology unfold and are reinforced.   Next, I shall look at the concept of white and non-white division which is related to the native speaker ideology.

6.2.3   White and Non-white Division

There is not only a native and non-native, but also white and non-white division in ELT in Taiwan. From the language and linguistics perspective, Davis (1994: 2723) suggests that the definition of a native speaker may be characterized in six ways.   A native speaker of English acquires English in childhood. A native speaker of English has intuitions about the standard English grammar and its ideolectal grammar.   A native speaker of English is able to distinguish between standard English and its ideolectal grammar. A native speaker of English has a unique capacity to speak fluently. A native speaker has a unique capacity to write creatively. A native speaker of English has a unique capacity to interpret and translate into English. However, the definition of a native English speaker in the corpus and in the real job world is someone with Western looks.

6.2.3.1   English Teaching Job Ads, School Fliers and Websites

In English teaching job ads (Figure 6-7), school fliers and websites (Figure 6-5 & 6-6), terms such as foreigners, foreign teachers, Native speaker teachers, American teachers, Canadian teachers refer to any individual who is not a Taiwan, Republic of China

(R.O.C) citizen. This includes all those of Chinese or Taiwanese descent who were born elsewhere in the world but whose parents were originally from Taiwan. These people are considered foreigners from legal and immigration standpoints, according to the rules of R.O.C Bureau of Immigration (www.oriented.org./legal/VISA-6.shtml; last accessed on January, 2, 2002). However, the definition of native English speaker in English teaching job ads in Taiwan is "English teachers wanted: must look western" (*Taiwan Headlines*: June 13, 2000, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm? newsid= 3805; last accessed on February 1, 2002). The result of still image analysis strongly supports this argument, since only 1 out of 437 photos of non-white native speaking English teachers is found in the corpus. Apart from that, 2 tokens of *western look* are found in English teaching job ads. The analysis illustrates that in the lucrative English teaching business in Taiwan, a preference for Caucasian teachers exists. In other words, there are white and non-white native speaking English teacher divisions in ELT in Taiwan.

The analysis of English teaching job ads, school fliers and websites (Figure 6-4, 6-5, 6-6, & 6-7) suggests that native English speakers are in demand in Taiwan. Many native speakers of English from abroad come to Taiwan thinking that they can easily find an English teaching job because of their native English language skills. Unfortunately, working in Taiwan as a foreign English teacher has its challenges, unrelated to whether or not one is a native speaker and qualified for a teaching job. Especially, it is a disadvantage in Taiwan to be a non-Caucasian English teacher. "We need real foreigners" says an English teaching ad placed by the Giraffe English language school. (*Taiwan Headline*: June 13, 2000, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm? news_id=3805; last accessed on February 1, 2002). The job ad, which was not part of my corpus, bluntly tells job applicants that the school is looking for white

foreigners. Job ad C31 in my corpus is similarly direct in specifying western looks.

Figure 6-8:   Job Ad C31

Kindergarten English teachers
Wanted, female under 35
American accent, western looks,
College graduate work visa
preferred, Afternoon classes
1:30 –3:30
Monday/ Tuesday / Friday
Tel: XXX

6.2.3.2   The Job World

In this section, I will draw on articles in the Taiwanese press to further explicate the white and non-white division in the English teaching job world in Taiwan.

"As soon as Yvonne appeared in Kaohsiung, her prospective employer sent her immediately back to the airport simply because she was not "white" (Wu, 2000: 16).

All Virtues Kindergartens advertise for "western-looking' English teachers, according to the manager of the school, "but we won't turn others away if they're qualified" (*Taiwan Headlines*: June 13, 2000, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id=3805; last accessed on February 1, 2002).   In practice, non-Caucasians may be recruited, but they may also discover that their Caucasian peers may get better offers regardless of teaching experience and language skills.

"At one branch of the Sesame Street School, a manager offered to pay her [Liu] NT$450 per hours, whereas a "foreign" teacher would receive NT$500" (*Taiwan Headlines*: June 13, 2000, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id=3805; last accessed

on February 1, 2002).

Many English language schools argue that discrimination in hiring practices stems mostly from parental ignorance, but the English language schools are the ones who turn down non-white applicants or offer those who don't fit the descriptions lower wages and remain unapologetic about their practices. Obviously, Taiwanese people hold all Westerners in high esteem. Hess language school, one of the reputable language schools, opened in 1983 and was said to have a policy called "Caucasian English teachers policy" to hire only Caucasians with North American accents to reflect the nature of the market at that time. However the school denied such as policy ever officially existed. (*Taiwan Headlines*: June 13, 2000, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?_news_id_=3805; last accessed on February 1, 2002).

Furthermore, it is ironical that in Taiwan that it can sometimes be a disadvantage to be an ABC (American Born Chinese or Australian Born Chinese), BBC (British Born Chinese) or any other English speaking country born person of Chinese descent. From legal and immigration standpoints, they are foreigners, because they were born and brought up in an English speaking country. In reality, since they don't look Caucasian, they face discrimination, and experience difficulty in finding work or in commanding rates of pay equal to that of their Caucasian peers, as mentioned earlier. The following is one example of such discrimination.

"Nobody really said anything direct but there was always an uncomfortable pause after I tell them that I'm Chinese American, Liu says of her phone interviews. It's like 'Oh, you're not really American" (*Taiwan Headlines*: June 13, 2000, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id= 3805; last accessed on February 1,

2002).

The results of English teaching job ads also indicate that recent photos (5 tokens) are needed in the resumes. Photos are used not only for almost any kind of application forms and various IDs but also for official forms and documents in Taiwan. Many English language schools or agents, use photos of job applicants used in resumes to screen out non-white applicants. The following is a post from the forum of www.tealit.com by an African-American teacher with the title "My experience so far as an African-American teacher in Taiwan" on January 26, 2002.

> I applied for at least 20 jobs sending off my resume with my cover letter over the internet. They
>
> were all thrilled by my qualifications until they asked for a picture and I never heard from them
>
> again …(http://members.boardhost.com/telit/msg/6068.html; last accessed on January 30, 2002).

In sum, no matter how desperate people in Taiwan may be to have foreign English teachers, many of them still prefer to have a white English teacher.

The native and non-native division and the white and non-white division raise an important question: who is an ideal-English-teacher?

6.3 Who is an Ideal-English-Teacher?

In fact the term native English speaker opposed to non-native speaker is widely and intensively used in the corpus, either in an explicit or implicit way. The above analysis indicates that while English language schools are zealously promoting and advertising native English speakers as ideal English teachers, there is another type of English

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language schools – *buxiban* – which are heavily advertising their non-native English speaking as 'star teachers'. The reason for this imperious distinction in English teaching and learning in Taiwan is that "it is accepted by the group that created the distinction between native and non-native speakers" (Kramsch, 1997: 363). In the next section, I shall argue that although there is an all-pervasive native and non-native dichotomy in English teaching and learning in Taiwan, this does not mean that native speakers are in fact better teachers. In fact, both native and non-native speaker are equally likely to become good teachers of English.

6.3.1   Are Teachers Born or Made?

Rampton (1990: 97) suggests that it is a special education or training that makes one an expert in one field or another. Therefore, some qualities of English teachers are non-inherited. Teachers can be trained through working experience and educational background. This implies that teachers are made. Some qualities result from a combination of innate and environmental influences, such as cultural traits (personal types), accent, sex and physical features indicates that teachers are born. Therefore, terms appearing in advertisements in this corpus are classified into two categories, 'inherited elements' and 'other elements' to investigate the perception of the ideal teacher further.

6.3.2   Native English Speaking Teacher (NEST)

Figures 6-9, 6-10, 6-11, and 6-12 indicate both inherited and other elements are needed for native speakers to be an English teacher.

Figure 6-9:   Inherited Elements of English Teachers in English Teaching Job Ads

English teachers	
127 = 100%	

Inherited elements	Other elements
64 = 50.4%	**63 = 49.6%**

Native speaker: 28 = 22%	Accent: 15 = 11.8%	Personality: 15 = 11.8%	Sex preference & age:
Alternative terms: native English speaker, English speaking country, USA, Canadian, British, ABC/native, western look	American: 2 North American :13	Alternative terms: friendly, outgoing, humorous, patient, hardworking, dynamic …	6 = 4.7% Male: 1 Female: 4 Female under 35: 1

Figure 6-10:   Other Elements of English Teachers in English Teaching Job Ads

English teachers	
127 = 100%	

Inherited elements	Other elements
64 = 50.4%	**63 = 49.6%**

Degree/certificate	TESL/EFL Certificate	Teaching experience	Chinese ability:
33 = 26% BA or BS: 31 Above BA: 1 No degree needed: 1	**5 = 3.9%**	**23 = 18.1%** 1-3 years experience: 4 Experienced: 18 No experience: 1	**2 = 1.6%**
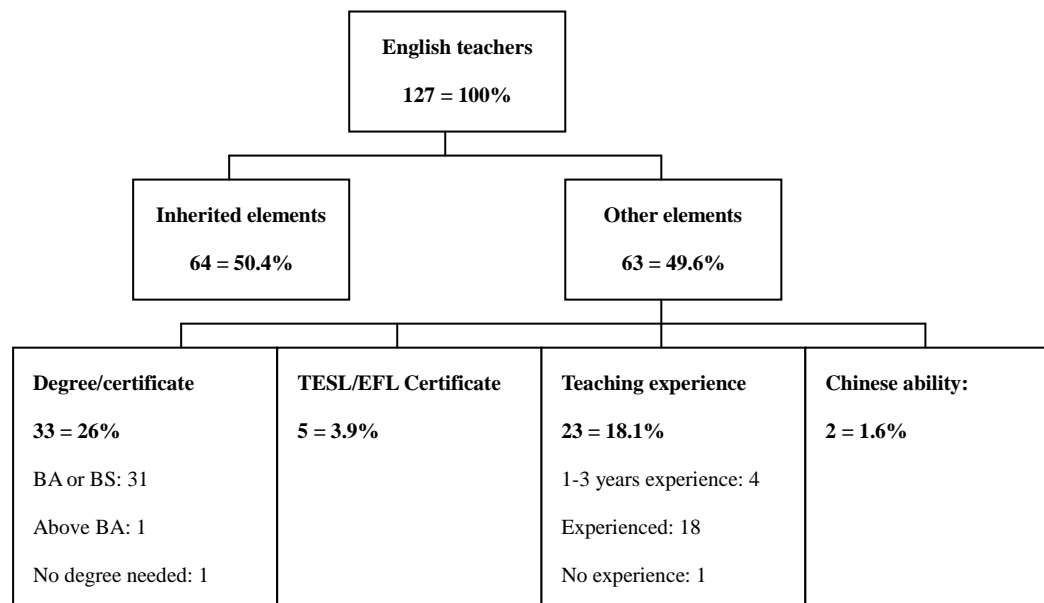
Figure 6-11:   Inherited Elements and Other Elements of English Teachers in Slogans, Short Paragraphs and Headlines

English Teachers

40 = 100%

Foreign teachers: 32 = 80%　　**Chinese teachers: 8 = 20%**

Inherited elements

17= 42.5%

Other elements

15 = 37.5%

Native speaker: 5	**Accent: 4**	**Personality: 8**	**Qualified: 4**
Alternative terms: foreign teachers, international teaching staff,	American:1 North American : 3	Alternative terms: passionate, patient, considerate, enthusiastic, responsible, delicate, hardworking	Best/top: 3 Experienced: 2 TEFL/ESL certificate: 2 Legal: 2 Professional: 2
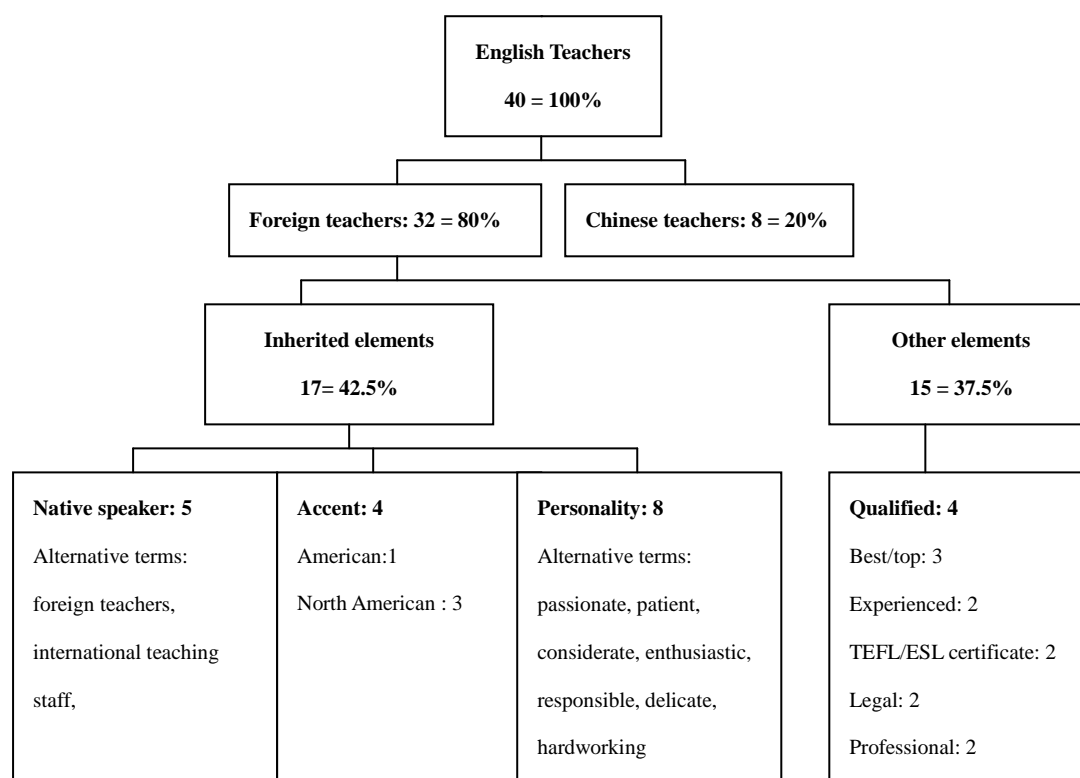
Figure 6-12:   Inherited Elements and Other Elements of English Teachers in Body Texts

English Teachers

171 = 100%

Foreign teachers: 90 = 52.6%　　**Chinese teachers: 81 = 47.4%**

Inherited elements

27 = 15.8%

Other elements

63 = 36.8%

Native speaker: 7	**Accent: 20**	**BA: 10**	**Experienced: 11**
Alternative terms: English speaking country, Native speaker, USA/Canada/UK	American: 4 North American: 16	Legal: 12 Certificate: 6 Full time: 6	Professional: 9 Qualified: 8 Best: 1

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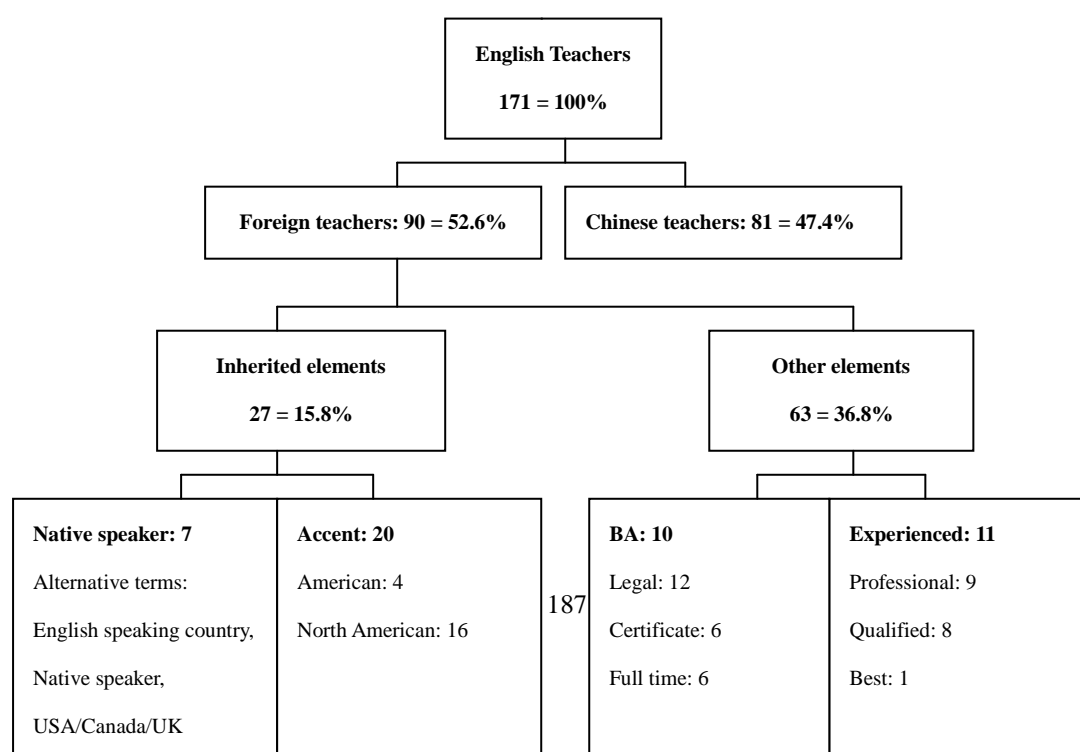
The above Figures indicates that both inherited and other elements play equally important roles in reference to teachers in the corpus, but that some elements are more important than others in different schools. The term *native speaker* is found with low frequency in the above Figures, but the analysis of 6.2 showed that 98.8%, or 100 out 102 job ads refer to native speakers, and many language schools hire only native speakers. This reveals that being a native speaker is a crucial criterion for being a desirable English teacher in Taiwan's English language schools.

The *North American accent,* another quality of the ideal-English-teacher, has relatively high frequency in the Figures. Recruiters want English teachers with North American accents. One obvious piece of evidence is that many school names or their advertisements, such as school fliers or their websites in Chinese do not proclaim that they are English language schools or teach English, but that they are American English language schools and teach the American language. I will return to the ideological concept of American-English-as-standard- English in Chapter 8.

In the corpus, *personalities* can be broken down into two categories, "specific personality" and "general personality" (Murphy, 1997). The specific personality category consists of traits that would make a teacher competent in English teaching, the other one, the general personality category, consists of traits that would make a better employee or teacher in general. Personality traits such as *active, dynamic, outgoing, friendly, patient* and *humorous* are obviously prerequisites for those who

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will teach English to children. As suggested by Murphy (1997), foreign English teachers in Taiwan are often viewed "as entertainers as much as educators".   In other words, some teaching methodologies require foreign English teachers to have a reasonably dynamic personality.   On the other hands, general personality traits such as *team oriented, reliable, responsible, independent* and *hardworking* require English teachers to get on with people, to be willing to take on responsibility, and to work hard.

Sex preference and *age* are rarely specified in English teaching job ads in the corpus (5 tokens = 3.9% and 1 token = 0.8%).   Because the terms *sex preference* and *age* appear, even if with a rather low frequency, it seems that Taiwan does not have strict laws prohibiting discrimination based on ethnicity, age, and sex in the work place. As far as sex preference is concerned, the frequency of the term *female teacher* (5 tokens = 3.9%) is rather low in the corpus and 4 out 5 tokens are advertised by kindergartens. Kindergartens prefer female native English speaking teachers as is also suggested by Quartly (2000). A total of 111 (25.4%) pictures of female foreign teachers out of 437 pictures of foreign teacher in still images supports this argument, since most pictures of female foreign teachers found in the corpus are teachers who teach younger children.   There is only one token of *female teacher under 35* found in my data and this suggests that age is not a major restriction on seeking a teaching job in Taiwan. However, according to the ministry's plan of recruiting 1,000 foreign teachers, the prospective foreign teachers must be under 45 years old (*Taipei Times Online*: January 7, 2003, http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2003/01/07/190049; last accessed on January 8, 2003).

In addition to inherited elements, other elements, such as *degree*, *teaching experience*,

TESL/EFL *certificate* and *Chinese ability* also contribute to the requirement element of being an ideal English teacher (see the above Figures). Ur (1998: 7) argues that born teachers with whatever innate talent they may have, still need non-inherited elements such as experience and professional development to become good teachers. Job applicants for accredited or legal language institutions need to have a university degree to qualify for a work permit.   As a consequence, a *BA degree* has a relatively high frequency in the above Figures, but the low frequency of the term *TESOL/TEFL certificate* or *teaching certificate* shows that a *TESOL/TEFL certificate* is not a must, but a plus.   It demonstrates that as long as a job applicant has a University degree in any discipline from an English speaking country, he or she is eligible to gain employment as an English teacher.   This is the only requirement from the government so that foreign English teachers can get a work permit and teach legally. However, one job ad advertises *no degree needed* and 68 out of 102 (62.7%) job ads did not mention anything in relation to any educational background. This implies that some foreigners are working without a degree in Taiwan.

Many expatriate English teachers' home pages also suggest that even without a degree foreigners can work in Taiwan, but they won't be legal.   Foreign teachers, whether they have a degree or not, who work for illegal schools are not legal in Taiwan. In Taiwan, illegal schools are private language institutions that are not authorized to employ foreign teachers or fail to register. The main reasons for failing to register are that schools do not have enough capital or fail to pass their annual safety inspection. In other words, if teachers are hired by illegal schools, regardless how qualified they may be for that position, they are illegal English teachers.   According to the Employment Service Act (ESA), foreign teachers are allowed to teach in almost every area, but not in kindergartens (*Taipei Times Online*: May 7, 2002, http://www.taipei

times.com/news/2002/05/07/story/0000134943; last accessed on September 9, 2002).

English teaching job ads suggest that at least 20 (16.9%) recruiters are kindergartens.

4 individual advertisers (3.4%) are not authorized to employ foreign teachers at all.

According to *Taipei Times Online*, 80% out of roughly 6,000 private kindergartens

and nurseries in Taiwan illegally employ foreign teachers and hire unqualified foreign

teachers (May 7, 2002, http://www.taipeitimes.com/news/2002/05/07/story/0000134

943; last accessed on September 9, 2002). Many native speakers therefore work

illegally, mainly because their recruiters are not accredited institutions or are illegal

language institutions. Not surprisingly, estimates show that around 8,000 foreigners

are teaching English illegally in kindergartens nationwide (Quartly, 2000) Illegal

schools illustrate the problem of unqualified and inexperienced foreign teachers. It

also reveals the flaws in the laws that govern English language schools in Taiwan,

more precisely, the lack of enforcement of these laws that allows unqualified teachers

to teach English in Taiwan. As a result of this, the market for illegal teachers is

unlikely to disappear as long as the English craze continues (Chou, C. T., 2002). It is

not surprising therefore that there is a relatively high frequency of the term *legal* or

qualified found in language school fliers and websites (see Figure 6-11 & 6-12).

Teaching experience is not a prerequisite for getting a work permit, so the frequency

of *teaching experience* is not as high as *degree*. There is one term *no experience is*

needed (1 token = 0.8%) found and expatriate teachers' homepages also support the

idea that job applicants do not need any experience to teach English in Taiwan and

they only need to speak the language to be regarded as qualified to teach it. However,

the results show that about 17.3% (22 tokens) of the recruiters prefer their prospective

teachers to have had either some, or 1-2 years teaching experience. The last

requirement in this section is *Chinese ability* with rather low frequency (2 tokens = 1.6%) and it is only found in English teaching job ads. The expatriate English teachers' home pages argue that it is not necessary to be able to speak Chinese, since English only is the method used in many language schools. English is expected to be taught monolingually by native speakers. I will return to teaching methodology in Chapter 7. To sum up, native speakers in English language schools need to have a combination of personal qualities, education, and teaching experience, but the most important criteria are their Caucasian features and native speaker status.

6.3.3   Non-native English Speaking Teacher (NNEST)

Figure 6-13 does not provide much information about the desirable qualities of NNESTs because of the low frequency of inherited and non-inherited elements referring to Chinese teachers in slogans and short paragraphs. However, Figures 6-14 and 6-15 provide ample evidence for 'inherited elements' and 'other elements' required of non-native English speaking teachers.

Figure 6-13:   Inherited and Other Elements of English Teachers in Slogans, Short Paragraphs and Headlines.
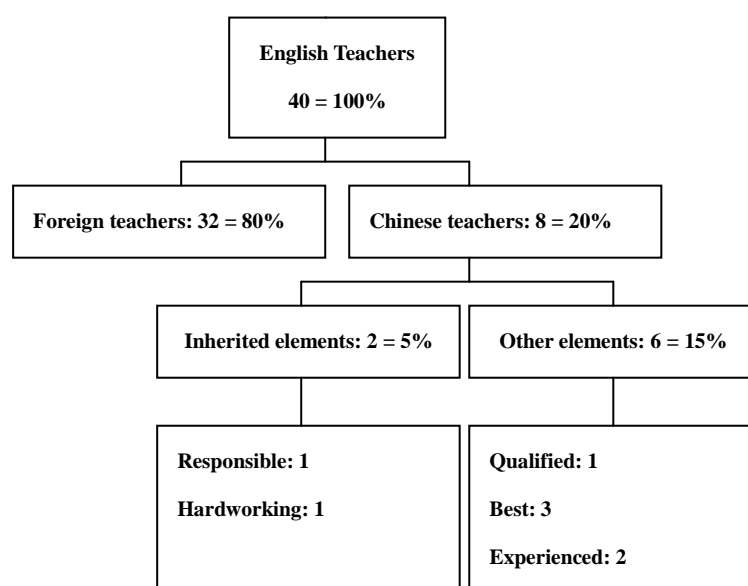
The term *native speaker of Chinese* is never found in *buxiban* advertisements, because it is a fact that people in Taiwan know that the expression "star teachers" is only applied to native speakers of Chinese. A salient characteristic of Figure 6-14 is the high frequency of adjectives to describe *buxiban* teachers – *famous* (17 tokens), *outstanding/excellent* (12 tokens), *first rated* (2 tokens), *experienced* (8 tokens), *professional* (11 tokens), *qualified* (3 tokens). Terms in relation to professional background, such as *professors* (4 tokens), *high school teachers* (5 tokens), *Junior high school teacher* (1 token), *translator* (2 tokens), *editor* (1 token) and *interpreter* (1 token) are also found. Apart from that, one token of *handsome and beautiful* and one token of *averaged 30 years old* are only found in *buxiban* advertisements.

Another salient characteristic of *buxiban* fliers and websites which is very different from English language school fliers is that *buxiban* provide a list of the teaching staff's names and educational background in almost every flier and website (Figure 6-15).

Figure 6-14:   Inherited and Other Elements of English Teachers in School Fliers
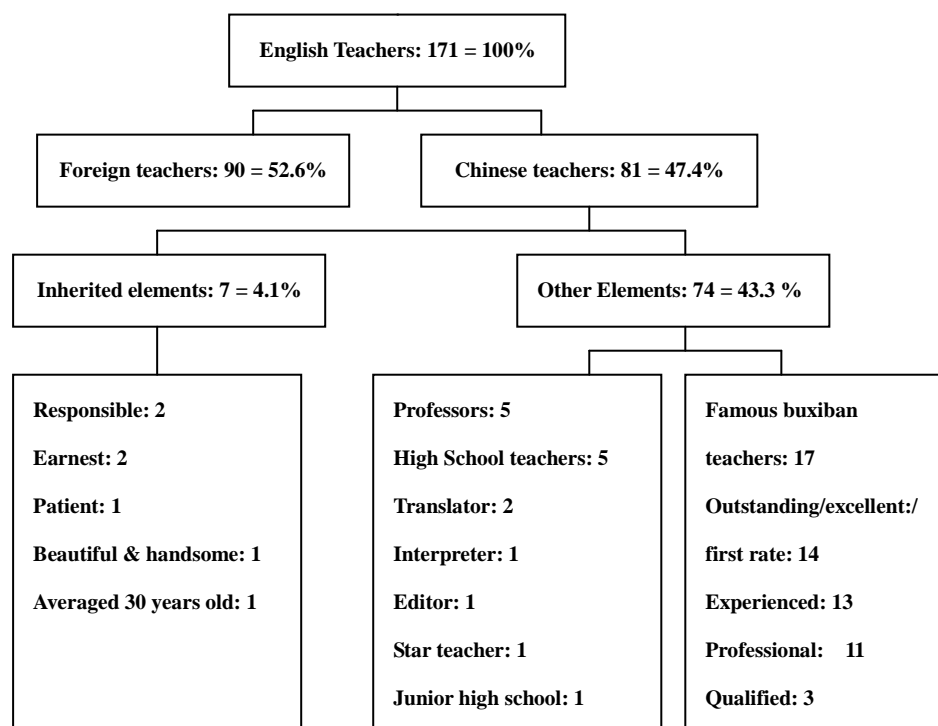
Figure 6-15: Educational Background of English Teachers in *Buxiban* Body Texts

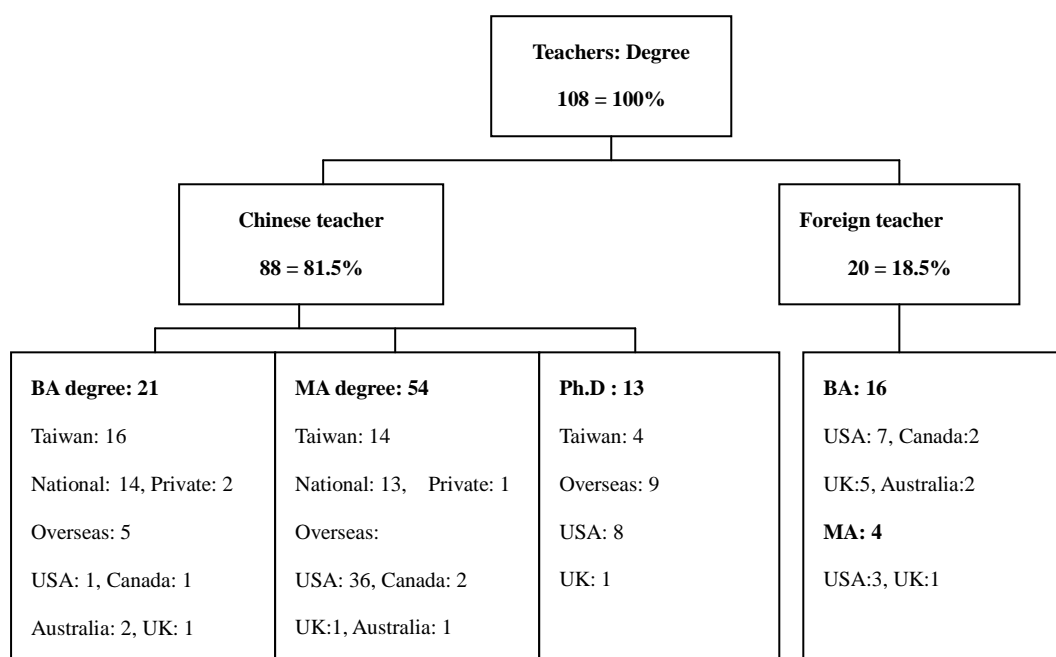| Teachers: Degree 108 = 100%			
Chinese teacher 88 = 81.5%			**Foreign teacher** 20 = 18.5%
BA degree: 21 Taiwan: 16 National: 14, Private: 2 Overseas: 5 USA: 1, Canada: 1 Australia: 2, UK: 1	**MA degree: 54** Taiwan: 14 National: 13, Private: 1 Overseas: USA: 36, Canada: 2 UK:1, Australia: 1	**Ph.D : 13** Taiwan: 4 Overseas: 9 USA: 8 UK: 1	**BA: 16** USA: 7, Canada:2 UK:5, Australia:2 **MA: 4** USA:3, UK:1

Figure 6-14 and 6-15 demonstrate that the focal point of *buxiban* advertisements are the teachers' outstanding educational and professional background and teaching experience (ranging from 5 years to 30 years).   These are crucial factors for being an ideal-English-teacher in *buxiban*. Moreover, the result of Figure 6-15 indicates that almost every Chinese teacher's name is graceful and refined. As mentioned above, the reason for that is star teachers' names are being designed.   Not only the educational and professional background, but also the teachers' names are the qualities of a 'star teacher'.   For this reason, in the context of *buxiban*, clearly customers take a teacher's renowned name as the first consideration. The above figures also show that having teachers who had taught at famous public high schools or junior high schools or who were graduates of a prestigious school, normally a National University,

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especially National Normal University, or who obtained a Ph.D. or MA in an English speaking country, especially the USA (see 8.2.3) has become a selling point of *buxiban* advertisements.

6.3.4 Native and Non-Native Can Be Ideal-English-Teachers

The analysis of this chapter confirms Medgyes's and Arva's (2000: 355–372) claim that the native and non-native English speaking teacher dichotomy rests on the following four hypotheses and that both native and non-native English speaking teachers can be ideal-English-teachers.

1. competence in the target language

2. knowledge of grammar

3. competence in the local language

4. other aspects of professional behavior

6.3.4.1 Competence in the Target Language

The analysis of English as a global language in Chapter 5 indicates that Taiwanese people consider the language they are learning useful. Given their lower levels of oral proficiency, they are acquiring communicative English skills, since current proficiency levels of Taiwanese people rank near the bottom among Asian nations. In one such study, Taiwan students' English ability was found to be only better than that of their Japanese counterparts (*Taiwan Headlines*: November 22, 2001, http://www. taiwanheadliens.gov.tw/20011122/20011122o2.html; last accessed on January 30, 2002). "Native speakers have an obvious advantage when instructing in conversational English or idiom" (Quartly, 2000). This implies many native speakers are hired solely on the basis of their language background. It is true that many Chinese English teachers lack speaking proficiency, because they were taught under

the grammar-centered system. They produced ineffective English classes, so many students attend English language schools to improve their English speaking proficiency. Apparently the primary advantage of native speakers for English language schools is in their English language competence. However, it is wrong to assume that native speakers naturally know how to teach English simply because they are native English speakers. Non-native speakers can learn to use idioms appropriately and to determine whether a given language form is correct (Phillipson, 1992b: 15).

6.3.4.2 Knowledge of Grammar

Native English speakers are fluent in English, but they do not necessarily possess knowledge of the intricacies of English grammar (Liu, L., 2002). Moreover, Medgyes and Arva's (2000) research shows that native speakers are more successful in instructing conversation classes and non-native speakers might have done better in teaching grammar. Although English is taught from 5th year of elementary school to senior high school for a total of 8 years, there is still a need for cram schools or *buxiban*. Junior and Senior high school instruction emphasizes grammar because of the highly competitive high school and university entrance exams. Although the stated goal of junior high school English curricula is to give students basic communication skills in English, the test items in both high school and university joint entrance exam are based on English grammar. Moreover, Chinese English teachers' own learning experience and pre-service training are based on grammatical structures. As a result, the non-native teacher has learnt grammar and is able to convey that to students. *Buxiban* offer mainly grammar, reading and writing classes and they are taught by non-native speakers. This indicates that ideal-English-teachers of these courses are non-native speakers of English. The difference in grammatical knowledge was

regarded as a major cause of the distribution of work between native and non-native speaking English teachers. Tang's (1997: 578) research demonstrates that native speakers are superior to NNEST in "speaking, pronunciation and listening and non-native speakers were felt to be associated with accuracy rather than fluency".   In a similar vein, in this study, conversation classes and listening classes are taught by native speakers and grammar classes are taught by non-native speakers. Non-native speakers are ideal-English-teachers because they are familiar with Taiwan's examinations. The learners studying for an examination may see native speakers as not competent enough in teaching grammar and may see this as wasting their precious time and money. On the other hand, the perceived value of teaching and regular testing of grammatical knowledge may not fit well in a language school, which believes in the importance of making classrooms communicative.

6.3.4.3   *Competence in the Local Language*

Although foreign teachers are required to teach monolingually in language schools, a defect in the native speakers' professional expertise is their lack of Chinese. Native speakers with no knowledge of Chinese sometimes feel handicapped. According to *Taipei Times Online*, the main drawbacks of native speakers is that foreign teachers have difficulty communicating in Chinese and they cannot explain lessons in ways that are easily understandable. As a result, students have to do a great deal of guesswork (January 7, 2003, http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/edit/archives/2003/01/07/190092; last accessed on February 6, 2003). Medgyes and Arva's (2000: 355–372) research on native speaking English teachers in Hungary also indicates that native speakers with no knowledge of Hungarian felt frustrated, because they could not explain fully, especially with beginners, and could not really understand the mistakes the students were making. In other words, they could not appreciate what the

students were going through while learning English. In comparison, non-native English speaking teachers have been through the whole learning process and understand these difficulties from their own learning experience, as suggested by Phillipson (1992b: 15–16). They are aware of not only their students' needs and goals, but also of national educational goals and exam requirements. Non-native English speaking teachers who have the same first language as their students are aware of the differences between English and their students' mother tongue. This awareness gives them the ability to anticipate their students' linguistic problems and make them more empathetic with their students' challenges and needs. In other words, what is of the utmost importance is that learners of English have teachers who have an understanding and appreciation of their students' native language and culture.

6.3.4.4.   *Other Aspects of Professional Development*

The difference in expertise between novice and experienced teachers is not what they are born with or the amount of experience they have, but teaching methodology (see chapter 7). Seidlhofer (1996: 69, as cited in Medgyes & Arva, 2000: 366) suggests that "there has often been the danger of an automatic extrapolation from *competent speaker* to *competent teacher* based on linguistic grounds alone, without taking into consideration the criteria of cultural, social and pedagogic appropriacy". Even untrained native speaking English teachers can be used effectively for certain teaching purposes, and not merely as "status symbols" (ibid.: 365). Henry Sweet way back in 1899 stated that "trained non-native teachers are better than untrained native ones" (van Essen, 1994, as cited in Medgyes & Arva, 2000: 366). Rampton (1990: 98) argues that much of the knowledge that native speakers bring to the ESL classroom can be learned by non-native English speaking teachers. However, the analysis shows that poorly qualified native speakers can do a decent job as long as they are

required to do what they can do best: English conversation. Unfortunately, as in Japan, Korea, and Hong Kong (Kaplan, 1999: 6), my research indicates that in Taiwan, too, native speakers without teaching qualifications are more likely to be hired as English teachers than qualified and experienced non-native speaking English teachers.

6.4 Implications for English Teachers

The issues raised in this chapter have significant pedagogical implications. Next, I shall examine how the promotion of the native speaker ideology by the government and English language schools has resulted in racial, social, and educational inequities.

The time and energy Taiwanese people spend on learning English, especially focusing on speaking proficiency stems from the ideology that Taiwan needs to internationalize (Chang, M. C., 2003). As a result, the Taiwanese government recruited the first group of 400 foreign teachers, 150 from the USA, 70 from the UK, 100 from Canada and 80 from Australia in the summer of 2003 to teach English in Taiwan's public elementary and secondary schools.   Aside from teaching students at schools, another function of these foreign teachers is to help train Taiwan's English teachers. According to the ministry's plan, prospective foreign teachers must meet four basic requirements. First, they should be native speakers from the above four countries with a four year university education in a ministry-accredited university, and have experience teaching English or hold an English language degree. Second, they should have no criminal record. Third, they should be healthy and not use drugs. Fourth, they should be enthusiastic and of outstanding character. Salaries will range between NT$51,115 and NT$86,170 a month which is twice the average salary of most local English teachers (*Taipei Times Online*: March 16, 2003, http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/ archives/2003/03/16/198231; last accessed on March 17, 2003).

People in Taiwan are constantly exposed to propaganda concerning the native speaker ideology either from the government or language schools. Not only the parents but also students are brainwashed. As a result, the native speaker ideology is ingrained and perpetuated. The above policy and the analysis of this chapter reveal that not only the government and people in Taiwan look at foreign teachers merely at the level of individual qualifications. It is a 'deficit model of teacher development' in the context of native and non-native issues, as suggested by Matsuda (1999: 10). He points out three key features of this model: it is (1) discrete – native speaker or non-native speaker, (2) competitive – NS versus NNS, and (3) subtractive – strength minus weaknesses. If this model is applied to the analysis of this chapter and the above policy, we can see that teachers have either competence or deficits related to their linguistic, educational, and professional backgrounds; non-linguistic characteristics such as race, color; and their background as native or non-native speakers. The analysis shows that there is plenty of evidence that the native speaker has the more prestigious status, and is given preference in employment in English language schools. Moreover, knowledge of English is more highly regarded than pedagogic expertise, in terms of teaching English oral skills in English language schools in Taiwan. It has created a division or segregation among professionals in English teaching and learning in Taiwan. Therefore, there is fierce competition between NS and NNS. Generally speaking NNS English teachers have to struggle to achieve what often comes as a birthright to their competitors.

Myint (2002: 9) suggests that there are five advantages to being a NNEST: a. firsthand experience; b. patience and understanding; c. multicultural understanding; d. a living model; and e. ease of identification through similar experiences in being a NNEST. Moreover, ideal-English-teachers are not a matter of skin color or nationality,

but training and experience play an important role in defining an ideal-English-teacher (Brutt-Griffler & Sammy, 1999; Cook, 1999; Liu, 1999; Rampton, 1990). Matsuda (1999: 10) suggests that a collaborative model of teacher development for native and non-native English speaking teachers, focusing on and sharing their particular strengths. Three main key features of this model are: (1) integrative – NS and NNS; (2) cooperative – mutual sharing; and (3) additive – NS strengths plus NNS strengths. In this model English teachers should see themselves as members of a collaborative community in which they share their strengths to help each other. The model cannot really be applied to English language school and *buxiban* settings, because there is a separation in English teaching. English language schools focus on acquiring fluency and *buxiban* focus on accuracy. The result of this is that there is native and non-native division.

6.5 Conclusion

The issues raised in this chapter such as the native speaker ideology, native and non-native division, white and non-white division, and ideal-English-teacher have a strong impact on the teacher's identity, the classroom, the students, and the wider society. These issues shape the lives of the learners, the teachers, policy makers, and almost every individual, since they are embedded in social, economic and political contexts. They are much more complex than a simplistic dichotomy between being a native or a non-native speaker. In the context of English-as-the-global-language, English teachers in Taiwan need to raise their awareness of social and political implications of teaching English in both macro and micro contexts. They also need to raise their critical awareness of their role and the possible contributions that they can make in their own EFL context.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

THE "IDEAL-ENGLISH-TEACHING-METHODOLOGY"

7.0   Introduction

This chapter looks at ideologies deemed to be the best-English-teaching-methodology

in Taiwan based on advertisements produced by English language schools and

buxiban.   The analysis of Chapter 5 revealed that Taiwanese people's motivation for

learning English is a desire to communicate and that a major obstacle to the mastery

of spoken English has been the lack of opportunities to speak. Therefore, the

acquisition of oral proficiency has become the first goal in English learning. As

English is being learned as a foreign language in Taiwan, educators look to countries

where English is a native language for appropriate methods. The main shifts in

English teaching methodologies in second and foreign language teaching are an

emphasis on communication and meaning making and an examination of the way

language is used in real life situations. Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) has

been developed and widely used not only in English speaking countries but also in

EFL countries, so the MOE in Taiwan has advocated the adoption of CLT in the

school system in Taiwan. Apart from CLT, foreign teaching methodologies, such as

the Direct Method, TPR (Total Physical Response), the Natural approach, and

English-only immersion teaching method with a focus on so-called "English Only and

No Chinese" immersion learning, have been widely adopted as practical and the best

way to acquire English speaking proficiency in English language schools. Although

the MOE has issued new curriculum standards based on CLT, most English teachers in public schools are not yet using this approach. Traditional or local approaches such as grammar-translation and/or other teacher-centered methods remain dominant.

Richards (1990: 11) characterizes second or additional language teaching methodology as "the activities, tasks, and learning experiences selected by the teacher in order to achieve learning, and how these are used within the teaching/learning process". In addition, Richards (ibid.: 11) points out that these activities are also related to "the philosophy of the program, to the view of language and language learning that the program embodies, and to the roles of teachers, learners and instructional materials in the program".   This definition raises one key question since Taiwanese people are concerned about English teaching and learning in the context of globalization: What is the best teaching methodology?

In examining this question I will show how the best teaching methodology is portrayed in advertisements produced by language schools and what the current beliefs and practices in relation to this issue are, and relate them to the broader field of English education in Taiwan.   In other words, I shall consider English teaching methodology from the perspective of the classroom, so the major focus is on classroom tasks and activities and the management of learning. Then I will connect this micro domain (classroom) with macro domains (social, political and economic) in Taiwan, since the critical research approach is first concerned with connections between micro and macro relations (Pennycook, 2001: 8). Then I will deal with questions of power and social or structural inequality in society.

The central argument of this chapter focuses on one major question whether or not there is a best-English-teaching-method in Taiwan.   In examining this question I will

show that "there is no best teaching methodology" and "it all depends on the teaching context" (Prabhu, 1990). In the context of globalization, the notion of ideal-English-teaching-method is embedded in social, economic and political contexts and English teaching methodologies cannot be viewed as purely pedagogic and apolitical teaching activities. There are three parts in this chapter. First, the current English teaching methodologies used in Taiwan are explored. Second, based on current English teaching situations in Taiwan, the unlikely possibility that one best-English-teaching-methodology can be identified is argued. Finally, I shall seek out the implications of English language teaching in the context of English-as-the-global-language in Taiwan.

7.1 Current English Teaching Methodologies in Taiwan

The first step in analyzing the data is to indicate how advertisement texts produced by language schools contain the ideological concept of ideal-English-teaching-methodology based on the definition given by Richards (see introduction). Following that I shall identify what current English teaching methodologies are being advocated and what methodology is viewed as the most appropriate for ELT in Taiwan.

7.1.1 Television Commercial

7.1.1.1 TC1 Television Commercial – English language schools

TC1 television commercial first presents a picture of an English classroom with a female English teacher and a group of students in it. After that three pictures of computer screens show that the school's English course is taught by a new teaching method, which integrates the Internet or e-teaching methodology. At the same time, the voice of a male Mandarin Speaker is heard '*Yige jiehe shuwei wanglu yu kexue de jiaoxue fangfa yijing dansheng le*' 'A scientific teaching method which integrates the

Internet has been developed and is now being used'. Then there is a medium shot of a classroom equipped with computers. After that, in the front of the classroom, a female Caucasian foreign teacher is shown in action alone pointing at the letter Y on the board and nine little Taiwanese students appear together in shots and repeat what their teacher says Y - y - yellow. After that the voice of the male Mandarin Chinese speaker is heard again, '*Qiaodeng meiyu shouchung shuwei jiaoxue*' 'Jordan American English language school is a pioneer in using an e-teaching method'. There is a close up of the female Caucasian foreign teacher showing a little Taiwanese boy how to learn English by using a computer. First, the teacher says window, window and then the little boy says Wow, window while clicking on the picture of a window on his computer screen. Then the teacher says, Well done. After this, a medium shot shows the teacher and her students standing, clapping and doing some body movements while singing the Jordan English language school song. This commercial ends with the school logo and another slogan of the school spoken by the male Mandarin Chinese speaker – '*Zui shengdong zui huanle zui huopo de jiaoxue zhiyou zai Qiaodeng Meiyu*' 'Jordan American English language school uses the liveliest, the most joyful and the most active teaching method'.

At first glance, this television commercial is highly dynamic, since it starts with several things going on: music, talking, and images which involve animated pictures, involving computers, an English classroom, a computer room and interactions between the teacher and students. The first impression it leaves is that this English language school is an active and busy one. The main theme of the commercial is that Jordan English language school uses 'a scientific teaching method which integrates the Internet and English teaching' and, as the school slogan says, this is the 'the liveliest, the most joyful and the most active teaching method', that is, the

best-teaching- method.   This commercial promotes English learning as a practical skill and it assumes that English can be learned through computer technology in a teacher-student interaction method.   It also implies that English learning is primarily a teacher and student interaction activity in actual communication in a small class size setting. English instruction here pays attention only to listening and speaking skills. In addition, it emphasizes that students should acquire English by Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL) practice and mimicry of native speakers of English. It is an English-only immersion teaching method, since no Chinese occurred during the teaching and learning process.   It is a foreign and modern teaching method.

The female Caucasian foreign teacher and her little Taiwanese students demonstrate the roles played by the teacher and student in teaching and learning. The teacher's teaching is implicitly defined as an activity unaffected by outside environmental influences, since this television commercial suggests an image of English teaching in which every classroom in Taiwan is equipped with the latest audio-visual computer technology and the teacher uses the most up-to-date teaching method. The students' reactions to English learning in this commercial are joyful, happy and highly motivated.

This commercial suggests that teaching and learning is always autonomous and never affected by social, cultural and economic condition outside the classroom. In fact, English teaching and learning cannot be considered as an innocent and politics-free activity, since it raises ideological, economic and social conflicts.   In reality, only well-off families can afford to send their children to private language schools (*Taipei Times Online*: May 27, 2002, www.taipeitimes.com/news/2002/05/27/story/000013 7785; last accessed on September 9, 2002).   Although the school claims that CALL

is the most up-to-date teaching method, it has been used since 1990, and is part of CLT. As Jones (2001: 360) suggests, the use of computers like other self-access activities, tends to be regarded as a highly valued goal in this age of the communicative approach in language teaching and learning. The commercial also presents a false image of a typical English classroom in Taiwan equipped with the latest audio-visual computer technology and a small class size. In reality, students in Taiwan are usually packed into large classes (around 35 students per class) in public schools. Moreover, according to *Taipei Times Online*, a total of 287 (11%) out of 2,600 elementary schools in Taiwan cannot set up an ADSL line and there are over 1,000 schools (38.5%) with bad reception of either wire or wireless transmissions (Chang, Y. J., 2002). In fact, disadvantaged children have the least access to the Internet (Chang, Y. J., 2002). In addition, most language teachers are not comfortable with high technology, since unlike so many of their students, they did not grow up with computers (Jones, 2001: 365). Moreover, the native speaker's pedagogical approach – student-centered – also poses cultural problems. Public schools in Taiwan use a more formal, grammar-oriented, test-oriented, textbook-oriented and teacher-centered pedagogy (Chang, 1998). The teacher's role is authoritarian, they are not facilitators as suggested in the television commercial. What all this reveals is that the television commercial instills into the audience the ideology, that there is one best way to acquire English proficiency.

7.1.1.2   *TET2 Television English Teaching Program*

TET2, an hour-long English teaching program, broadcasts on Saturday mornings on national television. Its target audiences are those who want to get higher marks in the high school entrance examination. There is only one teacher and one blackboard in the program. In this teaching program, the English teacher is a male Taiwanese

teacher. He uses Mandarin only to teach Junior High School English with junior high school English textbooks. The main focus of teaching in secondary schools is English grammar. The method he uses is grammar-translation. He is extremely confident while teaching. He keeps using grammar-translation for an hour without any teaching aids or students.

In contrast to the image of teacher and student interaction of the classroom in the TC1 television commercial by an English language school, in the TET2 *buxiban* teaching program the teacher is in control of the classroom. He is the holder of English knowledge and authority. This is the best teaching method for students who are interested in learning English grammar and passing their exams. TET2 proves the grammar-translation method is the best English teaching method in some teaching contexts, such as public schools and *buxiban* in Taiwan.

The TC1 television commercial and TET2 English teaching program are two extremes of teaching methods that have been encapsulated in the terms "focus-on-form" and "focus-on-forms" by Long (1991: 39–52). According to Sheen (2002, 2003), focus-on-form derives from an assumed degree of similarity between first and second language acquisition, and that all classroom activity needs to be based on communicative tasks. Here, the treatment of grammar depends on unplanned problems in communication arising during communicative activities. Focus-on-forms approaches, on the other hand, are based on the assumption that classroom foreign or second language learning derives from general cognitive processes, and it is equated with the traditional teaching of discrete points of grammar in separate lessons. As Sheen (2003: 209) suggests, there are two types of teaching strategies: implicit (inductive) which is used in the focus-on-form approach and explicit (deductive)

which is used in the focus-on-forms. Examples of the focus-on-form approach are: the direct method, the Natural method, Audiolingualism, CLT and so on. Examples of focus-on-forms are: Grammar-translation and cognitive code-learning. The analysis of TC1 and TET2, demonstrates clearly that there is a dichotomy in English teaching methods in Taiwan, and, most importantly, it explicitly indicates that there is no best English teaching method.   The best teaching method depends on the particular teaching context.

7.1.2   Slogans and Short Paragraphs

51 (25%) out of a total of 192 slogans and short paragraphs contain the concept of the ideal-English-teaching-methodology (cf. Figure 5-1, p. 121). 16 texts that contain both the concept of ideal-English-teaching-methodology and American-English-as-standard-English (see 8.1) are counted twice. 2 texts that contain the ideal-English-teaching-methodology, the-younger-the-better ideology (see 9.1) and American-English-as-standard-English ideology are counted three times. The fact that teaching methodology has the highest frequency of all the ideological concepts investigated in this study, indicates its importance. LF3 and LF8 are two examples from English language schools, and BF2 is from a *buxiban.*   They indicate current English teaching methodologies in Taiwan.

"No Chinese!" and "English Only" teaching methodology! (LF3)

'*Lai Beier xue TPR meiyu jiu xiang xue muyu yiyang qingsong ziran you kuaile*' (LF8)

'The way of learning American English by using TPR at Beyer Language School is like the way of learning one's mother tongue, a relaxing, natural

and happy way.' (LF8)

'*Fengfude jiaoxue ziyuan, wuanzhengde jiaoxue zhidu, zhengquede*

jiaoxue fangxiang, youxiaode jiaoxue fengfa.' (BF2)

'Rich teaching resources, complete teaching system, correct teaching

direction, effective teaching methodology.' (BF2)

Many slogans and short paragraphs, like LF3 or BF2, do not specifically indicate

exactly what kind of teaching methods are used, but they can be categorized into two

main approaches: "focus-on-form and focus-on-forms" (Long, 1991). A key finding is

that all methods used in language schools belong to the focus-on-form approach

(Figure 7-1), while methods used in *Buxiban* belong to the focus-on-forms approach

(Figure 7-2).

Figure 7-1:   Focus-on-form Approach in Slogans and Short Paragraphs in English
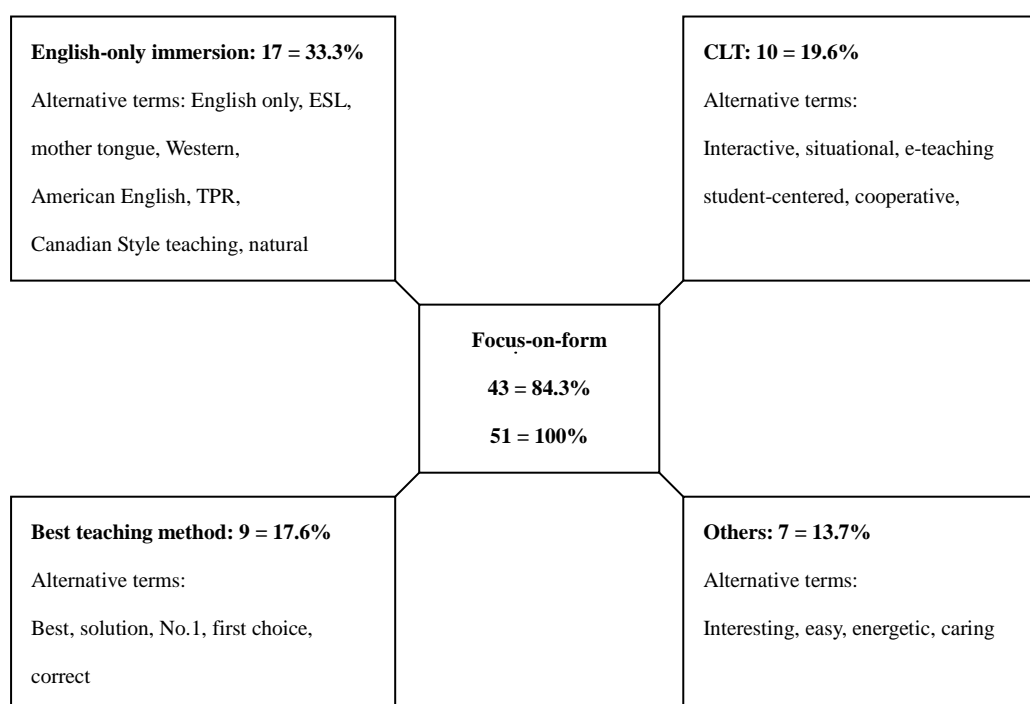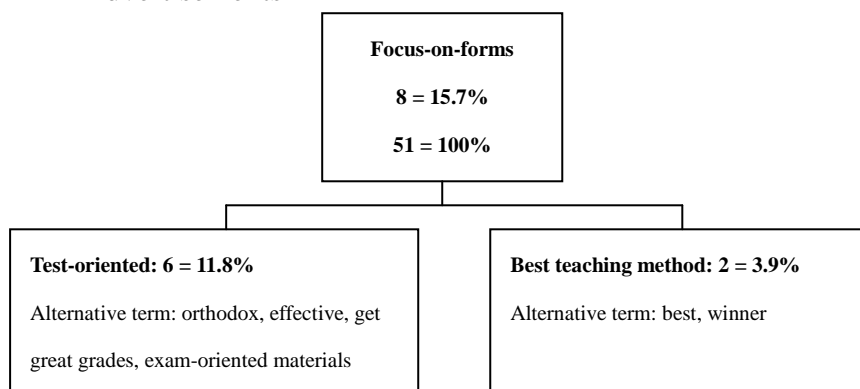Language School Advertisements

Figure 7-2:   Focus-on-forms Approach in Slogans and Short Paragraphs in *Buxiban*
              Advertisements

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                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │   Focus-on-forms    │
                    │    8 = 15.7%        │
                    │    51 = 100%        │
                    └─────────┬───────────┘
            ┌─────────────────┴─────────────────┐
┌───────────────────────────────┐   ┌───────────────────────────────┐
│ Test-oriented: 6 = 11.8%      │   │ Best teaching method: 2 = 3.9%│
│ Alternative term: orthodox,   │   │ Alternative term: best, winner│
│ effective, get                │   │                               │
│ great grades, exam-oriented   │   │                               │
│ materials                     │   │                               │
└───────────────────────────────┘   └───────────────────────────────┘
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"As in other areas of commerce, new methods (and sometimes old methods in new packaging) are marketed under different brand labels" (Canagarajah, 1999: 104). Methods such as, '*chun meiyu*' 'American English-only method', '*muyu jiaoxu*' 'mother tongue teaching method', TPR, ESL teaching method, and '*meishi jiaoxue*' 'American English teaching method' can be viewed as *English-only immersion* methods. There is no CLT found in slogans or short paragraphs, but methods such as '*hudongshi*' 'interactive', '*qingjing*' 'situational', student-centered, '*dianao jaoxue*' 'e-teaching or computer assisted language learning' and cooperative teaching method can be categorized as CLT*,* because these are some key features of CLT (Jones, 2001; *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism*, 1998: 667–693). *The best method* (Figure 7-1) includes solution, '*zhengque*' 'correct' and No.1 teaching method. Although they do not indicate specifically what kind of methods are the best, implicitly they indicate that the focus-on-form approach is the best.   Methods described as '*yaoqun*' 'interesting', '*rongyi*' 'easy', '*huopo*' 'energetic' and caring are *Other focus-on-form methods* and

they suggest that the focus-on-form approach is an enjoyable approach which is very different from the traditional teacher-centered approach. There are four categories in the focus-on-form approach (Figure 7-2): *English-only immersion method* (33.3%), *CLT* (19.6%), *the best method* (17.6%) and *others* (13.7%). As far as the focus-on-forms approach is concerned, teaching methods described as '*zhengtong*' 'orthodox method', '*yaoxiao*' 'effective', '*zhengque*' 'correct', '*chengji baozheng*' 'get great grades and guaranteed learning outcome' are put into *test-oriented teaching method*, since the purpose of these methods is to help students to pass various exams, such as senior high, university entrance exams, TOEFL, GRE, GMAT. *The best teaching method* (Figure 7-2) is also found in *buxiban* advertisements, but it indicates that focus-on-forms is the best teaching method to help students to pass exams so as to achieve their goals of English learning. Therefore, there are two categories in this approach; *Test-oriented teaching method* (11.8%) and *The best teaching method* (3.9%).

7.1.3 Body Texts

A total of 153 (31.4%) out of 487 terms regarding English teaching methodology are found in the corpus (cf. Figure 6-2, p. 166). As with slogans and short paragraphs, terms in relation to English teaching methodology have a very high frequency among other ideological concepts. Like the analysis of slogans and short paragraphs, teaching methods in body texts can be categorized into four categories (Figure 7-3) in the focus-on-form approach; they are *English-only immersion method* (41.8%), *CLT* (20.9%), *Others* (7.2%) and *The best* (2.6%). The highest frequency of *English-only immersion method* demonstrates that it is widely believed that the best teaching method is to teach speaking proficiency. Although there is only one school (LF17) that claims that CLT is used, methods such as '*zhuti shi*' 'topic-base', '*hudong*'

'interactive', '*qingjing*' 'situational', student-centered and '*youxi zhong xuexi*' 'play and learn' belong to CLT, since they are some main features of CLT as well (see Figure 7-1 description). Methods such as '*shuangyu*' bilingualism', '*duomeiti*' 'multi-media', Montessori, Vygotsky, '*qifa*' 'inspiration' and '*zhezhong*' 'eclectic' belong to *Other focus-on-form*, since they suggest that they are very different from traditional teacher-centered methods. *The best method* does not indicate specifically what kind of method is the best, but implicitly illustrates that the focus-on-form approach is better. Within the focus-on-forms approach, there are two categories: *Test-oriented teaching method* (27.4%) and *The best teaching method* (0.7%) (Figure 7-4). The high frequency of the *Test-oriented* teaching method found in body texts reinforces the fact that the importance of passing exams cannot be overstressed as a motivation for students. Moreover, traditional teacher-centered approaches are still very popular in Taiwan. *The best teaching method* found in the body texts also indicates that focus-on-forms is believed to be the best teaching method to help students to pass exams.

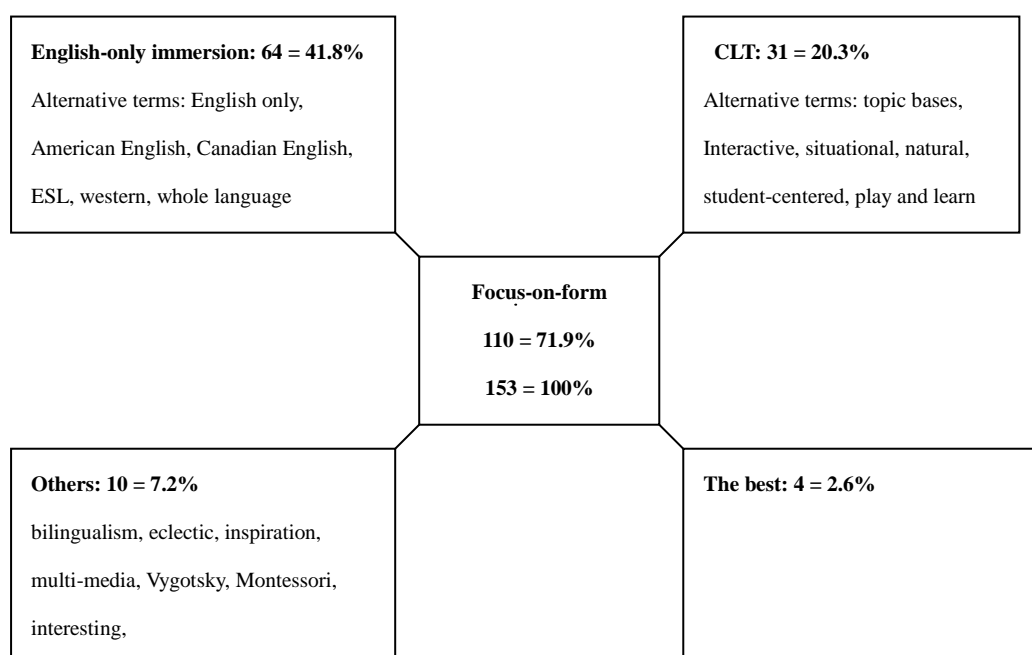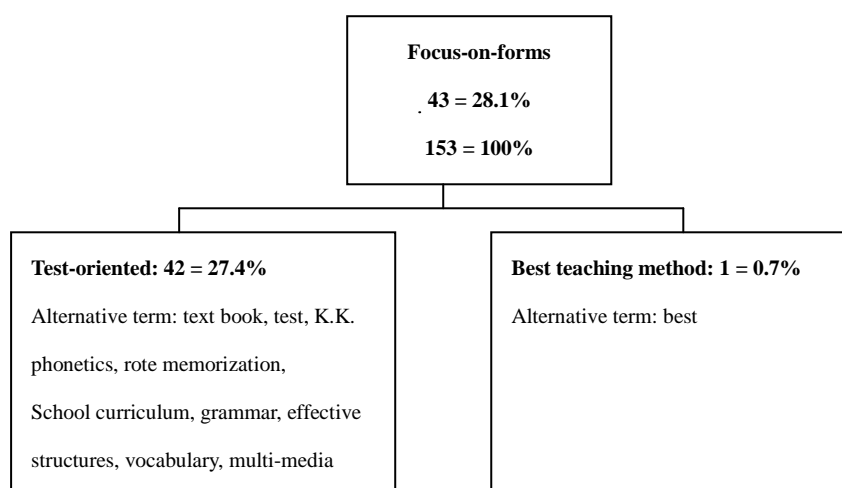Figure 7-3: Focus-on-form Approach in Body Texts

English-only immersion: 64 = 41.8%		**CLT: 31 = 20.3%**
Alternative terms: English only, American English, Canadian English, ESL, western, whole language		Alternative terms: topic bases, Interactive, situational, natural, student-centered, play and learn
	Focus-on-form **110 = 71.9%** **153 = 100%**	
Others: 10 = 7.2% bilingualism, eclectic, inspiration, multi-media, Vygotsky, Montessori, interesting,		**The best: 4 = 2.6%**

Figure 7-4: Focus-on-forms Approach in Body Texts

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                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │    Focus-on-forms       │
                    │     .43 = 28.1%         │
                    │     153 = 100%          │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                    ┌───────────┴───────────┐
┌───────────────────────────────┐   ┌───────────────────────────────┐
│ Test-oriented: 42 = 27.4%     │   │ Best teaching method: 1 = 0.7% │
│                               │   │                               │
│ Alternative term: text book,  │   │ Alternative term: best        │
│ test, K.K.                    │   │                               │
│ phonetics, rote memorization, │   │                               │
│                               │   │                               │
│ School curriculum, grammar,   │   │                               │
│ effective                     │   │                               │
│                               │   │                               │
│ structures, vocabulary,       │   │                               │
│ multi-media                   │   │                               │
└───────────────────────────────┘   └───────────────────────────────┘
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7.1.4 Still Images

314 (26.6%) out of a total of 1,181 photos (cf. Figure 5-3, p. 140) containing the concept of the ideal-English-teaching-methodology are found. A photo in language school advertisement is deemed to contain the concept of the ideal-English-teaching-methodology if it shows teachers conducting teaching activities or tasks either in the classroom or outdoors. In addition, teaching materials and classroom setting and size are taken into consideration in deciding whether a teaching method is using a focus-on-form or focus-on-forms approach. For example, the photo LF2-p2 shows a female Caucasian English teacher using flash cards to teach English to a group of seven little pre-school Taiwanese students who are sitting in a U-shaped arrangement. It is an interactive and student-centered teaching method. Obviously, the photo depicts a focus-on-form method, but there is a problem. This photo can be categorized as any one of four methods – *English-only immersion*, *CLT*, *Others* and

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The best teaching method, because it can be argued that the analysis of LF2-p2 fits into these four categories. As mentioned earlier, many language schools do not specifically indicate what kind of teaching methods they use. As Phillipson (1992a) suggests, the tenet that the ideal English teacher is the native speaker is a twin to the tenet that English is best taught monolingually. Therefore, based on the corpus, there are two categories: *English-only immersion teaching method* (77.7%) and *Others* (3.2%) (Figure 7-5). The *English-only immersion teaching* category in the figure counts individuals depicted in photos, revealing that only Caucasians conduct any teaching activities. The *Others* category includes a native and non-native co-teaching system and/or non-native speakers only teaching. In fact, it can be argued that these categories belong to the broad umbrella of CLT, since they fit the definition of CLT.

A salient feature of still images found in *buxiban* advertisements is that there are as many as 24 photos of traditional big classrooms without teachers conducting any teaching activities. 5 out these 24 photos show students either taking an exam or studying in a typical big classroom in *buxiban*. 19 out of 24 photos show a giant empty classroom with a big black board in the front and with a capacity of more than 200 students, that is, 15 seats in one row and more than 10 rows in the classroom. They are counted as *Test-oriented teaching method*, because the big class size is one of the very important characteristics of *buxiban* in Taiwan. This will be discussed in *7.2.3.2*. Therefore, only the *Test-oriented teaching method* with three sub-categories is found in the still images. The sub-categories are *Traditional big classroom* (9.6%), *Teacher-centered method (without any interaction with students)* (6.5%) and *Teaching materials* (*test questions and textbooks*) (Figure 7-6).

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Figure 7-5:   Focus-on-form Approach in Still Images

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┌─────────────────────────────┐
│       Focus-on-form         │
│       254 = 80.9%           │
│       314 = 100%            │
└─────────────────────────────┘
        ┌──────────┴──────────┐
┌───────────────────────────┐  ┌───────────────────────────────┐
│ English-only immersion:   │  │  Others: 10 = 3.2%            │
│ 244 = 77.7%               │  │                               │
│ Caucasians                │  │ Caucasian and Chinese co-teaching │
│ English as medium Music,  │  │ Chinese teacher using interactive methods │
│ Science, PE,              │  │                               │
│ Art, Reading, Writing,    │  │                               │
└───────────────────────────┘  └───────────────────────────────┘
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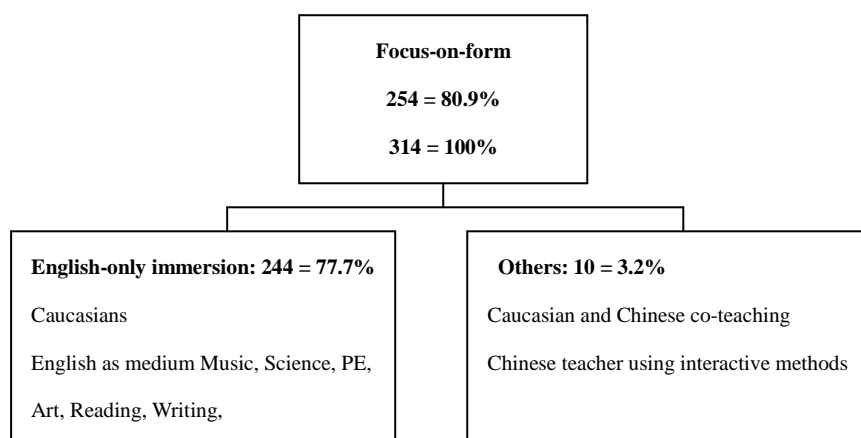
Figure 7-6:   Focus-on-forms Approach in Still Images

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┌─────────────────────────────┐
│       Focus-on-forms        │
│    Test-oriented method     │
│       60 = 19.1%            │
│       314 = 100%            │
└─────────────────────────────┘
    ┌────────────┼────────────────┐
┌──────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────────┐
│ Traditional big  │ │ Teacher centered:│ │ Teaching materials:  │
│ classroom:       │ │ 16 = 5%          │ │ 14 = 4.5%            │
│ 30 = 9.6%        │ │ Non-interactive  │ │ Text  books,  test   │
│ Having exams,    │ │ /no teaching aids│ │ question,            │
│ studying, empty  │ │                  │ │ audio-video          │
└──────────────────┘ └──────────────────┘ └──────────────────────┘
```
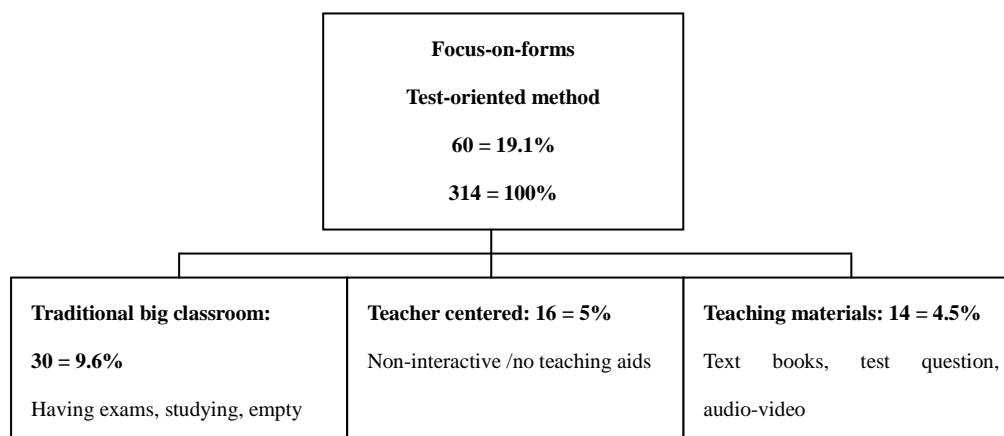
7.1.5   School Names

Only 9 (8.8%) out of a total of 102 school names contain the ideological concept of ideal-English-teaching-methodology (cf. Figure 5-5). There are three categories in the focus-on-form approach (Figure 7-7).   They are *CLT* (22.2%, 2 names) and *Others* (33.3%, 3 names) and *The best* (22.2%, 1 name). <u>Situation Interactive</u> and <u>e-learning</u>

are some key characteristics of CLT, so they are put into *CLT* (see 7.1.2). Joy means "interesting". Deeson means "decent". Famous means "famous teaching methodology" (see *5.1.4.6*). Therefore, they are put into *Others*. The Best and Giraffe are put into *The best* category. Giraffe means "the best", because Giraffe is examined as a "symbolic quality" (see *5.1.4.4*). '*Gao Gan*' 'Outstanding' and '*Xianjie*' 'Fast and Advanced' are two *buxiban* names found in the corpus, so they are categorized into focus-on-forms approach (22.2%, see Figure 7-7). It is clear that 'Outstanding' means that the *buxiban* is using an outstanding teaching method. 'Fast and Advanced' means that the *buxiban* will help learners to pass their tests with a very fast and advanced method.

Figure 7-7:   Focus-on-form and Focus-on-forms in School Names
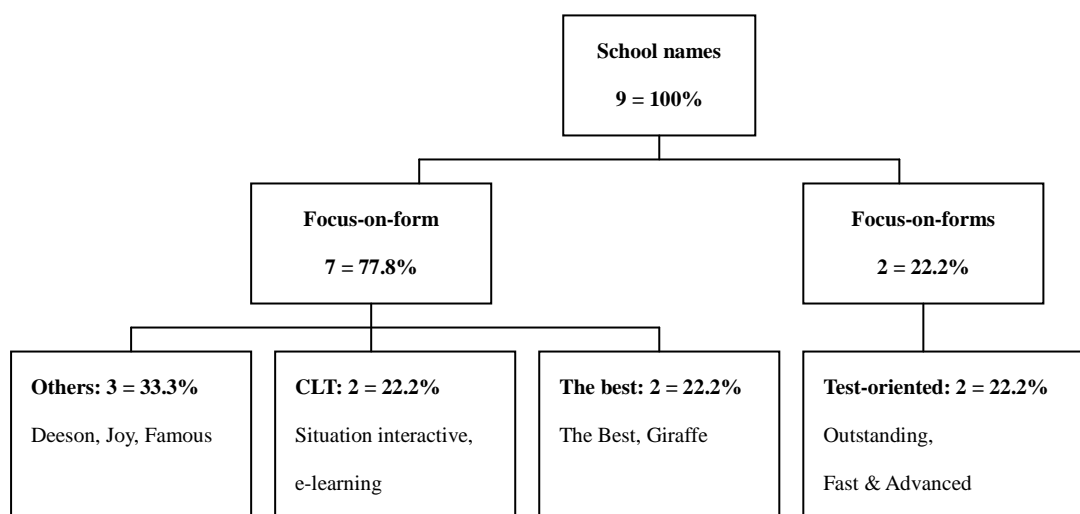
7.2   Focus-on-form vs. Focus-on-forms in Taiwan

Before arguing that there is no best English teaching method, it is important to understand the implications of these two approaches. Therefore, *English-only immersion, CLT* in focus-on-form approach *and the test-oriented* in focus-on-forms approach will be discussed respectively.

7.2.1 Focus-on-form in Practice

7.2.1.1. English-only Immersion Method

English-only immersion method has the highest frequency among other methods in slogans and short paragraphs (Figure 7-1, 33.3%), body texts (Figure7-3, 41.8%), and in still images (Figure 7-5, 7.7%). This kind of immersion learning has been widely adopted as a more practical approach to teaching English (Her, 2002). *English-only immersion* method is derived from the Natural or Direct method (Auerbach, 1993: 9; Howatt, 1984: 192–208). The principles of the Natural or Direct method are: 1. second language skills are acquired in the same way as first language skills. 2. Only the target language is used, and no translations are offered. 3. The method requires teachers who are native speakers or have native-like fluency. 4. Teachers speak only the target language in class and the method focuses on speaking and listening rather than reading and writing. 5. Grammar is studied later when examples can be cited; no rules are memorized (*Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education* 1998: 671, 692). Phillipson (1992a) argues that "English should be taught monolingually", is one of the basic tenets emerging from Makere University in Uganda in 1961. This tenet has been taken for granted as a fundamental principle of English teaching in English language schools in Taiwan. Auerbach (1993: 9) argues that English-only instruction in ESL countries has been regarded as "a 'natural' and 'common sense practice' which is rooted in a particular ideological perspective that serves to reinforce inequities in the broader social order".

The assumption that English-only instruction should be used in the EFL classroom in Taiwan is an unexamined ideology that must be challenged. Moreover, it is a worrisome phenomenon that needs to be taken seriously by the ELT field in Taiwan.

According to *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*, (1998: 671), commercial language schools like the Berlitz schools tended to be more successful in applying Natural or Direct method, because of the high level of motivation of the students and the fact that native speakers were always employed. It is not surprising that many English language schools declare that English-only immersion instruction is the best teaching method. The rationale for this view is often framed in pedagogical terms: the more students are exposed to English, the more quickly they will learn. They will internalize and begin to think in English. The only way they will learn English is to be forced to use it in an English only teaching environment (Auerbach, 1993).   Next, I shall explore English-only immersion method in kindergartens and adult English education.

English-only Immersion Method in Pre-schools

In Taiwan, there are three types of kindergartens: all-English or English-only immersion, bilingual, and standard. The market for all-English kindergartens has grown rapidly because of Taiwan's anxiety over English. According to a survey of pre-school education completed in 2002 by National Chiayi University, among Taiwan's 3,000-plus kindergartens, 65% offer all-English classes and have replaced the former curriculum for pre-school children with English language courses (Teng, 2003a).   Although the English-only immersion method might be more successful for commercial language schools that does not mean it is the best teaching method or the solution for ELT in Taiwan.   It is called "the all-English" myth by Chang Chiang-jiun, the Director of the Graduate School of Child English Education at National Taipei Teacher's College in Taiwan (ibid.: 2003a). At the age of 2 years and 10 months Chang Chiang-jiun sent her daughter to get a foundation in English at an

English only private kindergarten for five years. The result of this is that her daughter grew up in an English only environment where her foreign teacher was strict on the "English only, No Chinese " rule, and her Chinese grammar and intonation were very odd. In addition to this, due to a long period of interaction with her foreign teacher, her daughter became quite extroverted, liked to embrace others and developed a rich body language. Chang Chian-jiun has spoken publicly several times with a call to Taiwanese parents not to invest large amounts of money to send their children to all-English kindergartens.

Chang's experience raises some issues regarding the English-only immersion method. First, Taiwanese children themselves do not enroll in English-only kindergartens or language schools. They are placed there by their parents. The ideological concept of English-only-immersion as the best-teaching-method stems from adults, not from children.   Second, it can be argued that second language skills or additional language skills are acquired in a different way from first language skills (Lightbown & Spada, 1994).   Third, the doctrine that English needs to be taught monolingually by native speakers. This implies that ideal English teachers are native speakers of English. This ideology has been discussed in Chapter 6. Fourth, the use of immersion language instruction, without translation, in an EFL country can succeed only at the expense of the mother tongue. "The ethos of monolingualism implies the rejection of the experiences of other languages, meaning the exclusion of the child's most intense existential experience" (Phillipson, 1992a: 189).   Strong initial literacy is a key factor in successful second language acquisition and academic success (Lightbown & Spada, 1994). In addition to this, it is a rare youngster (pre-school children) who knows what is appropriate or inappropriate for their language, personality, and behavior development, because their ability to mimic is so strong. Fifth, the

after-effects of English-only immersion method are not only mother tongue rejection, but also identification with either the dominant or the weak culture. Finally, this method is difficult to implement within the school system in Taiwan because of the above ideologies, which indicate that this is not an ideal or the best method and solution for children's English language learning in Taiwan.

English-only Immersion Method in Adult English Education

As far as adult English education is concerned, English-only instruction used in ELT has been virtually ignored in ESL countries until very recently (Auerbach, 1993: 16). Not surprisingly, in Taiwan, an EFL country, English language educators have not done much research into the English only teaching method for either children or adult English learners (Teng, 2003a). Nevertheless, it seems that the government supports the English-only immersion teaching method. Deputy Minister of Education, Fan Sun-lun said, "If professors speak English in class, it will create an English environment for students and make them feel comfortable to use English more and more" (*Taiwan Headlines*: July 19, 2002, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id= 14803; last accessed on September 12, 2002). Earlier it had been reported that "The cabinet plans to encourage college and university teachers to use English as an instruction medium. English is the language that can connect Taiwan to the world, and it is necessary to learn it well" (*Taiwan Headline*: May 1, 2002, http://th.gio.gov.tw/ show.cfm?news_id=13989; last accessed on December 12, 2002). The essence of these comments is that Taiwanese authorities have begun to encourage the use of English as a medium of instruction in a range of subjects across the curriculum. The main assumption is that if people in Taiwan do not improve their English ability, Taiwan's economic competitiveness will fall behind that of neighboring nations. According to *Taipei Time Online*: May 3, 2002, poor English ability has prevented

Taiwan's economy surpassing Asian 'dragons' such as Hong Kong and Singapore" (http://www.taipeitimes.com/news/2002/05/03/story/000013442; last accessed on September 9, 2002). The rationale for English as a medium is that, in general, students should be encouraged to use English as much as possible, but in reality, this does not really work. First of all, most subject teachers in universities in Taiwan are not competent with their English and they are unable to update their knowledge of English and produce materials and lesson plans for their classes. As a result, English will suffer through the poor models being offered by their subject teachers.

Some researchers and English educators argue that mother tongue translation may not be necessary with advanced students, but with adult beginners in a monolingual or multilingual classroom it is almost inevitable (Auerbach, 1993; Lucas & Katz 1994, Stanley, 2002). Whether or not English is the only means of communication in an EFL classroom, English educators need to consider social and cultural factors, and students' motivation, goals, and proficiency. Therefore, I argue that depending on the purposes of English learning, not only adult beginners but also advanced students do not need English-only immersion method in *buxiban* in Taiwan. It can be argued that the English-only teaching method does not work for adult learners if their main purpose is to pass English exams. Methods used in *buxiban* will be discussed later in 7.2.2.

7.2.1.2 *Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)*

Apart from the *English-only immersion method*, CLT has a very high frequency among methods advocated in slogans and short paragraphs (Figure 7-1, 19.6.%), body texts (Figure 7-3, 20.3%) and school names (Figure 7-7, 22.2%). There is no CLT found in still images, because the problem with CLT is that the term has always meant

a multitude of different things to different people (Harmer, 2003: 289). It seems that any teaching activity involving teacher and student interaction can be called communicative (ibid.: 289). Confirming Harmer's viewpoint, we can see that a total of 254 photos (80.9%) in still images are CLT since every photo shows a teacher using a student-centered and interactive teaching method. Even most of the English-only immersion methods found in the corpus can be argued to be CLT. Although only one English language school (LF17) in the corpus claims that they are using CLT, teaching methods found in *Others* (*focus-on-form*) such as *Interesting*, *Easy*, *Caring* could be seen as CLT, to be discussed later in this section.

CLT claims to correct any perceived shortcomings with other teaching methods, such as grammar-translation and Audiolingualism. This is the method, it is claimed, that can prepare students for natural, authentic communication in the world outside the classroom (Bax, 2003). As a result, the emphasis in most English teaching courses worldwide is on communicative techniques, and this is an area where Taiwan seems particularly weak. The reason for that is that the teaching methodology used in the school system is the traditional teacher-centered method, not student-centered or communicative (Chang, 1998: 31). Bax (2003) argues that teachers and teacher trainers, both native and non-native speakers of English, are backward, if they don't use CLT. Not surprisingly, as a teacher trainer in Taiwan suggests, "In general the teaching approaches in Taiwan are still a little behind and based on rote learning in comparison with the more modern communicative approaches" (Bax, 2003: 280).

Next, I will use the LF17 school flier to show how English language schools claim that CLT is the best-teaching-method. I will argue that, although CLT has served a useful function in English teaching worldwide, it has its shortcomings. In addition, I

will investigate why CLT does not work in the school system in Taiwan.

CLT in English Language Schools

The LF17 school flier is produced by one of the very famous English language schools in Taiwan. It is a double-sided typed flier in which each side contains 5 still images accompanied by texts. The slogan of this school is '*Women liaojie haizi xuyao de shi shemo*' '<u>We know what children need</u>', which is placed on the top of the flier in big red print.   At first glance, the photo at the bottom right of the flier draws readers' attention, because its size is bigger than the other four on this page. Therefore, I numbered it LF17-p1.   The LF17-p1 photo shows 2 little Taiwanese boys (pre-school children) who are sitting on a bench and looking up at the other 4 photos, which are lined up horizontally on the first half of the flier under the school slogan. In these four photos, the first one, LF17-p2 shows a U-shaped arrangement in a classroom in which a male Caucasian is pointing at one little Taiwanese girl and a Chinese female teacher who is standing next to the foreign teachers holding a basket with various objects in it. The heading of this photo says '*chingsong de xuexi qingjing*' '<u>relaxed learning situation</u>'. LF17-p3, the second photo of these four, shows a male Caucasian, a female Chinese English teacher, and three Taiwanese students (elementary school students) sitting in the classroom. The male Caucasian is talking to the three Taiwanese children.   The heading says '*goutongshi jiaoxuefa*' '<u>Communicative Language Teaching Method</u>'. LF17-p4, the third photo shows a male Caucasian standing in the middle of a U-shaped classroom. Little Taiwanese students (pre-school children) are seated and a Chinese female teacher is sitting with them. The male Caucasian is standing in the middle of the room and asking a little Taiwanese girl, who has a plastic hammer, to hit a flash card on the floor. The heading of the photo says '*zhuanyi de laoshi*' '<u>professional teacher</u>'.   Moreover, these three

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classrooms in LF17-p1 – p3 are clean with high ceilings and English sign-words can be seen around the walls. The last photo of this side of the flier LF17-p4 shows a series of self-published textbooks and other teaching materials, such as flash cards and cassette and video tapes. The textbook title is *Fun with English*. The heading of the photo says '*bentu hua de jiaocai*' '<u>localized teaching materials</u>'.

The other side of the flier, like the one just described, starts with the slogan of the English language schools '*Women liaojie haizi xuyao de shi shemo*' in big red print. '<u>We know what children need</u>'. There are five photos on this side of the flier, too. LF17-p6 at the bottom left of the flier draws readers' attention, because it is much bigger than the other four photos, like LF17-p1 on the other side of the flier. LF17-p6 shows a little Taiwanese girl putting her hands under her chin and smiling at her viewers. There are four photos around LF17-p6 placed in a semi-circular shape. In clockwise order, LF17-p7 shows Taiwanese elementary school students standing with a changing guard in front of Buckingham Palace. The heading of this photo says '*yingguo xialingying*' '<u>English Summer camp in England</u>'. The next photo LF17-p8, shows a male white Caucasian standing among little Taiwanese students holding up a big sign with an English sentence <u>What's your dream?</u> on it. A Chinese female teacher is holding some balloons and every student is holding a different teaching aid, such as flowers, butterflies, suns and so on. They are facing the camera and every one is smiling. The heading of this photo says '*Youqu de shangka huajing*' '<u>Interesting learning environment</u>'. Followed by this is LF17-p9, showing a group of little Taiwanese students wearing crowns. Every one is holding a Christmas card and the heading of this photo says '*haowan de Xmas Party*' '<u>Fun Xmas Party</u>'. The last photo of this page, LF17-10, shows a series of self-published textbooks and other teaching materials, such as flash cards and cassette and video tapes. The textbook title is *Joy of*

Learning. The heading of the photo says '*Fengfu de jiaocai*' 'rich teaching resources'. At the bottom of this page is a written text in black about the school's teaching method – CLT, and the phrase [*zuihaode*] 'the best' in red in a square bracket appears three times in the text.

The flier is seen as having a beginning, a middle and an end and it tells its audience what exactly constitutes CLT in practice and what its expected outcome is. In the beginning of the flier are the school slogan – '*Women liajie haizi xuyao de shishemo*' 'We know what children need' and two photos of children (LF17-p1 & p6) implying not only that children need to learn English but also that they need the best teaching method – CLT – to achieve their goals or fulfill their dreams. These sentiments are echoed by LF17-8.

In the middle stage, four photos (LF17-p2, p3, p4, p8) show how CLT is carried out in a classroom in Taiwan. First of all, it is a student-centered approach which means students are asked to participate in various communicative activities, so as to improve or achieve their speaking proficiency. To achieve this goal, not only learners, but also teachers and the classroom setting play a vital role. The class size is small and normally with a U-shaped arrangement, so teachers and student can interact. FL17 shows a native speaking English teacher and a Chinese English teacher co-teaching system. They are professional as the heading of LF17-p4 photo suggests. It seems that native speakers play a more important role in English teaching, since the non-native speakers in these photos are portrayed as assistants rather than teachers, meaning that they are not in charge of teaching. Moreover, students are expected to interact with their native speaking English teachers, which include physical movement during communicative interaction. There is a variety of games, activities, teaching materials and teaching aids (LF17-p5 & p10) used in a CLT class. These teaching materials

with communicative purposes are fun and interesting and are specially designed for Taiwanese children. Generally speaking, English is the medium of teaching. Students seem to enjoy the teaching and learning process and they learn to use English for communicative purposes. CLT creates an interesting and relaxed learning environment as the headings of LF17-p2 and LF17 and *Other focus-on-form methods* of the corpus suggest.

Finally, the desired outcome is that learners can communicate successfully in English in real situations not only in Taiwan but also an English speaking country – England – as the LF17-p7 photo suggested. Therefore, CLT is "the best teaching method" as appears three times in red at the very end of this flier.

CLT is regarded by the government as the solution to English teaching and learning in Taiwan in the context of English-as-the-global-language. While introducing The Six-Year National Development Plan, Premier Yu Shyi-kun said, "Under the government's plan, Taiwan should designate English a quasi-official language and expand the use of English as part of daily life. To enable us to accomplish this, I would encourage English teachers to constantly employ communicative teaching approaches to serve the need of students to communicate better with others" (Chang, S. E., 2002). LF17 and the Premier's talk raise the most crucial issue in ELT in Taiwan. That is no factors count in learning English, other than teaching methodology – especially CLT. Many Taiwanese English teachers or learners may opt for CLT because it is popular and it is a world-wide trend without examining the realities of their classroom situation or their wider social context. In addition, the distinction between ESL (English as a second language) and EFL (English as a foreign language) "highlights a mismatch for Asian learners between the instrumental

aims of CLT and their own situation" (Ellis, 1996: 215). ESL takes place within an English-speaking environment. Clearly, Taiwan is an EFL country.   In Taiwan, the goal of English teaching in the context of globalization focuses on communicative competence, but the instrumental purposes of CLT is very different between an ESL and EFL country.   Since EFL does not take place within an English speaking environment, English language learners in Taiwan, do not have the opportunity immediately to apply their English skills in authentic situations – the opposite is the case in an ESL country. "ESL is designed to help individuals function in an English speaking community, but EFL is part of the school curriculum" (ibid.: 215). The implication is that EFL may be primarily designed to develop communicative competence, but with curriculum demands and pressure of examinations, CLT might not be appropriate.

Given that Taiwan is an EFL country, I shall now argue that any teaching method, including CLT is just one factor in teaching and learning English in the school system. Other factors may seem to be more important if we take the whole teaching context into consideration.

CLT in Elementary Schools

Taiwan formally instituted English classes for fifth and sixth graders in elementary schools in September 2001.   A report entitled "Problems in Elementary School English Education" (Teng, 2003a) was conducted by the Taiwanese government at the end of year 2002. It indicates that the most overwhelming difficulty is the shortage of capable teachers. Rural schools in Taiwan are often unable to hire accredited English teachers. For instance, in 2002 when Nantou County was in need of 159 English teachers, only 15 MOE certified instructors filled the vacancies. When the time came,

only 6 out of those 15 reported to their new teaching posts. Cases like this can be found in other rural schools in Hualien county, Taipei county, and so on. As a result, county governments have had to train teachers with backgrounds in other subjects to teach English, which in turn has resulted in glaring discrepancies in the quality of instruction. The fundamental problem is that those schools are short of qualified English teachers, not short of appropriate teaching methodologies. Any teaching method, including CLT, cannot solve this pressing problem.

Those schools that have enough qualified English teachers, encounter other problems. In private language schools, English teachers are teaching English classes according to students ability levels – a major factor in the success of CLT.   It is common for teachers to teach classes in public elementary schools with students of varying levels of English ability.   Dealing with a diversity of needs is a teacher's greatest challenge. According to Chang Sheng-en (2000), the chairman of the English department at National Taiwan Normal University, in numerous elementary schools English classes use various types of games, songs and activities to advance the student's listening and speaking ability. Students who benefit from English language school lessons have become "the sole beneficiary of these activities, because most of the time, teachers allow only students with good grades to practice and participate during English class". CLT used in elementary school English classes therefore does not provide the concept of equal educational opportunity for all. As Chang (2000) suggests, it deprives children of their right to an education.

CLT encourages parents to spend money doing additional English study at English language schools, so their children will not fall behind in their regular elementary school English classes. LF17 reveals that the desired outcome of CLT is that students

communicate successfully in the target language in real situations (Knight, 2001: 155). In Taiwan, it is only rich families who can send their children to English language schools and who can use their speaking proficiency in real life communication situations in an English speaking country. As Phillipson (1992a) suggests, mastery of English enhances the power and control of a privileged few.

CLT in Secondary Schools

As far as secondary English education is concerned, a survey of Taipei's high school English teachers shows that nearly half of them had never attended any CLT workshop and do not know how to adopt this popular teaching approach. The government must quickly improve the training of English teachers (Chang, S. E., 2002). This is another example that the government does not take the wider social context into consideration. Although the MOE has issued new curriculum standards to give students basic communication skills, the test items in junior high schools are based on testing grammar rules and vocabulary, which do not follow the curriculum standards. Not surprisingly, it is still hard for teachers, especially in junior and senior high schools, to adjust to CLT, because of the examination system. As a result, the most popular type of *buxiban* in the corpus are those designed for junior high students and high schools students preparing for passing their exams, even though the objectives of junior high school encourage communicative competence. Therefore, grammar-translation remains dominant and *buxiban* have become an integral part of life for most junior high and high school students in Taiwan (Chang, 1994: 18–23), which implies that most English teachers in Taiwan continue to use grammar-translation teaching methods, and that CLT does not work under these circumstances. It is focus-on-forms teaching methods that help students achieve their goals of English education at school, not CLT. If current English tests in the

school system are sole basis for assessing students' English ability, CLT will not be the best teaching method in the school system in Taiwan.

CLT in Higher Education

As far as higher education in Taiwan is concerned, few of Taiwan's English majors can speak English well, even after ten years of study. Moreover, Taiwan's higher education system lacks both classroom space and a qualified faculty. It is common for an English Literature class to be packed with more than 80 students (Chang, 1998: 31). It would be impossible for an EFL instructor to hope to use CLT in such a teaching context. In addition, according to the MOE, university students may soon be forced to pass the high-intermediate level of the General English Proficiency Test (GEPT) before they are allowed to graduate. *Taipei Times Online*: October 13, 2002, reports that since the beginning of the new semester in September 2002, several national universities, such as National Taiwan University, the National Sun Yat-sen University, and so on have made English proficiency a requirement for graduation (http://www. taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2002/10/13/175506; last accessed on December 6, 2002). This policy has the inevitable consequence that university students will prepare for the test specifically by working on the types of questions involved in it, as Wu (2002) suggests. It is *buxiban*, not English language schools that provide GEPT classes to help students to pass the test and graduate. In other words, the focus-on-forms approach – the traditional teacher-centered method works in this teaching context, not CLT. I will take up the GEPT issue again in the following section, which examines focus-on-forms in practice.

7.2.2 Focus-on-forms in Practice

The test-oriented method is the only one found in *buxiban* advertisements. Test-oriented methods belong to the focus-on-forms approaches. According to Sheen (2003: 226), a focus-on-forms approach comprises the following three stages: "(1) providing understanding of grammar by a variety of means, including explanation in the L1, pointing out differences between the L1 and the L2, and aural comprehension activities intended to focus students' attention on the forms being used; (2) written and oral exercises that entail using the grammar in both non-communicative and communicative activities; (3) providing frequent opportunities to use the grammar to promote automatic and accurate use. This is the most effective means of teaching grammar" (ibid.: 226). The analysis of *buxiban* advertisements also supports this argument that the focus-on-forms approach is seen as the best teaching method for teaching exam and grammar oriented English subjects in Taiwan.

From the point of view of Sheen's (ibid.: 226) three stages of focus-on-forms approaches, clearly, the test-oriented method used in *buxiban* in Taiwan is not exotic or fancy. The analysis of TET2 and *buxiban* school fliers and websites show that, it is a "teacher- centered" method and the class size is very big (ranging from 60-600) if compared to English language schools. It "focuses on drill and grammar" and "focuses on whole class activities". "Students are expected to be quiet and passive and not permitted to move around". It "emphasizes features of the language itself in unauthentic situations" and "uses the students' native language as a medium of teaching". It "depends on set text books" and "presents foreign language literature as a translation exercise". It "emphasized one single, acceptable correct answer" and "constant correction of mistakes". It "leads students to see the foreign language as another academic subject in school". It "focuses on language structure rather than its international value". It "is given minimal time within the curriculum or is only

allocated as a short course". It "evaluates short-term command of discrete elements of the language, such as vocabulary and grammar". The above are the characteristics of the test-oriented teaching method used in *buxiban*, which is viewed in Taiwan as the best teaching method to help student be successful in their English tests, but they are also key characteristics of a checklist of less effective foreign language learning that has been offered by the California State Department of Education (as cited in *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism* and *Bilingual Education*, 1998: 678). This proves yet again that any decision about which teaching methodology is the best must depend on the teaching context.

"Many Taiwanese university students, even English majors, can't speak and write English". "There must be something wrong with English Education here… to upgrade the general public's English capabilities, the government must strive to improve English teaching at school" (Her, 2002). Taiwanese people are aware that the implementation of English education in the past has not been a success, because students might have been good at grammar, but they lack speaking proficiency. The MOE has responded by trying to improve English communicative ability. They believe that "by employing interesting and lively teaching methods, English learning can be fun and practical for day-to–day necessities, rather than for just coping with exams" (ibid.: 2002). In order to establish a mechanism to certify English proficiency in Taiwan, the MOE entrusted the corporate body Language Training and Testing Center in 1999 to develop a five-level certification system called the General English Proficiency Test (GEPT). Each level of the test is administered in two stages, that is, test takers must pass the first stage of listening and reading tests before proceeding on to the next stage of writing and speaking tests. The system is intended for students and other individuals from all walks of life. The age range of

the candidates is very broad, from primary school pupils to senior citizens. As a result of this, "since the introduction of the GEPT, the market has been filled with test preparation materials. These materials can improve their test-taking techniques but offer limited help for the overall improvement of English ability. Students only seek to improve their GEPT grades not their English ability" (King, 2003). Shen (2002) points out *buxiban* business is even brisker than in the past and the pressure on students has increased, forcing them to attend more *buxiban*. People in Taiwan know that the level of English proficiency on paper is not a good indicator of the English ability of English language learning students. "Passing the TOEFL is no guarantee of English proficiency, simply showing the ability to study for another exam" (*Taiwan Headlines*: September 25, 2001, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id=11269; last accessed on February 1, 2002). According to Chang, the director of the Taipei Cram School Association, most parents understand this emphasis on memorization will turn their children into passive learners and test-taking machines – people who can answer English questions on the test quickly and correctly but without really understanding English. But teachers cannot avoid this since their job is to make sure their students pass examinations and that's why almost every Taiwanese parent sends their children to *buxiban* to study (Chang, 1994: 18–23). Successful test or grammar oriented methods used in *buxiban* again indicates that there is no best teaching method and it all depends on its teaching context which I shall discuss in the next section.

7.3   There Is No Best Teaching Method

The evidence of the corpus supports Prabu's view that there is no one best teaching method (Prabhu, 1990: 161–176), because (1) the most appropriate method depends on the teaching context, (2) there is some truth to every method and, (3) we need to rethink what "best" might mean. In the next sections, I shall look at these 3 points

respectively.

7.3.1　It All Depends on the Teaching Context

English teaching in language schools in Taiwan attempts to cater directly to social objectives of English-as-the-global-language, which means focus on speaking proficiency. Therefore the teaching is designed to develop communicative competence with little or no curricular demands and free from the pressure of examinations. One of the tenets of CLT is that teaching must prepare the learner for real life communication situations. Learners act out imaginary situations that they are likely to encounter in their future either in Taiwan or in an English speaking country. As a result, the focus-on-form approach works well in English language schools, as mentioned earlier, because of their class sizes, highly motivated students, rich teaching resources, and so on. Especially for teachers in Taiwan, it is obvious that focus-on-form highlights the importance of English for communicative purposes, but this is in conflict with the education system in Taiwan.

In the Taiwanese education system traditional or teacher-centered methods are widely used in junior high school, high school and university.　The main reason for that is that Taiwan is an EFL country and generally speaking there is no need for people in Taiwan to communicate in English in their daily life situations. English is merely a part of the school curriculum. Although a national curriculum goal is to learn English to communicate, not to pass tests, its method of certifying English proficiency is to encourage students to study for tests. Under such an educational regime, schools have to use a traditional method or exam-oriented method to help student to pass various types of English tests. As a result, the analysis of the corpus indicates that *buxiban* use identical school teaching materials, even teaching the same English lessons before

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they are taught in schools. The method used in *buxiban* is that teachers give students repetitive grammatical practice and then help them memorize grammatical rules by testing. This has been viewed in Taiwan as the best method.

7.3.2   There Is Some Truth to Every Method

Focus-on-form approaches have been regarded as the most effective, since the wide spread of CLT in the 1980s.   It "refused to give a systematic role to grammar instruction, and instead gave priority to the exposure to comprehensive input" (Sheen, 2003: 225). An underlying assumption of a focus-on-form is that all classroom activities need to be based on communicative tasks. As far as grammar instruction is concerned, Nunan (2001: 198) suggests that traditional structure-focused methodological practices in grammar classes are not enough in preparing learners to press their grammatical resources into communicative use. Krashen argues that grammar should be acquired naturally in his Natural Approach (Knight, 2001: 158). All grammar learning needs to be based on communicative tasks and not on explicit language instruction. English should be acquired through classroom interaction to achieve communicative purposes. Sheen (2003: 225) and Canagarajah (1999a: 106) point out that the focus-on-form approach is well accepted by ELT and SLA theories, such as Breen (1985), Littlewood (1988), Long (1991), Nunan (2001), Harmer (2003), and Savignon (2003).   This approach has been promoted by English language schools and it works, because English language schools are ubiquitous not only in big cities, but also in rural areas (Liu, L., 2002).

A focus-on-forms is viewed in Taiwan as being less effective, since it assumes that grammar and vocabulary cannot be learnt effectively by using communicative activity or problem-solving activities. Nevertheless this is the most effective method of

teaching grammar, but there is a tendency that ELT and SLA researchers tend to promote a focus-on-form at the expense of focus-on-forms, as suggested by Sheen (2003: 227) and Norris and Ortega (as cited in Sheen, 2003: 227). Doughty and Gass (1991, as cited in Canagarajah, 1999a: 106) point out that deductive pedagogies serve useful functions at times enabling a more successful acquisition of language in certain grammar structures. In Taiwan, focus-on-forms methods have made *buxiban* become an integral part of life for most students, and if these methods are not the best and most helpful, they would not have survived for so long (Chang, 1994; Liu, L., 2002).

7.3.3 We Need to Rethink What "Best" Might Mean

English-only immersion and CLT are regarded as best teaching methods in the English language schools and test-oriented methods are the best teaching methods in the *buxiban*, because they seem to yield the best results of learning outcomes in a given period of time. Normally the learning outcomes are achieved by language evaluation or testing. However the notion of 'best' teaching method needs to be re-examined. They produced the best learning outcomes in a given period of time, because "language testing can only hope to give us evidence on the actual growth achieved at the stage of testing, not on the potential generated for further growth" (Prabhu, 1990: 170). Shohamy (1993: 17) points out that "language testing policy is the de facto language policy and the test becomes the de facto curriculum". In other words, the power of tests cannot be over-stressed. In her research called "The impact of language tests on teaching and learning" (Shohamy, 1993), Shohamy focused on three newly introduced national language tests; an Arabic test for 7-9th grades; an EFL oral test for 12th grade and an L1 reading comprehension test for 4th and 5th grades, and their impact on teaching and learning in the school context, specifically, what happened to teaching once a new test was introduced. One of the main findings with

all three tests showed that instruction became testlike. Teaching materials and teaching methods became an integral part of normal teaching as many teaching activities became testlike.

The result of the English-only immersion method is that "there are small numbers of successful examples, most students of all-English kindergartens are only capable of speaking a little English, communicating with others and using simple greetings". "When topics are discussed, the children mostly can only get by with a 'yes' or 'no' answer" (Teng, 2003a).   Moreover, Taiwan lacks an English-speaking environment. Use of English is not part of people's daily life in Taiwan.   English is merely a compulsory component in the school system, not something to be used in daily life. In addition to this, when students study at junior and senior high school, English education emphasizes grammar and a test-oriented approach resulting from the highly competitive high school and university entrance exam. As Shohamy (1993:16) suggests, when "teaching and testing become synonymous, the tests become the new de facto curriculum, overshadowing the existing curriculum".   As a result of this, secondary school students end up at *buxiban* studying for passing the tests.

Poor speaking proficiency is due mainly to the inadequate and much criticized English education in Taiwan, especially the inefficiency of secondary school classes (*Taiwan Headlines*: November 22, 2001, http://www.taiwanheadliens.gov.tw/200111 22/20011122o2.html; last accessed on January 30, 2002). The test-oriented method is the best teaching method to yield the best learning outcomes in terms of exam results, but it has made it hard for students to improve their speaking and listening abilities. Some educators have called this grammar oriented teaching method ineffective because classes consist mostly of lectures. The fact that English instruction has long

been led by testing has caused students in Taiwan to develop a learning attitude that is passive and ineffective. The ability of Taiwan's students to get high scores in high school entrance exams and university entrance in the past was testament to *buxiban* test archives and skills at guessing what would be on the tests. High English scores in these tests do not necessarily mean the test takers have a good command of English (Chang, 1998; *Taiwan Headlines*: November 22, 2001, http://www.taiwanheadliens. gov.tw/20011122/20011122o2.html; last accessed on January 30, 2002). The Education system judges students' performances by grades alone. This focus pervades the entire education system from elementary school all the way to university as Chang (1998: 31) suggests. As a result of this, *buxiban* have excellent reputations for being able to teach ways of choosing the right answers to test questions, especially multiple choice questions, even when the student does not completely understand what is being asked. As a result, "the English proficiency of the average person in Taiwan is very poor", despite the enthusiasm for learning English (*Taipei Times Online*: May 3, 2002, http://www.taipeitimes.com/news/2002/05/03/story/0000134423; last accessed on September 9, 2002). Exams really push students to study hard, but, paradoxically, they are also an impediment to mastery of English. Students are more interested in passing tests than finding out how to really use English.

As a result, many people attend English language schools to improve their English speaking proficiency, because they have the best teaching method to help them to acquire their speaking proficiency (*Taiwan Headlines*: November 22, 2001, http:// www.taiwanheadliens.gov.tw/20011122/20011122o2.html; last accessed on January 30, 2002). The English language schools do not provide a solution to English education, either. They get into the same cycle. Taiwan is an EFL not an ESL country and English is not used in people's daily life. Financially disadvantaged

students do not have the opportunity to learn English like those from richer families. This has caused a gap in English ability between rich and poor (Liu, 2002). Neither the English language schools nor the *buxiban* that claim to have the best teaching methods can solve the problem of English education in Taiwan, because the teaching method is not the decisive factor. Social, cultural and political factors are more important than teaching methodology.

7.4   A critical Perspective on English Teaching Methodology

Prabhu (1990) and Holliday (1994) argue that there is no one best teaching methodology since the choice of method should be context-dependent (Prabhu, 1990; Holliday, 1994). What works in a certain situation or setting will not always transfer easily to another. The analysis of data from language schools and *buxiban* supports this argument. English language schools and *buxiban* must be examined within the broader social context of Taiwanese and global culture. To understand how the ideological concept of the best-teaching-methodology is manifested in daily life in Taiwan, we need to understand the principles not only of classroom practices in English language schools, public schools or *buxiban* but also the more macro aspects of English teaching, such as those pertaining in ESL countries and other EFL countries. In this section, I shall use the BF4 *buxiban* flier to demonstrate that a contextual approach (Prabhu, 1990; Holliday, 1994; Bax, 2003) and a critical approach in English teaching (Canagarajaha, 1999; Pennycook, 1994b, Phillipson, 1992a) are needed in ELT.

> *"Ruguo nin jihua rang haizi dang xiao liuxuesheng huo duan ji nei jiang*
>
> *yimin, women jian yi nin gen waiguoren xue huihuashi de ertong meiyou.*
>
> *Rugou ninde haizi yao yi guonei shengxue guandao nian guozhong –*

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gaozhong- daxue, namo nin jue dui yao xun ze women zheng tong de

jiaoxueshi ying yu." (BF4)

"If you plan to send your children to study abroad or to emigrate to an English speaking country shortly, we suggest that they should learn American English conversation with foreigners. If your children want to study in Taiwan in an academic stream – 'junior high school – high school – university', you really must choose our orthodox English teaching methodology." (BF4)

In the next sections, I shall use BF4 to examine the global and local relationship of ELT and SLA.

7.4.1   The Global and the Local Relationship

The analysis in Chapter 5 indicated that English is regarded as a highly valued commodity. This fact affects Taiwanese people's motivations for learning English and their choices about what kind of English to learn, accuracy or fluency; their choices of teachers, native speaker or non-native speaker; teaching methods, student-centered (global, western, modern) or teacher-centered (local, traditional); reasons for learning English, for studying abroad or studying in Taiwan; and kind of schools to study at, foreign or local, public or private.   In other words, BF4 indicates that there is a dichotomy in ELT in Taiwan, between English teaching methods, English teachers and the purposes of an English education. Issues like these mentioned above are politically determined and essentially insensitive to pedagogical considerations. These choices, it can be argued, have been influenced by "the global and the local" dichotomy (Block & Cameron, 2002: 6, 8).

In ELT, geopolitically and culturally speaking, 'the global' and 'the local' dichotomy means 'the center' and 'the periphery' (Phillipson's term, 1992a), or 'BANA' (Britain, Australia and North America) and 'TESEP' (tertiary, secondary, primary) (Holliday's term, 1994), or 'native English communities' and 'non-native English communities' (Canagarajah's term, 1999a), or ESL (English as a second language) and EFL (English as a foreign language), or vague terms such as 'Western' and 'the rest'. As far as English teaching methodologies are concerned, the global approach means the focus-on-form approach. The local approach also signifies the focus-on-forms approach. Phillipson (1992a: 238) argues that "part of the professional identity and image of the Center applied linguistics institutions is that their skills are universally relevant". In other words, ELT methodology is particularly linked to Western or Anglo-Saxon nations' views of communication. As Holliday (1994: 166) suggests, most current teaching methodologies were primarily designed for ESL situations. Take CLT for example, the main problem is that much of the research on CLT has been conducted "either with native English-speaking teachers, or with non-native English-speaking teachers in North America, Great Britain, or Australia" (Sullivan, 2000: 118). As a result, many teachers in the world believe that the methods used by ESL countries are the most effective, efficient and authoritative for their purposes. The reason for that is that "The dominance of *centre applied linguistic circles* is helped by their resources for conducting sophisticated research with hi-tech facilities and then popularizing the knowledge globally through their publishing networks and academic institutions" (Canagajah, 2002: 135). There is an imbalanced relationship in English teaching methodology between the global and the local – the former dominates the latter.

In spite of the success of these methods in ESL countries, questions have been raised

about the appropriateness of their use in the non English speaking communities, that is, in EFL countries. In Canagarajah's (1999a) critical ethnography of his class at the University of Jaffna in Sri Lanka, he demonstrates that western teaching methods used in the classroom did not work because English teaching is connected in a complex way to the social, cultural and political situations both inside and outside the classroom. Many researchers (Ellis, 1996; Sullivan, 2000; Cheng, 1987, as cited in Sullivan, 2000: 121) argue that pedagogical practices influenced by Chinese Confucianism tend to be teacher centered, and that CLT does not work in Confucian societies, such as Vietnam and China. Although there are many complaints about applying western methods in EFL countries, many researchers in EFL countries still try to introduce western methods by accommodating the local exigencies, that is, "glocalizing". Block and Cameron (2002: 10) question glocalization is an opportunity for empowerment of teachers and students in ELT in the context of English-as-the-global-language.

7.4.2 Glocalization

Glocalization (Robertson, 1995 as cited in Block & Cameron, 2002: 3) is "a synergetic relationship between the global and local as opposed to the dominance of the former over the latter". Gary (2002: 166) interviewed EFL teachers in Catalonia and they believed that a glocal coursebook "would give them 'a better fit' and simultaneously connect the world of their students with the world of English". Kramsch and Sullivan (1996: 199–212) point out that an appropriate pedagogy depends upon local ELT professionals thinking globally while acting locally. McKay (2003b: 139–148) argues that teaching English as an international language must be separated from native-speakers models, allowing a locally appropriate pedagogy to be implemented. Her research on teaching English as an international language was

conducted at Santiago and smaller communities (Copiapo & La Serena) in Chile. Her research focuses on three main aspects, the appropriate ELT textbooks, the most appropriate teaching method, and native and non-native speaking English teachers' strengths and weaknesses. Questionnaires in Spanish were given to 50 elementary school bilingual teachers of English from public schools, semi-public schools and private schools. Thirty-four of these teachers had been teaching English for 5 years. The main finding of the research is that "Chile can provide a model for the teaching of English as an international language. … Chilean educators have taken responsibility for developing a pedagogy that is appropriate to the local context, realizing that they are the ones who can best develop a locally sensitive pedagogy that can help students learn an international language" (ibid.: 145–146). The methodology is successful because 1) the curriculum emphasizes receptive skills (reading 40% and listening 40%) rather than productive speaking (speaking and writing 20%); 2) both MOE and teachers are de-emphasizing the use of CLT; and 3) Chilean English teachers view themselves as professionals with many strengths, thanks to their bilingualism. Although both Chile and Taiwan are EFL countries, their teaching contexts are very different. In Taiwan, I would argue that glocalization is an additional teaching method and not a solution. Next, I apply the glocalization concept to ELT in Taiwan and to indicate that it might be problematic, because the goal of English education for globalization is English speaking proficiency which is very different from the Chilean goal. In addition to this, the examination system plays a crucial role in ELT in Taiwan.

If we apply the "glocalization" concept to current English teaching situations in Taiwan, the resultant eclectic teaching method would require the implementation of three main methods: English-only immersion, CLT, and test-oriented or grammar-translation. Applying this eclectic teaching method would be problematic.

Different teaching contexts, such as English language schools, *buxiban*, and public schools would employ different methods. That is what the current English teaching and learning situation is like in Taiwan, as English language schools use English-only and CLT, while public schools and *buxiban* use grammar-translation. The result of employing this approach in Taiwan would still be that ordinary Taiwanese would still have very poor English, as only rich families could afford to go to language schools, as I have demonstrated above.

Another argument is that the same teaching context should use different methods, or perhaps parts of these methods, since there is some validity to every method, as suggested by Prabhu (1990: 166–167). He further argues (ibid.: 167) that if every method is partially correct, none represents the whole answer. The question is: Which part of English-only immersion, or CLT or grammar translation is valid? Sullivan (2000: 121) points out that although the idea of 'group work' in CLT would fit well in a Confucian society, "in fact, the American practice of forming small groups works against Confucian precepts. Grouping in a classroom serves to divide up a class, not bring it together". If this eclectic method is to be advocated nationwide it must be broad enough so it can be appropriated by anyone who uses it. As mentioned in 7.2.1, the fundamental problem in Taiwan is that public elementary schools are short of English teachers, and, generally speaking, teachers at secondary and tertiary levels use grammar-translation. Another implication is that all English teachers, both native and non-native speakers, need to be bilingual in English and Chinese so they could be trained to apply this method. The problem is: Who will train these teachers? Moreover, it might be virtually impossible for all English teachers, both native and non-native, to become bilingual.

7.5   Conclusion

If they probe the matter, the Taiwanese will soon discover that social, cultural and political issues are more significant determinants of language policy than are teaching methods. They might, for example, ask: "Why is a particular method being introduced?" "What are the motives behind it?" "What agenda are being followed? "Who is pushing a particular method and why?" "Who is going to benefit from a particular teaching method?" "What is being taught – accuracy or fluency – and why?" "Who will teach and use this particular method and why?" "Who will train the teachers?" "How will success be determined?" "What are the underlying values behind this method?" "Who will pay for English language learning?" (adapted, in part, from Kaplan, 2000; Shohamy, 2001).   They will realize that the answers to all these questions indicate that teaching method is only one of the factors in ELT and that social, cultural, and political factors play more important roles. English-only and CLT are introduced and zealously promoted by both the Taiwanese government and language schools.   However, these so-called best teaching methods simply do not provide a solution to English education problems in Taiwan. The main reason is that there is no best teaching method. Good teaching is context-dependent. It is impossible to separate English teaching methodology from the contexts in which it operates.

CHAPTER EIGHT: "AMERICAN-ENGLISH-AS-STANDARD-ENGLISH"

8.0   Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on the ideology of American-English-as-standard-English espoused in the promotional materials that constitute my data. Standard English is "the variety of English used by the formally-educated people who are socially, economically, and politically dominant in English speaking countries" (Farr, 1994: 4338). Kachru (1986) views world Englishes as 3 concentric circles: native speaking countries (the Inner Circle), second-language speaking countries (the Outer Circle), and foreign language speaking countries (the Expanding Circle). English is a foreign language in Taiwan. This means that English is used for international communication with both native and non-native speakers around the world (see 2.1).   If English is destined to become the global language, some type of norm is needed for the teaching and learning of English for international communicative purposes (Modiano, 2001a: 164; Curzan, 2002: 347).   EFL countries in Kachru's Expanding Circle always look to the Inner Circle for their pedagogical norms of English (Bex, 1993; Modiano, 2001a; Preisler, 1999).   Taiwan is no exception. American English is preferred and is taught. It is almost always presented as proper and correct choice.

Milroy and Milroy (1998) and Lippi-Green (1994) take a critical approach to a "Standard English ideology", which they define as "a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogeneous spoken language which is imposed from above, and which

takes as its model the written language. The most salient feature is the goal of suppression of variation of all kinds" (Lippi-Green, 1994: 166). Moreover, Lippi-Green (ibid.: 167) points out that there are four identifiable proponents of standard language ideology in the USA, "all of which are part of the "dominant block": the educational system, the news media, the entertainment industry, and what has been generally referred to as corporate America".

I will apply Milroy and Milroy, and Lippi-Green's notion of a 'standard language ideology' and focus on only one "dominant block" – the educational system as evidenced in my data. There are three parts in this chapter. First, I will examine how American English is presented as the standard English in advertisements by English language schools and *buxiban*. Second, I will discuss American-English-as-standard-English in Taiwan having more social and political than linguistic causes. Third, I will investigate a World Englishes concept which argues that cultural and linguistic pluralism is best suited to accommodate the needs and desires of English language learners.

8.1 Data Analysis

I will demonstrate how American English norms are promoted by English language schools and buxiban while other varieties of English are characterized by an almost complete absence in the corpus. As before, I will start with the analysis of a television commercial, before moving on to slogans, short paragraphs, still images, school names, and English teaching job ads.

8.1.1 TC9 Television Commercial

The TC9 television commercial starts with the voice of a male Mandarin Chinese

speaker who says, '*Congxiao daoda, quncheng gueihua*' '*We design a set of complete English programs from children to adults*'.　At the bottom of the screen the written message '*Cong jichu ABC dao gaoji huihau*' '*programs from basic ABC to advanced English conversation*' appears. There are 5 shots placed in a semi-circular pattern on the left of the screen, I number them TC9-s1 – s5. There is another shot – TC9-s6 at the top right corner of the screen. TC9-s1 shows 8 Taiwanese pre-school children and a male Caucasian standing up and doing some physical movements in the classroom. TC9-s2 shows another male Caucasian and two Taiwanese elementary school children (a boy and a girl) standing and talking in the classroom. TC9-s3 shows another male Caucasian and two male Taiwanese junior high school students standing and talking in the classroom. TC9-s4 shows four Taiwanese adult students and another male Caucasian. Two students, a male and a female, and the male Caucasian are standing and talking in the front of a classroom. The other two female students are sitting and watching their teacher and their classmates. TC9-s5 shows a female Caucasian and four Taiwanese adult students. The female Caucasian is talking to a Taiwanese male adult student in the center of the classroom. The other three students, two female and one male, are sitting and watching their teacher and their classmate. TC9-s6 shows another male Caucasian and four Taiwanese elementary school children. The male Caucasian and one male student are standing and talking in the front of the classroom. The other three students, two female and one male, are sitting and watching their teacher and classmate. The talk in TC9-s1 – s6 is inaudible. After that, there is a close-up of a little Taiwanese boy.　He is looking up.　The background setting has a very big American flag with many names of universities in the USA on it such as University of New York, University of Illinois and Berkeley University.　Then the voice of a male Mandarin Chinese speaker is heard: '*Cong jichu dao 109ji*' 'Programs from basic to the highest level – level 109'.　After that, superimposed on the little

boy is a Taiwanese man. He is wearing a graduation gown, and hood and is still looking up. And then the voice of the male Mandarin Chinese speaker is heard again: '*Mian tuofu, zhijie liuxue meiguo*' '<u>Study in universities in America without any TOEFL scores</u>'. This commercial ends with different age groups of Taiwanese students, that is, elementary school, secondary school, and adult, and male and female Caucasians standing and talking. At the top, there is the school logo and the school slogan. The slogan says: '*Jinru Kejian, zhisheng Meiguo*' '<u>Enter Kojen Language School and feel as if you are in America</u>'.

The fact that the various shots show Taiwanese students from all age groups implies that English is needed by all Taiwanese people, both children and adults (see chapter 5). TC9-s1 shows a male Caucasian teaching English to a group of pre-school children which implies the-younger-the-better ideology (see chapter 9). Since all the talk between the Caucasian teachers and students is inaudible, it is impossible to know what kind of English is taught and where these Caucasians are from. As far as teaching methodology is concerned, TC9-s1 – s6 show an interactive teaching methodology suggestive of English-only immersion. This method is presented as the ideal-English-teaching-methodology (see chapter 7). In addition, only Caucasian teachers are featured in this television commercial, which obviously implies that ideal-English-teachers are Caucasians (see chapter 6). The close-up of the little Taiwanese boy looking up against the backdrop of an oversized American flag with names of universities in the USA on it suggests that it is the ambition of Taiwanese children to study in the USA. Then superimposed on that little boy is a Taiwanese man. He is wearing a graduation gown and a hood. The implication is that to study in the USA is the mainstream education value and a USA degree is a sure guarantee for future success. The commercial ends with different age groups of Taiwanese students

talking with Caucasians. This implies that there is a strong belief that English is learnt essentially in order to communicate with native speakers of English. Models for the acquisition of English are native speakers of English. The television commercial ends with its school slogan '*Jinru Kejian, zhisheng Meiguo*' '<u>Enter Kojen Language School and feel as if you are in America</u>'. It can be argued that this commercial promotes only American English. The dominance of American English representation, and without any other English varieties and cultures in this commercial shows, that Taiwanese people perceive American English as standard English. In addition, slogans, short paragraphs, body texts, still images and school names also show an over promotion of both American-English-as-standard-English and American culture.

8.1.2 Slogans and Short Paragraphs

48 (25%) out of a total of 192 slogans and short paragraphs contain the concept of American-English-as-standard-English (cf. Figure 5-1, p. 121). A salient finding is that 32 of these texts contain two or three ideological concepts (see Figure 8-1).

Figure 8-1: American-English-as-standard-English and Other Ideological Concepts of ELT

American-English-as-standard-English 48 texts				
American-English-as-standard-English & Ideal-teaching-method 16 texts	American-English-as-standard-English & English-as-the-global-language 7 texts	American-English-as-standard-English & Ideal-English-teacher 6 texts	American-English-as-standard-English, the-younger-the-better & English-as-the-global-language/ Ideal-teaching-method 3 texts	American-English-as-standard-English only 16 texts

Figure 8-1 shows that 16 texts have both the concepts of American-English-as-standard-English and the ideal-English-teaching-methodology. 7 texts contain both the concepts of American-English-as-standard-English and English-as-the-global-language. Another 6 texts have both concepts of American-English-as-standard-English and the ideal-English-teachers. 3 texts (LF29a, LWM1, LWM5) from language schools contain 3 ideological concepts. The following are these three texts.

'*Meiyu shi tongwang shijie zuijing de ru.*' (LF29a)

'American English, for children, is the royal road to the world.' (LF29a)

'*Wu guojie shidai lailien le, congxiao tigong xiaohaizi shijie tongyong yuyian (meiyu) de huan jing, peiyang juyou jingzheng nengli de xiayidai.*' (LWM1)

'The time of the world without boundaries has come. To provide little children a learning environment in an international language (American English) and to provide the next generation with competitive ability is every parent's hope in the contemporary society.' (LWM1)

'*Nin zhidao meiguo xiaohaizi ruje kaishi xue meiyude ma? Nin xiwang ninde haizi yie you tongyangde chufadian kaishi xuemieyu ma? 100% chunmei huai jian.*' (LWM5)

'Do you know how American children starting learning their American English? Do you want your children to start learning English as American children do? 100% pure American learning environment.' (LWM5)

The LF29a slogan appears in both the school flier and the TC7 television commercial (see 6.1.1). It demonstrates the-younger-the-better ideology, American-English-as-standard-English ideology and English-as-the-global-language. LMW1 promotes American-English-as-the-global-language, so children need to acquire this linguistic capital the earlier the better. LMW1 illustrates three ideological concepts; English-as-the-global-language, American-English-as-standard-English and the-younger-better. LWM5 explicitly tells its readers that American English is the standard English and Taiwanese children need to learn it through an English-only immersion teaching method, and the earlier the better. These 48 texts indicate that ideologies of ELT in Taiwan, such as English-as-the-global-language, the ideal-English-teacher, the ideal-English-teaching-methodology, the-younger-the-better and American-English-as-standard-English ideology are closely inter-linked.

8.1.3   Body Texts

114 (23.4%) out of a total of 487 terms contain the concept of American-English-as-standard-English (cf. Figure 6-2, p. 166).   Six categories of lexical collocations of *USA*, *America* or *American* are found (Figure 8-2). They are *USA degree* (48 tokens, 42.1%), *American and/or Canadian teacher*s (18 tokens, 15.8%), *American English learning environment* (16 tokens, 13.6%), *American English teaching method* (13 tokens, 11.4%), *American curriculum & teaching materials* (11 tokens, 9.8%), and *KK pronunciation class* (8 tokens, 7.1%).

As far as *USA degree* is concerned, it is used in reference to Chinese English teachers who obtain their BA, MA or PhD degrees in the USA. Since a North American accent is regarded as the standard, Canadian English teachers are included. *American English teaching* means a focus-on-form approach, either an English-immersion method or

CLT (see chapter 7). *KK pronunciation class* also presupposes General American pronunciation (see 8.2.2. for details). The lexical collocations of *USA*, *America* or *American* such as, *USA degree*, *American and Canadian English teachers,* and *American English learning environment* reinforce the notion that only one English – American English – is standard, appropriate, correct and prestigious. As a result, as far as ELT in Taiwan is concerned, anything associated with the term *USA*, *America* or *American* is viewed as the best. The above description also reveals a one English and one culture notion, since no other varieties of English are found.

Figure 8-2: Lexical collocations of *USA*, *America* or *American* in body texts

USA degree: 48 = 42.1%	American/Canadian teacher: 18 = 15.8%	American English learning environment: 16 = 14%
	Collocations of *USA*, *America* or *American* 114 = 100%	
American English teaching method: 13 = 11.4%	American curriculum & teaching materials: 11 = 9.6%	KK pronunciation class: 8 = 7%
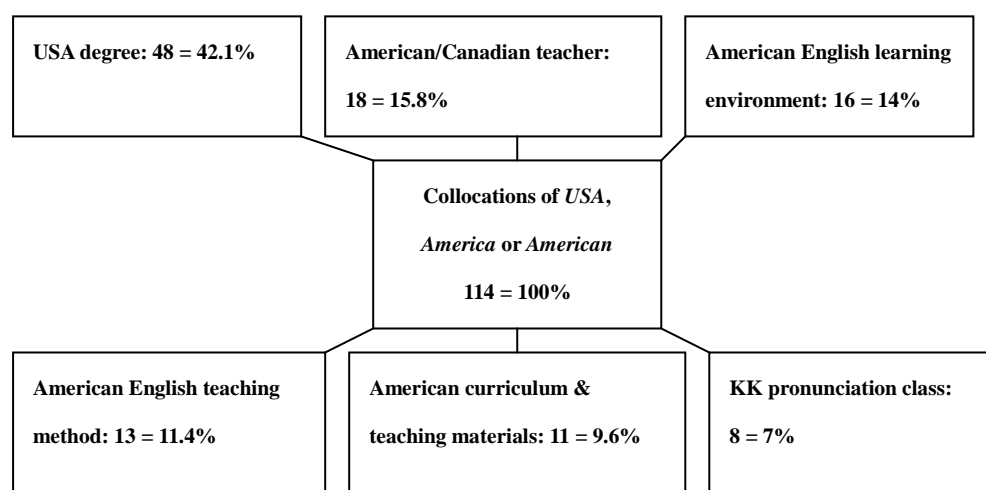
8.1.4 Still Images

Only 55 (4.7%) out of 1,181 still images contain American-English-as-standard-English (cf. Figure 5-3, p. 140). If compared to other ideologies, it has a rather low frequency. Representation of American-English-as-standard-English are: *American flags* (37 tokens, 67.3%), *famous US places and landmarks* (9 tokens, 16.4%), *prominent Americans* (5 tokens, 9.1%), *the Eagle as an American symbol* (2 tokens, 3.5%) and *Going studying in the USA* (2 tokens, 3.6%) (Figure 8-3). The *American flag* (37 tokens) plays an important role in conveying American-English-as-standard-

English both in TC9 commercial and still images. The main reason for the low frequency in still images is that foreign teachers' nationalities and American English teaching methods can not be identified in still images.

However, five photos in the corpus depict American or Canadian individuals who are well-known public figures. These five photos are: LF29-p1 – p4 and LWM5-p3. LF29-p1 – p4 are in the LF29 school flier. LF29-p1 is one side and LF29-p2 – p4 are on the other side. LF29-p1 shows Jerry, an American, and a well-know public figure in Taiwan (see 6.1.1.) looking at a female Caucasian and a group of four little Taiwanese children (pre-school children) walking happily along the beach. The heading of the photo says '*toushen taiwan meiyu jiaoyu 30 duonian, zuigaoxing de shi, kandao Changjinglumeiyu yoong zhengque de guannian jiaodao shushiwan haizi xuehao meiyu*' 'I have devoted myself to American English Education in Taiwan for more than 30 years. The happiest thing for me is that Giraffe Language School has been using correct teaching beliefs to millions of Taiwanese children so that they a have good American English'. LF29-p2 – p4 are on the other side of LF29 school flier. LF29-p2 shows Jerry talking to a male and a female Caucasian. The heading of the photo says '*Dingshengfa qizi jiedai meiguo ji janada guibin*' 'Father Ding, Jerry, is receiving guests from the USA and Canada'. LF29-p3 photos shows a male Taiwanese and these two guests signing a contract. The heading says '*Changjinglu meiyu yu meiguo daxiagu daxue chiading shizi peixun, liuxue, youxue jihua*' 'Giraffe Language School and Grand Canyon University are signing a contract about studying in the USA and a teacher training program'. LF29-p4 shows the contract has been signed and they are holding up the contract and looking at the viewer. The heading of the photo says '*Meiguo daxiagu daxue jiaoyu zhang Dr. Jeanne ji Janada UPC xueyuan xiaozhang Dr. Long yu changjinglu mieyu tiyue*' 'Giraffe Language School is signing

a contract with the Director of Studies, Dr. Jeanne of Grand Canyon University and Dr. Long, the president of United Pacific College'.

There is a short paragraph above LF29-p2 – p4 photos. It says '*Changjinglu meiyu yu meiguo, jianada zhimin daxue xishou tuidong taiwan ertong meiyu jiaocai, shixi qunmian guojihua*' '<u>Giraffe Language School cooperates with famous American and Canadian universities to promote Taiwan's American English teaching materials for children and to have an international teaching staff</u>'. The names of these two institutions, the "famous American and Canadian universities", hold more promise than can be justified by their actual academic standings. According to Grand Canyon University website (<u>http://www.grand-canyon.edu</u>; last accessed on December 28, 2003), the university's slogan is "Quality Christian Education for 50 years". The United Pacific College (UPC) website provides both English and Chinese versions. According to the website, UPC is a private higher education service institute in Vancouver and it offers only Business Administration and Management courses (<u>http://www.pacific.college. net/indexe.html</u>; last accessed on December 28, 2003). LF29-p2 – p4, nonetheless, clearly tell the audience that Taiwan looks to the Inner Circle, especially the USA, and Canada for ELT pedagogical models, even though the quality of these models may be questionable.

The last photo showing *prominent Americans* is LWM5-p3. It shows The Village People, a famous American disco band in the 1970s. This photo shows that American culture is persuasive in Taiwan (see 8.1.5).

The BF31-p4 photo shows an American education exhibition and BF31-p1 shows a farewell party for a group of Taiwanese students who are about to leave for study in

the USA. Both pictures provide further evidence that a USA degree is preferred.

In short, these still images (Figure 8-3) explicitly illustrate that Taiwan is strongly influenced by the USA and cannot dissociate itself from American English norms.

Figure 8-3:   American-English-as-standard-English in Still Images

American flags: 37 = 67.3%	Places and landmark: 9 = 16.4%	Americans: 5 = 9.1%
	Symbolic objects of Americans or American features 55 = 100%	
Going studying in the USA: 2 = 3.6%		Eagle: 2 = 3.6%
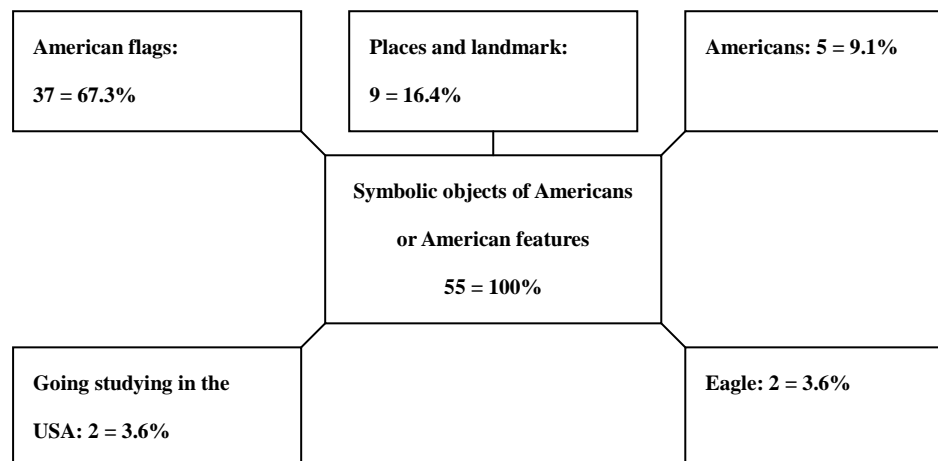
8.1.5   School Names

15 (14.7 %) out of a total of 102 school names contain the concept of American-English-as-standard-English. They can be grouped into six categories, they are *lexical collocations of America or American* (5 tokens, 33.3% – American, The American, Pan America, Canadian-American, and American Village); *University names in the USA* (4 tokens, 26.7% – Little Harvard, Harvard, Berkeley, and the Ivy League); *City names in the USA* (2 tokens, 13.3% – Washington and Beverly Hills); *Entertainment* (2 names, 13.3 % – Jackson Five and Sesame Street); and *Symbol*s (2 tokens, 13.3% – Eagle and Canadian Maple) (Figure 8-4). Names such as these also point to the promise inherent in American English. School names such as Jackson Five and Sesame Street illustrate that American popular culture is pervasive in Taiwan, like the image of The Village People described above.

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Figure 8-4:   American-English-as-standard-English in School Names

Collocations of America or American: 5 = 33.3%	University name: 4 = 26.7%	City name: 2 = 13.3%
	School names **15 = 100%**	
Entertainment: 2 = 13.3%		Symbol: 2 = 13.3%
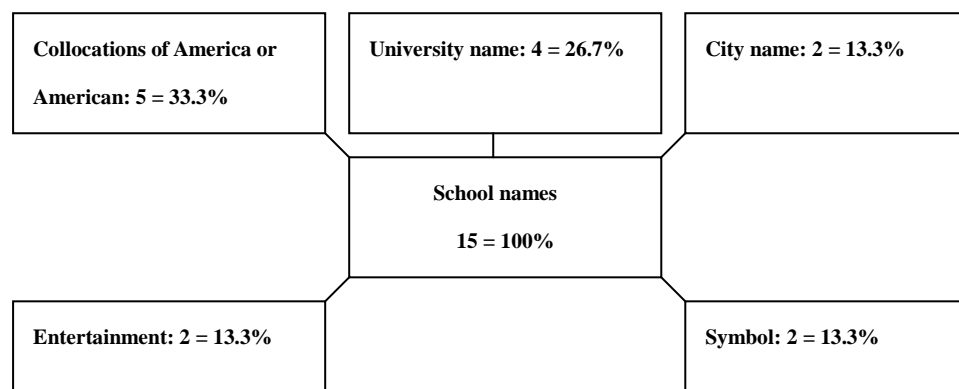
As far as school names are concerned, every school name contains two parts, for example, '*Changjinglu Meiyu*'.   '*Changjinglu*' means '<u>Giraffe</u>' and the second part, '*meiyu*', means '<u>American English</u>'. The English name for '*Changjinglu Meiyu*' is '<u>Giraffe Language School'</u>. The name demonstrates that the second part of the school name, especially in Mandarin, plays an important role in conveying the concept of American-English-as-standard-English. Therefore, second parts of language school names are analyzed separately in Mandarin and English (Figure 8-5 & 8-6).

A total of 76 language school names in Mandarin was found (Figure 8-5).   There are six types of schools.   They are   '*Meiyu*' '<u>American English school</u>' (39 tokens, 51.3%), '*Yingyu/Yingwen*' '<u>English School</u>' (16 tokens, 21.1%), '*Waiyu*' '<u>Foreign Language School</u>' (11 tokens, 14.5%), '*Wenjiao jigou*' '<u>Educational Organization</u>' (8 tokens, 10.5%), and '*Shungyu*' '<u>Bilingual School</u>' (2 tokens, 2.6 %).

A total of 63 English names was found (Figure 8-6).   There are four types of schools. They are *language school* (27 tokens, 42.9%), *English school* (21 tokens, 33.3%), *American English school* (13 tokens, 20.6%), and *Educational Organization* (2 tokens, 3.2%).   The analysis demonstrates that school names in Mandarin (39 tokens) play a more important role in spreading the notion of American-English-as-standard-English than those in English (13 tokens).   Generally speaking, '*waiyu*' '<u>foreign language</u>' refers to the English language in Taiwan.

Figure 8-5:   Types of Language Schools in Mandarin

American English: 39 = 51.3%	English: 16 = 21.1%	Foreign language: 11 = 14.5%
	Language School Names in Mandarin 76 = 100%	
Education organization: 8 = 10.5%		Bilingual: 2 = 2.6%
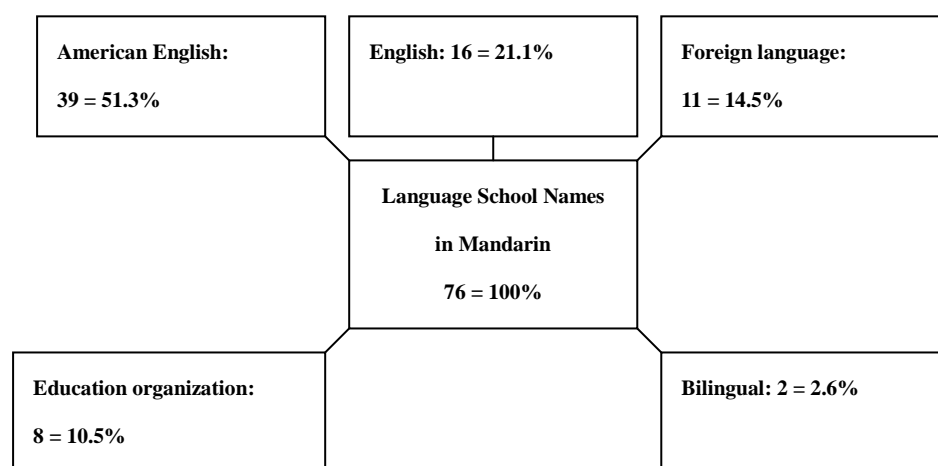
Figure 8-6:   Types of Language Schools in English

Language school: 27 = 42.9%		English school: 21 = 33.3%
	Language school names in English 63 = 100%	
American/ English school: 13 = 20.6%		Educational organzation: 2 = 3.2%
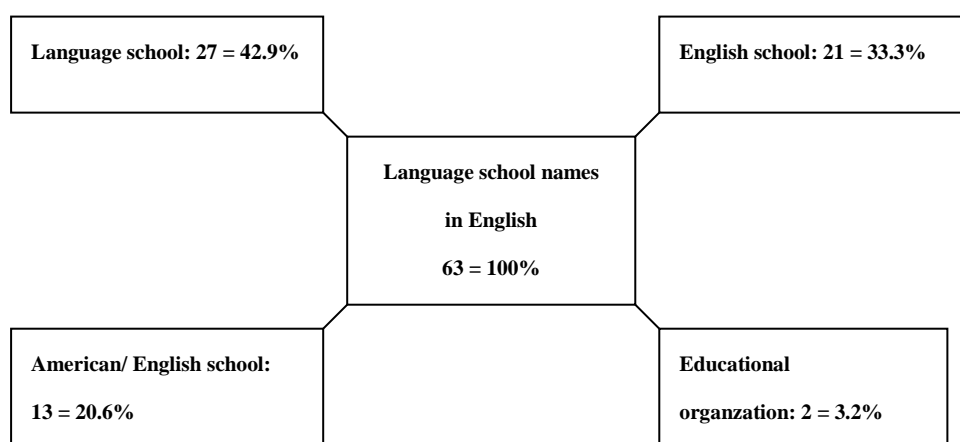
8.1.6   English Teaching Job Ads

Figure 8-7 shows lexical collocations of *America* or *American* found in English teaching job ads. They are *North American accent* (15 tokens, 60%), *American school* (5 tokens, 20%), *American teacher* (3 tokens, 12%), and *American Curriculum* (2 tokens, 8 %). The high frequency of *North American accent* reveals the extent of its popularity in Taiwan.

Figure 8-7:   Lexical Collocations of 'American' in English Teaching Job Ads

North American accent: 15 = 60%		American school: 5 = 20%
	Collocations of "American" 25 = 100%	
American teacher: 3 = 12% Alternative term: USA native speakers		American curriculum: 2 = 8%
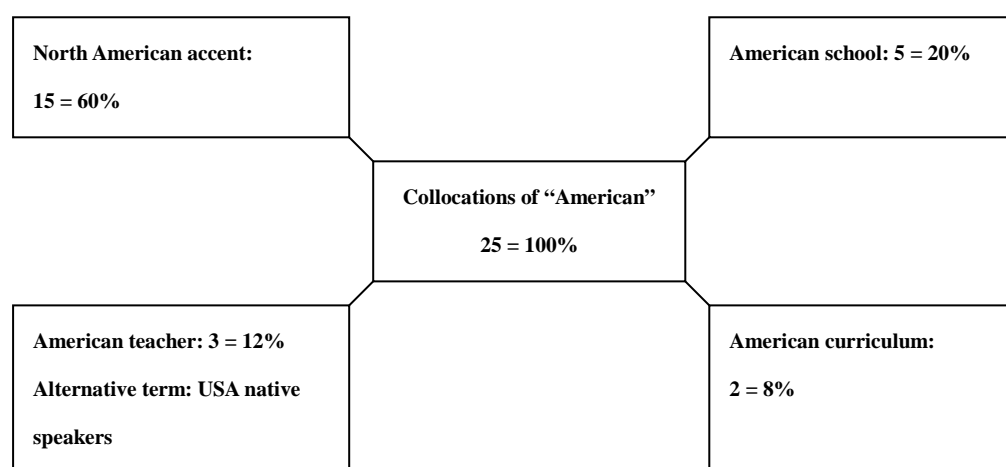
8.1.7   Television English Teaching Program

TET 1, a *buxiban* television English teaching program, is an hour-long KK American pronunciation teaching program (see 6.2.1).   There is only one figure, a female Chinese English teacher in the program. She uses a teacher-centered method to teach how to pronounce KK phonemics to help Taiwanese learners to acquire American English pronunciation (see 8.2.2). This reinforces the notion that an American accent is the standard and students are required to acquire it.

8.2   American English Ideology

In the following section, I will discuss language and culture, North American accent, USA degree, American curriculum, American teaching method, American English learning environment, and American teaching materials. These concepts are

inextricably linked to the ideological concept of American-English-as-standard English.

8.2.1   English Language Teaching and English Culture Teaching

English is a foreign language in Taiwan and the purpose of English teaching and learning is to enable the learner to communicate effectively internationally. As a result, the framework of curriculum design and classroom practice associated with communicative language teaching is widely promoted by both English language schools and public schools (see 7.2). "The communicative approach considers target language- based communicative competence to be essential in order for foreign language learners to participate fully in the target language culture" (Alptekin, 2002: 58). In addition, "culture has to be integrated into the language classroom from the very first day of language learning" and "culture must be taught in conjunction with language, not as an adjunct" (Crozet & Liddicoat, 1997: 18, as cited in Ronowicz & Yallop, 1999: 2). Since "language does not exist apart from culture" (Sapir, 1921: 221, as cited in Zaid, 1999: 111), it is impossible to dissociate language and culture in EFL teaching.   Therefore target language culture needs to be taught. As a result, in the context of EFL, "second language learning" has become "second culture learning" (Brown, 1994: 165), so that learners can "identify themselves with and become part of that society" (Brown 1994: 154).   The notion that target language culture and language learning are inseparable is well supported in Taiwan.   Next, I will look at the issue of American English and American culture and their practice in Taiwan.

8.2.1.1   American English and American Culture

Tsai Ing-wen, Mainland Affairs Council Chairwoman, Hsi Mu-jung, a famous

painter-writer, and professor Wang Yu-li, while offering tips on language study, argue that "Learning foreign languages is a conduit to 'enter new cultures and new worlds'", in other words, "learning a language provides a key to the culture" (*China Post Online*: August 13, 2002, http://www.chinapost.com.tw/p_detail.asp?id=35210&GRP=B&onNews=; last accessed on December 12, 2002). Tsai Ing-wen notes "that language expresses one's thinking" and "knowledge about English and American cultures will help one communicate with native English speakers". Professor Wang Yu-li argues that language study can help broaden one's vision and reports that she made significant progress in her English proficiency during her study in the United States (*China Post Online*: August 13, 2002, htt://www.chinapost.com.tw/p_detail.asp?id= 35210&GRP=B&onNews=last accessed on December 12, 2002). The above opinions support a belief that the promotion of English teaching and learning is based on "culture-specific prescriptive norms" (Modiano, 2001b: 340) and "foreign language learning as enculturation" (Alptekin, 2002: 58), that is, American English and American culture in one package.

8.2.1.2   American English and American Culture in the EFL Classroom

Since culture cannot be separated from language, culture needs to be introduced in the language classroom to the learner. Stern (1983: 251) argues that "Language conveys culture, so the language teacher is also of necessity a teacher of culture". Therefore, it is the EFL teacher who will help students to acquire "knowledge about English and American culture" so as to help them achieve their learning goals – to "communicate with native English speakers" in the future, as suggested by Tsai (*China Post Online*: August 13, 2002 http://www.chinapost.com.tw/p_detail. asp?id= 35210&GRP=B&on News=; last accessed on December 12, 2002). In other words, since the EFL teacher will provide specific cultural information, EFL teachers perceive themselves as

"cultural ambassadors" (Modiano, 2001a: 170). With 'culture specific norms' and the notion of 'foreign language learning as enculturation', there is an effect on both the roles of the teacher and the students in the EFL classroom in Taiwan. The roles of EFL teachers in an American culture-oriented language classroom are: to promote American culture, and to select American English teaching methodology and American English teaching materials to create an American learning environment. As a result, American and Canadian English teachers who use CLT or an English-only immersion teaching method with a North American accent are preferred in Taiwan. American culture is an integral component of ELT and is seen as appropriate for Taiwanese students. As far as the roles of students are concerned, a study by Kelman (1996: 14–17, as cited in Zaid, 1999: 119) found that a target culture-oriented classroom may result in dissatisfaction among students with their own culture. The students come to see their indigenous social and cultural practices as being inferior to those in the USA (or the UK). In Taiwan, the cultural framework for English learning is inherently an attempt to promote one English speaking community's culture at the expense of others (Modiano, 2001a: 161). Students in Taiwan are strongly encouraged to acquire a North American accent, to learn American culture and to study in the USA. These issues will be discussed in following sections.

8.2.2   North American Accent

The term "accent" is used as "a loosely defined reference to sets of distinctive differences over geographic or social space, most usually phonological and intonation features', or more generally as – "how the other people speak" (Lippi-Green, 1994: 165). The term, '*Beimeiyin*' North American Accent – '*Bei*' 'North', '*Mei*' 'the USA or America Continent', '*Yin*' 'Accent' – originally meant how native speakers of the USA speak English. Now it means how native speakers of English in the USA and

Canada speak English, because "the sociolinguistic situation in the USA and Canada, as far as pronunciation is concerned, is rather different from that of the rest of English speaking countries" (Trudgill & Hannah, 2002: 35). For the general public in Taiwan, no distinction is made between American English and Canadian English. Therefore, North American English or American English refers to American English and/or Canadian English.

The KK (Kenyon and Knott) system of General American pronunciation was adopted in public schools in Taiwan in 1969, and it has been used universally since then. In the following section, first, I will give a brief introduction to the KK system. Second, I will show that a North American accent is considered the most important aspect of speaking proficiency. Finally, I will make the point that Taiwanese EFL users will mostly have a Taiwanese accent.

8.2.2.1   *KK (Kenyon and Knott) System*

In 1969, the KK (Kenyon and Knott) system of General American (GA) pronunciation was adopted in public schools in Taiwan. It has been used since then. The KK system is not a phonetic alphabet. It does not provide symbols for all languages. The KK system is a "phonemic" transcription of General American English, that is, it provides a symbol for each one of the distinctive consonants and vowels of General American English.

Before the Taiwanese government introduced the KK phonetic system in 1969, the DJ (Daniel Jones) phonetic alphabet, based on Received Pronunciation (RP) – Standard British English – was used to teach English. Now all the people in Taiwan learn English in their schools using the KK phonetic system. The KK system and American

English have been codified and used in dictionaries and educational materials that have been recognized in English test systems. The ideological concept of a North American accent, which is deeply rooted in the minds of the people of Taiwan, is part of a greater power construct. When the government, English language schools and *buxiban* work together to promote KK as the standard, the concept instills in the minds of students that other varieties are of less value.

Every Chinese English teacher has learned the KK system, and not surprisingly they teach the North American Accent. When an English teacher presents only a North American accent without providing students with equivalents from other varieties, the implication is that a North American accent is the standard. Those native speaking English teachers who do not possess North American accents are not regarded as properly equipped to teach pronunciation.   Only the North American accent is seen as prestigious and it has established unequal social relationships among native speaking English teachers in Taiwan, as I will show in the following section.

8.2.2.2   *North American Accent in English Teaching and Learning*

The issue for an English learner in an EFL setting is not 'good' or 'bad' English but 'correct' or 'incorrect' English, at least in the educational framework (Preisler, 1999: 239). While questioning what real English is, Widdowson (1994: 378) uses images of a beverage to illustrate how there many be other kinds of English which are not real or proper English. "As an analogy, consider a certain kind of beverage. There are all kinds of cola, but only one which is the real thing" (ibid.: 378).

Employment agencies plan to recruit some teachers from the Philippines and India to teach in kindergartens and language schools in Taiwan, because these teachers will

teach for about half the salary of their western counterparts (*Taipei Times Online*: January 21, 2003, http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2003/01/21/1917 86; last accessed on January 28, 2003). However, the MOE objects to recruiting English teachers from India and the Philippines, because in these countries English is not the native language and residents have "non-native accents". The Ministry clearly indicates that its plan to import foreign English teachers is targeted at the US, Canada, the UK and Australia. (*Taipei Times Online*: January 21, 2003, http://www.taipei times.com/News/front/archives/2003/01/21/191786; last accessed on January 28, 2003). Then, the MOE in March 2003 announced details of its program for recruiting foreign English teachers. The first group of 400 foreign teachers with 150 from the USA, 100 from Canada, 80 from Australia and 70 from the UK were to arrive in the summer of 2003 (*Taipei Times Online*: March 16, 2003, http://www.taipei times.com/News/front/archives/2003/03/16/198231; last accessed on March 17, 2003). This implies that the MOE only considers English teachers from the Inner Circle, especially the USA and Canada and is reluctant to hire English teachers from the Outer Circle because of their accents. Since North American is the standard imposed by the government, the government has the responsibility for its propagation. The implication of the above policies on hiring foreign English teachers is that the main criterion for hiring foreign teachers is their accent. The result of this hiring policy is that "accent becomes both manner and means for exclusion" (Lippi-Green, 1994: 165). In fact, racial discrimination and accent are closely linked. "When people reject an accent, they also reject the identity of the person speaking: his or her race, ethnic heritage, national origin, regional affiliation, or economic class" (ibid.: 165).

Clearly, American teachers are preferred, because they speak English with a North American accent. "Most Taiwanese parents don't care much about a teacher's

education background, as long as they're white and American … Their perspective is that if someone is white, they're American" (*Taipei Time Online*: June 13, 2000, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id=3850; last accessed on February 1, 2002). As a result, it is an advantage for applicants to be American or have a North American accent as evidenced by their passport. Not surprisingly, many non-North American native speakers of English tend to adapt their accents to suit the requirements (Murphy, 1997). Since Taiwanese people prefer a North American accent, some English language schools even ask their non-North American native speakers of English to pretend they are either Americans or Canadians. The following are two examples.

"The people here usually want to hear that you're "North American", so if your [sic] not, just tell them that you lived there for five years…"(January 8, 2002, the Forum of www.eslcafe.com,http://www.eslcafe.com/jobinfo?asia/sefer.cgi?display:1010488288-19801.txt; last accessed on February 2, 2002).

"Owner Monica continues to treat foreign teachers as their marketing tool instead of respected ESL teachers when she told other English teachers from other countries to pretend to be American or Canadian in order to cheat parents!" (February 16, 2002, the Forum of www.eslcafe.com,http://www.eslcafe.com/jobinfo?asia/sefer.cgi?display:101380341-20087.txt; last accessed on February 20, 2002).

8.2.2.3   Taiwanese English and North American Accent

An American accent is a desirable goal for Taiwanese learners, but "ironically, there is no official language of the United States, not English nor any other" (Ash, 1999: 250). Lippi-Green (1997: 43) points out that, despite "the myth of non-accent", "every

native speaker of US English has an L1 accent" and it is impossible to substitute one phonology (accent) for another consistently and permanently. "L2 learners are nowadays the only English speakers who are still encouraged to approximate an RP or General American (GA) accent as closely as possible" (Jenkins, 2002: 85). Having a North American accent as the standard implies the goal of English learning is to achieve of native like accent. As a result, Taiwanese students are affected by such a requirement. The following is a paragraph from a TESOL MA student from Taiwan who talks about her experience while studying in the USA (Brown, 1995: 242).

> The most difficult mental barrier that I have to overcome during the course of my language learning as a non-native speaker of English is that I was expected to speak like a native speaker of English, without any accent. Ever since I moved to the States, I had the idea that if I was ever to be understood as a foreigner, I needed to be accent-free. While trying very hard to be accent-free, I know that I would never be able to speak exactly the way a native speaker would speak. But I was telling myself that I must achieve this end. This has become the cause of many undue stresses in my language learning experience. At times, because I was so conscious of my non-native accent, I became unwilling to speak out. The concept that I was introduced to in this term of not having to speak native-like and still be a speaker of English is liberating to me. This important concept will enable me to help my students, in the future, as not to acquire accent-free English, but English that is intelligible to others.

Taiwanese English learners wish to acquire a native-like North American accent. In reality, most Taiwanese English users will never attain a native-like North American accent. Chou, an English professor at National Taiwan University (*Taiwan Headlines*: May 8, 2001, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id=8839; last accessed on February, 1, 2002), points out that Taiwanese people tend to consider that good English is

spoken with an American accent. In fact, many people speak elegant English with all sorts of accents. The American Accent does not necessarily have to be the standard. Why should people feel embarrassed about speaking English with the accents of their native languages?   I shall now argue that the model of 'Taiwan *guoyu*' (Taiwanese Mandarin) could be used in the acquisition of English in Taiwan.

Taiwan was returned to China from Japanese control in 1945. In 1946, a KMT "Taiwan Committee for the Promotion of Mandarin" was established. The language policy of the Nationalist government can be briefly described as uni-directional bilingualism (Chan, 1994, as citied in Tsao, 1999: 365).   That is, all speakers of a local language had to speak Mandarin, but native speakers of Mandarin were not required to study a local language. The result was that the Mandarin policy was very successful (Tsao, 1999). However, the Mandarin that has developed in Taiwan since 1946 is referred to as "Taiwan *Guoyu*" – Taiwanese Mandarin. When Taiwanese speak Mandarin, they have their own Taiwanese accent. Taiwanese people are very proud of their Taiwanese *Gouyu*, because it signifies that Taiwan is a separate entity, that is, independent of Mainland China (Tsao, 1999; Kowal, 2002). English used in Taiwan every day is called "Taiwan *Yingyu*" – Taiwanese English, because a Taiwanese variety of English is already emerging (Kowal, 2002). He argues that the Nationalists tried to "Chinese-ize" the inhabitants in Taiwan, but Taiwan's people "colonized" Mandarin and made it their own. The result of these processes is "what we can see today in Taiwan: English and Mandarin are both 'Taiwanized' and have become 'Taiwanese' languages" (Kowal, 2002).

Taiwanese English has been used in English classrooms in all levels of schools (Chung, 2003a). Chung (2003a) identifies and describes the features of the sounds and

allophones of Taiwanese English and shows how Taiwanese English differs from a North American accent. Taiwanese English is only one of the countless varieties of foreign-accented English or "national EFL dialects" (Chung, 2003b). Most countries or regions in the world have their own characteristic ESL or EFL accents, such as Singaporean English, Hong Kong English, and Japanese English. In other words, Taiwanese English constitutes one of the many international varieties of "World Englishes". Kowal (2002) argues that Taiwanese English should be wisely promoted by the government, since it fits in well in Taiwan's multicultural and multilingual society. In addition, it gives Taiwan a new identity to represent itself to the outside world.

Clearly, to acquire a North American accent is an ideology. Another concept which is associated with American-English-as-standard-English ideology is the USA degree.

8.2.3   USA Degree

Ample evidence in the corpus shows that North American English is currently the dominant variety.   The TC9 television commercial explicitly shows that the USA is the most popular location for studying abroad. Language school names (see Figure 8-4), and still images (see Figure 8-3) indicate that a USA degree is preferred. Only 4 photos present other English cultures in the corpus.   LF17-p7 shows a group of Taiwanese elementary students standing in front of Buckingham Palace in England (see *7.2.1.2*).   BWM18-p7 and p8 show some cities in Canada, since the language school focuses only on studying abroad in Canada. BF30-p10 shows three famous landmarks in the world, the Statue of Liberty, the White House and the Sydney Opera House.   In addition, there are 48 tokens of Chinese English teachers who have USA degrees (Figure 8-2), but only 3 tokens of Canadian degrees, 2 tokens of British

degrees and 2 tokens of Australian degrees (see 6.4.1, Figure 6-15).

'*Lai lai lai, lai Taida, qu qu qu, qu Meiguo*' '*Come, come, come, come to National Taiwan University; go, go, go, go to the United States*' – this popular phrase summed up the mainstream education values from the 1950s through the 1990s in Taiwan. Students from the most prestigious University, National Taiwan University, invariably go to the United States if they choose to further their studies overseas. According to statistics from the Institute of International Education (Teng, 2002), Taiwan was the single largest source country of overseas students on American campuses during the 1970s and 1980s. Since the early 1990s, there has been a moderate but steady decline in the number of Taiwanese students going to America. In 1994 there were 37,581 Taiwanese students pursuing studies in the States. After that their number declined. In the year of 2002, the figure was 28,930. Before 1988, in terms of studying in an English speaking country, the majority of Taiwanese students went to the USA and no other destination made it to much above 100 students. Since then, there has been an explosion of students going to other English speaking countries. "In the year 2000, the figures had gone (1988 figures first) from 41 to 2,104 in Australia; 15 to 2,538 in Canada; 2 to 496 in New Zealand; from 49 to 8,567 in the United Kingdom; and from 6,382 to 15,547 in the U.S." (Babb, 2002). In 2002 there were about 8,000 Taiwanese students in the UK, and Australia and Canada each had 2,000. Taiwan's brain drain began when the United States began issuing student visas to Taiwanese during the 1950s. The graduates of Taiwan's top institutions clamored to leave for the United States, as the above phrase '*Come, come, come, come to National Taiwan University; go, go, go, go to the United States*' suggests. As a result, "Taiwan suffered a so-called "brain drain" in the 1960s and 1970s", because "young intellectuals chose not to return to Taiwan after completing their studies" (Ide, 1999). Even today the

USA is still the most popular destination among Taiwanese for study abroad, and it is strongly encouraged and supported by Taiwanese scholars.

Frank Shu, a member of the American National Academy of Sciences and of Taiwan's Academia Sinica points out that "Europe still does not have the comprehensive level of scientific achievement as there is in the USA. Countries like Canada, Australia and New Zealand cannot for the time being compare with the States. Taiwan is a small country, and cannot develop every kind of technology by itself. Some people must go abroad to learn the latest developments and then bring them back. Generally speaking, the US is the best place to do this". Another scholar, Wu Ching-chin argues, "Under globalization, it is especially important to have English skills, and North American English is currently the dominant form.   Even New Zealand has invited US residents to teach American English in that country. If Taiwan's future elites want to understand how elites in other countries think, the best way to do this is to study at American universities" (Teng, 2002). The above arguments insist that if Taiwan wants to maintain competitiveness in the world, people need to study in the USA. North American English is the global language, not only for EFL countries like Taiwan, but even English speaking countries like New Zealand in the Inner Circle, supposedly need American English. First English swept across the globe. The second wave is American English.

There are 48 tokens of USA degrees in the corpus (Figures 8-2 & 6-15).   Among these degrees 40 are MAs and 8 are PhDs. Generally speaking, *Buxiban* hire Chinese teachers who have USA degrees to teach TOEFL, GRE and GMAT to help more Taiwanese students to study in the USA. "There's a lot to prepare before going abroad. The most important thing is language and few people succeed without attending cram

schools to prep for the TOEFL, GRE and GMAT" (Teng, 2002).   Since a large number of people study in the USA, they are acquiring American English. American English will probably continue to be privileged both in theory and in practice in Taiwan in public and private schools.   However, there are fears about the decline in the number of Taiwanese students going to the US. As well, average scores of TOEFL from Taiwan are below the global average. The numbers of students on US campuses from China, India, Korea, Indonesia, and Thailand all increased from 1999 to 2001, but Taiwan suffered a decline (Teng, 2002). Among 23 Asian countries, Taiwan ranks fourth from the bottom in the TOEFL examinations, which is far behind fourth-ranked China. In other words, Taiwan's biggest fear is from China, since there are more than 50,000 mainland Chinese students studying in the USA. China has now been the leading source of foreign students in the US for three years in a row since the year 2000.

Chen Wei-chao, President of National Taiwan University, worries that it is clear there is no new generation taking the place of the old in American Academic circles. Wu Jing (Teng, 2002), a professor at Cheng Kung University and a member of the Academia Sinica, returned to his alma mater, the University of Iowa.   The school president told him that over the last two years, the University of Iowa had hired 24 professors of Chinese ancestry and every single one of them came from China.

Wu argues "American university professors often participate in government policy-making and shape opinion.   If there is a decline in the US in the number of academics from Taiwan who will understand Taiwan affairs, Taiwan's voice will be that much weaker" (Teng, 2002). The implication is that the decline in the number of Taiwanese students going to the USA and the great increase of Mainland Chinese will

impact on the academic research and teaching, high-tech industry, economics and culture of the two sides. Taiwan will not be able to keep up with China in these aspects.

A USA degree also implies that American English signifies competitiveness. To study in the USA is the key to competing with China and other countries in the world. The myth that Taiwan's ability to solve its current social, educational, economic and political problems is directly related to its degree of American cultural assimilation is promoted by the urgings to obtain a USA degree.

In short, if Taiwan wants to retain competitiveness in the context of globalization, it supposedly needs more people to study in the USA. Since American English is the gateway language, its acquisition will provide Taiwanese people with access to economic and political power in the world. As a result, an American curriculum, an American English learning environment, and American teaching method and materials are promoted by the government and English language schools.

8.2.4   American Curriculum, American English Learning Environment, American
         Teaching Method and Materials

There are 17 tokens of *American English teaching method* in slogans and short paragraphs (Figure 8-1) and 16 tokens in body texts (Figure 8-2). *American English learning environment* (16 tokens, Figure 8-2), *American Curriculum* (11 tokens, 7 tokens in Figure 8-2; 2 tokens, in Figure 8-7), and *American English teaching materials* (4 tokens, Figure 8-2) are also found in the corpus.

"Any teaching curriculum is designed to answer three interrelated questions: What is

to be learned? How is the learning to be undertaken? To what extent is the former appropriate and the latter effective?" (Breen & Candlin, 2001: 9). An *American curriculum* in language schools means North American English needs to be learned and the teaching process is to be undertaken by Caucasian native speaking English teachers with a North American accent and using an English-only or CLT method and American teaching materials. These components consist of a so-called *American English learning environment*, which is considered appropriate and effective for learners to acquire their English. Such a learning environment gives students the fullest possible introduction to the American speech community and reinforces the concept of American-English-as-standard-English. Canagarajah (1999a: 84) argues that "Western cultural agencies serve as a conduit for the influence of center institutions, in particular commercial organizations involved in textbook production, and educational institutions involved in teacher training." In Taiwan, not only in English language schools, but also in public schools, American curriculum, American teaching methodology, American English teachers, American teaching materials and other ELT activities used are considerably influenced by the USA and promoted by the Taiwanese government.

Here are some news items which demonstrate that American English is the standard English. Since it is perceived to be the appropriate and correct variety to learn, Taiwan relies on American norms, such as teaching methods and training programs to help the education ministry train English educators.

The MOE officially introduced the College Board, a US non-profit educational organization, as its collaborative partner in advancing the professional development of the nation's English teachers. Robert DiYanni, the director of International Service College Board, argues that professional

English educators from the USA will bring ideas and experiences to those confronting issues of learning and teaching English in the Taiwanese school system (*Taipei Times Online*: March 6, 2003, http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives_/2003/03/06/196942; last accessed on March 7, 2003).

"Nineteen young Americans teaching English in the remote counties of Nantou and Chiayi are providing rural farming communities with a solid backbone of English language and cultural learning" Their main goal is to teach students "to be able to talk with foreigners and to be comfortable with English. Making it fun and exciting is the best way to do that". As a result, students are enthusiastic about what teachers say and tireless to learn. In short, "students have been eager to learn from their foreign teachers" (*Taipei Times Online*: March 16, 2003, http://www.taipeitiems.com/News/archives/2003/03/16/0000198238; last accessed on March 17, 2003).

The Taiwanese government's exclusive promotion of American English shows that there is an acceptance of the beliefs and behaviors of the native speaker of American English.   As a result, American English is considered the educational standard and as superior to other English varieties. The choice of which English should be taught, how English should be learned, who is going to teach it and who will train the teachers in the school system is not made locally or individually, but by the government.   The result is that the diffusion of American English has become an issue of political power in English teaching and learning. Next, I shall discuss the spread of American English in Taiwan.

8.3   The Spread of American English in Taiwan

There seem to be two ways to represent the spread and development of English. One way is that "there is a single English language but many varieties". The other one is

that "it is no longer appropriate to treat English as a single language containing a common core to which all the varieties can be referred" (Smith, 1983: 1, as cited in Bex, 1993: 250). The former assumes a standard English. The latter proposes a World Englishes notion, which will be discussed in **8.4**. As far as English teaching and learning is concerned, there is a prevailing belief that there is a standard English, which it is the appropriate variety for non-native speakers to learn.   The English language possesses two very similar and stable versions in ELT in EFL countries – British English and American English.

8.3.1   British English and American English

The choice of a standard English depends in part on each nation's history (Fiedrich, 2002: 441). Research on an awareness of regional differences, in particular the distinction between the two major varieties, American and British English, was conducted in Denmark (Preisler, 1999). The main finding is: a vast majority (66%) of Danes prefers British English because they regard this variety as more "cultivated" than American English. British English is viewed as having "tradition and spiritual values" and American English is seen as "ugly" (ibid.: 249).   With regard to the perceived relative suitability of American or British English in various contexts in Denmark, the results indicate that a majority (68%) prefers British English in an educational or teaching context. American English is associated with leisure-time interests, such as film and television series with actions, pop music, computer games, and so on (ibid.: 251).   Preisler (ibid.: 249) argues that "given British tradition in the teaching of English in European schools", Danes find it somewhat more difficult to like American English. The influence of pop music and cinema has made American English more attractive to the young.   In other words, for geographical, political and historical reasons, EFL countries in Europe tend to select British English as a standard

because they see it as "prestigious", "proper", and "correct" (Modiano, 2001a: 168). Choices like this one are based on powerful social myths rather than desirable linguistic benefits (Bex, 1993: 249).

Within Europe, it would seem that British English has been the standard English, but Europe is becoming increasingly influenced by American English (Bex, 1994; Modiano, 1996). Many educational establishments in Europe have gone beyond exclusively promoting British English and several countries now officially accept both American and British English (Modiano, 1996: 207). In Taiwan, there is only one single English – American English. "The chief characteristic of a standard ideology is the belief that there is one and only one correct spoken form of the language, modeled on a single correct written form" (Milroy, 1999: 174).

In the following section, I will argue that Taiwan's historical, political and social relationships with the USA have resulted in American-English-as-standard-English. The choice of American-English-as-standard-English has more social and political causes than linguistic ones.

8.3.2   USA and Taiwan Relations

English teaching and learning in Taiwan means having an American-centered view of the language, that is, native speakers of American English and American culture. That is not surprising, because of the close historical USA and Taiwan relations. The Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan and the United States were allies during the Second World War and signed the Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty to consolidate their bilateral relationship in 1954. Taiwan and the USA have a strong and solid relationship although there are no diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Their relationship has continued in the realms of political interaction, security affairs, trade and investment, culture and more (Wen, 1998). On January 1, 1979, the United States switched diplomatic recognition from the ROC on Taiwan to the People's Republic of China. On March 29, 1979, the U.S. Congress enacted the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA), which has served as the basis of the new relationship between the ROC and the USA to this very day. TRA is an act "to help maintain peace, security, and stability in the Western Pacific and to promote the foreign policy of the United States by authorizing the continuation of commercial, cultural, and other relations between the people of the United States and the people of Taiwan, and for other purposes" (http://ait.org.tw/ait/twinfo/tra.html; last accessed on August 17, 2003). Taiwan and the USA have signed a total of 142 treaties and agreements since 1954. (http://www.tecro.org/relations.html; last accessed on August 12, 2003). The following are some examples which indicate the close relationships in political, cultural, and commercial dimensions between Taiwan and the USA.

"Approval of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act for fiscal year 2003 by the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives is a demonstration of U.S. congressional support for Taiwan. The act will help regulate bilateral military links between the United States and Taiwan and represents apparent congressional respect and backing for Taiwan's democratic achievements" (*Taiwan Headline*: October 2, 2002, http://th. gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id=15512; last accessed on August 17, 2003). This act also indicates that Congress is expected to play a more important role in U.S. arms sales to Taiwan.

The following statistics from Taipei Economic and Cultural Office (TECO) show the close relations between the USA and Taiwan (http://www.tecro.org/relations.html; last

accessed on August 12, 2002).   In 2002, Taiwan was the USA's eighth largest trading partner, its ninth largest export market, and its eighth largest source of imports. Taiwan has always cooperated very closely with the USA in the field of education. In the year 2002, 28,930 students from Taiwan were studying in the USA. The USA is the most popular destination outside of Asia for Taiwanese tourists. In 2002, Taiwanese made about one million trips by both direct and indirect flights to the United States.

Since Taiwan shares many values with the USA and has maintained a long strong friendship and close contacts with each other, for these reasons alone, American-English-as-standard-English is synonymous with knowledge and privilege. American-English-as-standard-English serves a political, social, cultural and economic agenda and has resulted in an ideology that American English is regarded as prestigious, appropriate and correct English. American English not only has a strong influence in Taiwan, but also countries within Europe and the world. "American English represents a New World hegemony insensitive to how US mass-produced culture and aggressive multi-national cooperative programs impact on both developed and developing nations " (Modiano, 2001a: 169). Some scholars have started viewing the pervasive American influences as "coca-colanization" (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1996: 284, as cited in Bamgose, 2001: 359) and "MacDonaldization" (Phillipson, 2001b: 10).

8.3.3   American English and Ideology in ELT

Taiwan agrees with one single English language and as a result only American English is taught. Taiwanese people are learning English, but they are not aware of the linguistic diversity around the world. American English gives learners a restricted knowledge of English and its cultures. It is misleading to assume that America is a

linguistically homogeneous country. On the contrary, it contains considerable diversity (Lippi-Green, 1997).   Generally speaking, Taiwanese students are exposed only to American English and that means their awareness and understanding of the world may be limited as well.   An incomplete presentation of the English language may also lead to confusion or resistance when students are confronted with different types of English users or uses (Matsuda, 2002: 438).

In both public and private schools in Taiwan, English teachers, curriculums, test systems and so on all follow American practice.   This practice has been deeply rooted in Taiwan for some time. Kachru (1988, as citied in Brown, 1993: 61) argues that students from Expanding Circle countries will return home to promote the teaching of English after studying in Inner Circle countries, and they will support Inner Circle scholars developing collaborative frameworks with Outer and Expanding Circle colleagues for their teaching. Many former overseas students in the USA become outstanding scholars and teachers in Taiwan and reach the pinnacles of business, the professions, the public service and government (Babb, 2002). As a result, defense of British English or other varieties of English is lacking, because the majority of English language scholars or educators has a USA degree and few have a degree from other English speaking countries, such as England, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. The government supports and promotes American English.   Teachers who favor other varieties of English would oppose those who speak and endorse American English. For example, Tsai, Mandarin Affairs Council Chairwoman, who obtained a master's degree in the USA and a doctoral degree in Britain, while giving tips on English language learning, focused only on knowledge about English and American culture.   However, she did not mention other varieties of English, such as British English (*China Post Online*: February 22, 2003, http://www.chinapost.com.tw/

p_detail.asp?id=35210&GRP=B&onNews=; last accessed on March 24, 2003).

Strict adherence to American English by the government does not really provide students an opportunity to learn other varieties of English. As Americans become more involved in the lives of the Taiwanese through multinational corporations, government, and military ties, education, the media and entertainment, and the influx of Taiwanese students, as well as visitors, going to study in, or visit the USA, American English will continue to be the standard in Taiwan. Even Europe is increasingly influenced by American English. Modiano (1996: 169) describes this phenomenon as "the Americanization of Euro-English". "The learning of American English potentially threatens to impose a number of ideologies on learners". EFL speakers should be provided with a space where they can attempt to be culturally, politically and socially neutral (ibid.:169). Therefore, a neutral variant of English, a World Englishes concept (WE) or English as an International Language (EIL) that provides the second language and foreign language speaker with an opportunity to avoid ideological influences of either British English or American English is needed, and is promoted by some scholars (Jenkins, 1998; Modiano, 2001a; Smith, 1983). In the following section, I will look at World Englishes, which might provide an alternative for ELT in Taiwan.

8.4   World Englishes (WE)

A World Englishes perspective is characterized by three elements: "a belief that there is a 'repertoire of models for English', that 'the localized innovations [in English] have pragmatic bases', and that 'the English language now belongs to all those who use it'" (Kachru, 1988:1, as cited in Brown, 1995: 233). The recent shift is that non-native speakers in the Expanding Circle using English for international

communication now outnumber its native speakers (Crystal, 1997; Graddol, 1997). This implies that non-native speakers of English will play a significant role in globalization. The shift of English in use also has major implications for ELT.   Since "EFL speakers primarily need the language for cross-cultural communication (which most often, for such people, takes place with other non-native speakers)" (Modiano, 2001a: 170), English as an International language which focuses on cross-cultural communication and the recognition of varieties of English used by non-native speakers needs to be taught and used as a lingua Franca (Jenkins, 2002; Modiano, 2001a; Matsuda, 2002; Petzold, 2002; Smith, 1983).

In the context of globalization, although standard English is associated in particular with the standards of Britain and North America, it is too culture specific in terms of cross-cultural communication. Since it challenges the autonomy of other Englishes in the world, a World Englishes or English as an International Language (EIL) pedagogical model which emphasizes cultural and linguistic diversity with a more global perspective is preferable.   "Language teaching would benefit by paying attention to the L2 user rather than concentrating primarily on the native speaker" (Cook, 1999: 185). Therefore, a descriptive model of EIL needs to be "codified, legitimized, and standardized" (Modiano, 2001a: 170).

With respect to teaching a WE course, Kachru (1992: 10, as cited in Brown, 1995: 238) outlines theoretical and case-study material which is available for instructor use. He suggests at least eight aspects of WE should be dealt with:

    1. an overview of World Englishes from a sociolinguistic perspective;

    2. an introduction to particular varieties;

    3. the validity of such varieties on their own terms ('attitudinal neutrality');

4. the functional and pragmatic range of particular varieties;

5. the contrasting pragmatic functions and realities of particular varieties;

6. the multidimensionality of functions, that is, the 'implication of the functional ranges of English' in various setting;

7. an expanded understanding of various canons of English;

8. the importance of cross-cultural intelligibility of particular varieties of English.

As far as English pronunciation is concerned, Jenkins (1998: 119) points out that "the acquisition of a native like accent is no longer the ultimate objective of the majority of the learners, nor is communication with native speakers their primary motivation for learning English" in the context of EIL.   In other words, a native-like accent as the target of pronunciation teaching is unrealistic and the phonology of EIL with a focus on the pragmatics of non-native communication in English needs to be taught. Therefore, a phonological core of intelligibility – "the Lingua Franca Core (LFC)" is established by Jenkins. LFC is based on extensive data collected in multilingual EFL classes.   It is a "sociolinguistically based and empirically researched pronunciation for EIL" (Jenkins, 2002: 83).   The core is intended to be an inventory of features which is essential for speakers of EIL to get right in order to ensure intelligibility anywhere in the world.

8.4.1   EIL in Practice in the world

A WE approach to EFL "can contribute to language pedagogy"   (Brown, 1995: 233). A WE approach is "more than a good idea", it is "an ethical obligation" (McHenry, 2002: 451). Clearly, EIL is an attractive option to many foreign language curriculum developers in EFL countries (Matsuda, 2002: 436).   However, this perspective does

not solve the problems of choosing a pedagogical model (Petzold, 2002: 425). When the concept of WE moves into a language classroom, some issues such as "who teaches, what is taught and how it is tested" remain unsettled (Bamgbose, 1998: 9). Crucial to these questions are school and examination syllabuses, teaching materials, teaching methods, teachers, teacher training and optimum the learner's age for acquiring EIL. Although WE is finally gaining acceptance in theory, in practice it has had little impact on applied linguistic research design and even less on English language teaching and teaching materials (Jenkins, 2002: 84).   In addition, there is no academic course entitled 'English as an International Language' available in the world (ibid.: 101).   Matsuda (2002) points out that recent Japanese English textbooks reveal almost a complete absence of the Outer Circle, but few teaching materials for EIL are available. This is the most important factor causing Inner Circle varieties to continue their popularity in the Outer and Expanding circle (Petzold, 2002). Lowenberg (2002: 431) questions whether English proficiency assessments, such as TOEFL and TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication) should be solely based on native-speaker, that is, often American English norms, since Expanding Circle norms might have more communicative relevance for vast numbers of English speakers. However, no English proficiency assessment based on EIL is available in EFL countries.   As a result, the norms for Standard English usage, English teaching and learning, and testing continue to remain those of the native speakers in the Inner Circle (Lowenberg, 2002: 431).

A pronunciation syllabus for EIL based on the Lingua Franca Core (LFC) is available for ELT. However, incorrect word stress, rhythm and intonation that are widely regarded as a source of unintelligibility in spoken English are omissions from the core (Levis, 1999; Walker, 1999). Pennington (1996: 242, as cited in Levis, 1999: 378)

argues that "the intonation of basic communication such as set types of questions and answers" is an essential part of intelligibility. On the other hand, Jenkins (1997: 18, as cited in Levis, 1999: 378) argues that final pitch movement is not important to teach, indeed cannot be taught, and is only marginally involved in intelligibility. Keys and Walker (2002: 300–301) ask "if imposing RP/GA on students was wrong, why is imposing the LFC right?" In addition, Keys and Walker ask "how can the robustness of the LFC be tested and improved?". And Levis warns that "While several writers have tried to define what is needed for intelligibility both between native and nativized varieties and within intra-group communication for nativized varieties, the importance of intonation in an EIL framework is not clear" (Levis, 1999: 378).

In order to communicate internationally, all teachers, native and non-native, will need to be well educated in EIL (Jenkins, 1998: 125). Both native and non-native speakers need training in EIL (Campbell et al., 1983: 35). Thus the question arises: if everyone needs training in EIL to improve understanding in communication internationally, who is qualified to teach EIL – locals or a mixture of multi-nationals each of whom is speaking his/her own dialect of international English? And who is qualified to train the EIL teacher? As far as age of acquisition of EIL is concerned, what will be the ideal age for learning EIL in the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle respectively? As far as proficiency in EIL is concerned, which one is more important – fluency or accuracy? Since the teaching methodology of EIL will be very different (Smith, 1983: 4), what kind of teaching methodology will be appropriate to teach EIL? How will success of EIL be determined and what are the best teaching materials for teaching EIL? These questions raise a lot of concerns that cannot be addressed easily. Clearly, consequences of promoting EIL remain largely

unsupported and uncomprehended (Jenkins, 2002: 101).

8.4.2   EIL in Practice in Taiwan

Kaplan (2000: viii) points out that factors such as convenience, student numbers, teacher expertise, and available resources influence what language will be taught in the public school systems. In an EFL country, a specific variety choice is influenced by factors such as the teacher's own education, availability of materials, political, cultural or economic contacts (Petzold, 2002: 424). Understanding the factors involved in choosing a pedagogical model is a necessary aspect of teaching English in an EFL country. WE, it is believed by many scholars, will in time become the standard in educational programs throughout the world (Modiano, 1996: 208). However, "when a country, a ministry or a teacher chooses a pedagogical model, much comes packaged with it" (Petzold, 2002: 423).   In short, the choice of the model of English that is presented to students and by which their English is evaluated ought to be considered in a pragmatic manner.

The choice of American English as the standard English in Taiwan depends on Taiwan's close historical, political and economic relationships with the USA.   The introduction of a World Englishes perspective into the English program may take time not only in Taiwan but also around the world. The reason is that there are no teaching materials and teaching methods of EIL available.   Even when English language learners or English educators hear the arguments of EIL, they may still wish to work towards the goals of attaining a native speaker accent and standard English. EIL involves potential costs and it does not provide a solution to current problems in English education, that is, the shortage of English teachers, the English test system, teaching methods and so on (see 7.2). Taiwan will continue to gravitate toward the

American English norms and those norms will be privileged in theory and in practice.

Although EIL probably will not be suitable for ELT in Taiwan under the current situation, Taiwanese people need to think critically about the social, political, and educational implications of American-English-as-standard English. "The most powerful strategy in ELT seems to be to foster critical awareness with regard to English domination, construction of identities, and social, linguistics, racial, and ethnic inequality" (Kubota, 1998: 302). English teachers need to help their students broaden their "cultural/linguistic perspectives through recognizing multiple identities of English" and "English curriculum needs to include varieties of English and literatures from the Outer and Expanding Circles in addition to the Inner Circle varieties" (ibid.: 304). As far as the macro-social level is concerned, the Taiwanese government needs to shift the focus away from only American English norms, and develop respect and appreciation of other varieties of English, since the government will play the most crucial role in avoiding the American-English-as-standard-English ideology.

8.5   Conclusion

Taiwan is an EFL country and English is being learnt for international communication. Even though there is a growing demand and importance of English for cross-cultural and international communication, Taiwan will still look to the USA variety as a model for correctness, because of its close relationships in the political, cultural, economic, and educational spheres. As a result, Taiwanese people view American English as the only possible model.   The ideology of American-English-as-standard-English means that Taiwan needs to maintain a dependency relationship with Inner Circle countries, mainly the USA, for pedagogical advice. In addition, unfamiliarity with the existence

of any other varieties of English has resulted in linguistic and racial inequalities between English varieties and their speakers.

In reality, Taiwanese English is growing in popularity and it can be considered one of the varieties of World Englishes. With the knowledge that non-native speakers in EFL countries are the fastest growing Circle, a new orientation in ELT called World Englishes (WE) or English as an International language (EIL), is intensively promoted by many scholars in the world. A WE approach is free from the presupposition of British and American English, accommodates many varieties of English and is comprehensible to speakers of other varieties in international communication. Since many issues, such as teacher training, teaching materials, and teaching methodologies of EIL still remain unsettled, Taiwan will not use an EIL approach for the time being. However, Taiwanese need to reexamine their beliefs about American-English-as-standard-English which they have taken for granted for so long. They need to adopt a more thoughtful, sensitive, and critical attitude toward differences in language and English language teaching as a whole.

CHAPTER NINE: "THE-YOUNGER-THE-BETTER"

9.0   Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on another ideology in English teaching and learning in Taiwan, namely that English should be learned as early as possible. In this respect, Taiwan is no exception, as around the world, children are being compelled to learn English at younger and younger ages (Nunan, June/July 1999; Cameron, 2003: 105). Many EFL countries in Asia, such as Japan, Korea, Thailand and Taiwan, have recently introduced the teaching of English to students in elementary schools. As Nunan (1999) and Tucker (2001) point out, the drive to introduce English at younger and younger ages is based on the assumption that the-younger-the-better is true, even if uncorroborated by any empirical data.   In Taiwan, although the Ministry of Education mandated that all public elementary schools should start English courses in the fifth grade in 2001, nearly 90% of elementary schools in fact begin to teach English earlier (*Taiwan Headlines*: August 19, 2003, http://publish.gio.gov.tw/iisnet/ 20030819/20030819s2. html; last accessed on August 22, 2003). My data show that some language schools offer English programs for children as young as 1.5 years. Thus, there can be no doubt that both public and language schools subscribe to the argument that English should be taught at an early age.

The notion of the-younger-the-better has in fact become a slogan whenever English education is mentioned in Taiwan (Han, 2003). It is widely accepted by Taiwanese

people because it is believed that children have an extraordinary ability to learn English. As long as children have some training at a very early age, it is assumed they are guaranteed a superior English ability as an adult.

In this chapter I shall discuss three main aspects in relation to the concept of the-younger-the-better in Taiwan. First, how the concept of the younger the better is presented in advertisements by language schools and *buxiban*. Second, I shall review current research that engages with the question of the optimal age of foreign language learning in an EFL setting such as the one in Taiwan. Finally, I will argue that the early introduction of English education needs to be adequately supported, resourced, and closely monitored and evaluated, if it is to be successful.

9.1   Data Analysis

About 80% of Taiwanese elementary schools currently start their English courses in the first grade (*Taiwan Headlines*: August 19, 2003, http://publish.gio.gov.tw/iisnet/ 20030819/20030819s2.html; last accessed on August 22, 2003), and pictorial materials will be considered to contain the concept of the-younger-the-better, if pre-school children (i.e. children who appear to be 6–years–old or younger) are depicted.

9.1.1   Language School Television Commercials
9.1.1.1   TC3 Television Commercial
TC3 TV commercial starts with a close-up of a male Caucasian and three little Taiwanese children (approximately 4 years old) sitting on the floor.   Then, there is a close-up of the male Caucasian. He is smiling happily. He tries very hard to say a sentence in Mandarin in front of the little Taiwanese children. This sentence is

unintelligible because of incorrect word order, incorrect intonation, and tones. After that, the screen shows only three big Chinese characters '*Xue Ying Yu*' 'To learn English'. The film then shows that one of the little Taiwanese boys is trying to correct and teach the white Caucasian by pronouncing '*YING-YU*' 'English' loudly, slowly and articulately. The male Caucasian is smiling and says to the little boy - OK, OK. He tries to say the sentence again, but it is still unintelligible.   One of the little boys says "So - so" to him. The male Caucasian is still smiling and says, "So - so, OK, I will try to do better". He tries again, but it is still unintelligible. The screen shows five big Chinese characters '*Jia Yin Xue Ying Yu*' 'To learn English at Joy Language School'. Then, the little Taiwanese children say the sentence together very slowly and clearly – '*Xue - yingyu - jiayin - gen - Joy*' 'Learning English at Joy Language School is more joyful'. The male Caucasian repeats the sentence again, '*Xue yingyu, jiayin gen Joy*' 'Learning English at Joy Language School is more joyful'. Although the sentence is intelligible, it is marked by a very strong foreign accent. As a result, the three little Taiwanese children laugh very hard. The screen shows the school name in Mandarin '*Jiayin Yingyu*' 'Joy Language School' and a little Taiwanese boy's voice is heard saying '*Jiayin Yingyu*' 'Joy Language School'. This commercial ends with this group of little Taiwanese children's loud voices chorusing I AM JOY – in English.

At first glance, this television commercial does not really show that it is about second language teaching and learning. First, compared with the TC5 commercial (see 6.2.1) and the TC1 commercial (see 7.1.1), this commercial does not demonstrate the features of a typical language classroom, such as a whiteboard, desks, chairs, textbooks, teaching aids and computers.   Second, the male Caucasian is not depicted as a teacher. The little children are not depicted as students, either. Instead, the children try their best to help the male Caucasian to say the sentence in Mandarin

correctly. However, the children are not depicted as teachers because at the end they laugh very hard when the male Caucasian fails to achieve accurate pronunciation. Third, TC3 employs a kind of scare tactics as it features an unsuccessful second language learner as the main character.

However, the TC3 television commercial implicitly tells its audience that this is about second language learning. First, the male Caucasian in this television commercial is presented as someone who may never achieve native-like pronunciation because he did not learn his second language at an early age, as the little Taiwanese children do. Second, the little Taiwanese children and the male Caucasian in the commercial implicitly demonstrate that there is a critical period in second language learning. Third, pronunciation in particular is presented as his main problem and as subject to critical period effects. Even though the Caucasian is finally able to say the sentence correctly, the little children laugh at his strong foreign accent.

9.1.1.2 TC4 Television Commercial

The little Taiwanese children in TC4 television commercial are about 4 or 5 years old. This television commercial starts with a close-up of a little Taiwanese girl who is laughing and then says <u>Joy</u> happily. Then there is a close-up of another two little Taiwanese boys. One is smiling on the left and the other one is smiling at the top right corner. The two little boys say <u>Joy</u> together happily. The school name <u>JOY</u> is also found in a very large print at the bottom right corner. Then there is a close-up of another two little Taiwanese boys. One is smiling on the left and the other one is looking up and smiling at the bottom right corner. Then the two little boys say <u>Joy</u> together happily. The school name <u>JOY</u> appears in very large print at the top right corner. After that, the screen is divided into two halves. The top shows '*Joy Jiayin Joy*' '<u>Joy, Joy Language School, Joy</u>'. The bottom shows three close-ups of three little

Taiwanese children – a girl and two boys.   They are smiling and say Joy together happily.   Next, there is another close-up of a little Taiwanese boy.   He is making a sad face and says Joy. After that, the screen is divided into quarters. A little Taiwanese girl is smiling at the top right corner. A little Taiwanese boy is smiling at the bottom left corner. The little girl and boy say Joy together happily. The school name JOY is at the top left corner. The school name in Mandarin '*Jia Yin*' 'Joy' is at the bottom right corner. After that, there is another close-up of a little Taiwanese girl. She is smiling and says Joy happily at the left and the school name JOY is at the right. After that, there is a close-up of a Taiwanese woman.   She is smiling and says *Jiayin, Joy* 'Joy Language School, Joy'. Then there is a close-up of a male white Caucasian. He is smiling on the left and school names in both Mandarin and English '*Jiayin, Joy, Jiayin, Joy, Jiayin*' are placed from the top to the bottom at the right.   The male Caucasian says the school slogan in Mandarin, '*Xue yingyu, jiayin gen Joy*' 'Learning English at Joy Language School is more joyful'.   The sentence is intelligible, but it is characterized by a very strong foreign accent. The screen shows '*Jiayin Yingyu*' 'Joy Language School'. The commercial ends with the characters of seven little Taiwanese children. They say I AM JOY together happily.

This commercial illustrates that to learn English is joyful, if one starts at an early age. Early childhood years should be spent learning English in a joyful way. The main focus of English courses for children should be fun and joyful. The male Caucasian reminds the audience that, as far as native-like pronunciation is concerned, Taiwanese children need to learn English as early as possible, otherwise it will be impossible to achieve. English can be learned in a joyful and natural way, if students learn English at an early age. Age is represented as the critical factor that matters to one's success in English language learning.

In reality, although education reformers have advocated "happy learning" for many years, "it remains tantalizingly out of reach" (Chang, C. F., 2003). The reason is that children's individual qualities may differ, but they are all under the stress of a heavy study workload in Taiwan. As a result, the vast majority are surely not happy. According to a survey conducted by the Child Welfare League Foundation in August 2002, based on 344 questionnaires from parents and 267 from children, one major finding is that nearly 30% of pre-school age children are frustrated and afraid to speak English because they have not been successful in learning English (*Taipei Times Online*: August 14, 2002, http://www.taipeitimes.coom/news/2002/08/14/story/ 0000160230; last accessed on September 9, 2002). Moreover, Chang, the chairman of the English department at National Taiwan Normal University points out that he came across a child who earned excellent grades in English in year one and two. However, the child was unable to afford private study, and accordingly lost ground in his regular English classes. Attending English classes became a source of torment for him. He completely lost his confidence. Asked what his greatest hope was, the child replied: "No more English class!" (Chang, 2000).   While this is anecdotal and involves only one child, it may signify a valid problem of social inequality.

9.1.2   Slogans and Short Paragraphs

24 (12.5%) out of a total of 192 slogans and short paragraphs contain the concept of the-younger-the-better (cf. Figure 5-1, p. 121). The following are two representative examples.

'*Bei rang haizi shu zai qipaodian sheng*' (LF20b)

'Don't let your children lose out at the starting point' (LF20b)

'*6 sui yiqian shi xuexi yuyan de guanjian qi*' (LWM24)

'The critical period for language learning is before the age of six' (LWM24)

The grammatical choice of the LF20b slogan is an imperative (cf. *5.1.2.1*). The implication of this slogan is that the advertiser does not simply give information that English needs to be acquired at a young age.   This slogan also tells the reader that they need help from the advertiser. Not surprisingly, a lot of language schools provide English programs and encourage children to learn English as early as possible (see 9.1.3). The grammatical choice of the LWM24 slogan is an "attribute clause" (Li & Thompson, 1981) which means: it is certain/true (cf. *5.1.2.1*). This slogan explicitly states that it is true that there is critical period (see **9.2** for a discussion) for language acquisition.

9.1.3   Body Texts

60 (13.3%) out of a total of 487 terms in body texts contain the concept of the-younger-the-better (cf. Figure 6-2, p. 166). Generally speaking there are three different English programs provided by language schools. They are 'Chengren ban*' 'Adult English class',* 'Ertong ban*' 'children English class', and* 'Youer ban*' or* 'Youyou ban*' 'pre-school children English class'. "Ertong ban" "children English class" means English classes for elementary school children who are 7 - 12 years old.* 'Yourer ban*' or* 'Youyou ban*' 'pre-school children English class' means English classes for pre-school children who are 1.5 – 6 years old. A total of 60* 'Youer ban*' 'pre-school children English class' are advertised for in the corpus (cf. Figure 6-2, p.166). In addition, a salient feature is that every language school provides* 'youer ban*' 'pre-school children English class'. This shows that although public schools start*

teaching English from 5th grade, the language school market pressures Taiwanese

parents to send their pre-school children to language schools or English

kindergartens to get a head start (Teng, 2003a).

9.1.4 Still Images

215 (18.2%) out of 1,181 still images contain the concept of the-younger-the-better

(cf. Figure 5-3, p. 140). These 215 still images show children who look younger

than 6 years old. 163 out of these 215 still images were counted more than once

(Figure 9-1): 64 (29.7%) pictures were counted twice and 114 (53%) were counted

three times, because they contain more than one ideology. For instance, they show

Caucasian teachers who are using English-only immersion methods or CLT either in a

classroom or outdoors to teach pre-school children. Pre-school children in still images

play a crucial role in two ideological concepts in particular, namely English-as-

the-global-language and the-younger-the-better. In these still images pre-school

children are associated with symbolic objects such as the globe and English textbooks.

These photos illustrate that English is needed by the younger generation in the context

of English-as-the-global-language (see 5.1.3). 37 photos (17.2%) depict pre-school

children who are either looking directly at the audience or who are involved in some

activities such as a Christmas party, an English summer camp, and speech contests.

Figure 9-1: The-younger-the-better and Other Ideological Concepts of ELT (cf. Figure 5-3)
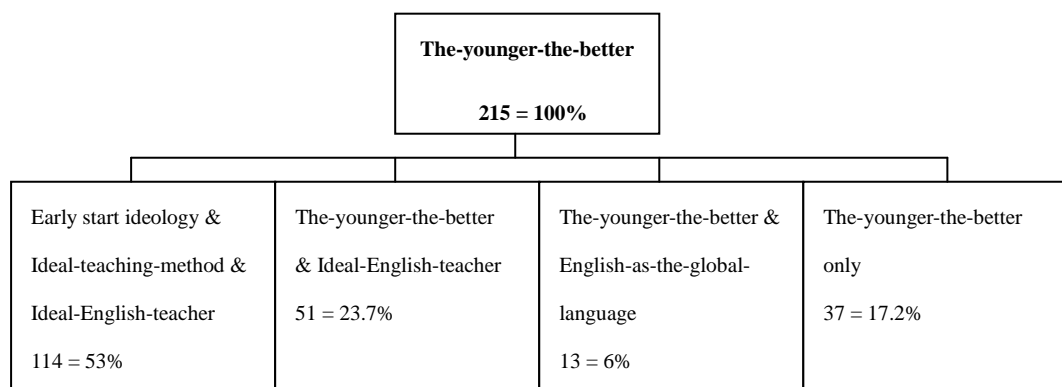
9.1.5   School Names

15 (14.7 %) out of a total of 102 school names contain the ideological concept of the-younger-the-better (cf. Figure 5-6, p. 155).   The decision about whether a school name contains the concept of the-younger-the-better is based on the lexical collocations of '*xiao*' 'little', '*yo*' or '*you*' 'young, younger, pre-school', '*er*' 'children, kids, pre-school children' in Mandarin and kid(s) or little in English. Clearly, these lexical collocations imply that the schools provide English programs for pre-school children. The 15 school names can be put into four categories (Figure 9-2). First, the lexical collocations of kid or '*er*' (5 names, 33.3%), namely Happy Kids, The International English Village of Kidsland, Kid Castle, Kidel and '*Zin Bei Er*' 'Precious Kids'.   Second, the collocations of little or '*xiao*' (4 names, 26.7%), namely Little Red Dragon, Little Harvard, '*Xiao Bo Shi*' 'Little Doctor' and '*Xiao Qun*' 'Little Kids'. Third, the collocations of '*yo*' or '*you*' (3 names, 20%), namely, '*Youjia*' 'The-Younger-The-Better', '*Yo-Yo*' 'Pre-school Children' and '*Youfu*' 'Pre-school Children's Fortune'; and Others (3 names, 20%). These are Jump Start, '*Zhaoyang*' 'Sunrise' and '*Beihe*' 'Numerous Seedlings'. These three names can be interpreted as "symbolic qualities" (see *5.1.1.4*), because they have very strong connotations of young age. Like the LF20b slogan, "Don't let your children lose out at the starting point" (see 9.1.2), Jump Start suggests learning as early as possible. '*Xiyang*' 'sunset' is a term used to describe old people and '*Zhaoyang*' 'Sunrise' is used to describe younger children (pre-school children) in Taiwan. Clearly, the school name '*Zhaoyang*' 'Sunrise' means the school provides English programs for pre-school children. '*Shuren*' '*Shu* - tree, *ren* - people' means to cultivate the young (elementary school student and/or junior high school students). '*He*' 'seedling' is used

to describe pre-school children. The school name '*Baihe*' 'Numerous Seedlings' means the school is for pre-school children.

Figure 9-2:   School Names Containing the Concept of The-younger-the-better

Collocations of "kid" 5 = 33.3%	Collocations of "little" 4 = 26.7%
School names **15 = 100%**	
Collocations of "younger" 3 = 20%	Others 3 = 20%
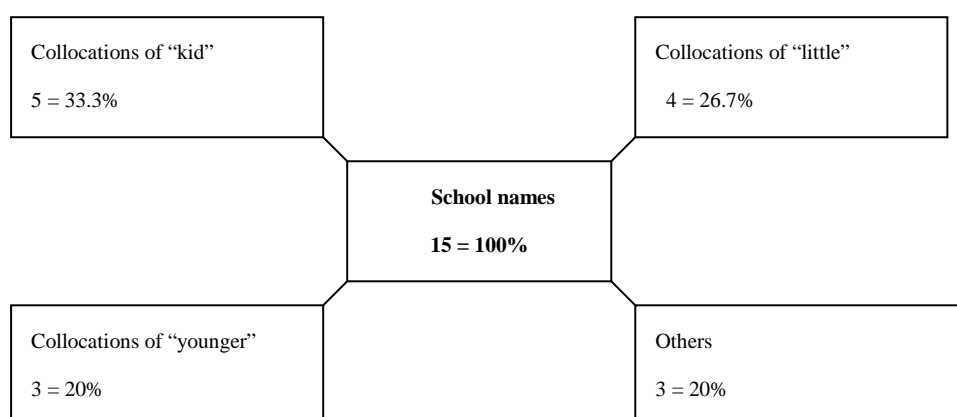
9.1.6   English Teaching Job Ads

The recruiters behind English teaching job ads also demonstrate the concept of the-younger-the-better. There are four categories in the *recruiter* element in English teaching job ads (Figure 9-3).   These are *language school* (60 tokens = 50.8%), *employment agent* (21 tokens = 17.8%), *kindergarten* (20 tokens = 16.9%), *school* (13 tokens = 11%) and *individual* (4 tokens = 3.4%). At first glance, job seekers might think there are many different options open for them, as suggested by terms such as positions available in colleges, high schools, elementary, private schools, language school, and kindergarten (see Figure 9-3). However, the majority of the English teaching jobs are for language schools and kindergartens. By contrast, there are comparatively few jobs available for colleges. Clearly, *kindergartens* (20 tokens = 16.9%) provide English classes for pre-school children. Although recruiters such as *language schools* (60 token = 50.8%) and *employment agents* (21 tokens = 17.8%) and *individual* do not specifically indicate that English classes for young children are to be provided, it is clear that many of them provide English classes for pre-school

children as is evidenced from the body texts (see 9.1.3).

Figure 9-3:   Lexical Collocations of School in English Teaching Job Ads

Kindergarten: 20 = 16.9% Alternative term: preschool	**Public School: 13 = 11%** High school: 7 = 5.9% Elementary school: 5 = 4.2% College: 1 = 0.8%	**Language school: 60 = 50.8%** Alternative terms: xxx school, American school, English learning center, English classroom,

Recruiters:

118 = 100%

Individual: 4 = 3.4% English club: 1 = 0.8% Community center: 1 = 0.8% Parents: 2 = 1.7%	**Employment agent: 21 = 17.8%** Alternative terms: English service, English service consults, English association, XXX English Job fairs in Canada

9.1.7   Summary

Both language schools and the great majority of Taiwanese parents strongly believe that English should be learned at an early age. At a meeting with the MOE and local educational authorities, English teachers from private language schools pointed out that "students should begin learning English as early as possible" (*Taiwan Headlines*: March 17, 2003, http://publish.gio.gov.tw/iisnet/20030317/20030317s2.html; last accessed on March 19, 2003). According to Dai Wei Yang, a professor at National Taiwan Normal University, "Parents have made English lessons a top requirement when choosing kindergartens" (Chou, W., 2002).   The notion of the-younger-the-better is one of the selling points of language schools because the schools view English lessons for pre-school children as "a goldmine" (ibid.: 2002).

9.2   Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH)

As I have shown, age is considered a primary factor determining success of learning English in Taiwan. This ties in with a widespread belief that there is a critical period in language learning. The term *critical period* for language acquisition means "a period of time when learning a language is relatively easy and typically meets with a high degree of success" (Marinova-Todd et al., 2000: 9). Lenneberg (1967) was the first to formulate the critical period hypothesis (CPH). He describes a biologically determined critical period for the possibility of reaching native-like levels in second or foreign language acquisition. This critical period ends around the age of puberty. Afterwards, there is a decline in language learning ability, and diminished second language performance is the consequence of normal brain maturation. The CPH has been influential since the 1960s but its existence and relevance to second or foreign language acquisition remains contentious.

The following is Lenneberg's (1967: 176, as cited in Hyltenstam & Abrahamsson, 2000: 152) original hypothesis, which relates to second and foreign language acquisition:

> automatic acquisition from mere exposure to a given language seems to disappear [after puberty], and foreign languages have to be taught and learned through a conscious and labored effort. Foreign accents cannot be overcome easily after puberty. However, a person can learn to communicate at the age of forty. This does not trouble our basic hypothesis [. . .] .

Based on the formulation in the quotation, Hyltenstam & Abrahamsson (ibid.: 152)

revise the CPH in point form:

(i) Younger language learners are 'better' at second language learning than older learners.

(ii) Younger learners outperform older learners with respect to eventual outcome.

(iii) Younger learners acquire second languages automatically from mere exposure, while older learners have to make conscious and labored efforts.

(iv) Younger learners can reach native-like level of proficiency, but older learners cannot.

(v) The turning-point age for differences between children and adults in (i)-(iv) is around puberty.

In the following, I will show how the CPH (both in its original formulation and its re-phrasal by Hyltenstam & Abrahamsson) is received, modified, and perpetuated as a language ideology in Taiwanese media discourses. As is often the case with ideologies (Bialystok & Hakuta, 1999; Birdsong, 1999; Davis, 2003; Hyltenstam & Abrahamsson, 2000; Lightbown, 2000; Marinova-Todd et al., 2000; Piller, 2001b), there is not one single belief that is voiced, but rather different, or even contradictory voices can be heard. I will first explore discourses in support of the CPH, that is, those that voice the ideology of "the younger, the better" (section 9.2.1), and then move on to those that are critical of the CPH and the pressures it places on children and their parents (section 9.2.2).

9.2.1   The Younger, the Better

There is ample evidence in my corpus that testifies to the belief that age is a primary factor determining the success of learning English (Hyltenstam & Abrahanmsson's

points i & ii).   Children are said to need to learn English as early as possible in order to maximize the eventual outcome.   The evidence can be grouped into those discourses that consider age the primary factor (section *9.2.1.1*), those that suggest that children are better language learners (section *9.2.1.2*), and those that claim a turning point age (section *9.2.1.3*).

9.2.1.1   Age – the Primary Factor

A survey conducted by Eastern Broadcasting in September 2002, collected responses from 1,079 parents who have pre-school-aged children. 79.7% of the respondents said pre-school-aged children should learn English. 48.2% of respondents said they should start as early as three years old or even younger (*Taipei Times Online*: October 6, 2002*,*   http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2002/10/15/175738;   last accessed on December 6, 2002). Another survey conducted by the Children Welfare League Foundation in August 2002, based on 344 questionnaires from parents and 267 from pre-school aged children – found that 85.4% of the parents think that it is necessary for their children to learn English.   About 65.9% of the parents claim that they are, or they had been giving their pre-school aged children private English education (*Taipei Times Online*: August 14, 2002, http://www.taipeitimes.com/news/ 2002/08/14/story/0000160230; last accessed on September 9, 2002).   Clearly, it is the trend for parents to send their pre-school children to learn English, because they believe the notion of "the younger the better" (*Taipei Times online*: August 14, 2002, http://www.taipei times.com/news/2002/08/14/story/0000160230; last accessed on September 9, 2002).

Moreover, the notion of the-younger-the-better is also supported by many English educators. A survey sponsored by Citigroup polled the English teachers of 1,004

elementary schools about English teaching.   One main finding is that 48.6% of the polled English language teachers agree with the catchphrase "pick up English very early to gain an edge' (*Taiwan Headlines*: August 19, 2003, http://publish.gio.gov.tw/ iisnet/20030819/20030819s2.html; last accessed on August, 22, 2003). Thus, there is ample evidence to the pervasiveness of the belief that English learning should start as early as possible.

9.2.1.2   Children – Better Second Language Learners

Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson's point (iii) attempts to explain child-adult differences in second or foreign language acquisition. Point (iv) emphasizes the ability to reach native-like levels of proficiency.   Point (iii) and (iv) imply that children are better second language or foreign language learners than adults, because of their biological differences. Children depend on innate structures but adolescents and adults depend on more general learning abilities. Therefore, adolescents and adults no longer can use the innate structures to acquire a language as well as children do. Many studies support this point of view. Most pro-CPH studies have focused on learner phonological achievement. Generally speaking, these studies show that older learners have a noticeable non-native accent (Lightbown & Spada, 1994: 43). Apart from phonology, some studies also look at syntax, morphology and other linguistic domains and there is significant research support for the CPH particularly in the domain of pronunciation (Long, 1990; Moyer, 1999; Oyama 1976, as cited in Moyer, 1999; Patkowsi, 1990; Weber-Fox & Neville, 1999).

In Taiwan, the acquisition of English phonology is often regarded as the strongest behavioral evidence for the CPH. It is assumed that children can acquire native-like English pronunciation naturally as long as they start learning English at an earlier age,

as in the following data.

Chang, an English teacher trainer at the English Advanced Association in Taipei, argues that children stand a much better chance of becoming "accent free", if they learn a language before they hit puberty. "If the teacher fails to demonstrate accurate pronunciation from the very beginning, most learners may never achieve clear pronunciation later" (Chang, J. P., 2001). An elementary English teacher in Taipei suggests, "children in these earliest grades soak up everything like a sponge", so this is the ideal time to establish their listening comprehension and pronunciation" (*Taiwan Headlines*: March 13, 2001, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id=7949; last accessed on February 1, 2002).

9.2.1.3 *A Turning Point Age*

The CPH includes the argument that there is a turning-point age for second language acquisition that is around puberty (Point v). However, whether puberty really constitutes a turning point in language acquisition remains a point of contention (e.g. Marinova-Todd et al., 2000; Piller, 2002 for recent reviews). In this section I will provide some folk beliefs in Taiwan as evidenced by media discourses.

Dai Wei-yang, a professor of National Taiwan Normal University, sets the age limit at eight and argues that it is the best time to learn languages because children absorb everything and after that the chance is gone forever (Chou, W., 2002). Ruby Hsu, a famous English teacher, argues that the best time for students to learn English is between the ages of 4 and 8 (*Taiwan Headlines*: March 17, 2003, http://publish.gio. gov.tw/iisnet/20030317/20030317s2.html; last accessed on March 19, 2003).

Taiwanese media regularly carry stories that are construed as evidence for the CPH. For instance, this is the story of Donald (*Taiwan Headlines*: August 9, 2001, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id=10458; last accessed on October 10, 2001). This five-year-old boy became Taiwan's youngest published writer on how to teach yourself English. Donald attends two hours of English lessons every day in his pre-school. He incorporates English into his life, which means he uses English with his parents, teachers and friends in school. Asked how he was able to memorize more than 4,000 English words in one year, he replied, "Because I needed to use them". Another example is Huang Chu-shieh who is eight years old. He started learning English at an all-English kindergarten when he was two years and seven months old. He speaks English like a native speaker and his goal is to study at Harvard University in the USA some day. His standard of English has already reached the Cambridge intermediate level, equivalent to the fourth year of primary school in Britain (Chang, C. F., 2003). Stories like these help to entrench support for the CPH among the general public, and even researchers (as the introductory quote from Dai Wei-yang shows).

9.2.2   The Younger, the Better?

There are many anti-CPH studies in second language acquisition. Many researchers argue that there is no critical period for a native-like mastery across various linguistic domains in second language acquisition. An age effect on ultimate attainment is not obviously linked to any specific age span (Singleton, 1989; Bialystok & Hakuta, 1999). Singleton (1989: 137) asserts that there is no consistent support in the literature for the notion that younger second language learners learn more efficiently or successfully than older learners. Moreover, adult starters who achieve a native-like second language proficiency or native-like second language competence do exist

(Birdsong, 1999). Marinova-Todd et al. (2000) point out three misconceptions about age and L2 learning. The first misconception is that children are fast and efficient at an L2. The second misconception is that children outperform adults because age differences in language abilities are related to neurobiological factors. The third one is that most adult learners of an L2 end up with lower than native-like levels of proficiency. In other words, the CPH has been challenged from several different points of view.

9.2.2.1 First Type of Challenge

The first type of challenge is based on the general notion of the-younger-the-better (see 9.2.1, point (i) & (ii)). Krashen et al. (1979) were the first to point out that older learners outperformed younger learners in second language acquisition. Voices critical of the-younger-the-better ideology can also be heard in the Taiwanese media.

Krashen himself, who has a high profile in Taiwan, while commenting on current Taiwanese English education, supports the view that younger does not mean better. He is reported to have said that younger is not faster; on the contrary, older children acquire second languages faster than younger children. Starting later is thus more efficient (Krashen, 2003a). Snow and Shattuck of Harvard University, in their speeches delivered at the International Symposium of English teaching in Taipei in 2000, also reiterated the argument that older children can acquire second languages even faster than younger children do (Chen, 2003). Ruby Hsu, an English teacher at one of the nation's biggest chain of *buxiban* argues that 90% of her students from junior and senior high schools attended English language schools during their childhood, but there are very few whose English proficiency is outstanding (*Taiwan Headlines*: March 17, 2003, http://publish.gio.gov.tw/iisent/20030317/20030317s2.

html; last accessed on March 19, 2003). Chang, the chairman of the department of English at National Taiwan Normal University, points out that many top-notch talented students in English at the English department in National Taiwan Normal University, lack the benefit of an early childhood English education. Instead, their achievement is rooted in either the fact that they had an excellent English teacher during high school, or their exceptionally strong interest in English (Chang, S. E., 2002). In addition, the results of the English part of the competency test held in May 2002 for junior high school graduates indicate that whether or not students have studied English prior to entering school will not have any obvious effect on their results after junior high school graduation (Chou, C. T., 2002).

9.2.2.2 Second Type of Challenge

The second type of challenge is that late or adult learners can achieve native-like proficiency in various linguistic domains. Birdsong (1999) cites several studies carried out during the 1990s that have revealed a fairly large number of learners who achieved native-like proficiency after puberty. In the phonological domain, Bongaerts's (1999) three studies investigated ultimate attainment in the L2 pronunciation of advanced post-critical period learners. The target language in the first two studies was English, and in the third study it was French. The results of these three studies demonstrate that it is possible for post-critical period learners to achieve native-like pronunciation. Moreover, Bongaerts et al. (2000) investigated 30 highly proficient Dutch foreign language learners, who were native speakers of eleven different languages. The results of this study also demonstrate that in spite of the claims of the critical period hypothesis, late learners can achieve native-like accent in a second language.

In Taiwan, the only English Radio, International Community Radio Taipei (ICRT) hired David Wang, a college graduate, to be the first local DJ, because he sounds like a native American on air. What is surprising is not that ICRT broke its tradition of not using Chinese announcers, but that Wang, a native Taiwanese, had never lived or studied in an English speaking country or in any special environment (Chang, 1990: 72). His interest in the English language began in high school, but he did not speak English until he was a college student. Clearly, he learned English after puberty. Now he teaches English conversation at Shih Hsin University and is the author of several publications on English conversation and pronunciation. He argues that "learning a language is a lifelong process, so it's never too late to start" (Hwang, 2002).

9.2.2.3 Third Type of Challenge

Apart from phonology, late learners have also been found to reach native-like levels of proficiency in other linguistic domains, such as grammar and vocabulary. Birdsong (1992) discovered that 15 of his 20 late foreign language learners of French (L1 = English) performed within the range of native speakers on a difficult grammaticality judgment task. Juffs and Harrington (1995) found that Chinese ESL learners who began learning English as adults were just as accurate as native speakers in making judgments about subjacency, a structural rule, which does not exist in Chinese.

In Chang's (1990) book titled *How I learned English*, he collected the stories of 40 successful Taiwanese adult learners of English in Taiwan. All these successful adult learners had no measurable exposure to the target language until the critical period had passed. These learners surpass performance limits predicted by the CPH. They have achieved native-like proficiency across various linguistic domains. The following are two examples from Chang's book.

Shullen Shaw, Taipei bureau chief of United Press International (UPI) did not have a college degree. He did not start to learn English seriously until he was 27 (Chang, 1990: 1–3). Another example is Osman Tseng. He had not attended a day of school in his life. He joined the Army in China when he was 15 years old. And soon he went with the troops to Taiwan. He started learning his English with a petty officer when he was 20 years old. He mastered English and now he is the vice president of *China Economic News*. His analyses of the Taiwan economy, which he writes in English, appear once a week in the widely-read *Economic News Weekly* (ibid.: 35–36). These 40 successful English learners in Taiwan provide a challenge to the claim that older learners are prevented from achieving native-like proficiency in English learning. Marinova-Todd et al., (2000: 18) point out that the widespread belief in a critical period in L2 results in an enormous emphasis on unsuccessful adult L2 learners. People tend to ignore the significance of older learners who achieve native-like L2 proficiency.

9.2.3   Pedagogical Implications

Although there are numerous arguments for either pro- or anti-CPH in second language acquisition, the role of the critical period in second language acquisition is still an ideology.   However, as a pervasive belief, it has important pedagogical implications.

9.2.3.1   Native-like Mastery

From pro-CPH perspectives, only early starters can achieve native-like mastery of their second or foreign language acquisition. From anti-CPH perspectives, all second language or foreign language learners can become native-like or near native-like.

Bialystok and Hakuta (1999) question whether age and ultimate success are linked causally. They point out that a persistent problem in researching this issue is that correlational data do not provide firm evidence of cause and effect. The successful Taiwanese English learners presented in 9.2.1 and 9.2.2 show both early and late learners who could attain native-like proficiency, even if the evidence is anecdotal, rather than empirical. However, the reality is that in Taiwan the majority of English language learners, both early starters and late starters, do not attain native-like proficiency. Moreover, no legitimate assessments support the assertion that these successful Taiwanese English learners have achieved native like proficiency. The reason is that the definition and assessment of native-like language proficiency in L2 are controversial (Bialystok & Hakuta, 1999: 165). One example is David Wang (see 9.2.2), the famous radio DJ in Taiwan. He claims that Taiwanese people think he is American because of his native-like pronunciation, but some native speakers of English do not agree (Chang, 1990: 73). Bialystok and Hakuta (ibid.: 165) argue that most linguistic research on native-like proficiency is based on native speaker judgments, but native speakers do not perform judgment tasks with 100% accuracy.

9.2.3.2 *Objective of English Education*

The objective of elementary English education in Taiwan is to cultivate students' interest in learning a foreign language as well as basic speaking and listening ability. The objective of elementary English education does not focus on native-like English proficiency. Lightbown and Spada (1994: 50) argue that if native-like proficiency in an L2 is the goal, then learners will benefit from an early start. If the goal is basic communicative ability in a school setting, it may be more efficient to begin an L2 at a later rate (Lightbown & Spada, 1994: 50).

9.2.3.3 ESL vs. EFL Countries

The majority of the CPH research is conducted in ESL contexts, not in EFL countries. Therefore, many researchers look at age-of-arrival (AOA), the amount of time spent speaking an L2, and length of residence in an English speaking country, especially in the USA. There is an assumption that findings in ESL countries can be easily transferred to EFL countries. It is often overlooked that the effortless development of bilingual skills in immersion situations in ESL settings will not necessarily transfer to EFL countries in which English learners rarely use their English outside the classroom. Nunan (December 1999/January 2000) points out that the ESL/EFL distinction has been an important one in language pedagogy. The reason is that the teaching taking place in these two contexts is very different, with different materials, syllabuses and pedagogy.

9.2.3.4 Optimal Age of English Language Learning

Neither the pro-CPH perspectives nor the anti-CPH perspectives can answer the question – when is the optimal age for English language acquisition in EFL countries. There is no fixed critical period in pro-CPH arguments, so English education can be implemented roughly before 13 or before puberty. From anti-CPH arguments English education can be implemented at any age. When to start English education in an EFL country may be affected by the country's language policies on funding, teaching resources, teacher training, assessment, first language development and other issues. A reasonable assumption is that second or foreign language acquisition involves a number of complex learner variables, such as motivation, attitudes towards learning, learning styles, aptitude, conditions for teaching and learning, and goals of English education. Age is one of the factors, but there are factors from the macro domains such as political, social, economic, and teaching contexts that also need to

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taken into consideration.

However, in Taiwan, the age to start learning English has been constantly falling. Many cities and counties have disregarded the MOE's requirements that English teaching should start in the fifth year of elementary school. Taiwan will officially implement English education in the 3rd year of elementary school islandwide in the year 2005. It is a fact that English has been widely taught at preschool levels (see Introduction). This phenomenon indicates that Taiwanese people support the CPH and believe that English should be learned as early as possible. Under these circumstances, Taiwanese need to consider the significant challenges of instituting English at the early age.

9.3   Pedagogical Challenges

The field of teaching English to young learners has expanded enormously in the last 10 years, but it is only just now beginning to be researched (Cameron, 2001: 2).   The age at which English is introduced is steadily dropping in Asian countries, but researchers have not done much research into English education on preschool children in Asia (Nunan, June/July 1999). Nunan (2003, as cited in Ong, June/July/August 2003) considers three major challenges to teaching English to young learners (EYL) in Asia. These three challenges are: (a) allocating resources to support programs; (b) addressing the mismatch between curriculum and classroom practice; and (c) attenuating the impact of the introduction of English, particularly on literacy, in the learner's mother tongue.   In the following section I shall discuss these three challenges and their implications for English education at elementary school and preschool levels.

9.3.1   Teaching Resources

What is to be taught and learned in an English classroom is based on the language learning goals. According to Liu I-chuan, the director-general of the MOE's Department of Elementary and Junior High Education, the major objective of English teaching at the elementary level is to "cultivate students' interest as well as basic speaking and listening abilities, so as to build their confidence … By employing interesting and lively teaching methods, English learning can be fun and practical for day-to-day necessities, rather than for just coping with exams" (Her, 2002). In other words, what should be taught is not merely focused on passing exams, but for overall communicative competence.   Teaching materials are a pivotal factor in determining the success of English instruction. Increasing numbers of textbooks for younger learners are being published in Taiwan, but how effective are they? Next, I will look at current teaching materials used in elementary schools and their pedagogical implications.

9.3.1.1   1,000-Word List

The Ministry of Education released a pocketbook – *Basic English Vocabulary for Elementary and Junior High School Students* in January 2003. The book contains 3,000 English words, 1,000 of which will be incorporated into the Basic proficiency Test, the selection test for entry to senior high school (Chang, 2003). However, the main objective of English education in elementary and junior high schools focuses on students' overall communicative competence rather than passing exams. The introduction of the word list as teaching material for the competency test is contradictory to the objectives of English learning at elementary school and junior high school levels. Generally speaking, achieving the goals of communicative competence in English language learning means that teachers have to focus on

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teaching children how to use English in a variety of contexts, rather than on teaching them a specific feature of English.   As far as teaching methodology is concerned, the word list encourages teachers to use test-oriented teaching methods (see 7.2.2), that is, to present vocabulary in isolation. The purpose of the test-oriented teaching method is to pass exams, rather than to acquire communicative competence. Teaching and testing methodologies are at variance with each other.

9.3.1.2   Contents of English Textbooks

According to a recent report, a research group inspected 30 English textbooks published by eight publishers (Huang, 2003b).   Their main finding is that English teaching materials are too difficult for elementary school children. They found that much of the vocabulary was beyond the range of the 1,000-word list drawn up by the Ministry of Education.   These textbooks are designed so that even first and second graders have to learn listening, speaking, reading and writing concurrently.   If children find the books are too difficult, they have to study at language schools, because many of the textbooks were published by language schools. In addition, the content of English textbooks has become increasingly difficult, especially those books used in city schools.

The "Teach what is teachable" proposal by Manfred Pienemann (1988, as cited in Lightbown & Spada, 1994: 94) focuses on why it often seems that some things can be taught successfully while others "even after extensive or intensive teaching still remain unacquired" (Lightbown & Spada, 1994: 92). Their proposal suggests that some linguistic structures cannot be taught, because students are not "developmentally ready" to learn (ibid.: 94).   Researchers support this view and point out that vocabulary and some grammatical features can be taught at any time

(ibid.: 92). As far as vocabulary learning for young learners is concerned, vocabulary learning is about more than learning words. It is about learning "formulaic phrases or chunks, finding words inside them, and learning more about those words" (Cameron, 2001: 73). Many English educators in Taiwan erroneously emphasize the size of vocabulary. They treat every single English word as a discrete unit.   When the MOE published the 1,000-word list, Krashen (2003b) pointed out that the list would result in rote learning of vocabulary. Shih Yu-hui, a professor of National Taiwan Normal University, is the convener for the committee that came up with the 1,000-word list. According to Shih, the vocabulary list was produced primarily as a guide for students, parents, teachers and administrators to consult when preparing for or making up tests. However, many English teachers said that "memorizing the 1,000-word list has become de facto homework for their students" (*China Post Online*: January 22, 2003,   http://www.chinapot.com.tw/archive/p_detail.asp?id=_34318&GRP=1&onNews=; last   accessed on January 28, 2003).

Another important issue in teaching English to young learners is "over-reliance at primary level on literacy skills in English" (Cameron, 2003: 106). Cameron points out that when English teaching and learning depend on being able to read and write, some children will always begin to fall behind or to fail. This does not mean they cannot learn to speak English, but that they need more time to master the complications of reading and writing. Cheung Hi-tat, an associate professor at National Taiwan University's Graduate Institute of Linguistics, supports this argument. He also points out that children who learn English at an early age need more resources, something only a few families can afford. If parents are unable to evaluate for themselves the merits of learning English, they are prey to the marketing pressures of the language schools. Teaching English to young learners has placed a heavy burden on financially

disadvantaged families and their children (*Taipei Times Online*: September 3, 2003, http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2003/09/03/2003066286; last accessed on September 9, 2003).

9.3.1.3   English Textbooks in Urban and Rural Areas

The content of English textbooks used in city schools is more difficult, revealing a gap between students' English ability in urban and in rural areas. The discrepancy was caused by the varying rates at which English programs were implemented in urban and rural areas. For instance, Taipei city and county has started English programs from the first grade. In addition, children in Taipei are required to read 100 children's books in English prior to graduation (Chang, V., 2002). Regarding the problem of diverging development rates in English language education, the Control Yuan's 2003 report (Teng, 2003b) criticized the MOE, as the highest executive authority on national education responsible for defining and regulating, for not allowing local governments to decide when and how to implement their English programs. Thus, the MOE forces the disparity in students' English achievement levels. It seems that the gap between urban and rural will continue widening, because of the continual and uneven expansion of English programs, and this English proficiency gap will affect the education system and society (see *4.3.1.1*).

9.3.2   Curriculum and Classroom Practice

English education has been extended to elementary schools as part of educational reform – the Nine-Year Integrated Curriculum. English was implemented in the 5[th] grade islandwide in 2001. The major goal of English learning in elementary schools focuses on communicative competence.   The chosen teaching method by the government is CLT. English is taught once a week for 40 minutes. Nunan (1999) argues that governments in many EFL countries have introduced English education in

the early years of schooling, but "there appears to be a general reluctance to come up with adequate levels of funding". Moreover, the matter becomes a political issue of "getting adequate resources to enable teachers, curriculum developers, and material writers to design, deliver, and evaluate effective language programs" (ibid.: 1999). Taiwan is no exception.

9.3.2.1 Curriculum Design

A recent survey polled English teachers at 1,004 elementary schools (T*aiwan Headlines Online*: August 19, 2003, http://publish.gio.gov.tw/iisnet/20030819/2003 0819s2.html; last accessed on August 22, 2003). As far as curriculum is concerned, 78.9% of the polled English teachers worried that English education in elementary schools did not connect well with that of junior high schools because of inconsistencies in teaching materials and methods. In addition, Chang Sheng-en, a lecturer of English at National Taipei College of Business, commenting on English textbooks used in elementary schools, and junior high schools, and high schools, points out that the quality of textbook publishers is uneven. Some textbooks are extremely difficult with inappropriate content that is seldom used in daily life. As a result, many Taiwanese students quickly lose their interest in learning English (Chang, S. E., 2003).

9.3.2.2 The Shortage of Elementary School English Teachers

Another problem in English education is that rural schools were quite often unable to hire accredited English teachers, as reported in a government paper entitiled "Problems in Elementary School English Education", at the end of year 2002 (see 7.2.1). In addition, according to the survey mentioned above (*see 9.3.2.1*), about 62% of the polled English teachers were required to teach other subjects. 48.8% of teachers

thought the number of English teachers was insufficient. The survey also shows that there is a shortage of qualified English teachers. In 1999, 3,500 trainees who passed the MOE's qualifying English proficiency examination were required to undergo 360 hours of training, and to take 40 credits worth of education courses. And then they needed a year of supervised teaching practice at an elementary school. If they made the grade, they would be issued a teacher certificate. Since the MOE provided no guarantee of employment, and since criteria used to hire English teachers varied from school to school, only about 1,400 people took positions as elementary English teachers.   As a result, there are not enough English teachers. To solve this problem, current elementary school teachers, who were only obligated to take about 70 hours of training, were accredited as English teachers by the MOE.   According to Hsu Chia-ling, a professor of Foreign Languages at National Taiwan University, there have been teaching pronunciation courses for this kind of training program in Taipei county. She points out that some teachers, who previous lacked any experience or background in English language, started teaching English after finishing only 70 hours of training (Teng, 2003b). The MOE plans to import 400 native English speaking teachers in 2004 to teach English in rural areas to solve the problem of the shortage of teachers. However, native English speaking English teachers are not the solution to solve the problem as demonstrated earlier in Chapter 6.

In addition, Chang Chiang-jiun, the director of the Graduate School of Children English Education at National Taipei Teacher's College questions whether rural areas are the most resource deprived and whether living conditions such as transportation and communication barriers present formidable obstacles for foreigners expected to function as English teachers (Teng, 2003b). Lee Young-ping, a legislator, argues that the shortage of qualified English teachers in elementary schools has forced parents to

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send their children to language schools and that has increased their financial burden. Lee also argues that "this vicious circle will mire parents in problems if the MOE does not take further measures" (*Taiwan Headlines Online*: August 19, 2003, http://publish.gio.gov.tw/iisnet/20030819/20030819s2.html; last accessed on August 22, 2003).

9.3.2.3   *Assessment, Teaching Methods, and Students with Different Levels*

Another problem for English education for younger learners is the method of assessment. The MOE announced that starting in the 2005 academic year, elementary school students will have to pass general proficiency tests in Chinese, English and mathematics to graduate (Wu, 2002). The proficiency test imposed on elementary school students will encourage teachers to use test-oriented teaching methods. That is contradictory to the goals of English education for young learners (see 9.3.1). While the MOE has mandated the use of CLT in the nation's English classrooms and textbooks, it has yet to provide training for teachers at all levels. There are many reasons why CLT does not work well in the public school system in Taiwan. Unqualified English teachers is one of them (see 7.2.1).   Another important factor is that students have different English abilities.   As a result, some parents have to send their children to private language schools. The following are two examples. Mrs. Su's son began learning English when he was four, and so when he went to elementary school, the English lessons were just too simple for him. The only thing to do was to keep on sending him to the private language school (*Taiwan Headlines*: March 13, 2001, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id=7949; last accessed on February 1, 2002).   Mrs. Chang said from the very beginning the teacher spoke English only and her son suffered a lot of setbacks. He just could not understand a thing his teacher was saying, so she had to send him to a private language school (*Taiwan Headlines*: March,

13, 2001, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id=7949; last accessed on February 1, 2002). Lee Chia-tung, a professor at National Chinan University, points out that students give up on English in elementary schools or junior high schools because they have no money for supplementary schooling or tutoring (Lee, 2002).

9.3.2.4   *English Instruction Hours*

As far as English instruction hours are concerned, an English program should be based on a realistic estimate of how long it takes to acquire any sort of competence in English.   Lightbown and Spada (1994: 113) argue that one or two hours per week of L2 instruction, even for seven or eight years, will not produce any advanced second language speakers. Lightbown and Spada's argument is based on a learning environment with qualified English teachers, appropriate and sufficient teaching resources and so on.   The English instruction hours are two hours per week in Taiwanese elementary schools. It will probably take much longer than seven or eight years for Taiwan to produce advanced second language speakers under the current circumstances, such as inadequate teaching resources, poor curriculum design and unqualified teachers.   If the government is willing to solve current problems in English education in a determined way, it needs to devote more funding to it. Qualified English teachers cannot be found, good English textbooks and curricula cannot be developed and appropriate English teaching methodologies cannot be applied without a sufficient budget from the government.

9.3.3   Impact on Mother Tongues

When the goal is basic communicative ability for all students in schools, it may be more efficient to begin second language teaching later, since learners who start later catch up very quickly with those who started earlier (Lightbown & Spada, 1994: 50).

Perera (1984, as cited in Cameron, 2001: 12) points out that children of 11 years of age tend not to use relative pronouns, for example, *whose*, or preposition + relative pronoun, for example, *in which*. Children have problems with co-ordinators, including *but* and *yet* after 11 years of age. Clauses introduced with *although* or *unless can cause problems* even for 15 year olds.   Cameron (ibid.: 12*)* argues that first language acquisition will be largely complete by the age of 15 and the same would be true or similar for other languages. This suggests that learning English as a foreign language at an early age might have a negative impact on the performance of the mother tongues. The following are some arguments regarding mother tongues in early English as a foreign language education.

9.3.3.1   Chinese in Early English Education

Many linguists and educators argue that Chinese plays an important role when learning English, and that learning English at an early age might harm children's mother tongue acquisition.

Krashen (2003a), commenting on current English education in Taiwan, argues that studies of bilingual education show that those with a better knowledge of the first language do better in second language acquisition. Su I-wen, a professor at National Taiwan University, points out that no matter what kind of approach had been taken in second language learning, children who had a good command of their mother tongues learnt the second language faster (Huang, 2003a). Lee Sy-ying, a professor of National Taipei University, also shows in her research that those who develop efficient writing strategies in their first language, Chinese, tend to develop efficient strategies in English (Lee, 2003). The head of the ministry's Bureau of International Cultural and Educational Relations, Li Chen-ching, who also has a doctorate in

linguistics argues that "competence in English is related to competence in Chinese" (*Taiwan Headlines*: March 17, 2003, http://publish.gio.gov.tw/iisnet/20030317/2003 0317s2.html; last accessed on March, 19, 2003). As a result, the MOE will implement English teaching programs in elementary schools at the third-grade level in 2005 and it will not be extended to the first grade. The reason is that second language acquisition specialists and education administrators argue that learning English at an early age does not necessarily lead to better proficiency, and that learning English at an early age might undermine Chinese (*Taiwan Headlines*: March 17, 2003, http:// publish.gio.gov.tw/iisnet/20030317/20030317s2.html; last accessed on March 19, 2003).

9.3.3.2 Negative Impact on Chinese

Han Shu-jean, the chairperson of the teachers association at National Chu-Pei High School, argues that many schools start teaching three languages: Mandarin, English and Indigenous languages (Hokkien, Hakka, and aboriginal languages) at the first grade by different phonetic systems, at the same time. This not only places a heavy burden on children, but also confuses them (Han, 2003). According to a recent survey by the Child Welfare League Foundation, based on 267 questionnaires from the young English learners, 31% of the children say that they are confused because they do not know when to speak English and when to speak Chinese (*Taipei Times Online*: August 14, 2002, http://www.taipeitimes.com/news/2002/08/14/story/0000160230; last accessed on September 9, 2002). Chang Chiang-jiun, the director of the Graduate School of Children English Education at National Taipei Teachers College, sent her 2 years and ten months old daughter to an all-English kindergarten. As a result her daughter has problems with her Chinese grammar and intonation. She admonishes parents not to let their children study English at the expense of learning their mother

tongue (see 7.2.1). There are more than 3,000 kindergartens in Taiwan. 65% of them offer all-English classes and have replaced the former curriculum for pre-school children with English language courses, according to a survey of preschools completed in 2002 by National Chiayi University. In November 2002, 31 bodies for preschool education held a press conference and expressed their opposition to the manner in which English instruction is destroying the healthy development of children's education. Their slogan is: "Don't let ABCs dominate a child's studies" (Teng, 2003a).

9.3.3.3   *Implication for English Learning*

Although many researchers and some evidence strongly support the view that learners who have a firm foundation in Chinese will do better in English, in reality, more and more parents are eager to send their children to kindergartens to obtain an English education at an earlier age.   They tend to ignore the fact that their children will be disadvantaged eventually for being deprived of some basic knowledge in their first language. It is believed that English is a solution to Taiwan's existing economic, social and educational problems without any possible negative side effects. As a result, many people prefer English to Mandarin learning, because they think English is more important than local languages (see *4.3.2.2*). In a recent surveys in 2002, Taiwanese people were in favor of making English the second official language, alongside Mandarin (see *4.3.2.2*). Many consider it more important for their youngsters to learn English than Mandarin Chinese (Chou, 2002). Reports from the ministry showed that at least 17 of 25 cities and counties have started English education in grade one or even in kindergarten (*Taiwan Headlines*: March 17, 2003, http://publish.gio.gov.tw/iisnet/20030317/20030317s2.html; last accessed on March 19, 2003).

The Taiwanese government has always admired Hong Kong and Singapore for starting their English education at a very early age. To start English education at a very early age probably will result in the language and identity dilemmas that Hong Kong and Singapore have faced. Both Hong Kong and Singapore were not supportive of their mother tongue education, but overwhelmingly promoted English as their national language (Tung et al., 1997; Rudby, 2001). As far as Hong Kong is concerned, it suffers from "an inferiority complex and identity conflict which prevents them from learning English effectively and being fluent in Chinese" (Tsou, 1983, as cited in Bolton and Lim, 2000: 433). In the case of Singapore, English is mainly linked to economic success. Some argue that English cannot be used to express Singapore's cultural identity (Rubdy, 2001: 352). English has a different status in Hong Kong and Singapore. It is a foreign language in Taiwan, but it is a national language in Hong Kong and Singapore.

Nunan (1999) suggests that every individual has the right to an education in his or her first language, but this right might be violated with the premature introduction of English into elementary education. The government needs to evaluate carefully whether devoting so much energy to studying English at an early age really results in a guarantee of superior English ability as an adult. Moreover, the hurried introduction of English education at an early age could result in a lower proficiency in Chinese, without necessarily improving English proficiency.

9.4   Conclusion

With a global trend towards learning English at an early age, Taiwanese people are also in favor of beginning English classes as early as possible. The reason is that many people believe the ability to acquire English effectively is limited by a critical

period. The CPH as a language ideology has pedagogical implications for young learners of English. My analysis shows that the social, cultural, and political issues regarding teaching English ever earlier are very complex.   They influence teaching and learning in English classrooms. To sum up, English for young learners may even be negative and can be counterproductive, unless the education is supported by a well-designed curriculum, high quality materials, qualified teachers, appropriate teaching methodology, sufficient funding, appropriate assessment, and, finally and most importantly, favorable attitudes to mother tongues.

CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSION

10.0   Introduction

The EFL profession in Taiwan, by and large, limits its concerns to learner variables, the latest teaching methods, materials, and techniques, but ideological assumptions of ELT and SLA are rarely discussed. Entrenched in the field are ideological beliefs such as English-as-the-global-language, the ideal-English-teacher, the ideal-English-teaching-methodology, American-English-as-standard-English, and the-younger-the-better.   These ideologies constitute the context in which English language policies are formed and in which English is taught and learned. They impose constraints on individual choices which can best be understood by investigating the political, social, economic, and cultural factors.

In this concluding chapter, I shall first summarize the major findings of this research and point out their implications. Then, I will look at how this study contributes to applied linguistics and English teaching and learning in Taiwan. Finally, I discuss limitations of this research.

10.1   Summary of Findings

In this study I have examined ideologies of ELT and SLA in Taiwan. I have investigated these ideologies from different perspectives such as political, social, educational, economic, by questioning Taiwanese beliefs regarding   (1) English as the global language, (2) who is the ideal English teacher, (3) what is the best English

teaching methodology, (4) which English is standard English, (5) when Taiwanese children should learn their English, and (6) what the underlying meanings of current English language policies are. The study has provided significant insights and possible answers to the research questions formulated in Chapter One, "What are the underlying ideologies of English teaching and learning in Taiwan?", "Why is English teaching and learning regarded as an essential element of social change in Taiwan?", and "What are the implications of English teaching and learning in Taiwan in the 21[st] century?" Next, I will present a summary of the major findings.

In exploring the ideological concept of English-as-the-global-language, I have discussed two prevalent perspectives: a global perspective and an individual perspective (Mackay, 1993). Those who view English from a global perspective believe that English is the key to globalization. English is considered a solution to current Taiwanese economic problems. Those who view English from an individual perspective believe that English is the most important factor in their careers and future success. Taiwanese people who approach English teaching and learning from both a global perspective and an individual perspective consider English as a form of linguistic capital. They give attention only to the economic value of English both for the nation and for every individual. As a result, this attention often reinforces the ideology that English alone is sufficient to lead to economic advancement and globalization, with globalization regarded as inherently beneficial.

In investigating the ideological concept of the ideal-English-teacher, I have shown that English teaching and learning in Taiwan reflect a native-speaker-model ideology. A native-speaker-model means that native and non-native English speaking teachers have an equal opportunity to become good English teachers, only if they are teaching

separately in different teaching contexts, that is, either in English language schools or in *buxiban*. However, the study has argued that Taiwanese people's motivation for learning English derives from a desire to communicate. As a result, the ideal-English-teacher for teaching English speaking proficiency is a native speaker with an American accent. It is assumed that people with these desired characteristics are Caucasian. If foreign teachers do not look white, they face job discrimination. The selection of English teachers is more reliant on looks than on quality. Especially, native speakers of English are hired, regardless of their professional training, personality, and professional attitude. This native-speaker-model has resulted in racial and social inequalities. In addition, issues raised in this study such as a native and non-native dichotomy, white and non-white dichotomy, and native speaker ideology have shaped the lives of the teachers, the learners, the parents, and the language policy makers.

In examining the ideological concept of the ideal-English-teaching-methodology, the study has demonstrated that there is no best English teaching methodology. The research has shown that the success of English language schools has served as a model for Taiwanese public schools, because the English language schools use CLT and/or an English-only immersion teaching method. English-only immersion teaching is probably the most popular teaching method for children. However, as was pointed out in the study, the assumption that English-only immersion should be used in the EFL classroom is an unexamined ideology. The main after-effect of this method is mother tongue rejection. Moreover, this method reinforces the ideology of native speakers of English as ideal-English-teachers.

The other popular method is CLT. CLT has been promoted with zeal by the Taiwanese

government, English educators, and English language schools. Although the goal of English teaching and learning focuses on communicative competence, curriculum demands, pressure of examinations, lack of qualified English teachers, class size and number of instruction hours have made CLT inappropriate in the school system in Taiwan. Since the two methods are difficult to implement with the Taiwanese school and exam systems, traditional grammar-translation is considered as a more appropriate method. In short, these so-called best teaching methods from the West do not provide a solution for English education problems in Taiwan. Like Prabhu (1990), Holliday (1994), Bax (2003), and Ellis (1996), this study concludes that the most appropriate English teaching method is a context-dependent one.

Regarding the ideological concept of American-English-as-standard-English, the study has pointed out that American English, especially an American accent, is preferred and is taught, and is always presented as proper and correct in Taiwan, because of the close historical and political USA and Taiwan relationship. American-English-as-standard-English has political, social, cultural, and economic agenda which have resulted in an ideology that American English is viewed as prestigious, appropriate and correct English. This ideology has resulted in racial and linguistic discrimination, as only American English is taught in Taiwan. American English gives Taiwanese learners a restricted knowledge of English and its culture. Taiwanese people are learning English, but they are not aware of other varieties of English or World Englishes.

Crystal (1997) and Graddol (1997) show that non-native English speakers in EFL countries using English for international communication now outnumber their native counterparts. This leads many researchers to believe that a new orientation in ELT and

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SLA – World English (WE) or English as an International Language (EIL) emphasizing cultural and linguistic diversity – will in time become the standard in the world. However, some issues of a WE approach still remain unsettled, such as teacher training, teaching method, assessment and teaching materials. Therefore, in Taiwan, American English norms will continue to be preferred and privileged both in theory and in practice.

The last ideological concept in this study is the-younger-the-better. My data show that children are compelled to learn English as early as possible around the world. Taiwan is no exception. The study has shown that there is a widespread belief that a second or additional language is acquired in the same way as the first language. As a result, an L2 learner's goal is to achieve native-like competence. To judge an L2 learner's performance in relation to native-like performance, the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) has been used by many researchers since the 1960s.

Researchers have argued for and against the existence of maturational constraints and a critical period for language learning, but neither the pro-CPH nor anti-CPH answer when is the optimal age is for English language acquisition in EFL countries. In fact, many researchers argue the CPH cannot be applied in second language acquisition in EFL contexts. The study also shows that even when Taiwanese English learners begin at an early age, the reality is that perfect mastery of English is rarely attained. The main reasons are: a lack of suitably trained English teachers, a lack of time available for contact with English, a lack of teaching resources, insufficient funding and negative attitudes towards mother tongues. The research has also demonstrated that in EFL countries it is likely to be more effective to begin English instruction when learners have reached adolescence, since they can make use a variety of learning skills,

including their L1 literacy.

Finally, I have examined the current Taiwanese English language policies in which the above ideologies of ELT and SLA are present. The basic tenet of current English language policies is that English is the key to internationalization. It is presumed that Taiwanese people will have a better life and a richer future if they have a good command of English. English is being learned for economic reason. The study has demonstrated that more and more resources and priorities are allocated to English rather than to other Chinese languages.

10.2   Implications

As was pointed out in this study, ELT and SLA cannot be taken as simply teaching and learning a language, because they involve both political and economic benefits. Ideologies of ELT and SLA seem less tangible and less immediately relevant to the role of teachers, teaching methods, teaching techniques, and classroom management. However, ideologies of ELT and SLA are the products of political, social, economic, and cultural factors. These factors are embedded in every decision the government or English language educators make.   In short, these ideologies have political, economic, cultural, social, educational, and research implications which I shall present them in the following sections.

10.2.1   Political Implications

The study records that in Taiwan those who view learning English from a political perspective believe that English can change Taiwanese people's lives. A very important political implication is that English serves a larger goal of claiming a new national identity for Taiwan vis-à-vis the rest of the world. This new national identity

is distinct from that of mainland China.

Diplomatically speaking, in 1971, Taiwan was forced to give up its seat in the United Nations after the United Nations General Assembly's decision to oust Taiwan and admit China. Since then Taiwan has been anxious to alleviate its diplomatic isolation. Taiwan is particularly keen on maintaining the affection of the US Congress. English is the only language that can be used for that purpose.

The study records government concerns that Taiwanese students don't want to go abroad to study any more and the number of students studying in the USA has declined. When compared with the number of students studying in the USA from China, India, Indonesia, Korea, and Thailand, only Taiwan has suffered a decline. However, Taiwan's biggest fear over the decline in the number of Taiwanese students studying in the USA is the increasing number of students from Mainland China. Mainland China has now been the leading source of foreign students in the USA since 2000. There is also an increase in the USA in the number of academics from Mainland China. The implication is that Taiwan will not be able to compete with China in various spheres, such as economics, academia, or high-tech industry. Another implication is that people around the world will not understand Taiwan's affairs, so that Taiwan's voice will be much weaker.

Taiwan has been promoting English vigorously recently, especially after both China and Taiwan became members of the WTO at the same time in 2001. The Taiwanese government usually encourages local business people to improve their English to do business with the rest of the world, so that they will not be limited to doing business with China, and Taiwan won't become economically bound to China.   There is no

doubt that "Taiwan's interest in English will reach even greater heights, especially since Taiwan feels increasingly threatened by big brother China" (Liu, L., 2002).

The study has shown that Taiwanese people are in favor of making English the quasi-official language, alongside Mandarin. A nation's official language is associated with its national identity, and the two cannot be separated. The Taiwanese government wants to use English to claim a new national identity, just as Singapore did. For the Taiwanese government, Singapore is a model in the way English has helped Singapore achieve its excellent economic performance, and in the way English learning has shaped the nation, and in the way the nation thinks about itself and presents itself to the outside world. However, the study has shown that Taiwan is not ready to adopt English as a quasi-official language. The political, economic, social, and linguistic situations are very different in the two countries, so the government should not draw comparisons between the two countries (Chang, M. C., 2003).

In short, the near-universal recognition of Beijing as the sole representative of the people of China has resulted in Taiwan's isolation from the international diplomatic community. Taiwan has found itself officially marginalized by most of the international community. However, if the government views the English language as a tool to fight the battles of reunification and independence and disregards the nation's current economic, social, and other problems, Taiwan may soon be unable to compete globally.

10.2.2   Economic Implications

The study has demonstrated that the government argues that the lack of English proficiency will eventually lead to the economic decline of the country. If Taiwan is

unable to compete in an international market, lack of English proficiency must be viewed as the major cause of economic decline of the nation. As a result, English serves a gatekeeper function in determining who will or will not be able to use their professional knowledge for getting a better job. The central argument in this section is that English as a key to internationalization has resulted in an overemphasis on English language learning.

If English is the key to internationalization, former British or American colonies such as India, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, and some African countries should be internationalized and well-developed. In reality, these countries actually lag well behind much of the world in terms of internationalization and development. Certainly, many EFL countries, such as Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan are more internationalized and developed. This contrast shows that the key to internationalization is not determined merely by English language ability. Despite a widespread belief in Taiwan that Hong Kong and Singapore perform better than Taiwan, because of their mastery of English, Taiwan outperformed both places during the recent Asian economic crisis (Ward, 2002b). Chang Ming-Chung, (Chang, M. C., 2003), a professor of economics at National Central University, claims that, because of Taiwan's peculiar international and political status, it is quite difficult for it to attract foreign investment and tourists in the same way that Hong Kong and Singapore can. However, it is not valid to judge whether a country is internationalized by looking at the number of foreign firms and foreigners in the country. Chang (ibid.: 2003) specifies two gateways to achieve internationalization. First, "the influx of international capital and human resources can facilitate internationalization". Second, "internationalization can be achieved through trade". According to Chang, Taiwan has used international trade as the means to facilitate internationalization and its degree of

internationalization is as good as that of Hong Kong and Singapore. Clearly, Taiwan does not have to use English ability to achieve internationalization.

However, the current English language policies stress the economic benefits by focusing on English proficiency that is always associated with global competitiveness. When English is valued by Taiwanese society for its economic rewards, the government is often willing to invest capital in promoting English. The government believes this will increase Taiwan's competitiveness. English appears to be capital, learners invest money and effort in the hope of various occupational rewards and/or a better future. Unfortunately, many Taiwanese English learners believe that their efforts to acquire English proficiency will necessarily result in a well-paid job and a better future. In reality, a variety of other factors may be far more important to obtaining this well-paid job and/or better future.

10.2.3   Cultural Implications

The study has pointed out that the globalization slogans currently popular in Taiwan are focused only on economic globalization or "Western-led globalization" (Liao, 2000). Western-led globalization will have serious consequences for at least some aspects of Taiwanese society – for traditional cultures and for disadvantaged classes, regions, and ethnic groups within Taiwan (Liao, 2000). I have looked especially at the impact of English teaching and learning from a cultural perspective.

The study has shown that for Taiwanese people, globalization in practice means only Westernization, or Americanization in particular. For example, the term 'foreigner' almost always refers to Caucasians. However, for the past 10 years, the largest number of foreigners in Taiwan has come from South East Asia (Thailand, Indonesia,

The Philippines). According to the Department of Statistics (www.moi.gov.tw/w3/ stat/home.asp; last accessed on December 18, 2003), there are about 281,000 foreign residents from South East Asia and only about 16,000 foreign residents from the USA and European countries.

In 2001, there was an article called "Foreigners contribute to local education" published by one of the government's publication – *Taipei Journal* (*Taiwan Headlines*: August 28, 2001, http://th.gio.gov.tw/show.cfm?news_id=10801; last accessed on October 18, 2001). This article describes how foreigners have long contributed to local education. The article used the term "modern day Marco Polos" to describe these foreigners who are mainly from the USA and Canada.   Local education refers to English education only.   The main focus of the article is that these modern day Marco Polos have not only provided English language instruction, but new and more creative ways of thinking.

English language teaching and learning is always in reference to American English teaching and learning. The term *meiyu* (American English) is ubiquitous in media discourses in the public and the private sectors. The premise of current English policies is that English is for international communication. Therefore, English teaching and learning should no longer focus on western culture only, but various cultures, since one of the major reasons many individuals have for learning English is to enter the global village.   However, it seems that Taiwan unilaterally accepts American English norms and ignores other varieties of Englishes and cultures.

The study has shown that Taiwanese people are in favor of making English the quasi-official language, alongside Mandarin. English as the quasi-official language, it

is believed, will help enhance Taiwan's globalization. The implication of English as the quasi-official language is that if Taiwan wants to become internationalized, its people have to abandon their local languages. However, Taiwanese people have ignored one of the most important functions of language. Language is not only a tool of communication, but it serves also as a carrier of cultural heritage. In the past, both the Japanese and the KMT's national language policy created a single common language and the deliberate suppression of local languages caused those cultures to wither. Taiwan suffered severe language and cultural loss. Taiwan will suffer another severe cultural loss if English becomes the quasi-official language without any complementary measures to support native cultures.

To avoid a cultural dilemma resulting from economic globalization, Taiwan needs some measures to get its people firmly rooted in its native cultures. What needs to be done is to upgrade the status of local languages. Taiwanese people should be allowed to choose their own languages when receiving education, taking national examinations, and engaging in business. As far as English education is concerned, English educators and the government should emphasize the importance of sharing ideas and cultures with other nationalities in cross-cultural encounters. In short, language policies, ideally, should be based on the concept of plurality, that is, linguistic diversity and cultural diversity. In this way, Taiwan can avoid the blinkers imposed by sole reliance on American or western cultures.

10.2.4. Social Implications

The major finding of this section is that all English language programs and English language policies implicitly or explicitly reflect a set of social priorities. All those who are involved in English teaching and learning, such as English educators, the

government, material writers, policymakers, learners, and parents need to carefully consider important pedagogical issues that arise from the perspective of English teaching and learning as a social practice.

As was pointed out in the study, current English language policies, English program design, English curriculum design, and English assessment are all based on communicative competence, especially listening and speaking proficiency. The ultimate goal of these English policies, English programs, curricula and assessments is to achieve international communication. Curriculum designers and policymakers believe that English learning will help learners bring about social change. However, the study has shown that English teaching and learning has not solved current political, economic, and educational problems, but it has, on the other hand, led to a variety of inequalities.

English education creates linguistic inequality, because English is a threat to languages spoken in Taiwan, such as Mandarin, Hokkien, Hakka, and aboriginal languages. English teaching and learning did not provide equal education for all, but only for a privileged minority. As a result, there is a seriously imbalanced distribution of English study resources between urban and rural areas and a widening gap between the rich and the poor. English has become a major criterion for employment and for access to the key institutions dominating Taiwan's academic, economic and political life.

The government needs to reduce linguistic and social inequalities in a determined and responsible way. To reduce linguistic and social inequalities, there are some questions that English language policymakers and educators should examine. First, when language policymakers formulate any English language policy, they need to avoid

undermining the value of local languages or cultures. Second, English should not be promoted as a panacea for current Taiwanese political, economic, and educational problems. Third, individuals without a good command of English should not be viewed as a social problem. Fourth, English should not be viewed as the primary factor determining students' success or failure in the school system. Fifth, policymakers and educators need to consider the promotion not only of English but also of local languages in public schools. They should promote an appreciation of the critical value of local languages and local cultures to ensure national prosperity. Sixth, the government and educators need to realize that although mastering English may be an important goal for learners, the learners may have some other agenda that are equal or greater importantance to them, such as their personal lives and family.

10.2.5   Educational Implications

Learning English has become a hot pursuit in the government and private sectors alike. However this English craze has not produced satisfactory results. The average score of Taiwanese who took the latest TOEFL was only better than that of Japan. According to *Taipei Times Online* (November 22, 2002, http://www. taipeitimes.com/News/edit/ archives/2002/11/22/180514; last accessed on November 23, 2002), many third to seventh grade students cannot identify the letters of the English alphabet. Many college students with 10 years of English learning experience are unable to speak English with foreigners, let alone to express their thoughts in writing. The study has also shown that English education in Taiwan has been very frustrating, and that many students have given up on their studies of English. In short, the rush to jump on the bandwagon of English language learning without a thorough evaluation of its educational impact is problematic.

My study has pointed out that current English language decisions made by political and educational leaders, such as concerning English education in primary schools, promotion of CLT, General English Proficiency Test, and hiring native English speaking teachers are not producing fluent English speakers. The implication is that a successful English education needs a well-designed curriculum, qualified English teachers, sufficient funding, sufficient instruction hours, appropriate teaching materials and teaching methods, appropriate assessment, positive attitudes towards local languages and a thorough evaluation of the educational impact.

There are many problems in English education in Taiwan. As was pointed out in the study, the most overwhelming difficulty is the lack of qualified English teachers. An appropriate teaching method or a well-designed English program cannot be implemented if English teachers are not qualified. Both English educators and the government share the responsibility to provide good quality English programs. The following are some suggestions for both the government and English educators to provide a better English program.

First, English proficiency, professional skills and suitable personalities (including patience and compassion) should be prerequisites for English teachers. Second, the government needs to conduct English teaching workshops regularly, in rural areas in particular to promote effective teaching. Third, the government and English educators need to undertake various kinds of research, so that better designed programs and curricula can be developed to meet the needs of all English learners. Fourth, the government and English educators need to conduct research in relation to how particular first languages affect the acquisition of English. Finally, the government and English educators need to research English teaching and learning as

it exists in particular economic, political, and cultural contexts so that they can better understand the dynamics and ramifications of English teaching and learning. Unless the government and English educators take these steps, they may be unable to provide the programs that students desire.

10.2.6   Summary: ELT in Taiwan

As was pointed out in Chapters One and Two, ideologies of English teaching and learning have been given very little attention and have not yet been documented in Taiwan. This study constitutes a substantial contribution to an understanding of English teaching and learning in Taiwan.

First, this study has contributed some insights into the repertoire of English teaching theories and practices for those who are interested in, have been or will be engaged in English education in Taiwan.   Existing problems are embedded in a larger political, social, and cultural context. Second, as was pointed out in Chapter One, the aim of this research is to escape blindly accepted ideologies of English teaching and learning. Ideologies raised in the study will alert those who are involved in making English language policies, introducing contemporary Western teaching methods, designing English curriculum and promoting English teaching and learning, to the need to be more critical and concerned about the social, political, and linguistic impact of their work. Third, this study has shown that the latest teaching methods, teaching techniques, teaching materials and resources, and native speaking English teachers cannot by themselves solve current English teaching and learning problems. What is suggested in the study is that there is a need for a shift from the currently popular methodological focus to a focus on language and power and language, and identity in EFL teacher preparation.   Fourth, the study has contributed to the field of economics.

It is hoped that the issues raised from an economic perspective alert those who believe that English is an economic panacea. Investigation revealed that the view that English is the key to internationalization needs to be seriously reconsidered. Finally and most importantly, issues raised in the study will alert Taiwanese people to recognize ethnic and linguistic pluralism as valuable resources for Taiwan to keep abreast with the rest of the world.

10.2.7 Applied Linguistics

This study has explored a wide range of issues related to English language teaching and learning, globalization, language and ideology, language and identity, and language and power in an EFL setting. Having opened up a large range of concerns, this study has contributed some insights to the field of applied linguistics.

As was pointed out in the study, globalization has made English a highly valued commodity and has created structural and cultural inequalities in contemporary Taiwanese society. Moreover, English has the potential to become the greatest agent of social change. In fact, English is having a significant impact not only on Taiwanese English education, but also on the fields of politics, social life, and economics. That process should be carefully monitored and documented. In short, more work is needed to investigate how and why political, social, cultural, educational and economic agenda affect an individual's endeavor to acquire the English language.

More and more researchers in Applied Linguistics (Auerbach, 1995; Canagarajah, 1999a; Kubota, 2002; Pennycook, 2001; Phillipson, 2002) argue that a critical approach to ELT and SLA will empower teachers and learners, and foster in greater social, political and economic equality. They have used a variety of critical

approaches to explore the relationship between language and identity, language and culture, and language and power. As was pointed out in Chapters One and Two, there exist no published works in relation to English teaching and learning that apply critical media discourse analysis to language school promotional materials. Therefore, the research methods used in the study have contributed to the field of applied linguistics. Linking SFG and media discourse analysis is a more effective research method than either SFG or media discourse alone. To the best of my knowledge, this study is a pioneer in linking SFG and media discourse to explore how language functions in language school promotional materials and how these materials construct and project ideologies of English teaching and learning.

10.3   Limitations

In the search for possible answers to the questions raised in Chapter One, this study explored the influence and implications of ideologies of English teaching and learning in Taiwan. The inquiry involved a wide range of concerns: globalization, language policies, the spread of English, teaching methodology, ideal English teacher, standard English, optimal age of English education, mother tongues, language and identity, and language and power. The study used a synthesized and multi-dimensional pursuit to answer the research questions. However, there are some limitations from external constraints that were beyond the researcher's control.

The main limitation is that this study was based on two data-collection instruments: language school promotional materials and news media discourses from the newspapers and the internet. Although the data provide ample evidence, whether these data reflect the reality in the classroom remains unclear. An ethnographic study is needed to fill the gap.   Participant-observation, classroom observations, ethnographic

interviewing, photography, and document collection in a language school or a *buxiban* or a public school would be highly desirable to triangulate the findings of the study.

However, this study was motivated by my long-standing observations of ideologies of English teaching and learning in various English teaching contexts in Taiwan. For the past 10 years, my personal experiences as an English teacher and a teacher trainer in one of the leading English language schools (1993-2000), an English teacher in a *buxiban* (1993-1996), a language school director and owner (1998-1999), an English instructor for the Kaohsiung City Government (1999-2000), a lecturer in the in-service training program for elementary English teachers in Pingtung City and County (2001-2002), and a director of an English summer camp for Taiwanese aboriginal and financially disadvantaged children funded by MOE (2002) led me to seek solutions to avoid the ideologies of English teaching and learning which I encountered.   In this way I have been a participant-observer of ELT in Taiwan for a longer time than any research project would allow, and I believe this experience has added to my research in a way that extends the validity of my findings beyond the corpus of media discourses that provided my data.

A second limitation comes from the national orientation of my corpus. English as the global language, as has been pointed out repeatedly, is a major element in Taiwanese life. As evidence of that there are numerous language schools or education services for international students in English speaking countries. Thus, Taiwanese people are not only exposed to national discourses on EFL but also international ones. In my personal experience as an international student in a language school in Canberra, Australia, and as a language school director and owner, organizing study tours or English summer/winter camps in English speaking countries and recruiting English

teachers from overseas, I have found no major discrepancies between the ideologies espoused by the Taiwanese language school and media more generally, and those international discourses to which Taiwanese people are exposed.

Finally, since the beginning of this research, internet language learning has become a major source of English teaching and learning in Taiwan. New pedagogies, like online English teaching and learning may create new and different ideologies. For example, online English learning uses technology which allows subscribers to practise their speaking skills through voice-recognition software.   In this way, if we ask the following questions regarding online English teaching and learning: Who is the ideal-English-teacher?, What is the best-English- teaching-method?, Which English is standard?, and What is the optimal age of English learning?, the answers may differ from those of the ideologies presented in this study. Further research in this emerging area is needed.

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APPENDIX A:　SCHOOL FLIERS

A-1　English Language School (Total: 32)

Coding	School Names (English)	School Names (Mandarin)
LF1	KNS's Language Institute	'Dun Huang Ertung Yingyu' *Caves Children English School'*
LF2	Kid Castle	'Ji De Bao Meiyu' *Lucky Castle American English'*
LF3	J. Bridge Language School	'Jian Qiao Meiyu' *Bridging American English'*
LF4	Line Up	'Lai Leng Meiyu' *Come and Master American English'*
LF5	Hess Educational Organization	'*He Jia Ren Gouji Jiaoyu Xueyuan*' 'Hess International Education Academy'
LF6	GEOS Language Academy	'*Da Shi Jie Waiyu Xueyuan*' 'Big World Foreign Language Academy'
LF7	David's English Center	'*Da Wei Meiyu*' 'David's American English'
LF8	Beyer Language School	'*Bai Er Meiyu*' 'Beyer American English'
LF9	Famous American School	'*Minren Meiguo Xuexiao*' 'Famous People American School'
LF10	Little Red Dragon School	'*Xiao Hong Long Meiyu Xuexiao*' 'Little Red Dragon American English School'
LF11	Bears Language School	'*Bei Er Meiyu*' 'Bears American English'
LF12	Global Village Organization	'*Di Qiou Cun Meiyu*' 'Global Village American English'
LF13	The Best Language School	'*Le Bei Si Te Meiyu Xuexiao*' 'The Best American English School'
LF14	Santa Language School	'*Shengta Meiyu Xuexiao*' 'Santa American English School'
LF15	Koden English School	'*Ke Deng Meiyu Xuexiao*' 'Koden American English School'
LF16	Sunflower Language School	'*Xiang Ri Kui Meiyu*' 'Sunflower American English'

LF17	Joy Language School	'Jia Ying Yinyu' 'Excellent Melody English'
LF18	Kojen English Language School	'Ke Jian Meiyu' 'Kojen American English'
LF19	American English School	'Mei Li Jian Meiyu' 'American American English'
LF20	Love and Charm American School	'Qi En Meiyu' 'Amazing Grace American English'
LF21	LMI language School	'Luo Si Mei Li Wai Yu' 'LMI Foreign Language'
LF22	Sesame Street	'Zhi Ma Jie Meiyu' 'Sesame Street American English'
LF23	Tony ESL/ESF English School	'Tang Ni Meiyu Xuexiao' 'Tony American English School'
LF24	Henry English Preschool	'Heng Li Shuang Yu' 'Henry Bilingual Preschool'
LF25	Hilton American English	'Xi Er Dun Meiyu' 'Hilton American English'
LF26	Yo –Yo American English	X
LF27	Melissa's Language School	'Meng Li Sha Meiyu' 'Melissa's American English'
LF28	N.C. American English	'N.C. Meiyu' 'N.C. American English'
LF29	Giraffe Language School	'Chang Jing Lu Meiyu' 'Giraffe American English'
LF30	Camp David English School	'Da Wei Ying Meiyu' 'Camp David American English'
LF31	Today's English	'Jin Ri Yingyu' 'Today's English'
LF32	Gram English School	'Ge Lan Ertong Yingyu Xuexiao' 'Gram Children English School'

Note: X – Not applicable

A-2   Other Language Schools (Total: 16)

Coding	School Names (English)	School Names (Mandarin)
OLF1	X	'Xiao Quan Youzhiyuan' 'Little Group Kindergarten'
OLF2	X	'Xio Bao Shi Youzhiyuan 'Little Doctor Kindergarten'
OLF3	X	'Jin Bei Er Shungyu Youeryuan' 'Gold Precious Children Bilingual Kindergarten'
OLF4	X	'Ju Zhou Anqin Xueyuan' 'Huge Continent After-School Center'
OLF5	X	'Zhao Yang Waiyu Wenjiao Jigou' 'Morning Sun Foreign Language Institute'
OLF6	X	'Yo Fu Weijiao Xueyuan' 'Children's Fortune Literature Education Institute'
OLF7	X	'Ding Dang Mao Anqin Caiyi Buxiban' 'Ding Dong Cat After-School Center'
OLF8	X	'Yo Jia Tuoersuo' 'Young Excellence Nursery'
OLF9	X	'Ming Shen Tuoersuo' 'Future Saint Nursery'

OLF10	**X**	'*Qi De Er Tuoersuo*' 'Unique & Virtuous Kid Nursery'
OLF11	Bae Her Kindergarten	'*Baihe Youzhiyuan*' 'Bae Her Kindergarten'
OLF12	Joel A. Newson English Club	'*Jiao An Li Yinwenshe*' 'Joel A. Newson English Club'
OLF13	Situation Interactive English Club	'*Qingjing Hudong Yingyu Julebu*' 'Situation Interactive English Club'
OLF14	The International English Village of Kidsland	'*Kaishiland Meiyu Guojicun*' 'The International English Village of Kidsland'
OLF15	American Village International Institute	'*Guoji Meiyucun*' 'International American Village'
OLF16	Taiwan Knowledge Bank	'*Shuwei Xuetang*' 'Taiwan Knowledge Bank'

Note: X – Not applicable

A-3 *Buxiban* Fliers (Total: 31)

Coding	School Names (English)	School Names (Mandarin)
BF1	X	'*Ming Ru Wenli buxiban*' 'Future Scholars English, Math, Physics & Chemistry *Buxiban*'
BF2	X	'*Guan Nan Wenli Buxiban*' 'Unmatched in the South English, Math, Physics & Chemistry *Buxiban*'
BF3	X	'*Xue Xian Wenli buxiban*' 'Virtuous Learning English, Math, Physics & Chemistry *Buxiban*'
BF4	X	'Tang Kai Ming Wenli Buxiban' '*Tang Kai Ming English, Math, Physics & Chemistry* Buxiban'
BF5	X	'*Li Xue Wenli Buxiban*' 'Starting Learning English, Math, Physics & Chemistry *Buxiban*'
BF6	X	'*Zhi Sheng Wenli Buxiban*' 'Success-Oriented English, Math, Physics & Chemistry *Buxiban*'
BF7	X	'*Gao Gan Wenli Buxiban*' 'Outstanding English, Math, Physics & Chemistry *Buxiban*'
BF8	X	'*Dong Da Wenli Buxiban*' 'Big East English, Math, Physics & Chemistry *Buxiban*'
BF9	X	'*Li Chang Wenjiao Jigou*' 'Achieving Prosperity Education Institute'
BF10	X	'*Lian Deng Wenjiao Jigou*' 'Unite & Reach Education Institute'
BF11	X	'*Guan Hou Wenjiao Jigou*' 'Outstanding People Education Institute'
BF12	X	'*Mingshi Jiajiao Zhongxin*' 'Famous Teachers Tutoring Center'

BF13	X	'*Liu Yi Yingwen*' 'Liu Yi English'
BF14	X	'*Wen Yin Yingwen*' 'Wen Yin English'
BF15	X	'*Han Sheng Yingwen*' 'Entering Literary Circles English'
BF16	X	'*Bai Han Waiyu*' 'Vast Foreign Language'
BF17	X	'*Wan Guan Waiyu Jigou*' 'Numerous Crowns Foreign Language Institute'
BF18	X	'*Wen Cheng Sheng Daxue*' 'Literary Circles University Entrance Exam *Buxiban*'
BF19	X	'*Yuan Jian Sheng Daxue*' 'Farsighted University Entrance Exam *Buxiban*'
BF20	Far East Education Institute	'*Yuan Dong Sheng Daxue*' 'Far East *Buxiban* for University Entrance Examination'
BF21	X	'Ru Lin Sheng Daxue Buxiban*'* '*Literary Circles University Entrance Exam* Buxiban*'*
BF22	X	'*Li Xing Sheng Daxue Zhongxin*' 'Action University Entrance Exam *Buxiban*'
BF23	X	'*Jian Gong Wenli Buxiban*' 'Great Contributions English, Math, Physics & Chemistry *Buxiban*'
BF24	Li-Kung Educational Group	'*Li Gong Jiaoyu Wenhua Shiyie*' 'Achievement Educational and Cultural Enterprise'
BF25	KCJ Education Institute	'*Jian Zhi Wenjiao Jigou*' 'Ambitious Education Institute'
BF26	X	'*Guan Lin Wenjiao Jigou*' 'The Best in Medical Profession Education Institute'
BF27	X	'*Yu Da Wenjiao Jigou*' 'Cultivating & Reaching Education Institute'
BF28	X	'*Da Dong Hai Wenjiao Jigou*' 'Big East China Sea Education Institute'
BF29	Cambridge Foreign Language Center	'*Kong Qiao Waiyu*' 'Cambridge Foreign Language'
BF30	Ching Shan Language Institute	'*Qing Shan Waiyu*' 'Blue Mountain Foreign Language'
BF31	Oxford Language School	'*Qio Jing Waiyu Zhongxin*' 'Looking for High Quality Foreign Language Center'

Note: X – Not applicable

A-4 Example (LF19 – Side A)

A-4　Example (LF19 – Side A)

美利肯美國學校
AMERICAN ENGLISH SCHOOL

美利肯美國學校，我們　　　www.honeybee.com.tw

（一）提供安全又專業的美語環境
（二）讓小朋友自自然然，輕輕鬆鬆說一口純正美語
（三）針對台灣學生不同階段的需求，設計生動有趣，
　　　容易吸收應用的教材，配合認真，高互動，高
　　　學習效率的教學品質
（四）讓您的小朋友在道道地地的美式教學環境裡學
　　　得一口流利又標準的美語

自然聽說，朗朗上口
讀寫訓練，成效立現

美　利　肯　美　國　學　校

班級人數	採小班制教學，保証8人開班，班級平均人數12人
師　資	全部課程皆由具學士學位及有豐富ESL教學資歷的外籍教師授課,我們用心，因為我們關心
教　材	擁有整套由所屬Honey Bee出版社精心編製的系統化教材教具，配合提供有趣又高效率的電腦學習網站，讓學生主動又輕鬆地自習，複習，強調聽說，兼雇讀寫
教　學	English Only，依年齡程度分班，製造純正道地的全美語環境
活動相關	定期在台灣，美國舉辦英語夏令營，聖誕晚會，野外烤肉，露營，語文競賽及各種西方典型節慶活動，外籍老師群全程參與，讓小朋友自自然然在活動及生活中應用所學，說一口既道地又流利的美語

我們尊重您選擇專業的權益，因為堅持高教學品質，我們最在意！

明誠分校	正興分校	獅湖分校

A-4　Example (LF19 – Side B)

APPENDIX B: SCHOOL WEBSITES

B-1　English Language School – English Websites (Total: 15)

Coding	School Names	Websites
LWE1	Jackson Five English school	www.jacksonfive.com.tw
LWE2	Jump Start	www.jumpstart.com.tw
LWE3	Joy Language School	www.joy.com.tw
LWE4	Principal Educational & Cultural Foundation	www.principal.com.tw
LWE5	Hess Educational Organization	www.hess.com.tw
LWE6	Gram English Center	www.gram.com.tw
LWE7	Gloria English School	www.glo.com.tw
LWE8	Kojen English Language School	www.kojenenglish.com
LWE9	The American Language Center	www.elstaiwan.com
LWE10	Deeson Language School	www.customer.wingnet.com.tw
LWE11	Canadian-American Language School	www.can-am.org/main.html
LWE12	KNS's Language Institute	www.kns.com.tw
LWE13	Happy Kids American Preschool/ Kindergarten	www.happykidsschool.com.tw
LWE14	Big Bite Language School	www.bigbyte.com.tw
LWE15	Jordan's Language School	www.jordan.com.tw

B-2　English Language School – Mandarin Websites (Total: 24)

Coding	School Names	Websites
LWM1	Flying Dragon American School '*Zhan Quan Waiyu*' 'Outstanding in a Group Foreign Language'	http://.home.pchome.com.tw/education/fdli/class.html
LWM2	Go-Go Bear English School '*Huo Li Xuong Meiyu*' 'Lively Bear American English'	http://home.pchome.com.tw/educaton/gogobear/option.htm
LWM3	Vela English Learning Center '*Wei La Meiyu*' 'Vela American English'	www.geocities.com/CollegePark/Field/3188
LWM4	Summer Hill Language School '*Xia Shan Meiyu*' 'Summer Hill American English'	www.geocities.com/Soho/Coffeehouse/4838
LWM5	Ivy League Language School '*Chang Chun Teng Meiyu*' 'Ivy League American English'	www.ivy-tpr.com.tw

LWM6	Win-Win Language School '*Shuang Ing Meiyu*' '<u>Win-Win American English</u>'	<u>http://twowin.uhome.net/winwin1.htm</u>
LWM7	Love English School '*Love Yingyu Xuexiao*' '<u>Love English School</u>'	<u>http://home.pchome.com.tw/educaton/l_loveemily/menu</u>.html
LWM8	Washington American School '*Hua Sheng Dun Meiyu Xuexiao*' '<u>Washington American School</u>'	<u>www.washington.com.tw</u>
LWM9	<u>Royal English Language School</u> '*Hong Jia Yingwen Xuexiao*' '<u>Royal English Language School</u>'	<u>www.imagenet.com.tw</u>
LWM10	Eagle American School '*Da Lao Ying Meishi Meiyu Yoer Xuexiao*' '<u>Big Eagle American Learning Style Younger Children School</u>'	<u>www.eagleschool.com.tw</u>
LWM11	Everyday American School '*Ai Fei De Meiyu Xuexiao*' '<u>Everyday American School</u>'	<u>www.everydayschool.com.tw</u>
LWM12	<u>Tony ESL/EFL English School</u> '*Tang Ni Meiyu*' '<u>Tony American English</u>'	<u>http://study.wingnet.com.tw</u>
LWM13	St. George American School '*Sheng Qiao Zhi Meiyu*' '<u>St. George American English</u>'	<u>http://home.kimo.com.tw/st-george/class.htm</u>
LWM14	Mark & Elaine's Language School '*Ma Ke Yuwen Zhongxin*' '<u>Mark Language Center</u>'	<u>www.ieltstest.com</u>
LWM15	Kid Castle English School '*Ji De Bao Meiyu*' '<u>Lucky Castle American English</u>'	<u>http://home.kimo.com.tw/kidcastle_school/logo/html</u>
LWM16	<u>Giraffe Language School</u> '*Chang Jing Lu Meiyu*' '<u>Giraffe American English</u>'	<u>www.e-giraffe.com.tw</u>
LWM17	Sesame Street '*Zhi Ma Jie Meiyu*' '<u>Sesame Street American English</u>'	<u>www.c-opensesame.com.tw</u>
LWM18	<u>Hua Language Institute</u> '*Hua Laoshi Yingyu Jiaoshi*' '<u>Teacher Hua English Classroom</u>'	<u>www.hua.com.tw</u>

LWM19	Susan's English School 'Xu Laoshi Meiyu Jiaoshi' 'Teacher Xu English Classroom'	www.englishschool.com.tw
LWM20	Secure English Computer School 'An Xin Meiyu Diannao Xuexiao' 'Secure English Computer School'	http://home.pchome.com.tw/education/fsw0515/history.html
LWM21	The World Language Center 'Bi Li Fo Meiriyu' 'Beverly English and Japanese'	www.usnet.com.tw
LWM22	Jackson Five English School 'Jie Ke Sen Meiyu' 'Jackson American School'	www.jacksonfive.com
LWM23	Jordan Language School 'Qiao Deng Meiyu' 'Jordan American English'	www.jordan.com
LWM24	Harvardland English Computer School 'Xiao Ha Fo Diannao Meiyu' 'Little Harvard Computer English School'	www.taianfly.com

B-3 Other Language School – English Websites (Total: 2)

Coding	School Names	Websites
OLWE1	American Language Village	www.kidscamp.com.tw
OLWE2	United Resources International Business Consultants	http://home.kimo.com.tw/salespro/up/htm

B-4 Other Language School – Mandarin Websites (Total: 5)

Coding	School Names	Websites
OLWM1	'Quanqio Zhuanyie Yingyu Shijie' 'The Globe Professional English World'	www.iproducts.com.tw
OLWM2	English Smith	www.EnglishSmith.com.tw
OLWM3	Rick & Joy	http://home.kimo.tw/jungyichen
OLWM4	Asia International Education Center 'Da Ya Diannao Guoji Jiaoyu Zhongxin' 'Big Asia International Education Center'	www.aicnet.com.tw

OLWM5	'*Zhongguo Wenhua Daxue Tuiguang Jiaoyubu IEI Waiyu Zhongxin*' 'Chinese Culture University – Extension Program IEI Foreign Language Center'	www.cec.pccu.edu.tw/IEI

B-5 *Buxiban* – English Websites (Total: 3)

Coding	School Names (English)	Websites
BWE1	Ching Shan Language Institute	www.chingshan.com.tw
BWE2	Cambridge Language Center	www.edu-fair.com
BWE3	Gauden Language School	www.wtos.com/gauden

B-6 *Buxiban* – Mandarin Websites (Total: 24)

Coding	School Names	Websites
BWM1	'*Shang Jing Wenli Buxiban*' 'Bright Future English, Math, Physics & Chemistry *Buxiban*'	www.top-go.com.tw
BWM2	'Hong Sheng Wenli Buxiban' 'Great & Advanced English, Math, Physics & Chemistry *Buxiban*'	http://freehomepage.taconet.com.tw/Thisis/taconet/exp//hongshen/
BWM3	Talent Arts and Sciences School '*Da Ren Wenli Buxiban*' 'Great Mercy English, Math, Physics & Chemistry *Buxiban*'	www.guass.com.tw
BWM4	'*Si Kao Wenli Buxiban*' 'Thinking English, Math, Physics & Chemistry *Buxiban*'	http://freehomepage.taconet.com.tw/Thisis/taconet/exp//shihkou/
BWM5	'Guan Nan Wenli Buxiban' 'Unmatched in the South English, Math, Physics & Chemistry *Buxiban*'	http://customer.wingnet.com.tw/guan-south
BWM6	'*Zhui Fen Buxiban*' 'Pursuing Sores *Buxiban*'	www.to100.com.tw
BWM7	'Tong Yi Buxiban' 'United *Buxiban*'	www.toyi.com.tw
BWM8	'*Shuo Shi Buxiban*' 'Master's Degree *Buxiban*'	www.broad.com.tw
BWM9	'*Lai Lai Buxiban*' 'Welcome *Buxiban*'	http://customer.wingnet.com.tw/lailai/data.htm
BWM10	'Jie Ming Buxiban' 'Fast & Famous *Buxiban*'	www.geocities.com/Athens/Styx/117
BWM11	'Pei Wen Buxiban' 'Cultivating Scholars *Buxiban*'	www.24hrs.com.tw
BWM12	'Jian Ru Buxiban' 'Wishful *Buxiban*'	www.csie.nctu.edu.tw
BWM13	'Liu Yi Yingwen Jiaojiaoban' 'Liu Yi English Classroom'	www.learnschool.com.tw
BWM14	'*Li Qi Yingwen Jiaoshi*' 'Li Qi English Classroom'	http://www.richieenglish.com.tw
BWM15	'*Fai Ge Yingwen Jiaoyu Zhongxin*' 'Fai Ge English Center'	www.faigon.com.tw

BWM16	'Xu Laoshi Wenjiao Jigou' 'Teacher Xu English Center'	www.best-action.com.tw
BWM17	*'Yu Da Wenjiao Jigou'* 'Cultivate & Reach Education Organization'	www.gotowin.com.tw
BWM18	Han Yin English Education Institute *'Han Ying Wenjiao Shiyie Jigou'* 'Chinese & English Literature Education Organization'	www.hanyin.com.tw
BWM19	*'Fan Mei Yingyu Jigou'* 'Pam America English Organization'	http://web1.eu.com.tw/www3/services/services
BWM20	Taiwan Anglo-French Institute *'Jia Yan Yuwen Zhongxin'* 'Excellent Language Language Center'	www.tafi.com.gw
BWM21	Tony Chen *'Tang Ni Yingyu'* 'Tony English'	www.tonychen.com.tw
BWM22	TCK *Buxiban* *'Jian Gong Wenli Buxiban'* 'Making Great Contributions English, Math, Physics & Chemistry *Buxiban*'	www.tck.com.tw
BWM23	Elite Language Institute *'Xian Jie Waiyu'* 'Fast & Advanced Foreign Language'	www.elite-inst.com.tw
BWM24	*'Jia Feng Yuwen Wenli Buxi Xuexiao'* 'Canadian Maple Language *Buxiban*'	www.wangcom.com/ehome.html

B-7 Example (LWE12)

敦煌英語
KNS' Language Institute

中文

Welcome to K S' Language Institute Website for EFL teachers and learners. Prospective teachers will find the information they need to start an exciting career, teaching in Taiwan. Local EFL students can keep up to date with K S' activities such as Cambridge exams and Overseas Study Programs.

KNS' SUMMARY
Brief Summary of Schools
and Teachers
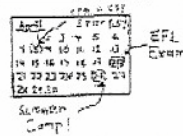
NEWS FOR EFL
Cambridge Exams,
Overseas Study,
TEFL Qualifications

KNS ADVANTAGE
Recruitment
Training
Set-up
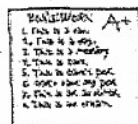
**TEACHING IN TAIWAN
FAQ**
Teaching Opportunities

TOUR OF TAIWAN
The Guide to Spots,
Mountains, Beaches
and Islands

**LIVING IN TAIWAN
FAQ**
Frequently Asked Questi

APPLICATION
Online Application Form for
KNS' Language Institute

BULLETIN BOARD
For KNS Staff

RELATED LINKS
Additional information ca
accessed here

KNS' Language Institute
466 Pinhu Road, Niaosung Hsiang Kaohsiung Hsien, Taiwan
TEL:886-7-7322781 FAX:886-7-7322791
E-mail:KNS@ms13.hinet.net

http://www.kns.com.tw/   14604   31/01/2004

APPENDIX C: ENGLISH TEACHING JOB ADS

C-1 China Post (Total: 54)

Positions Vacant 事求人

To place an ad Tel: (02) 2596-9971 Fax: (02) 2595-7962

C1

New Gwo Ding American School

needs native English-speaking teachers on Mon.~Fri., in Chungli Call Laura at

(03) 425-6438, 0922-809-769

C2

Children's English School seeks English teacher with N. American accent
Some experience preferred
Good Chinese ability a must
High pay/ visa/ vacation/ health ins. / paid training
2 year commitment
Tel: 2751-3304, 3 p.m.~10 p.m. Angel

C3

English Teachers Wanted

* Bachelor's Degree
* Major in TESOL Education
* Experienced preferred
* Full-time 9 a.m.-6 p.m.
Contact Christine at (02) 2700-3339

C4

Language School needs English Teachers:

● North American Accent preferred
● College / University graduate
● Teaching experience with children (3~15 years old)
● Location: Tso Ying, Kaohsiung

Please call Lisa or Bella
(07) 552-9958, 0929-188-287 or 0927-750-746

C5

MONTESSORI KINDERGARTEN
LOOKING FOR
Native English Teacher
Full-time Good pay
Location: Nei-hu
Contact 0920-126-375

C6

MACMILLAN LANGUAGE SCHOOL
(Located in Kaohsiung; Kindie and children classes)
Looking for native English speakers;
Active, responsible,
B.A. Fixed and stable hours, work permit and training.
Call Jennifer at (07) 2247360 (07) 225-2152 or 0931-776-118
or fax to (07) 225-4078 or e-mail to mls@ms68.hinet.net

C7

Native English Teacher Wanted

Experienced in Teaching Adults,
college, graduated above,

Call Teresa after 2 p.m. Tel: (02) 2369-7008

C8

Cornell American School

English teachers (native speaker) wanted to teach kindergarten and elementary students
* Native speaker with BA
* One year contract required
* Working hours: 9:30-11:30 a.m., 1:30-5:00 p.m. Mon.~Fri.
* Monthly pay approx NT$65,000~NT$70,000
* Work permit, medical insurance provided
Pay increase NT$ 25/hour every semester
Contact Andrew (03) 357-6889
Add: 15, Chung pu 2nd St., Taoyuan city 桃園市中埔2街15號

C9

William Language School
Full & Part Time Teaching Positions Available

Minimum Requirements:	Benefits:
* Bachelors Degree	* Work Permit / ARC
* U.S. or Canadian Native Speaker	* Health Insurance Co-payment
* Basic Chinese (Firm)	* 800NT/hr
* Min. 1 year Commitment	* Guaranteed Raises
* 2 years plus Experience (Firm)	* Full-Rate Paid 2 week Training
* TEFL or TESL Certification	* Prepared Curriculum
* Outgoing & Dynamic Personality	* Foreign Managed
Mon.-Fri. PM 4:30-9:20	* Excellent Work Environment
Sat AM 9:00-PM 4:00	* Year End Bonus
Contact: Andrew	Tel: (02) 2392-7800 Fax: (02) 2392-7807

C10

Native Speaker Teacher Wanted
Please call (03) 326-4566
Jennifer (8:30 a.m.~ 1:00 p.m.)
Vivian (1 p.m. ~ 9 p.m.)
Mon. ~ Sat.

C11

Full-time English teachers Wanted
Kindergarten needs experienced English-speaking full-time teachers. Work permit provided.
Please contact (02) 8773-1836.
Chunghsiao E. Rd. Sec. 4.

C12

RESPONSIBLE, EXPERIENCED, CREATIVE TEACHERS WANTED.
With Northern American Accent.
University graduate good pay.
Call 0939-882-468 Miss Lo

C13

English teachers wanted
- native speaker
- kids aged 3-6 years
- 21 hours a week
Tel: 2532-9555

C14

ENGLISH CONSULTING SERVICES
● ESL/EFL TEACHER WANTED (TAIPEI, CHUNGLI & TAOYUAN)
● PROFESSIONAL RESUME ONLY (ABC OR NATIVE)
TEL: (02) 2369-2577
FAX: (02) 2365-2415
Email: johnnysecs@hotmail.com

C20

400

C27

Basic Chinese, Chinese Dialogues. You can speak fluent Chinese here. Foreigner wanted: Part-time staff or teacher for children, Training provided. Tel: (04) 786-0196, Changhua (near Taichung)

C28

Dr. Cheng's International School, native speakers wanted, teaching children in Kaohsiung. Working hours: M-F 2:30-4:30 p.m. Contact: (08) 733-6750.

C29

An international English school needs foreign & Taiwanese teachers. Steady afternoon/evening classes. Visa, health insurance available. Taipei, Shijr, & Tienmu (02) 2555-2101; Taichung (04) 2226-3485; Kaohsiung (07) 537-9366 GEOS.

C30

Full-time or part-time English teacher wanted. North American, competitive salary, insurance. Ivy Language School, 7F, No. 351, Hsimen Rd. Sec. 2, Tainan. Tel: (06) 221-0095.

C31

Kindergarten English teachers wanted, female under 35 American accent western looks, college graduate work visa preferred, Afternoon classes 1:30-3:30 Monday/Tuesday/Friday (02) 2821-8278 Thomson.

C32

Native English teacher wanted for young children, lots of hours, day time, work visa provided, one year contract. Candidates must have a friendly personality and professional attitude. Please call 8660-0122.

C33

Native teacher wanted, 100 hrs/month, good pay, stable and pleasant environment, working permit provided, near "MRT." Call Chen (02) 2578-4242.

C34

Experienced foreign male English teacher needed. North American accent. 8:30 - 4:00 Mon.-Fri. Call Vicky 2694-3373, 0935-700-009.

C35

Experienced foreign English teacher needed on Saturday morning and afternoon in Taoyuan City. Top pay. Please call Kenny at (03) 376-4696.

C36

Kid Castle Kindergarten seeks native English speakers from the U.S., Canada, U.K. for Monday to Friday morning class, Panchiao. Call Jason, (02) 2957-1182, 0916-008-588.

C37

Chinese English teacher wanted, teaching on Mon. & Thur./Tue. & Fri. evenings and Weds. & Sats. Training courses are provided. Near Wan Hua. Call 2305-4349 Joanna 1:00 a.m.-9:00 p.m.

C38

English teacher wanted, teaching on Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday afternoons, 12 hours a week, to start on July 18. Please call 2305-4349 Joanna 1:00 - 9:00 p.m.

C39

Native English teacher wanted, provide work permit & medical insurance, 20 hrs per week, good pay, please call Scott (06) 260-4100.

C40

Foreign teacher wanted for an English school. Good pay. Insurance and work visa provided. Call (03) 528-1580, 528-1581 ext.9 or 0930-907-108, 0933-948-170 Miss Wu.

C41

Joy Mucha school is looking for a native-speaking English teacher. Visa, insurance. Call Penny, 2937-7471.

C42

English teacher wanted: M-F. Native speakers only. Location: Shijr. Please contact: Personnel department (02) 2646-6258.

C43

We need an English teacher who needs work visa (must have Bachelor's degree. Tel: 2731-2643 Amanda. Adds: 7F, No. 92, Fushing N. Rd., Taipei.

C44

CHILDREN'S ENGLISH TEACHER WANTED: Working hours: 9:00 a.m.-12:00 noon, Mon.-Fri. North American accent. $600/hour. Near MRT. Fixed curriculum. Call (02) 2778-7359 Jessica.

C45

Kindergarten teacher wanted, North American accent, full-time position (9:00 a.m.- 5:00 p.m.), School in Panchiao, please call (02) 8251-3990.

C46

English Teacher Wanted: Native speakers with at lease 1 year experience. Call Sam at 0920-304-100 (02) 2918-0740 Location: Hsin Tien City.

C47

English teachers wanted, work visa provided, active, experienced, block hours, good environment. Please call (04) 2247-2171 Taichung.

C48

Well-know kindergarten school, native English teacher wanted, teaching experience required, stable and pleasant environment, working visa provided, 18 hours per week. Tel: 2305-0414.

C49

Wanted!! Kid Castle Mucha branch school is now requiring full time or part time foreign English teacher for children's classes. Please contact with Carol at (02) 2938-4901, 0935-974-039.

C50

Kindergarten wanted, native English speaker, 24 hrs/wk, good pay. 2808-1402.

C51

Foreign teachers wanted, native English speakers, love kindergarten kids, teaching experience preferred, Mon.-Fri. 9-12:20 a.m. plus 3 afternoon 2-3 p.m. Please call Jenny (02) 2633-3568 (Nei-Hu)

C52

Foreigner wanted: English, German and Japanese teacher for adult and children. Tel: 2561-6198

C53

English teacher wanted for children, experience required, Nankang, Tel: 2785-8774

C54

English teacher wanted for kindergarten, native English speaker only, close to Shr-Da, available in afternoon. Please call 0922-578-849.

T1

Teach Adult English in Gaoshung or Hshindu (views: 105)
Location:All over Taiwan
Email School: Formosa English (61.13.195.174)
This job was added on Sunday July 1st 2001 @ 08:23 AM EST
Adult classes available for upcoming term. Work permit provided by school. Good working hours available and good pay. Pay depending on experience. No degree needed but a plus. Send a resume for review to FormosaEnglish@Email.Com

T2

English Teacher (views: 110)
Location:Taichung
Email School: Spontaneous Language School (163.32.4.165)
This job was added on Monday July 2nd 2001 @ 08:00 AM EST
Language school teacher,partime or fulltime ,have a passport from an English-speaking country. Good pay. adult group class. Please Fax 886-04-23266638 Tel:886-04-23266777

T3

Interviews to be held in Canada in August (views: 83)
Location: All over Taiwan
Email School: ESL Canada (61.13.195.20)
This job was added on Monday July 2nd 2001 @ 09:22 AM EST
Job fairs to be held in Vancouver August 18th, Edmonton and Calgary area August 20-25th, 27-30th Toronto area. Representing 25 in Taiwan ROC. Information available and interviews will be held. Contact Dale or Ellen at ESLCanada@Canada.Com

T4

Position in Hshindu (views:173)
Location: Hsinchu
Email School: Formosa English (61.13.195.20)
This job was added on Monday July 2nd 2001 @ 09:03 AM EST
Position in Hshindu. 50 000 Nt a month base. Good working hours. Free accomadation available. Curriculum provided. Contact us at Formosaenglish@email.com

T5

ENGLISH TEACHER WANTED (views: 229)
Location: Changhua
Email School: international village (61.216.250.89)
This job was added on Thursday July 5th, 2001 @ 09:39PM EST
We are looking for a full-time or part-time teacher for day and evening classes. The students are adults, primarily from local universities. We can provide a work visa for teachers with a BA. We are

wanting someone who can begin immediately. Please contact us by phone or email: (04)2258-0865

sharon   idavidli8@ms66.hinet.net

T6

Teacher of English as a second language (views: 254)

Location: All over Taiwan

Email School: Libelle Canada (216.18.21.250)

This job was added on Thursday July 5th 2001 @ 04:59 PM EST

50 TEACHERS REQUIRED TO TEACH IN TAIWAN IMMEDIATELY! *Roundtrip Airfare Provided

- SALARY: Starting salaries between NT$40,000/month - NT$58,000 month; Bonuses vary from
          position to position

- POSITIONS: Kindergarden classes, Primary classes, High school classes and/or Adult classes at
          various schools and tutoring centres in Shinju (1hour from Taipei) and San Chung, Lujou,
          & Wuku (30minutes from Taipei)

- WORK HOURS: 25 classes average work week (each class approx. 40-50 minutes)

- HOUSING: Teacher residences (highly subsidized by school); Single or shared accommodation
          (may be subsidized depending on school); Homestay (may be offered through school connections)

 - MEDICAL COVERAGE: All foreigners must comply to the National Medical Insurance Program
          policy in Taiwan

POTENTIAL CANDIDATES must be a native English speaker with a valid passport from Canada,

USA, UK, Australia, New Zealand or South Africa and a have degree from an accredited university

from one of the above countries

ALL INTERESTED APPLICANTS Please email, fax, or send the following:

- Resume with current contact information

- Copy of university diploma (and other certificates)

- Copy of valid passport (including photo)

TO: Libelle Canada

        L203 - 560 Beatty Street

        Vancouver, BC Canada V6B 2L3

        Fax: 604-681-9687 Email: info@libelle.bc.ca Tel: 604-681-9623

T7

Children's English Teacher (views: 154)

Location: Taipei

Email School: Merry Angel Kindergarten (202.178.245.235)

This job was added on Saturday July 7th 2001 @ 12:10 AM EST

    Children's English Teacher Wanted! North American Accent Working Hours: 9:00am ~12:00noon

Monday ~ Friday and/or 2:15pm~3:15pm on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday Fixed Curriculum, Great

    Working Environment Good Pay: NT$600/HR, Job Starts ASAP! Please call (02) 8789~1771 Pin

T8

English Instructor (views: 295)
Location: Taipei
Email School: Soeasy English Learning Center (211.21.43.210)
This job was added on Wednesday July 11th 2001 @ 02:34 AM EST
We are a newly established adult English learning center. We are currently recruiting part-time and full-time native English speakers. Our courses are based upon American English conversation. Teaching experience is preferred. We also prefer teachers who wish to live in Taiwan for an extended period of time. To discuss further details, feel free to contact Aaron or Ingrid at 886-02-2370-4358.

T9

Seeking for English teachers (views: 99)
Location: Yuanlin
Email School: Maaggie Young English Classroom (61.217.157.223)
This job was added on Thursday July 12th 2001 @ 08:24 AM EST
There is a great opportunity for hardworking English teachers in Taiwan. REQUIREMENTS AND ADVANTAGES 1.Passport and visa   2.Work permit   3.Teachers must have a degree   4.100 working hours per month   5.Salary will be NT$50,000 per month(work more get more) Please send CV and photo. Contact:Maaggie Young   Cellphone:886-958373929 Fax:886-5962100   Email:maaggie@taiwan.com

T10

Private tutor (views: 95)
Location: Taichung
Email School: Private tutor (61.216.65.114)
This job was added on Thursday July 12th 2001 @ 11:38 AM EST
Job Description: I am looking for a female English teacher. The location is Taiping city which is only 15 mins drive from Taichung train station. The teacher will be responsible for at least two classes, one class for a 13 year-old girl, the other   classes for several kids with ages ranging from 3-5 year-old.   To reduce the traveling time, the classes can be arranged on the same day if necessary. Qualifications: The candidate should have a degree and at least one year teaching experience. Most of all, the candidate has to be available to teach for at least a year.   Candidates should send a copy of their C.V. to 29320990@pchome.com.tw

T11

English Teacher (views: 65)
Location: All over Taiwan
Email School: SAETEACHER (211.21.137.6)

This job was added on Friday July 13th 2001 @ 09:08 PM EST

If you have a bachelors degree, speak English fluently and are a South African citizen then South African English Teachers can place you at a good school in Taiwan. Please e-mail your resume with a recent picture to saeteachers@yahoo.com. Please include a contact number!

T12

English Consultant (view: 98)

Location:Taipei

Email School: Willow Tree English Consulting (61.219.210.122)

This job was added on Saturday July 14th, 2001 @ 05:08AM EST

English Consulting company looking for experienced english teacher for adults.

North American accent, University graduate, Experience in business english teaching , long and short term contracts available, minimum of 3 months commitment, work visa available for the right applicant insurance, training, benefits for long term, Classes are scheduled in the evenings in our client's companies.   Please submit resume

T13

Adult Learning ESL70 000NT (views: 64)

Location: All over Taiwan

Email School: FORMOSA ENGLISH Assoc. (61.13.196.222)

This job was added on Tuesday July 17th 2001 @ 08:46 AM EST

Formosa English Association has 4 positions available at member schools for early August start.

Free accommodation, salary with paid overtime to 70 000. Must have a degree with North American accent. Please contact us at FormosaEnglish@Email.Com

T14

Part time 45000 (views: 84)

Location: All over Taiwan

Email School: FORMOSA ENGLISH Assoc. (61.13.196.222)

This job was added on Tuesday July 17th, 2001 @ 08:50AM EST

Want a great part time job in the evenings 3-4 hours leading English activities. Social club atmosphere. Applicants should have a related degree/diploma and be very outgoing. Lead a social club. NO BORING TEACHERS APPLY!! Pay is 45 000 NT a month. Evenings only. 4 locations to choose from. For more details contact us in Taichung at   Formosaenglish@Email.com

T15

ENGLISH TEACHER REQUIRED (views: 246)

Location: All over Taiwan

Email School: Formosa Island Language School (203.24.100.131)

This job was added on Wednesday July 18th 2001 @ 04:38 AM EST

I NEED MORE THAN 20 ENGLISH TEACHERS FOR AUGUST.......MUST HAVE UNIVERSITY DEGREE!!!!!....REAL ONE....I MET LOTS OF FAKE CERTIFICATES!!! AND NO TRUCK

DRIVER, COOLIE,PLUMBER, UNEDUCATED ETC ETC ETC.......... MUST HAVE REAL UNIVERSITY DEGREE PLEASEEEEE........SOME NATIVE SPEAKERS COULD NOT EVEN SPEAK ENGLISH   PROPERLY....THEY ARE CHEWING RATHER THAN SPEAKING!!!!!!!! WE WANT ENGLISH   TEACHER THAT SPEAKS LIKE THE NEWS REPORTER (CLEAR WORDS AND SENTENCES   )........AND PLEASE BACKPACKER & UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY   DON'T APPLY!!!!! WE WANT YOU TO TEACH NOT HAVE HOLIDAY HERE USING THE PAID SALARY AND CONVINCING US THAT YOU COULD SPEAK ENGLISH JUST BECAUSE YOU   WERE BORN IN ENGLISH COUNTRY..........I MET MANY NATIVES SPEAKER THAT COULD NOT   EVEN WRITE CORRECTLY......THEY WRITE "RECIEVE" INSTEAD OF "RECEIVE" AND   'BELIEVE' INSTEAD OF ''BELIEVE'.......WITH WRONG GRAMMARS IN A SENTENCE.....WE WILL   PAY YOU GOOD SALARY UP TO NT95000 IF YOU CAN DEMONSTRATE TO US THAT YOU REALLY COULD SPEAK "REAL ENGLISH". THOSE OF YOU STUDYING ENGLISH LITERATURE   BEFORE SUCH AS SHAKESPEAR,MCBETH ARE ENCOURAGED TO APPLY. NO   BACKPACKER OR UNEMPLOYED PLEASE

T16

Foreign English teachers (view: 125)

Location: Kaohsiung

Email School: Haburg Language School (163.32.157.97)

This job was added on Wednesday July 18th 2001 @ 06:05 AM EST

teacher wanted: F/T or P/T, Good pay , If interested please call 07-354-1448, 07-353-1222 Joanne

T17

English teacher (views: 111)

Location: Taichung

Email School: Victoria American Children Schoo (61.217.29.108)

This job was added on Wednesday July 18th 2001 @ 09:02 AM EST

We are looking for native speakers, North American accent, college degree, love to teach children age 3-8 years old. Part time/ Full time, for more information, Please call Kristy/Ariel 04-23506919 option 1. near howard prince hotel (Taichung) option 2. near Morrison Academy (Taichung)

T18

ESL English teacher (views: 114)

Location: Changhua

Email School: Duchies Language School (61.216.153.183)

This job was added on Monday July 23rd 2001 @ 09:32 PM EST

Be an English teacher and lean Chinese free. Call:04-7860196 now!

T19

English teacher (views: 180)
Location:Taipei   English Zone (163.30.154.103)
This job was added on Tuesday July 24th 2001 @ 04:17 AM EST

Full Time English Teacher Wanted   ¡¯ Native speaker with degree ¡¯ Work permit   ¡¯ National medical insurance   ¡¯ Training, organized program   ¡¯ Good working conditions To teach mainly children in Yung Ho (walking distance to Ting Shi MRT)   Starting mid August Tel¡GMark 0926086114   Charlie 0926085164

T20

Full/Part Time Teacher (views: 88)
Location: Taichung
Email School: PLI's Language Institute (61.216.106.172)
This job was added on Wednesday July 25th 2001 @ 11:54 PM EST

Full-Time Benefits: 1. NT$550 ¡V 610 per hour.   2. 14 ¡V 32 hours per week.   3. Monday ¡V Friday only.   5. 1 week paid vacation.   6. 3 paid personal days every six months.   Positions opening August & September 2001   Fax resume to:(04) 22

T21

Position around 70 000 NT (views: 157)
Location: Taichung
Email School: FORMOSA ENGLISH Assoc. (61.13.196.140)
This job was added on Thursday July 26th 2001 @ 07:02 AM EST

Position available. Evening classes flexible hours. Per hour. Most teachers earn 70 000. Good job. Contact us Formosaenglish@email.com

T22

Canadian Owned Language School (view: 213)
Location: Taichung
Email School: Jackson Five English School (61.216.251.116)
This job was added on Tuesday July 31st, 2001 @ 10:13AM EST

School Mandate: Teaching students the true joy of speaking English without rote learning, homework, or tests. http://www.jacksonfive.com.tw/Students/Students.htm   Work with other creative Candian teachers in a resource-rich environment. Canadian owned. No   burnout schedule. A good place to develop a great teaching career. Because we are devoted to education, we don't hire anyone fresh off the boat. Excellent package for the right candidate: F/T: NT$58-65,000/month. Only 22 teaching hours a week max. Visa and Health insurance card provided.   Good candidate should possess Bachelor of Education, TESOL, and/or comparable teaching experience. Please email CV and photo to info@jacksonfive.com.tw or call (04) 24737578.

T23

An English Club (views: 305)
Location: Taipei
Email School: Taipei First Girls' High School (163.31.51.167)
This job was added on Wednesday August 1st 2001 @ 10:46 PM EST
Hi!!!!! My name is Rita,a leader of an English club. I'm looking for a part-time English teacher, (native English speaker)teaching at 4:30~6:00PM every Friday,$1000 per class since September. You're not required to have any teaching experience. You just have be an outgoing and   humorous. Connect me if you're interested. Thanx!!!

T24

Preschool Teacher (views:158)
Location:Taipei
Email School: Happy Kids American Preschool (163.31.21.230)
This job was added on Friday August 3rd, 2001 @ 12:10AM EST
We are an American curriculum kindergarten, providing child-centered learning to the local expatriate and overseas Chinese Community. We are now hiring native English speaking teachers for the new school year.   We offer: *excellent salary * 2 months paid vacation *Work visa * National health insurance   *Teaching resources * Professional Development *Friendly, professional environment *Opportunities for advancement   Successful Candidates will Possess: *Native English Speaker   *E.C.E. or BA in Education   *Teaching experience in Western school or child care center.   *Friendly, warm personality   *Ability to work responsibly and independently *Ability to sign a 1 year contract   Please forward resume and copies of any pertinent credentials to: Taipei P.O Box 26-1144, fax to 02-2784-0530 or email to hpk6@ms26.hinet.net. Please submit before August 7.

T25

Teacher (views: 79)
Location: Taichung
Email School: IVEI (163.32.22.196)
This job was added on Saturday August 4th 2001 @ 01:33 AM
Teaching position in Daming High School
Teaching Hours: Daytime---group class Nightime---small class   Location of DHS: Dali city, Taichung county Payment: 550 -600/per hour, at least 20 hours/wk   Work premit (must), health insurance   Applicants should have BA degree and be a native speaker of English. Professional certificate is a plus. Contract starts from September 2001

T26

10 Positions in Hshin-Chu and Taichung (views: 115)
Location: All over Taiwan
Email School: Formosa English (61.13.194.208)
This job was added on Saturday August 4th 2001 @ 02:16 PM
Primary level. Degree wanted . Must have expereince working with young kids under 12. Working hours can be morning or afternoon. Salary up to 70 000 depending on schedule. For september or possible mid august start. Please contact us as soon as possible.

T27

5 Positions in Chung-wa (views: 72)
Location: All over Taiwan
Email School: Formosa English (61.13.194.208)
This job was added on Saturday August 4th 2001 @ 02:19 PM
Afternoon language classes. 500-700/hr depending on experience, Contact us at FormosaEnglish@Email.Com Free accommodation available. Arc, health insurance. Degree needed. Class size: under 12, 6-12 years olds, Full time position.

T28

Teach English & Chinese Program in Taiwan (views: 208)
Location: All over Taiwan
Email School: International Avenue Consulting (210.243.218.118)
This job was added on Monday August 6th, 2001 @ 02:55AM EST
We have a number of openings NOW! Can you be here next week? Can you be here in two weeks? Three?   Call! Email! Fax! Walk in our door ! Email us for the current list! Come CHOOSE the best one for YOU! We have a position for you, Email us for the current list!! We will have more openings tomorrow! Email us for the current list!! Contact us NOW!   Do it All! Teach English - Study Chinese We promote teaching and learning. In cooperation with local Universities in various parts of Taiwan we offer accredited Mandarin   Chinese studies at a basic and advanced level and the full range of possible English teaching jobs with our client schools. We have positions available in colleges, high schools, elementary schools, private schools, kindergartens, language schools and corporate training etc. Qualifications desired: 1. BA degree and /or teaching certificate. -Certain other credentials may be recognized.   2. Native English speaker.   3. Be able to sign one year contract. Summary of the services we provide our employees 1. University Mandarin Chinese studies: learning a new and interesting culture. Developing your

language skills using the most powerful languages--English and Chinese.

2. Stable salary lets you have a good living standard. 3. Working permit and resident visa.

4. Comfortable accommodation at the most reasonable rate available. 5. Economical Transport

6. Entertainment: pubs, clubs, hiking, tai chi (Chinese martial art), restaurants etc. We will introduce

you the fun side of living in Taiwan to allow you for balance between work and play.   7. Camps:

Weekend camps where our teachers can have fun and interact with students in an informal setting.

Don't wait; contact us now! There is a position here with your name on it!

International Avenue Consulting Company

Tel: 1(604)6424199   Fax: 1(604)6424190   Url: http://www.iacc.com.tw

e-mail: service@iacc.com.tw Add: Ph01, 1889 Alberni St. Vancouver, BC, Canada V6G 3G7

T29

Children's English Teacher Wanted! (views: 187)

Location: Taipei

Email School: Merry Angels Kindergarten (210.85.142.73)

This job was added on Tuesday August 7th 2001 @ 09:39 AM

Children's English Teacher Wanted!   North American Accent   Working Hours: 9:00am ~12:00noon

Monday ~ Friday and/or 2:15pm~3:15pm on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday. Fixed Curriculum, Great

Working Environment   Good Pay! Job Starts ASAP!

T30

Full Time 70 000 NT a month (views: 258)

Location: All over Taiwan

Email School: Formosa English (209.148.198.251)

This job was added on Wednesday August 8th 2001 @ 12:09 AM

Teach older kids in a very well organized atmosphere. Position available as soon as possible. Pay

70 000 month. Degree needed . Please contact us if you interested   FormsaEnglish@Email.Com

T31

60 000 Nt Elementary (views: 125)

Location: Changhua

Email School: Taiwan Jobs (209.148.198.251)

This job was added on Wednesday August 8th 2001 @ 12:11 AM EST

Elementary school isn Hsindu require a a full itme teacher. Pay is 60 000 NT per month. Please call

Andrew at 2254-0710 or email TaiwanJobs@Email.Com. 5 positions available

T32

Full time and part time teacher (views: 119)

Location: Taichung

Email School: Xavier Sesame Street (163.32.22.197)

This job was added on Saturday August 11th 2001 @ 05:37 AM

We are English school in Taichung looking for native english teachers.We welcome those of you are

from overseas.free-airport pick up.We provide working visa,health insurance,good pay.Contact with Melysa with phone number 04-22601116 or e-mail:melysa05@ms25...

T33

Full-time native English teachers (views: 124)

Location: All over Taiwan

Email School:　Wen Tzao school (211.22.5.210)

This job was added on Friday August 17th, 2001 @ 03:22AM EST

Our company, entitled Wen Tzao, has been devoted for over 19 years to private English education, through a franchise system, for students age 3-13 throughout Taiwan. In order to efficiently promote our English-immersion program and serve other schools out of our system as a recruiting agency, we're keen to recruit native English speakers who are fond of kids, patient, animated, creative, willing to learn to teach and work in cross-cultural environment. Wen Tzao offers many opportunities for foreign teachers. We constantly have newly opened schools and other institutions with vacancies needing to be filled year round everywhere in the northern, central, and southern areas of Taiwan. A　teacher candidate must meet the following requirements.1. Be a native English speaker from America, Canada, United Kingdom, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.2. Hold a bachelor's degree or a college diploma in any discipline.3. Commit to a one-year contract.4. Pass a medical exam.To apply for a position, please send us the following information:1. Completed application form: Fill out the on-line application form. (Our website is located at 　　http://www.bravonet.com.tw/ english/index..htm) Please answer all the questions as required.OR:2. A resume stating: full name, age, address, phone number, e-mail address, nationality, educational background, working history, date of arrival, and length of stay.AND:3. A cover letter.4. One recent snapshot.5. Any relevant academic certificates.The contract benefits are as follows:1. Work permit.2.　Resident visa.3. Alien Resident Certificate.4. Health insurance.5. 7 days annual paid leave.6. Temporary free accommodation.7. Assistance finding appropriate housing.8. Teacher training and orientation.9. A bonus of 286 USD for completion of a contract.10. A bonus of above 286 USD for　renewal contract.The salary is as belows:1. Starting salary will be 1,516 USD /month with 25 teaching　hours per week, to be raised to 1,573 USD after a 2-month trial.2. Working overtime and part-time will be paid 15.7 USD/hour.3. Contract benefits begin the day after arrival in Taiwan.4. Payday will be on the fifth of each month.For further information on us, we sincerely invite you to pay a visit to our website mentioned above. You are welcome to join us at any time.

T34

Elementary Teaher required Taichung (views: 131)

Location: Taichung

Email School:　Taiwan Jobs (209.148.196.15)

This job was added on Friday August 17th 2001 @ 08:58 PM EST

Elementary position available for native English Teacher. Experience required with children. Position is a 1 year contract. Pay up to 75 000 NT per month. ARC provided. Please contact us at

TaiwanJobs@Email.Com as soon as possible.

T35

More teachers wanted on September and January. (views: 277)
Location: Chia-Yi
Email School: COLIN LANGUAGE SCHOOL (163.32.245.177)
This job was added on Saturday August 18th 2001 @ 03:35 AM EST

Colin language schools provide very good salary and benefits for a real nice teacher. Right now recruiting two more teachers. If you have a nice behavior and friendly attitude, it is a wonderful chance. But if you have no interesting in teaching, just don't try.

T36

Teacher (views: 208)
Location: Taipei
Email School: White Horse English Schools (163.30.203.237)
This job was added on Monday August 20th 2001 @ 09:51 AM EST

Teach classes from ABC's to Shakespeare. Pay is slightly higher than other schools with no other benefits except a fairly well developed curriculum and generally bright children with high english levels. We are also looking for teachers to work at our Kindergarten. Please, only teachers who are interested in legal positions.

T37

Do you want to be a tutor(NT700/hr)? (views: 99)
Location: Kaohsiung
Email School: The commuity class (139.175.57.116)
This job was added on Tuesday August 21st 2001 @ 01:03 AM EST

We are looking for a native speaker who   can teach English to children or adults   who want to improve their oral English for our class of the community near the Dollar   shopping mall on the Min-chu road in Kaohsuing   in the evening, and the numbers of the students in our class would not be more than four, so   the suitable teacher would be the one who can correct Taiwanese people's pronunciation and help them speak English well with his/her teaching material. We are looking for a English tutor If you are available in the evening (1.5 hr and twice a week), and want to earn money (NT700/per hr), please let me know. godspeed36@seed.net.tw

T38

English Schools Seeking Teachers in Kaohsiung (views: 32)
Location: Changhua
Email School: English Schools in Kaohsiung (199.80.75.134)
This job was added on Wednesday August 22nd 2001 @ 10:17 AM

For a list of language schools in Kaohsiung, try the link below. Many schools are looking for teachers now! http://www.geocities.com/allhou/schookao.htm

T39

English Schools Seeking Teachers in Taipei (views: 143)
Location: Taipei
Email School: English Schools in Taipei (199.80.75.134)
This job was added on Wednesday August 22nd 2001 @ 10:21 AM EST
English schools throughout Taipei need new teachers to teach classes. For more information, try the link below: http://www.geocities.com/allhou/schootaip.htm

T40

English Schools Seeking Teachers in Tainan (views: 56)
Location: Tainan
Email School: English Schools in Tainan (199.80.75.134)
This job was added on Wednesday August 22nd 2001 @ 10:22 AM EST
English schools throughout Tainan need new teachers to teach classes. For more information, try the link below: http://www.geocities.com/allhou/schootain.htm

T41

English Schools in Taichung (views: 115)
Location: Taichung
Email School: English Schools in Taichung (199.80.75.134)
This job was added on Wednesday August 22nd 2001 @ 10:24 AM EST
English schools throughout Taichung are eagerly seeking new teachers to teach classes. For more information, try the link below: http://www.geocities.com/allhou/schootaich.htm

T42

Elementary Teacher (views: 108)
Location: Kaohsiung
Email School: Formosa English (209.148.201.232)
This job was added on Thursday August 23rd 2001 @ 09:59 PM EST
Teach older kids in a very well organized atmosphere. Position available as soon as possible. Pay 70 000 month. Degree needed . Please contact us if you interested   FormsaEnglish@Email.Com

T43

English Teacher (views: 86)
Location: Taipei
Email School: Julia American School (163.31.15.183)
This job was added on Monday August 27th 2001 @ 11:08 PM EST
It is a full time job. Near Tai-An distric. Near MRT. Refer female teacher to teach preschool students. Perfect teaching surrounding and reasonable salary. Work VISA provided. Contact: Alice Chan 02-2378-2200

T44

ESL teacher (views: 67)
Location: Changhua
Email School:　abc school (61.216.154.145)
This job was added on Wednesday August 29th 2001 @ 02:07 AM EST
We are looking for two part-time ESL teachers. 1.2~10hours per week　2.NT$500~NT$800 per hour call: 04-7860196 now!

T45

English teacher (views: 105)
Location: Taichung
Email School:　Harvard Land Computer English (61.221.1.146)
This job was added on Thursday August 30th 2001 @ 04:43 AM EST
English teacher required (local and overseas people all welcome). Ability to speak Chinese is a big plus but not required. $40,000NT/month and up (negotiable). Accommodations provided if desired. If you can speak Chinese, then call 04-268812...

T46

FULL-TIME ENGLISH TEACHER (views: 157)
Location:Miaoli
Email School:　yvonne\'s language school (61.217.148.178)
This job was added on Friday August 31st 2001 @ 03:25 AM EST
WE ARE LOOKING FOR A QUALIFIED ENGLISH TEACHER TO TEACH STUDENTS BETWEEN10 & 15 YRS OLD.WE ARE SITUATED IN MIOA-LI CITY,IT'S VERY PEACEFUL AND QUIET AROUND THIS PART OF TAIWAN...

T47

English teacher (views: 56)
Location: Lukang
Email School:　KidCastle (61.216.153.228)
This job was added on Friday August 31st 2001 @ 08:20 PM EST
Kidcastle kindergarten is seeks a full time English teacher,please email or fax us your resume. email:kidcastle0666@sinamail.com fax:04-7741512 tel:04-7741511 Thank you for your reading.

T48

Substitute Teacher (views: 48)
Location: Taichung
Email School:　Macdilung Kindergarten (61.216.139.234)
This job was added on Friday August 31st 2001 @ 07:58 PM EST
GETTING MARRIED! I need a sub for 17-28 September. Hours: 09:00-17:00 Pay: 25,000 10 min from train station by scooter