

THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF ENGLISH AS
A GLOBAL LANGUAGE IN TAIWAN

By

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Abstract

This thesis explores how English is perceived in Taiwan and what impact it has on society and culture by drawing on three kinds of data: (i) analysis of policy and documents, (ii) critical discourse analysis of textual data, and (iii) interviews with respondents from different levels of the education system. It aims to provide an in-depth study of the role and cultural politics of English in Taiwan. Rather than offering a general and quantitative picture of global English, this research concentrates on qualitative and contextual data. It focuses on issues which arise when English is given an important role in national policy and when English instruction is introduced into Taiwan's elementary education system.

By analysing governmental documents, educational publications and media texts, this research identifies a number of ideological assumptions about English in Taiwan and argues that the ideology of English in Taiwan is based on a strong association between English, globalization and economic competitiveness. It also reflects, to an extent, the underlying uncertainty and anxiety regarding Taiwanese's politico-economic future. Furthermore, in the investigation of perceptions of English in Taiwan, informants' responses corresponded somewhat with ideological assumptions embedded in discourses on English. English is highly approved of in areas related to national and personal economic well-being, while the prevalence of English also leads to concern about local languages and cultures.

This research suggests that the overall impact of English is considered more positive than negative. Moreover, since the necessity of English is assumed by Taiwanese society, the main concern is thus how to adapt global English effectively without undermining local languages and cultures. Taiwan can be regarded as a typical case among East Asian countries in terms of the socio-economic and educational impact of English, while the ideological assumptions and perceptions of global English reflect Taiwan's unique cultural, economic and political status in the world.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The global spread of English has stimulated considerable critical debate, with Phillipson's (1992) *Linguistic Imperialism* and Pennycook's (1994) *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language* as key representations. Much of the debate, however, has been conducted at a very abstract, ideological level with less detailed empirical work on the socio-political and economic role played by English in particular contexts (e.g. Fishman, 1996). In particular, there has been little empirical study on the effect of English in Taiwan, with the exception of the studies by Ebele (2001) and Chen (2003). However, such research either focuses on the development of English education and language-in-education policy or regards the spread of English as a background phenomenon and tends to pay more attention to issues of globalization and local cultures. Therefore, this thesis seeks to contribute to, as well as enrich, the debate over the effect of the global spread of English by empirically examining the impact of English on education, culture, politics and ideology, and by investigating local responses to English. I also place Taiwan within the wider context of East Asia and aim to examine the differences and similarities regarding the spread of English in Taiwan and other East Asian countries.

The thesis is organized as follows. The second chapter reviews the relevant literature concerning the global spread of English and its development in East Asia and Taiwan. Firstly, it discusses the current shape of English and implications of the emergence of English as a global language. It then discusses several critical perspectives on global English. By focusing on cultural imperialism, inequality and ELT industry, Phillipson's critical account of English linguistic imperialism are

reviewed and evaluated. Also examined are other important related issues: English in relation to language endangerment, the controversy of New Englishes, and the ownership of English. Finally, the study examines the socio-historical background of Taiwan and the role of English within an East Asian and Taiwanese context.

Chapter 3 presents the research methodology of this thesis. It first sets out the detailed aims and background of this thesis along with the research framework and research questions. Focusing on the sociopolitical and ideological implications of English spread in Taiwan, this research looks at four levels which can assess the impact of English: the international, the educational, the socio-cultural, and the perceptual. The third part provides an overview of research methods employed in the thesis. The final part of the chapter explains the significance of this thesis and what contribution it can make to the research of global English.

In Chapter 4, the focus is on language policies in education and English education in Taiwan. In order to provide a detailed description to Taiwan's sociolinguistic context, the ethno-linguistic background and a historical review of language policy in education in Taiwan are discussed. In addition, a state-of-the-art description of English education in the state education system is presented. This Chapter also examines the recent developments in extending English education at the elementary level, and discusses the background and implications of this new English language policy.

Chapter 5 examines discourses on English in Taiwan, focusing on the prevailing beliefs, values and assumptions relating to English as a global language in Taiwan and aims to analyze how it is presented in governmental and educational documents, news reports, and advertisements. The first part of this Chapter provides an overview of the concept of ideology, the relation between ideology and language, and the ideology of English. The second part moves to research methods employed in this chapter, including Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and criteria for data collection. The final part analyzes the construction of discourses about English and formulates ideological assumptions regarding the English language in Taiwan.

Chapter 6 further explores the impact of the spread of English at the individual level. It focuses on how the spread of English is perceived and what responses are made by individuals in Taiwan, and examines individuals' experiences, beliefs, and

attitudes regarding the English language. Through the employment of semi-structured interviews, the following aspects of informants' perceptions are investigated: attitudes towards local languages; English and other foreign languages; English learning experiences; the use and functions of English; and the impact of English on the individual, socio-cultural and politico-economic levels in Taiwan.

Finally, Chapter 7 provides a systematic presentation of the research findings of the thesis. Based on these findings, it assesses their implications for current and future research, and formulates a list of policy recommendations for Taiwanese society in regard to the present and future use of English.

Literature Review

2.1 Current Shapes of English and the Global Language System

It would be safe to say that a considerable number of the world's population is motivated to learn English for possible benefits in their lives. Indeed, English is no longer a simple foreign language acquired for personal interests or hobbies. Rather, it represents an unprecedented phenomenon in our so-called 'global age' and can exert some profound influences on individuals and communities in the world. This section discusses the current status of English as a global language and its role in the global language system.

2.1.1 Three Concentric Circles of English

The world spread of English has resulted in English diversifying into many forms. Kachru (1985) suggests a model of the global spread of English representing the world as three concentric circles, denoting different ways in which the English language has been acquired and is currently used. The inner circle (where English is used as the mother tongue or the native language/ ENL) refers to the traditional home base of English, e.g. the U.S., THE U.K., Canada, Ireland, Australia, and New Zealand. The outer or extended circle (where English is learned as the second language/ ESL) involves the earlier spread of English and its institutionalization in non-native contexts, e.g. India, Singapore, Nigeria, and in over fifty other territories. The expanding circle (where English is learned as a foreign language/ EFL)

involves those nations recognizing the fact that English is an international language, though they do not have a history of colonization by users of the inner circle, e.g. China, Japan, Greece, Taiwan, and a steadily increasing numbers of other states. The rapid expansion of the latter two circles has resulted in numerous varieties of English (Kachru and Quirk, 1981) and strengthened the claims of English as a global language (Kachru, 1985).

Focusing on Standard English and its regional varieties, McArthur (1998) proposes a circle of world English (see Figure 2.1). He divides world English into eight divisions according to regional standards. In the circle of world English, World Standard English is encompassed by a band of regional varieties, such as the standard and other forms of African English, American English, Canadian English, and Caribbean English. Each of the regional varieties is linked by a fringe of subvarieties such as Indian English, Aboriginal English, Singapore English, and Ulster Scots. Again, the formulation suggested by McArthur demonstrates the complex nature of the spread of English worldwide and the contradictions underlying the phenomenon of English as a global *lingua franca*.

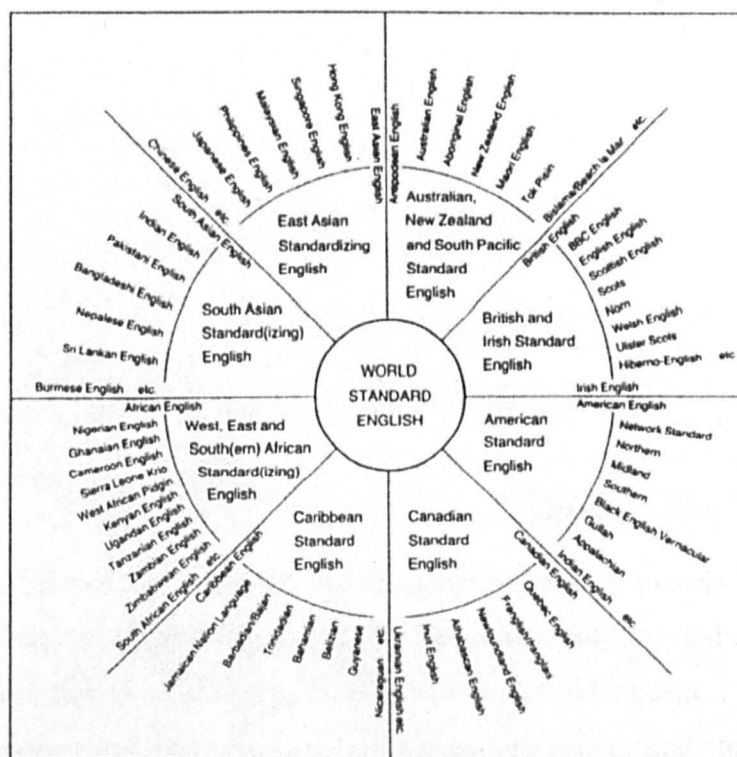


Figure 2.1 McArthur's (1998: 97) circle of world English

2.1.2 Indices of English as a Global Language

According to Jenkins (2003:14) (*cf.* Crystal, 1997 and Graddol, 1997), with around 350 million L1 speakers, 350 million L2 speakers, and around 350 million EFL speakers, the population of English speakers has reached an unprecedented level. In fact, those who use English as a second or foreign language have outnumbered first-language speakers. English has become the most widespread language in the world with a rapid rate of expansion, especially since 1950.

After the Second World War, the growth of international organizations and the developments of technologies such as the telegraph, computers and the Internet, have reinforced the functional power of the English language in international communication. Furthermore, English has become the main working language in major international domains (see Table 2.1). As well as in the fields of international communication and administration, English has also gained its dominant status in the international media, including radio, TV, magazines and newspapers. The spread of English at this stage is at a truly global level, whereby English is recognized as an important international medium.

Table 2.1 Major International domains of English

1. Working language of International organizations and conferences
2. Scientific publication
3. International banking, economic affairs and trade
4. Advertising for global brand
5. Audio-visual cultural product (e.g. film, TV, popular music)
6. International tourism
7. Tertiary education
8. International safety (e.g. 'airspeak', 'seaspeak')
9. International law
10. As a 'relay language' in interpretation and translation
11. Technology transfer
12. Internet communication

(Graddol, 1997:8)

Since the end of the 20th century, significant global trends, such as the world economy, advances in technology, knowledge-intensive industries and cultural flows, have promoted the dominance of English as a global language. As the main language of political and economic communication, technology and other professional level of knowledge, English can be considered as the language of power.

2.1.3 English and the Global Language System

Combining the theoretical perspectives of political sociology with political economy of language, a framework of the world's languages is proposed by De Swaan (2001a). The aim here is to explain the development of languages in the world and examine mechanisms involved in the global spread of English. De Swaan proposes a global language system as the linguistic dimension of the world system where language groups compete unequally in a global context on different levels, and describes the global language system as 'very much the product of prior conquest and domination and of ongoing relations of power and exchange' (ibid. p.18).

In the global language system, all languages in the world and the multi-linguals that connect them constitute a hierarchical pattern of the linguistic galaxy. From the lower level to the higher level of the hierarchy, De Swaan divides the world's languages into peripheral languages (98% of the world's languages, used by less than 10% of humankind), central languages (usually national or official languages, used by around 95% of humankind), super-central languages (mostly with more than one hundred million speakers, including Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Malay, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Swahili) and hyper-central language (the language of global communication, English). Members of the various languages at the same level are more likely to acquire one and the same second language which is situated at the higher level. As De Swaan suggests, language learning occurs mostly upwards. The more resourceful a language is, the higher level of the global language system it is situated; and the more attractive it is for language learners. In this regard, languages are not equal. Each of them has different values and, therefore, different demands within the global language system.

For De Swaan, language can be regarded as a commodity. One of the major characteristics of languages as commodities is the 'Snowball Effect': this concept refers to the 'value of a language commodity increases by every speaker who acquires it, or whom it acquired. (Coulmas, 1992: 79)' More specifically, the preferences people have for learning one language rather than another is due to the 'external network effects' operating in the case of languages as they gain new speakers. For example, for every actual speaker of the language, the number and variety of possible conversation partners or correspondents increases with each new

speaker added (De Swaan, 2001a). Whenever people opt for learning a given language, they increase the utility of that language for all speakers who are already using it. De Swaan defines languages as 'hyper-collective goods' by illustrating the features of languages as collective goods and pointing out their external network effects.

Therefore it is argued that languages are completely accessible for anyone making the effort to use them, and they thus depend on the whole community safeguarding their existence and maintenance. According to De Swaan, people will learn the language that provides them with the highest communicative advantage (ibid.). That is, it depends on the greater 'Q-value': a measure of its communication value according to the prevalence and the centrality of a language. This notion of prevalence refers to the proportion of speakers of a language within the constellation of languages, and centrality refers to the proportion of multilingual speakers that are also competent in a language in the constellation. In other words, the Q-value of a language is determined by the number of its speakers and its connectedness to other languages. People thus tend to prefer to learn the language that most increases the Q-value of their linguistic repertoire.

In the case of English, the recent developments in economy, technology, culture and politics have led to English acquired as a foreign language by more individuals and institutions than any other languages. With greater Q-value (high centrality and a quite large population of native speakers), English is at the top of the language hierarchy and certainly has become the commodity highly demanded worldwide.

2.2 The Global Spread of English

This section focuses on the spread of English and discusses the implications of the emergence of English as a global language.

2.2.1 Types of Language Spread and Reasons for English Spread

Germane to the above issues, Coulmas (1992) makes the valid distinction of language expansion caused by population growth of native speakers and that by

language shift, gaining additional speakers from other language communities. Coulmas differentiates demographic language spread from functional language spread (*ibid.*). He suggests that though demographic strength is one of the factors that affect language spread, it is the geographic and socio-economic distribution of a language that helps it achieve an international status. For instance, with a very large population, Chinese does not reflect its demographic strength in its international function. English, by contrast, has a relatively small population and moderate demographic growth of native speakers. However, the economic strength of English speaking countries and the wide geographic distribution of its speech communities have resulted in its penetration of many functional domains in the world. In other words, the dynamics of language spread do not necessarily lie in a single economic or demographic factor; rather, it involves all factors that can contribute to the utility of a language.

As Edwards (1994) suggests, language spread is associated with socio-cultural and politico-economic activities such as trade, colonization and proselytism. They are also related to other factors, such as the power of maintaining and furthering language spread, the degree of accepting its varieties by others, and the recognition of its status from 'third parties' (i.e. secondary speakers).

Historically, the British Empire and the rise of American hegemony were the main agents of political and military power. These influences helped maintain and enhance the spread of English as a world language. This process is also manifest in the acceptance of English varieties and the important role of secondary speakers. Edwards, for example, points out that 'the degree to which a language community is open to the use of "its" variety by others is often important' for language spread (*ibid.* p.105). The indigenization of English in former British colonies has transformed English from an imposed imperial language to a language of local identity. The acceptance of local varieties of English can reinforce the prevalence of English in the world, and in a way that facilitates English becoming a truly international language. Furthermore, the increase of secondary speakers is often the outcome of language spread and the key factor in establishing and maintaining the utility value of a language. The more devoted third parties a language has, the longer a language tends to perpetuate.

In the case of English, it can be seen that a great number of people around the

world invest considerable time and money in learning the language. Many have certainly seen the benefits the language can provide and as a result will help preserve the *status quo* of English as an international language.

Another reason for the spread of English is the increased international interaction in the twentieth century, namely globalization, which has reinforced the need of a common tongue for international communication and has accelerated the process of language diffusion. Although political and military power is the most important basis of a global language (Crystal, 1996, 1997), the English language could not easily reach its dominant position without globalization in the twentieth century.

Overall, the spread of English can be attributed to the following factors: the British Empire and colonialism, American power after World War Two, the impact of globalization, the acceptance of local varieties, and the role of secondary speakers. These factors will be further discussed in the following sections.

2.2.2. The British Empire and Colonialism

As Graddol (1997: 6) points out, the British Empire, with its distinctive mix of trade and cultural politics, consolidated the world position of English, creating a 'language on which the sun never sets'. Through trade, colonization and conquest, English started to spread outside the British Isles and eventually reached its present status as a global language. Between 1600 and 1750 saw significant developments which later resulted in the global spread of English. During this period, British explorers, merchant adventurers, traders, settlers, soldiers, and administrators established settlements and colonies overseas (Stevens, 1992). The process began when English speakers settled in North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. In areas such as the Caribbean, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, South Asia, and former colonial Africa, British rule was firmly established by British colonialism and the growth of English settlements. From 1750 to the 1900s, the population of the overseas English settlements greatly increased in size and consequently developed a growing sense of separate identity, which extended to the English they used.

In the United States and then later in Australia and elsewhere, their

independence from Britain reinforced linguistic differences and a resulting sense of identity. In addition, the stabilization and predomination of English in these areas made learning English an important activity for non-native speakers of English (indigenous people and immigrants) as they had to survive or find employment with the governing class (ibid.).

Apart from the political and economic power of Britain, the Industrial Revolution also made English the language of scientific and technological knowledge. Britain, at the forefront of the Industrial Revolution, pioneered some of the major technological innovations. In addition, as the language of the first telegraph system, English became the international language for telegraphing and the major language for wire services. These developments also strengthened the position of the language internationally.

2.2.3 Consolidation of English as a Global Language

Wright (2004) argues that the US dominated developments after World War Two in the spheres of global economy, politics, science, and culture. This influence has consequently consolidated English as a global language. Although it would be simplistic to identify the global capitalist system as US dominated, it is unquestionable that the US has a profound influence on the global economy. According to Wright (2004: 144):

Free market principles and the neo-liberal paradigm derive directly from the United States, frame the Capitalist system and structure the inter-government organizations that ensure its survival. It is through the acceptance of its philosophy that the United States dominates.

Through its ideological dominance, the US has enhanced the status of English in economic discourse, international organizations, and business networks. Furthermore, the new style of economic globalization (see Section 2.2.4). The development of knowledge-based industries has also reinforced the role of English in the economic sphere.

In the political sphere, the dominance of the US is overt and undisputed, so is its linguistic influence. English as the language of the world's greatest power has established its predominant status in international organizations and multinational

communication. In the sphere of culture, the penetration of American culture can easily be found around the world, e.g. Hollywood movies, US made TV programs, and US food and fashion styles.

In the sphere of technology and science, the US has achieved a certain degree of dominance, though other industrial countries might have a leading role in certain technological developments (e.g., Japan in the audio-visual hardware and France in transport industries). However, in terms of publishing and conferences in the scientific community, there is little challenge to the dominance of English. Although some scholars claim that English as the language of technology and science might restrict intellectual development¹, English does provide a common base of intellectual interaction. Apart from the leading position of the US in technology, Kaplan (2001) suggests that English as the predominant language of technology and science can also be attributed to the international development after World War Two, the invention of the computer, and the dramatic growth of science and technology.

Consequently, in the second half of the twentieth century, the dominant status of the US in the global system has resulted in the strengthening of English as a world language.

2.2.4 Impact of Globalization

By focusing on the impact of globalization, this section looks at the features of globalization and the relation between globalization and the emergence of English as a global language.

'Globalization' can refer to many different phenomena: a number of commentators have offered various interpretations. For example, Gray (1998: 55) suggests that it involves 'the worldwide spread of modern technologies of industrial production and communication of all kinds across frontiers- in trade, capital, production and information', and relates to the reality that 'nearly all economies are networked with other economies throughout the world'. Furthermore, globalization

¹ It is argued that English as the medium of technology and knowledge might restrict the intellectual development by favouring English native speakers and limiting contributions of intellectuals from other linguistic background. It is argued that it is easier for native English speakers to use and produce utterances and texts, and English is a language within a cultural tradition which might restrict the interpretation and transmission of terminology and ideas from other languages in the social sciences and the humanities (Ammon, 2001; Siguan, 2001; De Swaan, 2001b).

can also be 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant realities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa' (Giddens, 1990: 64). More generally, it can refer to 'the rapidly developing process of complex interconnections between societies, cultures, institutions and individuals worldwide' (Tomlinson, 1997: 170).

From the above comments, it can be seen that the term 'Globalization' can be interpreted as a political-economic concept, as well as a cultural description. It thus implies a historical process which involves compressing time and space of the world, and can lead to be expansion of social relations from local contexts to global contexts.

Although there is a general acknowledgement of the intensification of global interconnections, globalization is still a controversial idea in terms of its origins, conceptualization, driving forces and structural consequences. For example, Held and McGrew (2000, 2002) summarize the diversity and conflict of interpreting the phenomenon of globalization by categorizing them into two ideal-type constructions, namely, globalists and sceptics¹. However, no matter how controversial or divergent its origins, forces and impacts might be, the concept of globalization has been widely used to describe the intensifying development of interconnectedness of the world.

The process of globalization can be applied to language in different ways. They include the diffusion of any one individual language across the globe and the globalization of language or language capacities through the diffusion of bilingualism and multilingualism. It also involves facilitating the transmission of cultural products and ideas. Language, as the major means of international communication, plays a crucial role in the process of globalization. As Held *et al.* (1999: 345) suggest, the existence of shared languages or language capacities is the key element which reinforces the basic infrastructure of intercultural communication and interaction. Without shared languages or linguistic competencies, none of the telecommunications could actually facilitate and

¹ Sceptics (e.g. Hirst and Thompson, 1996) argue that the discourse of globalization performs as a primarily ideological construction, a convenient myth which helps justify and legitimize the creation of a global free market and the consolidation of Anglo-American capitalism and Western imperialism. The globalist (e.g. Giddens, 1996; Rosenau, 1997) account gives equal status to other dimensions of social activity and emphasizes the spatial attributes of globalization rather than conceiving globalization a solely economic phenomenon or a purely ideological construction.

maintain global communication.

According to De Swaan's (2001a) political-economic framework of the global language system (see Section 2.1.3), English is labeled as a 'hyper-central' language connecting 'super-central' languages with one another and that therefore constitutes the linguistic hub of the global system. As super-central languages serve as a regional *lingua franca*, English, located at the very center of the global language system, has become the main language of international communication as well as the dominant language of global advertising and popular culture. Consequently, globalization both facilitates the spread of English and is facilitated by it in a dialectical, reciprocal manner.

2.2.5 Features of English as a Global Language

Brutt-Griffler (2002) provides a unifying theoretical perspective in order to identify the various strands involved in the making of World English. Focusing on the development of world English, she differentiates four central features of global language as a explanatory framework for English spread: (1) econo-cultural functions; (2) the transcendence of the role of an elite *lingua franca*; (3) the coexistence of the world language with other languages in a multilingual context with bilingual speakers; (4) language change via the process of world language convergence and world language divergence (ibid. pp. 110-124).

As mentioned earlier, language spread depends crucially on the functional and communicative value of a language. In the case of global language, according to Brutt-Griffler (2002: 110),

World language is a product of the socio-historical development of the *world econo-cultural system*, which includes the world market, business community, technology, science and cultural and intellectual life in the global scale.
(original italic)

A global language is, therefore, a language that penetrates most of the domains of the world 'econo-cultural' system. In terms of the econo-cultural spread of English, the evolution of global language coincides with the predominance of English native speakers in the world system where the spheres of the capitalist system, technology, knowledge and culture are linked. While technological developments, knowledge

industries and cultural goods have played an important role in the global economy and the process of globalization, English as the major medium of these spheres has become the language of econo-cultural functions.

Another feature of English as a global language is related to its prevalence and accessibility. According to Brutt-Griffler (2002), English is not a language exclusively used by certain socioeconomic elites. Rather, it is available to anyone who is willing to invest time and effort of learning it. In addition, rather than replacing other languages, English as a global language has spread in bilingual/multilingual contexts, which establish English alongside other languages (ibid.). On the one hand, the large number of ESL and EFL speakers strengthen the 'external network effects' of English and contribute to its 'Q-value' by increasing the prevalence of English. On the other hand, the strength of linguistic third parties also reinforces the *status quo* of English as a global language in the global language system.

The final feature of English as a global language derives from language change in the process of the spread of English. Brutt-Griffler (2002) identifies two directions of language change within the development of global language: divergence and convergence; both of them reflect the inherent sociopolitical processes. While the process of world English divergence results in the indigenization of English and new varieties of English, the process of world English convergence creates the demand of maintaining unity in the global language. Brutt-Griffler provides a linguistic model of macro-acquisition of world English (see Section 2.3.3) and argues that not only mother-tongue English language nations, mainly the UK and the US, but also non-mother tongue English speech communities, especially post-colonial countries in Africa and Asia, are active agents in the process of the creation of world English (ibid)

Overall, Brutt-Griffler offers a historical and linguistic exploration of the development of English as a global language (ibid.). She argues that World English is the product of a world historical process and challenges critical accounts of English as an imperial tool (e.g. Phillipson, 1992). In the next section, the focus turns to socio-political and ideological dimensions of English and critical perspectives on global English will be examined.

2.3 Critical Perspectives on Global English

This section reviews the critiques of the global spread of English, that is, criticisms of the socio-political and linguistic impact of English spread. Firstly, it examines Phillipson's theory of linguistic imperialism and the key issues in his account: the spread of English in relation to cultural imperialism, inequality, and the ELT industry. Then, it further discusses the critique of the effect of English on language death and language change. Section 2.3.2 assesses the notion of English as a so-called 'killer language' while Section 2.3.3 explores the development of New Englishes, and the concept of the ownership of English claimed by non-native English users.

2.3.1 English Linguistic Imperialism

Among all the criticisms of the global spread of English, Phillipson's (1992) *Linguistic Imperialism* is one of the most influential and controversial works in which he critiques the causes and impact of English spread. He claims to uncover a conspiracy behind the global spread of English and English language teaching.

What Phillipson proposes is a linguistic counterpart of imperialism in Galtung's (1988) imperialism theory which analyses the world by making distinction between a dominant Centre (the powerful western countries and interests) and dominated Peripheries (the underdeveloped countries). It is claimed that the norms imposed by the dominant Centre have been internalized by those in power in the Periphery in order to legitimate exploitation. Language as the primary means for communication plays an essential role in the Centre's cultural and linguistic penetration of the Periphery. Therefore, by transmitting norms and ideas of the Centre through language, linguistic imperialism is not only a distinct type of imperialism but also pervades all the types of imperialism. In other words, linguistic imperialism is a subtype as well as an integral part of cultural imperialism, along with media-based, educational and scientific imperialism.

Phillipson (1992: 47) defines 'English linguistic imperialism' as follows: '*the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstruction of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages.*' English linguistic imperialism is a subtype of 'linguicism',

and is defined by Skutnabb-Kangas (1988: 13) as *'ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language.'* Two main mechanisms legitimate English as the dominant language: 'anglo-centricity'- the ethnocentrism of original English users, referring to the practice of judging other cultures by the standards of one's own, and 'professionalism'- referring to see methods, techniques, procedures and theories followed in ELT as sufficient for understanding and analyzing language learning (Phillipson, 1992: 47-48). Phillipson argues that the unequal allocation of power and resources between core English-speaking countries and periphery-English countries has been affected and legitimated by anglo-centricity as well as professionalism in the field of ELT. The English language has been promoted in order to serve the interests of the Centre.

Thus in Phillipson's theory of linguistic imperialism, English is placed at the core of the socio-political process of imperialism where the dominant Centre controls over the economic and political fate of the dominated Periphery. In short, what he attempts to uncover is how English has been promoted and supported by a range of institutions promoting the structural power of English linguistic hegemony.

According to Pennycook (1999: 150), what Phillipson's view lacks is 'a view of how English is taken up, how people use English, why people choose to use English. Thus, the power of Phillipson's framework that is also its weakness.' Phillipson's notion of linguistic imperialism has been criticized by writers such as Davies (1996) and Bisong (1995) for his over-emphasis on the domination and effect of the English language, for neglecting other factors in the process of English spread and for his self-confirming hypotheses (Fishman, 1993). Criticisms of Phillipson's argument can be generally divided into two categories: empirical examination and theoretical debate.

Scholars from post-colonial countries have questioned Phillipson's claim of English linguistic imperialism. It is argued that linguistic imperialism should not be over-generalized and needs to be scrutinized contextually. Bisong (1995) evaluates Phillipson's claims by examining the following questions in the context of Nigeria: Has English succeeded in displacing or replacing other languages in the post-colonial countries? Has the dominance of English caused local culture to be

undervalued and marginalized? Why did writers literate and fluent in their mother tongues write in English? Through these pragmatic and relevant questions, Bisong argues that in Nigeria English, like other indigenous languages, is one of the linguistic choices and it functions as a pragmatic instrument without endangering indigenous languages and cultures. He then criticizes Phillipson for failing to perceive the complexities of the sociolinguistic situation in Nigeria and for attempting to over-generalize the situation in one part of the Periphery.

In *Post-Imperial English*, a volume of empirical research on status change and English in post-colonial countries from 1940 to 1990, three interlocking questions were raised in order to seek empirical evidence for Phillipson's linguistic imperialism (Fishman, 1996): Was English still 'spreading' in the non-English mother-tongue world? Was the continued spread in any way directly orchestrated by, fostered by, or exploitatively beneficial to the English mother-tongue world? Were there forces or processes contributing to the continued spread of English? From case studies of English in various former British and American colonies, Fishman concludes that the continued spread of English was related more to their involvement of the modern world economy rather than to the English mother-tongue world. In addition, English in most former British and American colonies was no longer a reflection of externally imposed hegemony, but part of the everyday discourse following its own commonsense needs and desires. Although English can be linked to social stratification (e.g. a functional division of labor between English and the local vernaculars) and the increasing use of English in the future is foreseeable), English and local languages can actually complement each other by satisfying different needs and having different social functions.

Rubal-Lopez (1996) argues that Phillipson's focus on the relationship between colonialism and the spread of English excludes potentially significant factors for analyzing the spread of English worldwide. These include details and characteristics of nations where English is used, and the comparison between colonial and non-colonial countries, and can lead to over-generalizations regarding the spread of English. Phillipson's macro-social perspective is also criticized for failing to attend the micro-social issues of domination as well as to apprehend the reality of periphery classrooms (ibid.). From his perspective, the status of English will only be challenged by changing the structure of geopolitical relations, and the existing

resistance to English in the Periphery, e.g. nativized visions of English and the hybrid mixing of languages in indigenous communities, is ignored (Canagarajah, 1999). As Canagarajah further argues, the determinism and impersonality of Phillipson's analytical models, i.e. Galtung's theory of imperialism and dependent theory, preclude him from investigating some of the more complex issues of linguistic domination and resistance.

The theoretical foundation of Phillipson's linguistic imperialism has also been questioned. Davies (1996) challenges Phillipson's Linguistic Imperialism by pointing out his ahistorical and insular view of English and the problem of his self-confirming hypotheses. The latter refers to Phillipson's deterministic insistence of revealing the unequal power relations behind the post colonial promotion of English, and it has biased the judgments of the facts and the presentation of his arguments. Davies also argues that in *Linguistic Imperialism* the post colonial development of English is isolated from other imperial languages, and not only the interaction of English with other languages but also the responses, decisions and resistance from the Periphery has been ignored. In addition, Phillipson is criticized for overemphasizing the role of language and the structural and hegemonic power of English spread, and for blaming the English language as the major cause of disadvantage in the Anglophone Third World (ibid.).

From a Marxist point of view, Holborow (1999) argues that Phillipson's Center-Periphery model fails to explain the material realities in the Periphery, in the sense that the Periphery is not uniformly suppressed by the Center and that local ruling classes of the periphery countries are the actual beneficiaries of capitalist development. In fact, education and linguistic policies in these countries are measures conforming to local ruling classes' interests rather than the consequence of cultural imperialism. The term 'linguistic imperialism' is therefore misleading because 'it deflects attention from the source of the inequalities, as well as missing the contradictory character of language itself' (ibid. p.78). According to Holborow, Phillipson's theoretical tool and analysis is not sufficient to explain the modern world today and language is not a determinant of the world order. Conrad (1996) argues that it is not linguicism but imperialism that induces the exploitation and disadvantage of the former British and American colonies. Language is only an indication of imperialism, and it is not languages *per se* that are in conflict. Instead,

it is people merely using different languages to create conflict in the first place.

Consequently, the concept of linguistic imperialism in part reveals the socio-political role of languages and power relations between different language speakers under the global structure, and it needs to be investigated further in different contexts. The significance of the criticisms made by Phillipson, and other writers such as Pennycook and Tollefson, is that they have brought socio-political and ideologically radical questions to the forefront. These issues have tended to be ignored in the field of Applied Linguistics and ELT for some time. They also offer an interdisciplinary view on the unprecedented phenomena of global English. For a fuller discussion of the criticisms of English spread, the following sections will focus on the key issues in Phillipson's argument of linguistic imperialism: cultural imperialism, inequality and the ELT industry.

English and cultural imperialism

Tomlinson (1991) summarizes four approaches to analyzing the characteristics of cultural imperialism, namely: cultural imperialism as media imperialism; cultural imperialism as a discourse of nationality; cultural imperialism as the critique of global capitalism; cultural imperialism as the critique of modernity. He points out that the first three can be seen as determinants of the cultural condition of modernity, and argues that the various discourses of cultural imperialism could be regarded as protests against the spread of (capitalist) modernity. In this respect, the spread of Western imagery and culture is construed as a new form of imperialism. This is referred to as 'cultural imperialism', and it is claimed that it can reinforce the dependency of the Periphery on the Centre.

One of the most profound cultural impacts of imperialism might be language practice. As Laitin (1993) (quoted in Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1997: 61) claims:

Of all the cultural ties that still bind Africa to Europe, it is the continued use of European languages as the official languages of African states that remains most significant.

For languages are both a medium of communication as well as an identity symbol. On the one hand, it, in part, signify one's nationality, culture, ideology and ethnicity, and works as a social organism constructing its communities and in turn constructed

by its users, on the other. In most former British colonies in Africa and Asia, e.g. Nigeria, Kenya, and Malaysia, English has often been adopted as the official language in education, administration and law. The language policies and language politics in these countries tend to reflect a twofold dilemma in the process of their nation building, i.e. national unity vs. linguistic nationalism, and modernization vs. resistance to imperialism. For example, Kembo-Sure (2003: 247-8) describes the prevailing attitudes towards English in Kenya.

For many Kenyans the position of English in their environment is taken for granted, for it is the language their children have to learn at school. To this group it is simply the language children must learn in order that they may get ahead in life and other questions may not be warranted. [...] On the other extreme there are Kenyans, mainly the educated elites, who link English to their country's inglorious past of political and cultural subjugation. This group is opposed to the status of English as an official language, the language that dominates the public life of many Kenyans. The link with the ignoble past causes this group to assert that Kenya will not be fully free from neo-colonialism until it divests itself of the language of slavery and oppression.

In the global context, it is claimed that English is learned because of its connection to popular culture and the mass media, e.g. American films, television, popular music and other mass entertainment. In other words, the domination of American culture has reinforced the spread of English while English as a mechanism for participating mass consumer culture facilitates the process of Americanization.

However, the concept of cultural imperialism has been criticized as it fails to explain how a cultural practice can be accepted in a context without coercive imposition (Tomlinson, 1991) and for overstating external determinants and undervaluing the internal dynamics in the Periphery (Garofalo, 1993, cited in Golding and Harries, 1997: 5). As Kroes (1999) argues, most of the research on cultural production tends to focus on the senders (the Centre) rather than the receivers (the Periphery). They often over-emphasize the hegemonic and structural power that can benefit the Centre (the senders), and hypothesize the Periphery as passive and submissive receivers. Therefore the subjectivity of the receivers and the resistance from the receiving end is often ignored. In the case of the global spread of English, similar argument has been raised by scholars such as Davies (1996) and Bisong (1995). It is argued that the spread of English is not a static interaction but rather a dynamic one. Moreover, the decisions of the Periphery are far from

dependent but can be contextually different. The subjectivity of the receiving end is therefore legitimated by the notion of choice and the resistance to hegemony.

Following Phillipson's (1992) linguistic imperialism and Pennycook's (1994) claim of restricted notions of choice, Bamgbose (2003: 421) raises a valid point in the debate regarding the global spread of English; he poses the question: '*Is the choice of English a free choice or are there constraints that make the choice inevitable?*' English language users and learners in ESL and EFL countries around the world do have a choice which, however, is constrained by 'functionalist' or 'hegemonic' reasons, e.g. international communication and national unity. For example, in Asian contexts the dominance of English might be driven by internal needs and interests. However, as Tsui and Tollefson (2007: 18) claim,

their language policy responses to globalization have been shaped, and even determined, by the linguistic practices and preference of multinational corporations, transnational organizations, and international aid agencies. Asian countries have little choice but to legitimize the hegemony of English.

In this sense, Pennycook appears justified in arguing that the notion of choice is problematic in terms of its meaning and interpretation. Constraints on a choice cannot deny the subjectivity of the decision makers while a choice under constraints cannot legitimate the freedom that the notion of choice implies. In other words, both the concept of cultural imperialism and the notion of choice are weakened as well as hindered by the resistance to hegemony and appropriation of English in the Periphery. The dichotomy between the dominant Centre and the dominated Periphery in discourses of cultural imperialism is problematic, especially when the Periphery is no longer a passive and submissive receiver but a more active participant in the process of English spread. However, the resistance to the norms of the ENL countries in a way reveals the existing power relationship between the Centre and the Periphery.

Pennycook (1995:48) argues for a more dynamic as well as clearer picture of the global spread of English:

A critical paradigm [is needed] that acknowledges human agency and looks not only at how people's lives are regulated by language, culture and discourse but also at how people both resist those forms and produce their own forms.

Rather than only focusing on English speaking countries (the senders) and the norms (messages), it is claimed that there is a need to attend the receiving end: in other words, the resistance and localization or hybridisation of messages. Many researchers (e.g. Canagarajah, 1999; Sonntag, 2003; Eoyang, 2003) have investigated the anti-hegemonic or resistance perspectives which can provide a more interactive and integrated view on the global spread of English. And by shifting the focus from the Center to the Periphery, it allows Periphery participants to claim their ownership of English. (see Section 2.3.3)

Inequality and English

Tollefson (2000:8) raises a paradox regarding the global spread of English:

[Although] English is widely seen as a key to the economic success of nations and the economic well-being of individuals, the spread of English also contributes to significant social, political and economic inequalities.

The dominant status of English as a global language, on the one hand, facilitates and increases international communication and interaction. However, it may also result in a new form of global stratification that depends on access to the *lingua franca* of a global elite. It is claimed that the dominance of global English has resulted in unbalanced power relations between native English speakers and non-native English speakers (Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1994, 1995; Tollefson, 2000). In addition, while English has taken a very important position in many education systems around the world, it has also become a gatekeeper to positions of prestige in society (Pennycook 1994, 1995).

In former British and American colonies where English is used as an official language in the education system and government, English is an instrument by which individuals, who can afford to learn English in expensive schools, can have greater educational and economic advantages later in life. In the global context, English as a global language has become the dominant language of international communication, business and technology, and is the most widely studied language in the world¹ (Graddol, 1997; Ho and Wong, 2003). While English-speaking

¹ The proportion of all school students studying modern languages in Europe: English 60.3%, French 30.4%, German 5.2%, Spanish 3.5%, other 0.6% (Graddol, 1997: 45).

countries may benefit from the privilege of their mother tongue and from the English education industry, non-English speaking countries and individuals have to invest their own time, effort and expense in order to acquire the English language.

It is therefore argued by some (e.g. Tollefson, 1995, 2000) that a new form of socio-economic inequality has emerged between native English speakers and non-native English speakers in international contexts, and between those with and without English proficiency in the outer and expanding circles. Under this stratification, English as a variety or as a *lingua franca* is still subject to the legitimacy and constraints of ENL countries in terms of standards and education (see Section 2.3.3 for further discussion on new Englishes and the ownership of English).

Scholars such as Pennycook (1995), Auerbach (1995) and Tollefson (1995) question the widespread ideological view of English as an instrument for gaining individual economic opportunity, and argue that the global spread of English is part of a wider political, social and economic process that results in economic inequality. Their argument regarding the relationship between global English and global inequality deserves careful examination.

To a certain extent, their critique of global English has some plausibility. The global spread of English is not a simple phenomenon of prevalence of skills or technique, but a complicated process with socio-cultural and politico-economic implications. English might not be the cause of global inequality but has become an important factor in intensifying inequality. However, as several writers have pointed out (Fishman, 1996; Conrad, 1996; Davies, 1996), it is the world political-economic system rather than the English language alone that is responsible for global inequality. English is not the centre or the major cause of global inequality but only part of the world system that indicates the unbalanced power relations. Therefore, English as a global language can be seen as an infrastructure and a medium for the world political-economic system, and will continue to be the prestigious instrument for development as long as its predominant status retains.

English, the ELT Industry and international education

Another important aspect of English spread is the global development of English language teaching and learning, and the ELT industry. As one of the major

growth industries around the world in the past thirty years (Crystal, 1997), the ELT industry provides the inner circle English users, including the US, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand with a new form of international trade: English education industry. This market process may well intensify and expand the use of English around the world (Kaplan, 2001).

In addition, the global spread of English and the dominant status of English in major international domains (see Table 1.1) also promotes higher education in ENL countries, as well as the English-medium higher education. For example, in the case of the natural sciences, English has obtained a predominant status, and up-to-date textbooks and research articles are more easily obtainable in English. The dominance of English in the sciences (Ammon, 2001) results in the growth of higher education in English-speaking countries, mainly the US and Britain, and leads to the development of the English-medium higher education in non-English speaking countries. Graddol (1997) suggests that the international demand for specialist courses of ESL will rapidly increase in the following decades and new forms of higher education will become an important part of international education. These may include hybrid courses (e.g. Information technology in English) and joint venture enterprises between institutes in English-speaking and non-English speaking countries.

The promotion and revenue of international education provides not only educational and economic benefits, but also political and national interests. In a way, the ELT industry, international education, and the predominance of English have established an influential global framework of English promotion. On the one hand, the predominant status of English benefits the ENL countries in the global market of higher education and enhances the development of the ELT industry worldwide. On the other hand, the international education provided by the ENL countries, and the rapid growth of English language teaching and learning worldwide, tends to reinforce the predominance of global English.

However, as the dominant language in the global market of education, can English function as a neutral language without imposing the underlying ideological and cultural values of its original users? By examining the discourse of English as an international language, Pennycook (1994) argues that the promotion of English has changed from the pre-Second World War era in that development aid became a

global commodity. He claims that English language teaching practices are cultural practices rather than the neutral, natural and beneficial classroom methodology or technology. Furthermore, the ELT industry is not only a world commodity or a service industry, but also an integral part of international capitalism and global structures of dependency (ibid.). Pennycook (2000) therefore argues that socio-political and cultural political viewpoints are needed in the English language classroom in order to reflect the larger cultural and social world. By examining the government policy of the UK and the US, the capitalist global market of English, as well as the academic discourses of English language teaching and learning, Phillipson (1992, 2000) also challenges the neutrality of ELT. He argues that ELT is promoted worldwide by agencies, such as the British Council, which not only respond to the demand for the English language, but also aim to reinforce the demand. In addition, the ELT profession, including language teachers and those training the profession, conspire to keep the predominance of English by tenets, beliefs and practices adopted in ELT. It is argued that English has been promoted by the UK and the US for their national interests. A conspiratorial role therefore is imposed on ELT activities.

However, it can be argued that Phillipson's account considerably overstates the political influence and status of the ELT profession and ignores the subjectivity of English learners around the world. As De Swaan (2001a) suggests, the global popularity of the English language is mainly due to the benefits it can provide. People worldwide choose to learn English not just because of the promotion by agents, such as the British Council, but also because of its high communicative potential. Crystal (1997) and Graddol (1997) maintain that the global spread of English should be regarded as a consequence of modern historical development of the world politico-economic system, rather than a conspiracy to retain the domination of English speaking countries. In other words, the dominance of a certain language is more a byproduct of the politico-economic world, rather than a political goal in itself.

Nevertheless, it is also undeniable that ELT practices and international education cannot be value-free nor culturally appropriate. The impact of global English is social, cultural, as well as ideological, for language is culture-bounded and so are its pedagogy, textbooks and methodology. Canagarajah (2002) and Gray

(2002) argue that there is a need to examine various paradigms of ELT from the Centre in terms of its methodology, pedagogy and coursebooks and to have a say in the Periphery language classrooms. Although it is native English speakers who are believed to be in the legitimate position of holding the norms and standards of English (also see Section 2.3.3), the power relation in the scenario of ELT and international education is not static. ELT is not a one-way transmission of language norms and cultures. As far as learners from different cultures are concerned, ELT is not only a huge business worldwide but also a forum where different cultures, ideologies and viewpoints can meet.

2.3.2 English, Language Endangerment, and Linguistic Rights

The commonly accepted estimate of languages in the world is between six and seven thousand. According to recent estimates, 2,500 languages are likely to die out by the end of the twenty-first century. Research on endangered languages has been conducted by scholars (e.g. Crystal, 2000; Dalby, 2002) who advocate the need to halt the loss of languages and investigate the cause of language death. The reason why the loss of languages should be stopped lies in the multiple and abundant resources embodied in different languages. The existence of linguistic diversity not only provides us various linguistic properties but also the evolution of human mind that languages can reveal. Moreover, languages can preserve and transmit a number of unique elements including insights into the structure of the human world embodied in other languages, and the creativity and flexibility generated by interaction between languages (Dalby, 2002).

One of the criticisms of the spread of English is its threatening impact on other languages. In most former colonies of British Empire in Africa and Asia, as a language of imperialism and predominance in government, education, technology and business, English has been blamed as the major cause of language death. It is claimed that English curtails the developments of other languages or poses a direct threat to the existence of other languages while it becomes dominant in most significant domains of language usage (e.g. Phillipson and Skuttnab-Kangas, 1996, 1997; Mühlhäusler, 1996; Skuttnab-Kangas, 2000a). For instance, Skuttnab-Kangas (2000b: 24) argues that the 'consciousness industry' (by which she means formal

education and the mass media) is one of the direct main agents for causing language death. Through the education system and the mass media, the necessity of the dominant language and the inferiority of other languages tend to become reinforced. Linguistic genocide therefore happens when speakers learn the dominant language at the cost of their mother tongues, rather than in addition to them.

This is also the case in the context of globalizing world. Fishman (2001) points out that the sheer difficulty of saving threatened languages is due to the worldwide movement toward modernization and Westernization driven by American-dominated globalization. The dominant languages in the world are the so-called 'killer languages', and it is claimed that the foremost among them is English.

In order to protect linguistic diversity threatened by English, Linguistic Human Rights as one type of human rights have been advocated (Phillipson and Skuttnab-Kangas 1995, 1996, 1997; Skuttnab-Kangas and Phillipson 1995; Skuttnab-Kangas 2000b). It is claimed that 'rights are needed for speakers of dominated languages, who individually and collectively experience linguistic "wrongs", marginalization, and ultimately the extinction of the languages' (Phillipson and Skuttnab-Kangas 1995:483). By legally binding linguistic human rights in language policy and language education, linguistic and cultural diversity is then possible to be cultivated and preserved in terms of language ecology.

English can be a cause of endangerment of minority languages in contexts where it has direct contact with other languages (Mühlhäusler, 1996; Skuttnab-Kangas 2000a). English as a locally dominant *lingua franca* has indeed curtailed small languages. However, it should be noted that other regional *lingua franca* and national languages can have the same threatening impact on the small languages in the regions or territories. Dalby (2002) suggests that the decline in the total numbers of languages worldwide is caused by the development of large centralized political units in human society. He maintains that if we focus on the development of world languages in the twentieth century, it is the underlying assumptions and ideological paradigm of the nation-state that often leads to linguistic nationalism. These political entities tend to emphasize the need for ethnic and linguistic unity and, therefore, invariably marginalize other smaller languages.

As a result, in most former colonies of British Empire and America, English has

been retained its official status in the process of nation building for solving the problem of considerable ethno-linguistic diversity in their territories and for access to Western knowledge and technology (see Wright, 2004; Ferguson, 2006). Holborow (1999) argues that Phillipson's appeal for the promotion of local languages, in order to counteract inequality, does not necessarily promote linguistic rights. On the contrary, linguistic rights can lead to nationalist policies and has been used by local elites as an excuse for oppression and division in parts of Africa and Eastern Europe.

Consequently, although English might be responsible for language death in certain contexts, it is the political and ideological development of human society, e.g. nationalism, that can cause the decline of the number of world's languages. To some degree language is an index as well as an instrument of political power. For threatened languages, the major threats are their weak political status and the domination of the national or official languages in education, government, and media.

2.3.3 'New Englishes' and the Ownership of English

The global spread of English and its predominant status worldwide had a significant impact not only on its users, but also the way it can be used and developed. This section examines the controversial issue of the status of 'New Englishes' and the claim of the ownership of English in the outer and expanding circles.

The other tongue: The emergence of New Englishes

At the end of colonial period, 'New Englishes' emerged. They were defined as the localized forms of English in post-colonial countries, such as India, Singapore, Nigeria and Philippines. The 'indigenisation' or 'nativization' of English varieties manifests the diversification of English and has provoked the controversy over the models, norms and standards for English in the outer-circle countries.

On one side of the controversy, Kachru (1985, 1992a, 1992b) proposes a paradigm shift for the study of World Englishes and advocates that many types of English, instead of a unified form, exist in the outer-circle countries. It is argued

that they have their own sociological, linguistic, and literary manifestations. In this sense, English no longer exclusively belongs to the inner-circle countries. It is a medium for expressing context-specific meanings, and an independent and decolonized identity.

According to Kachru (1985, 1992b), there are two types of models of English: native and institutionalized non-native. The new varieties of English in the outer-circle countries are the institutionalized varieties of non-native English. Their main characteristics are as follows:

- (a) they have an extended range of uses in the sociolinguistic context of a nation; (b) they have an extended register and style range; (c) a process of *nativization* of the registers and styles has taken place, both in formal and in contextual terms; and (d) a body of nativized English literature has developed which has formal contextual characteristics which mark it *localized*. (Kachru, 1992b: 55) (original italic)

Focusing on the acculturation and nativization of English in the outer-circle countries, Kachru's work provides a framework of sociolinguistic and sociopolitical analysis in the study of World Englishes and advocates their rights of the language.

In contrast, Quirk (1990) advocates the necessity of teaching Standard English in all three of Kachru's circles. He argues that new English varieties in the outer circle are not legitimate varieties of English because of the instability and because of their lack of description of local norms. There is also considerable concern regarding the loss of intelligibility if the drift of English varieties accelerates. Additionally, in terms of English language teaching, scholars in Applied Linguistics and the public are skeptical of the non-native English norms not only for the linguistic deviation, but also for international intelligibility.

The debate on the status of New Englishes tends to focus on the tension between international intelligibility and local identity. McArthur (1998, 2001) suggests there is a centripetal/centrifugal paradox in world English in that there may be an increase in the variety and local prestige of the language which may be at odds with powerful pressures towards a world standard. Moreover, it is claimed that this trend may continue.

Brutt-Griffler (2002) provides a framework to explain the development of world English (see Section 2.2.5). In her view, second language acquisition is a socio-

historical process, and New Englishes are regarded as the products of social second language acquisition when ‘a speech community not only acquires the language but also makes the language its own’ (ibid, p.137). In order to explain the unity of varieties of English, Brutt-Griffler proposes a centripetal diagram of forces (see Figure 2.2) which distinguishes between the two types of bilingual speech communities in terms of macro-acquisition¹ (type A macro-acquisition coincides with ESL contexts of English spread; type B macro-acquisition coincides with EFL contexts of English spread). By continuing mutual interaction in major international domains (e.g. business, popular culture, science and technology), World English, that is, the language of the world speech community of English, creates a ‘centre of gravity’ which retains the essential linguistic unity among the varieties of English.

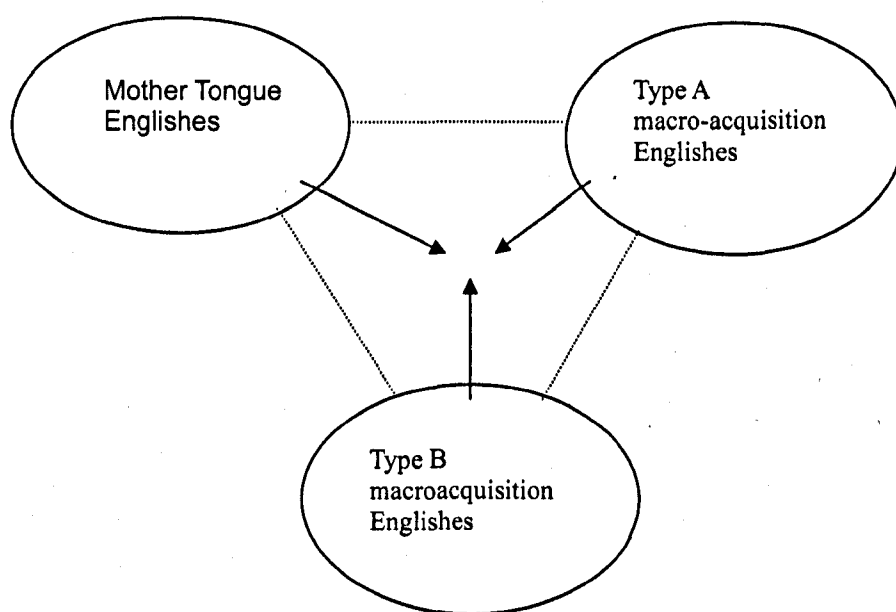


Figure 2.2 Language convergence with world English (Brutt-Griffler 2002:178)

In the past two decades, much research on New Englishes has been conducted (see Bolton, 2003). Through the claim of pluri-centricity of English, the codification of innovations and bilingual’s creativity, the model of New Englishes has been recognized and accepted by many scholars (e.g. Kachru 1992a, 1992b, 2005; Bamgbose,1998). It is argued that to a certain extent the ownership of English has been passed from native to non-native speakers in the outer circle (Seidlhofer and

¹ According to Brutt-Griffler (2002), macro-acquisition refers to the acquisition of a second language by a speech community and emphasizes the thrust for change in the process of social second language acquisition.

Jenkins, 2003). However, as Ferguson (2006) points out, the recognition of New Englishes as legitimate varieties does not necessarily lead to the acceptance of teaching a local model of English in school. This is because of the lack of codification of local norms and the benefits that learning Standard English can provide. Overall, the New Englishes have obtained socio-political and sociolinguistic recognition but there are still doubts in regard to adopting them as adequate teaching models.

In the next section, I will move on to the expanding circle and the international context, and examine the issue of English as a global *lingua franca* and its pedagogical implications.

The ownership of English and the pedagogical implications of English as a *lingua franca*

Following the paradigm of New Englishes, the native speakers' ownership of English has been questioned by several writers (e.g. Widdowson, 1994, 1997; Seidlhofer and Jenkins, 2003) in order to establish the legitimacy of English using in the outer circle and to justify the use of English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) in EFL countries without being constrained by the norms of the inner circle. In general, there has been considerable discussion regarding the norms and models involved in teaching English worldwide, especially in the outer and expanding countries (Widdowson, 1997, 1998; Brutt-Griffler, 1998; Deneire, 1998; Seidlhofer, 2001, 2004; Jenkins, 2000, 2004). The difference between ENL and English as a *lingua franca* needs to be addressed as it reflects a fundamental shift of the orientation of TEFL (Teaching English as a Foreign Language). The issues involved include: levels of correctness to appropriateness and differences between native-like to forms of global inclusiveness. In the face of English varieties and English language teaching worldwide, the nature and practice of Standard English has thus become an important issue among ELT practitioners and academics.

Widdowson (1994) questions the native speakers' 'ownership of English' and proposes that Standard English is an international language that serves a whole range of different communities and their institutional purposes. Widdowson (1997) goes on to argue that through the development of autonomous registers which can

guarantee specialist communication within global expert communities, English has spread as an international language. He therefore suggests that English as an international language is English for specific purposes (ESP) and proposes an approach of English teaching focusing on the language use in the secondary international communities, e.g. academic and professional activities, rather than one focusing on the authentic language of use in current English pedagogy. However, in spite of the difficulty of imposing ESP in school curriculums and the question of the suitability of ESP for international communication and interaction (Brutt-Griffler, 1998), Widdowson's ESP approach reveals the paradox of English as an international language in EFL countries. Although ESP approach emphasizes communication and information rather than community and identity, it is still subject to constraints of the academic criteria of the original English speaking countries.

In attempting to democratize English, Seidlhofer and Jenkins (2003) argue that the goal of English education in the expanding-circle countries is to teach English as a *lingua franca* rather than English as a native language, because the goal of learning English for non-English speakers is not to communicate with native speakers but with non-native speakers around the world (Seidlhofer, 2001). Jenkins (2000) identifies pronunciation as the area of greatest prejudice and argues that the main accent in EFL pedagogy, e.g. RP or GA, is not widely used among L1 speakers and is unlikely to be appropriate for L2 pedagogy. An alternative model of phonological core of intelligibility which excludes difficult and irrelevant items for interlanguage intelligibility, e.g. /θ/ and /ð/, is therefore proposed. In addition, as Seidlhofer (ibid.) points out, the lack of empirical work on the most extensive use of English as a *lingua franca* worldwide among 'non-native' speakers prevents us from regarding speakers of *lingua franca* English as language users in their own right, and results in the continuing dominance of native English. She therefore suggests an alternative model for teaching English as a *lingua franca* and argues that 'the most typically English' features, e.g. third person-s, tags, idioms, are not crucial for communication of English as a *lingua franca* in international contexts (Seidlhofer, 2001: 149).

Graddol (1997, 2006) argues that when English becomes an international *lingua franca*, the future of English is no longer determined by its native speakers but by

all users around the world. For a more democratic and fair world of international communication, an ELF norm might be necessary. Ammon (2000: 111), for example, refers to the 'postulate of the non-native speakers' right to linguistic peculiarities'. However, the model of ELF is still more a socio-political claim than a practical objective in pedagogy. As Ferguson (2006) points out, there are some methodological difficulties in codifying ELF norms (e.g. the diversity of ELF users' proficiency level and linguistic background, and the instability of communicative contexts) and conceptual obstacles in accepting an ELF model, i.e. the attachment to native-speaker-like competence as the ultimate benchmark. Overall, the claim of the ownership of English and an alternative model of ELF can be regarded as an attempt to resolve the unbalanced power relations between native and non-native English users in terms of communication and pedagogy. Nevertheless, it also shows the inevitable gap between theoretical conceptualization and educational practices in the spread of global English.

2.3.4 Conclusion

To sum up, criticisms of the wide spread global use of English reveals the complexity of this unprecedented phenomenon, and also shows the need for more thorough and contextually-based investigations. Jenkins (2000: 4) makes the point that since English is the global language and the necessity of global English is confirmed, it is more important to look ahead and consider how to 'make the language more cross-culturally democratic' for all English users around the world, rather than argue the socio-historical inequality in English spread. Consequently, the critical perspectives of global English are significant for it provides socio-cultural and political analyses of the dominance of English and provokes further investigation of its impact on different contexts. In the next section, the focus will be on the context of East Asia and Taiwan, and the contextual development of global English will be examined.

2.4 Global English in East Asia and Taiwan

Neither globalization nor the global spread of English is a monolithic phenomenon. Diversities not only exist between ESL and EFL countries, e.g. India vs. Japan, but also between different ESL countries, e.g. Botswana vs. India, and between different EFL countries, e.g. Germany vs. Taiwan. The implications of global English are different according to different local contexts, including historical and cultural backgrounds, ethnic and linguistic situations, and different local responses.

This section focuses on Taiwan in the context of East Asia, and looks at the contemporary history of its development, and the implications of globalization and the English language. Although East Asia refers to a geographical region and has been used for describing a group of societies in that area, the concept of East Asia is far from explicit. The main characteristic of East Asia is its wide diversity in terms of geography, ethnic origins, languages, religious beliefs and philosophies. However, in this section, East Asia refers to countries with similar economic development and cultural-historical background, and focuses mainly on China, Japan, Korea and Taiwan.

2.4.1 The Context of East Asia

This section reviews the wider context of East Asia in relation to Taiwan and looks at its socio-historical and politico-economic development. It is important to provide this historical background as it can explain the main factors which helped create modern East Asia and clarify its relationship to the current spread of English in this region.

A brief historical review: East Asia and the world in the nineteenth and twentieth century

The Western intrusion in East Asia in the nineteenth century

The intrusion of Western power was the dominant theme of contemporary development of East Asia in the nineteenth century. The Opium War in China in 1839 manifested the beginning of the Western intrusion. Through modern

technology and advanced warships, the British Empire not only won the Opium War but also imposed an 'unequal treaty' on the Chinese government, including the demand for a large indemnity. These demands included, among others, the opening of more trading ports, and the possession of Hong Kong. This pattern was repeated. Later in the nineteenth century more concessions were given to the British, the French, Americans and Russians. Aware of Western intrusion in China, other East Asian countries e.g. Japan and Korea, had been looking for the means to reject or cope with the threat of the Western power. However, to a certain extent, most of East Asia had encountered the intimidation of the Western power and were forced to open the country to contact and trade.

Western expansion had resulted in confrontations, resistance and transformations in East Asian societies in terms of economy, military, politics and culture. However, while modernization theorists claimed that Asian societies before the nineteenth century were static and unchanging societies awaiting 'opening' and 'modernization', it is far from the truth. According to Tipton (1998), Asian societies, such as China, Japan, Korea and other Southeast Asian societies, actually experienced significant economic development and social changes before the Western intrusion. What happened in the mid-nineteenth century in East Asian societies e.g. China, Korea and Japan, was, in a sense, a 'double crisis' where internal disorder provided opportunities for the expansion of Western power.

For instance, in the mid-nineteenth century China not only suffered the Opium War in 1839-42 but also the *Taiping Rebellion* of 1851-64. It revealed the two main crises confronted the Chinese government, namely: the increasing pressure from Britain-led Western powers seeking for trade and diplomatic equality, and the internal unrest reflecting the failure of Chinese bureaucratic system, economic disorder and influence of the West. On the other hand, in Japan, in 1854, the American fleet arrived. At that time the Tokugawa government was debating of how to deal with the inevitable threat of the Western hegemony. This double crisis led to the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and later led to far-reaching transformations of Japanese society which included the decline of traditional aristocratic power.

The consequence of Western expansion in East Asia was less a process of modernization than a confrontation of civilizations. Based on industrial technology, Western power not only proved superior in East Asia but also announced the

opening of the industrial age where East Asian societies had no choice but have to confront challenges from outside and change. As Tipton (1998:19) suggests,

Change was imperative. [...] To retain or regain one's independence, to achieve wealth and power, indeed to survive, Asians needed modern – meaning Western – technologies, both in industry and in agriculture. The tensions between the need for change and resistance to change, and the divisions between individuals and groups over who would benefit from change, form key themes in the histories of all Asian countries.

By 1870, most of East Asia had been opened up to Western goods and ideas, and by the early twentieth century, all of Southeast Asia except Thailand had been incorporated into Britain, French, Dutch, and Spanish-American empires. As Cohen (2000: 2) points out, from a perspective of international relations, the events in contemporary East Asia actually had no difference from the pattern that could be found in most of human history: 'the constant struggle of states for wealth and power'. It was this tendency of human history that helped shape the background of the rise of East Asia in the following century.

Imperialism and nationalism in East Asia and Taiwan

China and Japan were two major actors in the recent history of East Asia as well as in the contemporary development of Taiwan. Clearly, China was influential due to its immense size and its historical and cultural relations with Asian societies, while Japan, as the first industrialized economy in Asia, became a new power and provided patterns and models for the other countries of Asia. The responses of the Chinese and the Japanese to the Western intrusion led to different national developments later in the twentieth century. But they also provided successful paradigms for the rest of Asia. Historically, Taiwan was under Chinese rule since 1683, and under Japanese colonial ruler from 1895. However, these experiences provided the initial foundations of its modern development.

Facing the intrusion of the West in the nineteenth century, the Chinese government understood that modernization of military technology and industrialization was crucial in order to compete with the West. Although a consistent self-strengthening program had been implemented, including building arsenals, armies, navies, railways and steamship companies, the lack of central

direction combined with the continuing internal disorder were fatal to China's resistance to the Western expansion. This failure resulted in its later incompetence in combating the intrusion of the new imperialist power within East Asia, namely, Japan.

Cohen (2000) proposes that in the late nineteenth century the most noticeable development was not the continuing expansion of Western power in East Asia, but the rapid recovery and transformation of Japan. The intrusion of the West and the need for rapid industrialization led to the restoration of Japanese imperial power and united the country under the Meiji Emperor. Determined to defend themselves against the Americans and the Europeans and to become one of the great powers, the Japanese learned from the West and established a strong central government, a strong military and the basis of later Japanese imperialism. Alongside the transformation of its political and military system and the development of Japanese imperialism, a new Japanese national identity was developed at the same time. Rather than emerging from an inherited Japanese tradition, Japanese nationalism was constructed by ideas and elements from Japan, China and the West. By distinguishing the Japanese from other Asians, the belief in Japanese uniqueness and racial superiority was created and therefore used to justify Japanese expansionism and militarism.

In the 1920s and the 1930s Japan established its imperialist system in East Asia, including Taiwan, Korea, and Kwantung and Manchuria in China. Japan's intention to take over Taiwan from China started from the 1870s. In 1895 China was defeated by Japan in the Sino-Japanese war and ceded Taiwan to Japan in perpetuity in accordance with the Shimonoseki Treaty. As Japan's first experience of colonialism, Taiwan was an important colony of Japan for half a century until Japan's defeat in the World War Two. By 1945, the colonial rule of Japan had established the conditions for the emergence of a Taiwan nationalism fostered by the negative effects of Japanese rule. There was systematic social discrimination against Taiwanese in employment and professional opportunities and the forceful introduction of Japanese as a common language in Taiwan (Huang, 2000).

Tipton (1998) points out that Japan as a successful model of defending itself against the West was a double irony for the development of Asian nationalism. On the one hand, the Japanese exemplified a nation-building process through an

artificial creation of national identity. But it also created the conditions for establishing new nation states in the rest of Asia by its expansionism and imperialism. In spite of the wide diversity in language, culture and politics, most East Asian countries subjected to direct colonization, or informal empire by the early twentieth century, had tried to create a sense of nationalism in order to gain their national independence.

Although from a global point of view Taiwan is a part of East Asia, the influence of imperialism on it was contradictory as well as twofold in the late nineteenth century and twentieth century. It had experienced the Western imperialism as well as imperialism within Asia. Unsurprisingly, such experiences led to ambivalent feelings towards the West and its rulers. Taiwan is an island of key strategic position in East Asia had to struggle for survival and seek its own identity between the old Asian empires—China, and the newly arising Asian imperialism—Japan. However it also needed the support of the western countries in order to gain its own independence. In a sense, the ambiguous and contradictory status of Taiwan determined its development later in the twentieth century.

The East Asian 'Miracle'

Taiwan together with some of its Asian neighbors has been epitomized as the Miracle in East Asia by the World Bank (World Bank, 1993). It has been seen a successful transformation from an agrarian economy to a newly industrialized country since the postwar period. The explosive economic development of East Asia in the past decades can be perceived clearly in the rapid increase in its share of the global market (see Table 2.2) where the East Asian share of world GNP (Gross National Product) between 1960 and 1999 doubled in contrast with the inactive share of most other regions. Arrighi *et al.* (2003) also examined the changes in the relative GNP per capita (GNPPC) in order to exclude the influence of factors, such as regional increase of the share of world population. Table 2.3 again highlights the rapid growth of its economic performance in East Asian region. The rise of East Asia has drawn much attention and to a certain extent has shifted the power of world economy eastward in the post-Cold War era. However, according to Table 2.2 and 2.3, the share of North American, Western Europe, and Australia and New Zealand, though stagnant, remains significant and predominant, and in a way

reveals the nature of the world economy in the late twentieth century.

Table 2.2 Regional Shares of World GNP (and population) (Arrighi *et al.*, 2003: 303)

Region	1960	1970	1980	1990	1999
East Asia	13.0 (38.02)	19.5 (38.3)	21.8 (38.0)	25.9 (37.1)	25.9 (35.9)
Australia and New Zealand	1.7 (0.5)	1.6 (0.5)	1.5 (0.5)	1.5 (0.5)	1.6 (0.5)
North America	35.1 (7.9)	30.6 (7.4)	29.2 (6.8)	29.2 (6.2)	29.8 (6.1)
South and Central America	5.8 (8.2)	5.7 (8.8)	7.0 (9.3)	5.6 (9.5)	5.8 (9.7)
Western Europe	40.5 (12.4)	38.7 (10.9)	36.4 (9.5)	33.5 (8.1)	32.3 (7.7)
Sub-Saharan Africa	1.3 (6.8)	1.3 (7.2)	1.2 (7.8)	1.0 (8.8)	1.0 (9.4)
Middle East and North Africa	1.2 (4.0)	1.3 (4.2)	1.7 (4.5)	1.7 (4.9)	1.7 (5.1)
South Asia	1.3 (22.0)	1.3 (22.7)	1.2 (23.8)	1.5 (24.8)	1.9 (25.7)
Total	100.0 (100.0)	100.0 (100.0)	100.0 (100.0)	100.0 (100.0)	100.0 (100.0)

- Calculations based on World Bank (1984, 2001)
- Countries included in East Asia: China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan and Thailand.

Table 2.3 Regional GNPPC as percentage of "world" GNPPC (Arrighi *et al.*, 2003: 304)

Region	1960	1970	1980	1990	1999
East Asia	34.2	51.0	57.4	69.8	72.1
Australia and New Zealand	339.4	330.5	321.0	317.1	356.9
North America	442.9	415.7	432.8	468.9	489.4
South and Central America	70.7	65.0	75.7	58.9	59.9
Western Europe	327.6	353.4	384.2	411.4	417.4
Sub-Saharan Africa	18.8	17.4	15.5	11.8	10.5
Middle East and North Africa	31.2	31.1	37.5	35.5	33.9
South Asia	5.8	5.6	5.0	6.1	7.4
Weighted Average	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: See Table 2.2

The economic development of East Asia in the past decades has stimulated discussion of these rising economic powers, namely: Japan and the four 'Tiger Economies' including South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, as well as China. As several writers show (Tipton, 1998; Berger and Borer, 1997; Pape, 1998), the rise of East Asia lies in the past events which helped transform today's Asia and in its relative standing with the West.

From the end of the Second World War to the collapse of the socialist regimes in Eastern Europe in 1989 and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Cold War was the core framework of world politics after 1945. The East-West

antagonism led by the Soviet Union and the USA created a competitive international circumstance for power politics, the arms race as well as ideological and cultural expansion. The threat of nuclear weapons and intense hostility between the two blocs resulted in a critical ideological hiatus between their respective members. The USA as the superpower of the world and the representative of capitalism provided the strategically key countries in East Asia the membership for not only its political alliance, but also the global capitalist system.

As Berger and Borer (1997) argue that the Cold War determined the industrial rise of East Asia after 1945. It is suggested that the US-led politico-economic order in Asia and the economic resurgence of Japan provided the framework for 'East Asian Miracle' (Cummings, 1984). Under the framework of the Cold War, the restriction of international and intra-national politics combined with the economic support and tolerance from the US had made economic growth an inevitable priority on the agenda of national development in East Asia.

In the Socialist camp, Mainland China took a very different route of economic development in the late twentieth century. Since 1978 China has been through major changes in its political system. China's anti-Soviet status was confirmed with the rapprochement of the US-China relations and with its commitment to socialist modernization and its Open Door policy of 1978.

Deng Xiaoping's rise to power signified a fundamental shift in China's national and foreign policy. By concentrating on economic construction, China maintained a dialogue with the Western countries and with former socialist camp and made great efforts to re-integrate China into the world economic system (Li, 1999). Deng's rationale of his economic reform was to improve the people's material and cultural life. As Starr (2001: 73) suggests, Deng operated economic reform with just two principles:

Reform measures were legitimate if they promoted rapid economic growth and if they did not weaken the Party's control of the political system; everything else was subject to compromise.

For Deng, socialism became 'socialism with Chinese characteristics'. Under this slogan, China as an economy has made liberal use of capitalist methods to jump-start and fuel its remarkable growth since the reforms began (ibid.). Although there

are still many problems remaining in China's political and business environment, China has been, and will continue to be, an important economy in the world. This is partly due to its vast domestic market and the advantages attributed to its immense size.

2.4.2 Political and Economic Development of Taiwan

Focusing on the politico-economic development of Taiwan, this section provides an overview of the socio-historical background that has transformed the position of Taiwan in the world and influenced its language and education policies.

The modern history of Taiwan

The emergence of Taiwan in world history

Taiwan's first appearance in the modern history of the world was around 1590, when the first Western ship passed by the island. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, a Dutch navigator on a Portuguese ship, exclaimed "*Ilha Formosa*" (meaning 'Beautiful island'). Originally, Taiwan was inhabited by tribes of Austronesian aborigines. After the subsequent settlement of the Dutch and the waves of settlers from China, the aborigines retreated to the hills and mountains, and became later called *Gaoshan Zu* (the Mountain tribes).

The Dutch invaded the southern part of Taiwan in 1624 and establishes colonial rule from 1624 to 1662. In 1662 the Dutch were defeated by Zheng Cheng-kung (better known in the west as Koxinga), a loyalist of the Ming dynasty, who was against the newly established Qing dynasty. He and his family ruled this island for 21 years until 1689. The Manchus of the Qing dynasty replaced Zheng and ruled Taiwan for the next two hundred years (1683-1895). During this period of time, Taiwan remained a forgotten corner of the Qing Empire and became an island for people to escape to, in order to avoid the wars and famines on the mainland China.

Taiwan in relations with China and Japan before 1945

In 1887 the Qing government decided to declare Taiwan as a province of the Empire for preventing the expansion of Japan's influence in the South. However,

China was defeated by the Japanese in the Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895). In the Treaty of Shimonoseki Taiwan was ceded to Japan and became a colony of Japan for the next fifty years (1895-1945). Although the Japanese encountered resistance at the beginning of its occupation, through a powerful centralized bureaucracy and a brutal police force, the colonial rule of Japan was very strict but relatively successful in purely material ways, such as instigating modernization projects.

For example, Gold (1986) points out that it was the Japanese who got capitalist development underway in Taiwan and modernized Taiwan's economic infrastructure in order to support foodstuffs and raw materials for Japan, and to convince the Western powers that Japan deserved to be treated as an equal power. For most of the Taiwanese, the occupation of Japan had been very oppressive. Japanese rule saw the imposition of the Japanese language, its exploitation of Taiwan's natural resources and the privileged status of the Japanese masters. However, as argued above, Taiwan did in fact materially benefit from Japanese rule in terms of new transportation infrastructure, health and education systems and the development of agriculture and industries.

While Taiwan was colonized by Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, China had suffered from a series of external pressures and internal disturbance, e.g. the attack on China by the western powers; 'unequal treaties' that China was forced to sign with the West; domestic rebellion and the internal demand of political and social reform grown from the increasing national poverty and weakness. In 1911 revolutionaries led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), who is regarded as the father of modern China by the People's Republic of China (the PRC, Mainland China) and the Republic of China (the ROC, Taiwan), overthrew the Qing dynasty and then established a new government: the Republic of China. However, the new Republic of China was only a nominally single nation, for without broad basis of mass support and without an effective leadership and army to enforce political power, China soon disintegrated into regional kingdoms dominated by warlords.

In the early 1920s the Kuomintang (KMT, the Nationalist Party), which was founded by Dr. Sun to spearhead the revolution, was reorganized. Under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975) who became party leader in 1925 following Dr. Sun's death, the KMT army from Canton on a Northern Expedition

gained control over the heartland of China and started a decade of Nationalist rule of China (1927-1937). However, in the late period of the Northern Expedition, Chiang started to purge the Communists in the KMT for suspecting the Communists of intending to destroy the Nationalist revolution, and led to the conflict between the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party in modern China.

During the following two decades China encountered both foreign invasion throughout China and a devastating civil war. When the Sino-Japanese war (the Pacific War) ended with Japan's surrender in 1945, Taiwan was formally returned to China on 25 October 1945 and meanwhile the Nationalists and the Communists began a full-scale war for control of China. In 1949 the Communists won, and Chiang and the KMT army and government retreated to Taiwan. On December 9, 1949 the KMT government moved its temporary capital to Taipei, Taiwan. For the exiled KMT government, Taiwan as an appended island province of China was 'merely a sideshow of their grander effort to recover and reunify all of China after World War Two' (Gold, 1986: 52).

Taiwan in relations with Mainland China and the US after 1945

After the collapse of the KMT regime on the Mainland China in 1949, it was expected that the KMT regime in Taiwan would soon fall. For a brief period, the US government decided to pursue a non-intervention policy. However, in 1950 the outbreak of the Korean War led to a dramatic reversion of the US strategic aims in the Asia-Pacific region. The Korean War was perceived by the US government as part of Communist expansion in East Asia and Taiwan was then considered an important ally against communism in East Asia. Economic and military aid from the US was to be resumed. However, the U.S.'s support to Taiwan was interpreted by Beijing as a hostile action intended to block the reunification of China.

For the next two decades, Taiwan served as an important regional base for the US's anti-Communist chain in the East-West antagonism led by the Soviet Union and the US (the Cold War), and under the protection of the US the status of Taiwan was held 'undetermined'. In 1972, the US president Richard Nixon visited Mainland China and issued the Shanghai Communiqué with the PRC government for acknowledging that there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China.

Under the new leadership of Deng Xiaoping and the Carter presidency, the US and the PRC normalized their diplomatic relations in 1979. The US recognized the PRC as the sole legal government of China, and agreed to terminate formal diplomatic relations and the Mutual Defense Treaty with the KMT government while keeping commercial, cultural and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan.

A special legislation, *the Taiwan Relations Act*, was passed in order to affirm that any attempt to determine Taiwan's future other than by peaceful means would be considered as a threat to the Western Pacific area and of great concern to the US. *The Taiwan Relations Act* not only manifested the international recognition of the PRC as the sole regime of China and the de facto existence of the ROC in Taiwan, but also the controversy of the Taiwan issue with China: i.e., the legal status of Taiwan, the intervention of the US and the problem of reunification of China.

Although Taiwan was aware of its dependency on the US for its security needs, it endeavored to become more independent in regards to both military security and economic growth. For the US, it needed Taiwan's support to reinforce its anti-Communist alliance in the Asia-Pacific region. However, as Maguire (1998) points out, the changing power balance of international relations led to the rapprochement of US-PRC relations. Both the US and the PRC viewed each other as a less significant threat than the Soviet Union. Accordingly, the US downgraded its relations with Taiwan.

Thus after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the PRC lost its importance as an ally against the Soviet Union while it became a significant party in the world for its vast domestic market and its international role as a great power in Asia. In a way, the US policies towards Taiwan and towards the Mainland China-Taiwan controversy remained the same after 1979. The aim was to achieve a peaceful settlement of Taiwan issue, and refrain from persuading Taiwan to unify with Beijing, as well as from supporting Taiwan independence. In the twenty-first century, Taiwan still relies on America's *de facto* support in terms of politics and national security in the event of any real military threat from China, while the most important factor influencing America's policy on Taiwan and Mainland China is more likely its commercial interests in China (*ibid.*).

The Taiwanese economy and its development

Taiwan's economy grew considerably in the early 1960s. since then, Taiwan has achieved remarkable growth with the increase of per capita income from less than US\$200 in 1965 to more than US\$13,000 in 2000 (Chow, 2002). Maguire (1998: 79) attributes the rapid economic development of Taiwan in the late twentieth century to a number of causes, they include:

macroeconomic stability, the flourishing of a class of entrepreneurs in the SME [small and medium enterprise] sector, a commitment to the expansion of international trade, an investment in education and science and technology as well as a forward looking policy towards industrial and economic development on the part of successive governments.

As Metraux (1991) suggests, the rapid economic development in developing countries such as Taiwan and South Korea is based on several social and political requirements, e.g. pressures from external environment, motivation of success, human capital and a strong government. Metraux also adds that development in countries like Taiwan is shaped by the interaction of the state, social classes and the world system. The crisis or threat to national survival will lead to mobilization of a people in an effort to survive (ibid.). Under the disadvantages of structural conditions, especially the problematic status of Taiwan and the conflict between Mainland China and Taiwan, Taiwan was forced to modernize in order to meet the real threats from Mainland China. The initial motivation behind economic development therefore is to 'build Taiwan into a defensive bastion and to beef up its supplies and productive capacity for the imminent counterattack' (Gold, 1986: 123).

In terms of geopolitics, the political climate of the Cold War and the global economy has been favorable to the economic growth in Taiwan. The US not only played a decisive role in Taiwan's political development but also in its economic development. Aid from the US after the Second World War and the accessibility of the US market were important factors determining the economic rise of America's East Asian allies (Shin, 1998). The military guarantee from the US and the enormous amount of investment and loans from the US stabilized Taiwanese society in terms of politics and economy in the 1950s and 1960s. The exporting market of the US was also an essential factor of Taiwan's success in international trade. In addition, the network of overseas Chinese in East Asia and Taiwan's historic

connections to its former colonist – Japan and to Mainland China also facilitated the development of Taiwanese business in Asia.

Although economic development has been a common goal of almost all political regimes in the modern world, the distinctively high degree of state intervention has made East Asian economies distinctive from democratic capitalism in Western Europe. Shin (1998: 4) identifies the characteristics of East Asian economy as ‘authoritarian capitalism’ and argues that ‘the core dynamic force of economic growth in East Asia is not market demand but state demand.’ Through effective state intervention in the economy, governments in East Asia can provide significant financial support and guidance for the private sector. The authoritative and centralized regime in Taiwan (the KMT government, 1945-2000) has created and maintained a favorable economic environment by implementing policies aimed at repressing labor and political dissent, establishing centralized economic policy-making organization, controlling the flow of money, initiating export-oriented industrialization as a strategy for economic growth, and helping to make domestic capitalists internationally competitive through state resources and power (ibid.).

Since the end of twentieth century, Taiwan has moved from a low-skilled labor intensive economy to a high-skilled intensive economy, and has achieved key positions in the global computer market. However, following the economic rise of Mainland China and the regime transfer from the KMT to the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP, the former political dissenters who advocates the separation of Taiwan from China), Taiwan inevitably faces enormous political and economic challenges in the twenty-first century. Although the peaceful transition of power in 2000 signifies the consolidation of democracy in Taiwan, the pro-independence image of DPP on Taiwan issue and the polarization on national and ethnic identity in the Taiwanese society has caused internal as well as external disturbance.

The accessibility of the Mainland China’s markets is the key factor that will determine Taiwan’s economic future (Maguire, 1998). It is clear that hostile relations between the PRC and the DPP would be the major obstacles to the Taiwanese economic growth. The aim of the successive government, namely the DPP, is to maintain the internal socio-political stability, maintain Taiwan’s strong economic performance, and improve the relations between Taiwan and Mainland China. Achieving these goals is crucial for the future development of Taiwan.

2.4.3 East Asian Perspectives on Global English

Conceptualizations of globalization in East Asia

As discussed above, globalization is a controversial idea in terms of its origins, conceptualization, dynamics and consequences, and therefore needs to be assessed contextually. As Kim (2000:6) points out:

The significance of contemporary globalization [...] varies according to actors' respective resources, skills, and strategic choices or policies. Its impact on a state's power or role depends not only on the type of state but also on the state's globalization strategy.

In China, it is suggested that globalization (translated as *quanqiuhua*) is understood as an objective condition in the world economy, rather than as a manifestation of US hegemony (Moore, 2000). Most Chinese observers and policymakers, including former President Jiang Zemin, conceive globalization as highly economic processes which will strengthen the trend toward multipolarity and constrain the US's pursuit of its hegemonic strategy around the world. Although globalization has created pressures for openness, it is regarded as exclusively economic. Therefore, China's increasing participation in globalization can be considered as means to exert greater influence over the process of globalization and to reinforce the multi-polarization of world politics.

In contrast, Japan, as an economic superpower, sees globalization as forces imposed from the outside and could be detrimental to Japan's interest. Grime (2000:55) makes the point that, unlike 'internationalization' (*kokusaika*) in the 1980s, 'Japanese commentators have tended to keep the concept of globalization (*gurobaruka*) at arm's length.' It is argued that the depressed state of the economy in the 1990s has resulted in an emerging consensus in contemporary Japan that globalization carries dangers and threats from outside and beyond Japanese control.

Rather than regard globalization as a pure economic phenomenon, globalization (*seggyehwa*) in South Korea is used as a term of promoting political, economic, social and cultural enhancement in order to reach the level of advanced nations in the world (Gills and Gills, 2000). This broad notion of globalization involves changes in all aspects from politics to economics to culture, including issues from women's rights, social security to knowledge of the English language. In fact, South

Korea's interpretation of globalization represents the ultimate goal of a national plan of development provided by the President Kim Young Sam's administration in the 1990s.

In the context of Taiwan, the notion of globalization is politically and ambivalently used. White (2000:151) argues that for Taiwan's leaders global environment contains two parts: 'Mainland China, which threatens them intensely, and the rest of the world, whose trade and potentially protective functions are welcome.' Because of its isolated status in the world and the threats from Mainland China, Taiwan endeavors to participate in every possible aspect of its global environment and openly calls for a third party, mainly the US, to contain China's intimidation. But it also calls for a Taiwanese identity and localization within the island. The dialectical discourse of globalization/localization in Taiwan is less about a long-term national plan than a short-term survival issue.

Kim (2000) states that most East Asian countries, except China, view globalization as a process of increasing interconnectedness which transmits values, ideology, global standards and organization principles. And among East Asian conceptualizations, with very few exceptions (e.g. South Korea) globalization invariably refers to economic globalization. Consequently, conceptualizations of globalization in East Asian countries, to certain extent, reflect not only the global trends from the outside but also the local experiences and responses while encountering the processes of globalization.

Globalization and the English language in East Asia

In the contexts of East Asia, no matter how globalization is conceived as an objective trend or imposed pressure, improved communication with the outside world is undeniable and irresistible. For the rise of East Asia relies heavily on international trade and rapid economic growth, and the maintenance of their economic advantage needs to have better understanding of potential customers and competing rivals. English as the language of power and the infrastructure of globalization is regarded as the key means to ensure their economic prosperity.

Taking Japan as an example, the discourse of 'internationalization' in the 1980s can be seen as a response to the increasing interconnectedness of the world. It

represented the demand for better communication with its international partners in order to assure its economic success while maintaining its own identity (Kubota, 1998). It also suggested an opening up to the world, and required intimate knowledge of the outside (mainly Western) world which particularly meant mastering the English language and promoting teaching and learning English. Although globalization for the Japanese implies uncontrollable changes imposed from the outside, it still results in local responses and solutions for the nation's best interests.

In the context of Taiwan, it is argued that in spite of Taiwan's competitive advantage in high-technology manufacturing industries, its non-alphabetic language has a competitive disadvantage if global markets for products such as software continue to be dominated by English-speaking countries (Winn *et al.*, 2002). Language is not only a means for business, but it also plays an important role in manufacturing. Therefore, expanding English education in Taiwan's elementary school has been conceived as an important measure to enhance national competitive capability in a global world (MOE, 1998a; 2000a; also see Chapter 4 for a fuller discussion).

English ability and proficiency has become an important issue in most East Asian countries. Economic development, used as the major means to regain national power, has become the underlying force that has helped East Asia to promote English learning in order to obtain the greater knowledge of the world. As a result, the intimate relation between globalization, economic development and the English language is believed to be not only crucial for national development, but also the base of English promotion in East Asia.

The ownership of English

A number of writers have argued that English in East Asian countries should be recognized as English in their own right and that awareness of English varieties in the English classroom should be raised (e.g. Jiang, 2003; Wei Yu and Fei Jia, 2003; Hu, 2004, 2005; Shim, 1999; Matsuda, 2003). In China, Li (1993) proposes that China English should be defined as a variety of English whose vocabulary, sentences and discourse have Chinese characteristics. According to Hu (2004), a

learning model of China English is therefore advocated, as conforming to the existing Standard English varieties is both undesirable and unattainable.

In Korea, it is claimed that after more than 100 years of consistent English education and testing, English in Korea has evolved a common set of English grammar rules and expressions which is now shared by all educated Koreans and can be referred as a codified variety of Korean English (Shim, 1999). Similar arguments can be found in discourses of English in Japan. Matsuda (2003) advocates the increasing role of non-native speakers in defining the forms and functions of the English language and proposes a learning model of English as an international language.

The claims of the ownership of the English language in East Asian countries can be regarded as the continuing debate on World Englishes in the outer and expanding circles and it reflects the local responses and resistance to the norms of English in the inner circle. However, the feasibility of establishing the local model of English in EFL settings is questionable. English as an international language has been taught as a required subject in education systems, but it may not be used for domestic communication. Consequently, it might not have social or internal functions within these societies. The major function of the English language in these EFL countries is for international communication. Therefore, rather than to develop a local model of English, it may be more realistic to follow an English as a *lingua franca* model (see Seidlhofer and Jenkins, 2003). It is argued that this could enhance intelligible communication with the outside world.

2.4.4 English in East Asia

A historical review of the English language in East Asia

The English language started to be taught in most East Asian countries in around the second half of the nineteenth century, following the arrival of the Western powers. In China, after the Second Opium War (1856-60), the English language was taught in missionary schools and colleges. The belief grew that knowledge of Western languages was imperative for communication between China and the Western powers, e.g. the diplomatic front and trade. As a result, several schools of foreign languages were established by the Chinese government,

including *Tongwen Guan* in Beijing (1962), *Guang Fangyan Guan* in Shanghai (1863), and *Guangzhou Tongwen Guan* in Guangzhou (1864). From 1875 to 1911, more than 600 works of Western fiction were translated into Chinese by missionaries and some Chinese intellectuals (Bolton and Tong, 2002).

Having experienced considerable changes since the mid-nineteenth century, China now views the role of English language as a means to provide access to modern technology and knowledge. Since the 1978 Open Door policy, English was the major foreign language in educational system. In the 1980s and 1990s, the English language became an important means for modernization and to help increase China's influence in the outside world.

After the American fleet arrived in 1853, English became the major Western language studied in Japan. During the Meiji period, the need to learn English actually was advocated by intellectuals. However, the prevalence of English language learning only started after the Second World War. Under the supervision of the US, Japan's post-war development including politics, economics and society, was strongly influenced by the American system and the English language. In the 1960s and 1970s, the resurgence of Japanese economy increased the need of international communication and led to the promotion of 'internationalization' (*Kokusaiika*) in 1980s. As Kubota (1998, 2002) suggests, learning English has been proposed as one of the strategies to 'internationalize' the nation. English has penetrated in different aspects of daily life, including TV programs, radio, movies and the Internet (Tanaka, 1995). One development of discourses on the English language in Japan is the emergence of arguments toward 'domination of English' or 'English linguistic imperialism' (e.g. Nakamura, 1989; Oishi, 1990; Tsuda, 1990, 1996; Kubota 1998). As the leading economic power in East Asia, facing the pressures of globalization in the 1990s and the culture and values embedded in the English language, the Japanese exemplified a model for dealing with global trends, exhibiting both resistance and accommodation. This has been the similar dilemma faced by most East Asian countries since the nineteenth century.

In the case of Korea, the English language started to be taught officially in the first English school, *Dongmoonhak*, in 1883 and several other schools were opened by American missionaries after 1886 (Kim-Rivera, 2002). Later in the early twentieth century, under the Japanese protectorate, the development of English

education in Korea declined due to restrictions on learning English (ibid.). After the end of the Second World War, South Korea, as a strategic ally of the US in East Asia was inevitably influenced by American culture and the English language. English, as the main medium for international communication, has gradually gained its predominant position among other foreign languages in South Korea.

Similar developments can be found in the contemporary history of Taiwan. Language education in Taiwan in the early twentieth century was restrained during Japanese colonization. The KMT regime and the support of the US after 1949 facilitated the development of English education in Taiwan. English has been offered as the only required foreign language in the elementary, secondary and higher education (Chern, 2003). As in other East Asian countries, the English language in Taiwan has been regarded as a major means for modernization and economic development in the late twentieth century.

Current developments in English Language Teaching in East Asia

The global spread of English as the major medium of international domains in the late twentieth century has strengthened the need to mastering English. This development has led to several important developments in English language teaching in this region.

Ho (2003: 18-23) summaries some general developments in English language teaching in East Asia in a review of ELT in 15 countries' education systems¹. The main trends are as follows:

- (1) Most of the EFL countries in East Asia have introduced English as a required subject in their education system, and have advocated teaching English from the early grades of primary schools,
- (2) The numbers and competence of English teachers and teacher trainers have become a crucial element for ELT to succeed in these countries.
- (3) A divide between the rural sector and the urban sector in the teaching and learning of English has emerged in several countries. For instance, in Malaysia, English is seldom used in rural areas due to a shortage of

¹ Including Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Loa PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand and Vietnam.

- qualified teachers and teaching materials. The urban sector is often equipped with better schools, teaching staff and well-motivated students.
- (4) Most of the countries in East Asia have been attempting to strengthen and improve ELT in the last 10 years through curriculum revision and other initiatives.
 - (5) Objectives, targets and conditions of teaching and learning English vary among different education systems according to different cultural norms and ideological expectations.

The extension of English education

Governments of East Asia countries are introducing English as a compulsory subject at increasingly younger ages. Nunan (2003) investigated the impact of English as a global language in the Asia-Pacific region by examining the educational policies and practices toward the English language and found that English is now introduced at an earlier age as shown in Table 2.4 below.

As we can see from the table below, in China, the perceptions and development of English education very much relates to China's conceptualization of globalization. For example, Jiang (2003:4) reports that:

Chinese government at all levels have realized the importance of the [English] language for their modernization drive and are trying to persuade the people to learn it.

Apart from the impact on education policies, the intention also reflects on the 'Beijing speaks English' campaigns for 2008 Olympic Games and similar campaigns for 2010 World Fair in Shanghai.

In Korea, English started to be taught from the third grade in primary schools in 1995 and became a regular subject into primary schools in 1997 (Jeong, 2004). English is seen as the major means for national development in terms of government, education and business.

The extension of English education in East Asia, on the one hand, increases opportunities and resources to access to the English language, but results in certain challenges on the other. The major challenge that East Asian countries may face is the quality and effectiveness of English education. The issue relates to the language

proficiency of teachers, the lack of appropriate teacher education and insufficient exposure to the English language (Nunan, 2003).

Table 2.4 The impact of English as a global language on educational policies and practices in the Asia-Pacific region (Nunan 2003: 594)

Country	Grade level and age at which English as introduced as a compulsory subject	Frequency of instruction	Impact of English as a global language
China	Grade 3, Age 9	Primary school: 2-3 40-minute lessons/week; secondary schools: 5-6 45-minutes lessons/week	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • age for compulsory English lowered from 11-9 in September 2001 • English teaching emerging as private business • English becoming increasingly significant as university entry requirement • English enhancing promotional prospects in the work place
Hong Kong	Year 1, Age 6	Primary school: 4-6 hours/week; secondary school: 7-9 hours/week	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • overwhelming concern in government and business sectors that Hong Kong will lose economic advantage if English language skills are not enhanced
Japan	First year, Age 12	Junior high school: 3 50-minute lessons/week	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • from 2002, primary students increasingly exposed to English, especially listening and speaking
Korea	Grade 3, Age 9	Grades 3-6: 1-2 hours/week; Grades 7-9: 2-4 hours/week; Grades 10-12: 4 hours/week	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • compulsory English lowered from age 13 to 9 • huge financial investment in teaching English • concern with negative effects on national identity due to early introduction of English
Malaysia	Age 7	Primary school: 90 minutes/week; secondary school: 4 hours/week	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • concern with decline in educational standards and competitive economic advantage • fear of impact on national language
Taiwan	Grade 1, Ages 6-7	1-2 hours/week	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • compulsory English lowered from Grade 5 to Grade 1
Vietnam	Grade 6, Ages 11-12	Grades 6-9: 4 45-minute lessons/week; Grades 10-12: 3 45-minute lessons/week	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English compulsory from junior high school (ages 11-12) • English proficiency now required for most professional employment

'English fever': The development of ELT industry

In the 1990s, the accelerating development of ELT business in East Asian countries has been described as 'English fever' or 'the craze for English' (Jiang, 2003; Jeong, 2004). In China, the number of private ELT schools has increased dramatically in the past few years, and there are more than 3000 ELT schools across the country (Jiang, 2003). The rapid development of ELT industry in fact has been strengthened by government's promotion of English learning, parents' desire that

their children learn English, and the importance of English in academic circles (ibid.).

The situation is similar in South Korea. 'English fever' has been fuelled by both external and internal factors. A series of reforms of English education commenced in the 1990s has resulted in dramatic changes in English teaching, such as English teaching in primary schools, and reform of the college entrance examination. In addition, while Korea has become an industrialized country, the increasing need for international trade and interaction has resulted in an emphasis on English ability when companies recruited employees (Jeong, 2004).

English as an Asian *lingua franca*

For most East Asian countries, English is an important solution to achieving internationalization of their nations. English is rapidly becoming the *lingua franca* of Asia. For example, in organizations such as the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the APEC meeting English is the main working language.

Several reasons have been proposed for the use of English as an Asian *lingua franca* and for the restricted development of other regional languages. As McArthur (2003) suggests, the regional role of the English language in Asia has been reinforced by its global role. In addition, the long history of interacting with English speakers, first the British Empire and later the US, and the influences from media, telecommunications and other main international domains have made the English language a useful and effective medium for international and regional communication. In addition, the educational practices at national level, including English education policy in most Asian countries and parents' demand of English education for their children, also result in the reinforcement of the status of the English language.

The consequence of English as an Asian *lingua franca* is significant for the future of the English language. McArthur (2003:22) points out the profound influence that the expanding-circle English users can impose:

India and China apparently already account for at least half billion users and learners of English, a total that (before seeking to bring in equally soft statistic form elsewhere in Asia) could make the continent, in demographic terms, the

heaviest 'consumer' of English in the world – and even if this is not so at the time of writing, it is likely to become so in the not far distant future.

2.4.5 *The Role of English in Taiwan*

The emergence of English as the dominant foreign language

English became the first foreign language in Taiwan when Japan ended its colonization of Taiwan and the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) took over the island. The US, as the victor of the Second World War and the supporter of Taiwan after 1949, replaced Japan as the center of regional power. The regime of the KMT government on Taiwan since 1949 and the political and economic support of the US assisted the development of English education in Taiwan. 'Foreign language education' in Taiwan basically means 'English education', for English has been offered as the only required foreign language in Taiwan's education system (see Section 4.3 for a fuller discussion about English education in Taiwan's education system).

Although the defeat of Japan in the Second World War ended Japanese imperialism in East Asia, Japanese culture and language still exerts a significant influence on Taiwanese society. The change in the balance of power between Japanese and English can be illustrated according to *Number of Taiwanese Students Applying for Visa to Study aboard* in major foreign countries (see Table 2.5) by the Ministry of Education. Japan was the second most popular destination of international education in Taiwan from 1954 to 1992 while the US was the most popular country of further education from 1950 to 2005. However, because of the rapid global change after the end of the cold war and the increasing promotion of British education in Taiwan, the UK has taken over second place from Japan since 1993. Consequently, English-speaking countries, including the US, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, have the largest proportion of Taiwanese students studying aboard, i.e. 88.5% in 2005 (see Table 2.6). The increasing number of students studying in English speaking countries, mainly the US and the UK, is an indication of the increasing influence of the English language and of the underlying influences of English speaking countries on Taiwan.

Table 2.5 Number of University Students Applying for Visa to Study abroad

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
USA	13,429	12,936	11,577	10,309	10,679	13,425	14,042	13,109	14,443	15,547	14,878	13,767	10,324 (-25%)	14,054 (+ 36.1%)	15,525 (+ 10.5%)
Canada	2,133	1,671	1,507	1,997	2,610	3,031	2,280	2,359	2,159	2,583	2,296	2,433	1,813 (-25.5%)	2,149 (+ 19%)	2,140 (- 0.4%)
UK	1,991	2,021	2,882	3,968	5,131	5,095	6,414	6,173	6,553	8,567	7,583	9,548	6,662 (-30%)	9,207 (+ 38%)	9,248 (+ 0.5%)
France	553	535	525	457	603	437	355	342	411	552	562	529	627 (18.5%)	580 (- 7.5%)	600 (+ 3.5%)
Germany	472	460	387	481	462	312	345	305	295	313	345	400	442 (10.5%)	402 (- 10%)	475 (+ 18.2%)
Australia	799(a)	1,508	1,709	2,183	2,972	2,884	2,126	2,092	2,065	2,104	2,397	2,894	2,823 (-2.5%)	2,246 (- 20%)	2,679 (+ 19%)
New Zealand	274	290	552	701	649	275	365	342	391	488	645	740	571 (-22.8%)	534 (- 6.5%)	498 (- 6.7%)
Japan	2,990	2,053	1,715	1,350	1,645	1,480	1,700	1,649	1,573	1,753	1,696	1,745	1,337 (-23.4%)	1,556 (+ 16%)	1,748 (+ 12.3%)
Total	22,641	21,434	20,854	21,446	24,751	26,939	27,627	26,200	29,037	31,907	30,402	32,016	24,599 (-23.2%)	30,728 (+ 25%)	32,913 (+ 7.1%)

(a) The student amount from July to December of that year.

(Source: the Ministry of Education, Taiwan)

Table 2.6: The Statistic of University Students Applying for Visa to Study abroad (2002-2005)

	2002		2003		2004		2005	
		%		%		%		%
Japan	1,745	5.2	1,337	5.1	1,556	4.8	1,748	5.1
South Korea	75	0.2	89	0.3	113	0.3	95	0.3
Singapore	800	2.4	700	2.7	700	2.2	-	-
Russia	94	0.3	78	0.3	171	0.5	-	-
USA	13,767	40.7	10,324	39.2	14,054	43.2	15,525	45.6
Canada	2,433	7.2	1,813	6.9	2,149	6.6	2,140	6.3
UK	9,548	28.2	6,662	25.3	9,207	28.3	9,248	27.2
France	529	1.6	627	2.4	580	1.8	600	1.8
German	400	1.2	442	1.7	402	1.2	475	1.4
Spain	179	0.5	206	0.8	179	0.6	168	0.5
Italy	154	0.5	209	0.8	226	0.7	201	0.6
Switzerland	100	0.3	85	0.3	98	0.3	-	-
Austria	356	1.0
Australia	2,894	8.6	2,823	10.7	2,246	6.9	2,679	7.9
New Zealand	740	2.2	571	2.2	534	1.6	498	1.5
Other countries	373	1.1	352	1.3	310	1.2	312	0.9
Total	33,831	100.0	26,318	100.0	32,525	100.0	34,045	100.0

(Source: the Ministry of Education, Taiwan)

Public view of English language learning: English as human capital

In Ebele's (2001) study on *Social Power and the Cultural Effects of Globalization: Why Do Taiwanese Learn English?*, he suggests that the Taiwanese people choose to learn English under a convergent pressure from a number of sources: the top-down societal pressure from employers, government-mandated education and family attributed to the effects of globalization on the Taiwanese society; the bottom-up pressure in forms of personal goals and ambitions such as

travelling, learning about the world, increases in income, personal expectation of future English study, and impressing others. And although most Taiwanese who actually choose to learn English are under the bottom-up pressure, most of the personal reasons are responses to the top-down pressure. He concludes that Taiwan's dependency on international trade and politics has led to a strong demand for learning English among working, farming, and middle classes for the association between English ability and better-paid jobs. He therefore suggests that English in Taiwan is a form of cultural capital and English ability is regarded by middle class Taiwanese people as a form of capital which makes them more productive and valuable to their employment (ibid.).

In the context of East Asia, English language learning can be seen as a paradigm of human capital investment where individual motivations for learning English and national promotion of English learning converge (Wang, 2002). By examining English language policies, learning resources and the reservoir of bilingual (English-Chinese) manpower, in both Taiwan and China, Wang argues that any decline in English proficiency in the population in Taiwan would lead to a loss of competitive advantage. His account reflects the difficult political situation and severe economic competition faced by Taiwanese society. It also reflects the shared perception that the English language is an effective means to deal with pressures from the outside world.

Consequently, as in other East Asian countries, learning English has become 'a whole nation movement' in the twenty-first century's Taiwan (Chern, 2003). English has indeed had a major influence in the development of Taiwanese society in recent decades and it is this process that this thesis aims to investigate. To explain the detailed aims and background of this thesis, the research methodology will be presented in the following chapter.

Research Framework and Methodology

3.1 Aims and Background of the Research

The research proposed here is a case study of the impact of global spread of English in an EFL country, focusing on education, culture and ideology. Although the global spread of English has been investigated by many scholars employing various perspectives, its impact and consequences are still controversial (see Phillipson 1992; Davies, 1996; Seidlhofer, 2003). This is because not only the phenomenon of global English is unprecedented, but also because it is complex and contextually varied. This research intends to offer a study of the implications of global English in an East Asian country in order to obtain a more complete and detailed picture of this global phenomenon. There is a need to investigate the impact of global English through contextual and empirical studies in order to avoid over-generalized interpretations and assumptions regarding the global spread of English. In addition, an interdisciplinary research framework is proposed in this research in order to examine the relationship between language, power and ideology, and between the English language and globalization. In this sense, this research combines applied linguistics and sociological and cultural approaches and aims to investigate the educational, cultural and ideological implications of English spread in Taiwan in order to provide a discussion, as well as offer recommendations for Taiwan's future development.

3.2 Research Framework and Research Questions

'Why English?' is the question that many researchers have investigated in the late twentieth century, (Kachru, 1985, 1986; Crystal, 1997; Graddol, 1997; Pennycook, 1994). As the most widely spoken language in the world, the English language can have different meanings for different language users, e.g. ENL, ESL and EFL, in different contexts, such as post British colonial or East Asian countries. English as a global language therefore needs to be inspected contextually within the particular country.

The principal research question of this study is as follows:

What is the impact of English as a global language on local education, culture, politics and ideology in Taiwan? And how does the local society respond to the influences of global English?

Four themes structure my research:

- the relationship between language, power and ideology
- the relationship between the English language and globalization in the Taiwanese context
- the cultural and ideological implications of the spread of English in Taiwan
- the local response to global English in Taiwanese society

In respect of these themes, four different levels of the impact of English in Taiwan need to be investigated:

1. ***International/ global:*** including international relations and interactions, foreign policies, and the politico-economic factors related to language competition in the world and to the development of the English language in Taiwan.
2. ***Educational:*** English language policy, English education in Taiwan's education system, and the implications of extending English education at elementary level.
3. ***Socio-cultural:*** the practices and discourses of cultural institutions, including educational and governmental organizations, which construct the meanings of the English language in Taiwan; the prevailing discourses about globalization and English promotion as found in the media in

Taiwan.

4. *Perceptual/ attitudinal*: Taiwanese people's perceptions and expectations of the English language and of its effects.

Through this research framework, the following specific questions are proposed and will be answered by looking at the four levels of the spread of English in Taiwan.

Question 1: *What is the impact of English as a global language on Taiwan's education and language policies and on educational practices?*

In order to answer this question, the following documents will be collected and analyzed: language policy, language-in-education policy, and English language education policy implemented in Taiwan. The effect of English language education and the impact of English on local languages will be a particular focus.

Question 2: *What meanings are being transmitted through discourses of English education and English promotion, e.g., governmental documents, educational publications, in Taiwan?*

In order to investigate how the English language is discursively constructed, governmental documents and educational publications about English language teaching and learning will be examined. Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. Fairclough, 2001a, 2003; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999;) will be employed here. (A more detailed discussion of Critical Discourse Analysis is presented in Section 5.2)

Question 3: *How is English discursively constructed in the printed media?*

This question will be answered by analyzing advertisements and articles related to English education, globalization, global English and ELT in Taiwan's major printed media – newspapers. Critical Discourse Analysis will be employed (see Section 5.2 for further discussion) in order to investigate the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of the predominant status of English in Taiwan and the ideological effects of discourses on Taiwanese society and the development of ELT in Taiwan.

Question 4: *What are Taiwanese people's perceptions of the English language regarding impact on local languages, ELT and English learning, the*

use of English, the function of English, and the positive and negative effect of global English?

Interviews on a one-to-one basis will be carried out in order to investigate perceptions, and expectations, of the English language from individuals of different social backgrounds, e.g. educational backgrounds, social status and professional expertise. The following aspects will be explored: attitudes towards the role of Mandarin, English, individual's mother tongue and other local languages in Taiwan; English language learning experiences; the use and functions of the English language in daily life and the mass media; the positive and negative influences of English as a global language on individual, socio-cultural and politico-economic levels in Taiwan.

3.3 Research Methods

3.3.1 Document Analysis

To obtain a comprehensive picture of the language situation and English education in Taiwan, there is a need to review important governmental documents, and related literatures in both English and Chinese on the English language and English education. This literature encompasses books, articles, government publications, official statistics etc. related to language policy and English education in Taiwan.

3.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

In order to investigate the ideological character of English in Taiwan, official government documents and media texts are subjected to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Fairclough (1992) maintains that every instance of language use is a communicative event which covers three dimensions: a text (speech, writing, visual image or a combination of these), a discursive practice (involving the production and the consumption of texts) and a social practice. In this sense, 'discourse is a form of social practice which both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices'. (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:61). Thus, the analysis of

governmental and media discourses will focus on linguistic features of the text, processes relating to the production and consumption of texts, and the broader social practice to which the communicative event belongs. A fuller introduction to CDA is given in Section 5.2.

3.3.3 Semi-structured Interviewing

Interview schedule

Semi-structured interviewing (see interview questions in Appendix 2) on a one-to-one basis is employed to investigate perceptions of Taiwanese people regarding the impact of English and ELT in Taiwan. Interviewees were encouraged to express ideas and opinions on the questions of the interview schedule. The following are the four main themes of the interview questions:

- I. Attitudes towards the role of local languages, English, individual's mother tongue and other foreign languages (Question 1-5)
- II. English education and English learning (Question 6-8)
- III. Use and functions of English in daily life and the mass media (Question 9-10)
- IV. Impact or influence (positive or negative) of English on individual, socio-cultural and politico-economic levels in Taiwan (Question 11-17)

(I) The first part of the interview focuses on relations between English, local languages, individuals' mother tongue and other foreign languages. Since English has been officially introduced into the elementary curriculum in 2001, the effectiveness of language education in Taiwan has been much discussed in the media and among the public (e.g. CECA, 2003; Wu, 2004; Lin Cheng-yi, 2004). Many believe that English should be introduced into the state education system as early as possible (United Daily News, 13 Aug. 2002 and 23 Oct. 2003), while others oppose the emphasis on English and advocate the importance of education in Mandarin and local languages (Chang Chiang-chun, 2002; Lu, 2004). As a result, questions related to the language situation in Taiwan, the role of English, Mandarin and Mother Tongue in education and in general, and the relations between English education and education of other foreign languages are raised in the first part of the interview.

(II) Respondents are also asked to express opinions as to when English education should be introduced into school, on perceptions of mastering English and on their personal gains from learning English. This part of the interview aims to investigate individuals' perceptions of English education and its impact.

(III) The third part of the interview focuses on individuals' perceptions of the use and functions of English in society and in their personal life. The aim is to investigate how important English is for daily-life communication and in the mass media.

(IV) Finally, there are questions relating to the impact of English at socio-cultural and politico-economic levels. Subjects are asked to comment on the impact of English on local languages and cultures and on how positive or negative the impact of English has been on Taiwan generally. The final part of interview explores the implications of English spread in Taiwan in terms of individuals, society, economic development and cultures.

All the statements made by interviewees during the interview were recorded and selectively transcribed for further analysis. Interviewees' perceptions of English will be examined and illustrated via the following aspects: the relations between English, local languages and other foreign languages; English education and English learning; use and functions of English in Taiwan; the socio-cultural and politico-economic impact of English.

Sampling of interviewees

The sample of interviewees is not intended to be representative of Taiwanese society as a whole. Respondents rather are from the more elite section of society because these are the people who have the most contact with English and who are better placed to comment on its impact.

The following groups of subjects are therefore included:

Group 1: Governmental level

Government official in Ministry of Education (1 interview)

(Han) Government official in Council of Indigenous Peoples (1 interview)

(Aboriginal) Government official in Council of Indigenous Peoples (1 interview)

Group 2: Elementary level

English teachers in elementary schools (3 interviews)
Teachers of other subjects in elementary schools (3 interviews)
Parents of elementary students (2 interviews)

Group 3: Secondary level

English teachers in high schools (3 interviews)
Teachers of other subjects in high schools (3 interviews)
Students in senior high schools (2 interviews)
Parents of high school students (2 interviews)

Group 4: Tertiary level

English teachers at university/college level (3 interviews)
Teachers of other subjects at university/college level (3 interviews)
English major students (3 interviews)
Non-English major students (3 interviews)

Group 5: Members of the social elite

Engineer, law clerk, medical doctor, researcher and executive. (5 interviews)

Group 6: People in the private sector of the economy

People from manufacturing industry, technician, nurse and salesperson etc. (5 interviews)

According to educational backgrounds, social status and professional expertise, forty-three interviewees were chosen. For presenting a significant representation of perceptions of English in Taiwan, this research includes informants of different levels of the education system (group 1 to 4), while interviews of social elites and people in other private sector are also conducted in order to show perceptions of English in other professions. (See Section 6.2.2 for a fuller discussion of the sampling methods)

3.4 What Does this Research Contribute?

The global spread of English has resulted in not only an unprecedented phenomenon of language spread and language contact, but also debates in the academic community in terms of the cause, process and effect of English spread. The controversy lies in the effect (positive or negative) of English on its non-native users, and in the socio-cultural and ideological implications of the spread of English.

In the macro-social theory of linguistic imperialism proposed by Phillipson (1992), it is the hegemonic and structural power of English that leads to the dominance of the English language and the inequality between the 'have and

have-nots'. Phillipson's notion of English 'linguistic imperialism' has attracted criticism from several researchers, e.g. Davies (1996), Bisong (1995). The discussions reveal the need to balance the structural and the individual, the theoretical and the empirical, and the global and the local. There has been considerable discussion and documentation of the global role and impact of English globally. Relatively rare are local, contextual studies of English regarding how and why English is used by people in specific cultural and local contexts. Thus, it is important to bring empirical evidence to bear on the impact of global English and this is an important contribution this thesis can make. By documenting in more explicit detail the impact of English in Taiwan, this research intends to contribute an empirical study to the investigation of the global spread of English and to the controversy relating to English linguistic imperialism.

Although much research on English in the fields of ELT and Applied Linguistics has been done in Taiwan, issues of global English and its impact have been raised only very recently, e.g. Dai (ed.) (2002), Chuang (2002). Most studies focus on the methodology of ELT, the development of English education and language-in-education policy rather than on the cultural and ideological influences of global English. And not many studies in ELT and Applied Linguistics have focused on local responses to the predominance of global English in Taiwan or have examined the socio-cultural impact of the global spread of English in detail. In the field of sociology and cultural studies, the impact of the English language combined with the process of globalization in Taiwan has been investigated by researchers such as Ebele (2001) and Wang (2002). However, most researchers tend to regard the global spread of English as a basic fact or a background phenomenon and pay more attention to the process of globalization and issues of globalization and local cultures. Therefore, by focusing on socio-cultural and ideological implications of English spread in Taiwan, this research can be regarded as an interdisciplinary contribution to construct a more comprehensive picture of the impact of English in Taiwan, and to mediate the social and the linguistic in the research of global English.

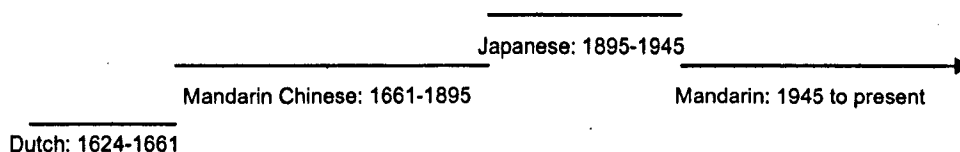
Language Policies in Education and English Education in Taiwan

4.1 The Ethno-linguistic Background and Language Situation in Taiwan

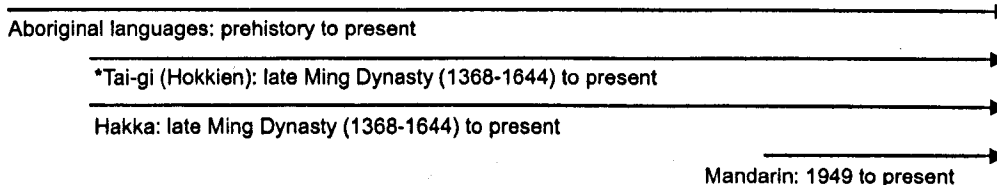
Taiwan's long historical development has created a country with diverse ethno-linguistic groups (see Table 4.1). With a population of about 23 million, it consists of four major ethno-linguistic groups (with the percentage of each group): the Taiwanese or Minnan (Southern Min people) (73.3%); the Mainlanders (13%); the Hakka (12%); the Austronesians (1.7%) (Huang, 1993).

Table 4.1 History of Taiwan's Languages (Sandel, 2003: 527)

Colonial/ National Languages



Local Languages



*Tai-gi is also called Minnanyu or Taiwanese, spoken by Minnan (Hokkien) people.

The Austronesians are considered the aborigines of Taiwan. It is estimated that the Austronesian aborigines arrived on the island about 6000 to 8000 years ago and spoke varieties of Austronesian languages. Aborigines were further divided into two groups according to where they resided: *Ping-pu Zu* (the Plain tribes) who lived in the coastal plain and *Gao-shan Zu* (the Mountain tribes) who lived in the mountain areas. Today, the former group has almost been sinicized. The latter group consists of nine tribes each with its own language: Amis, Paiwan, Puyuma, Saisiyat, Yami, Atayal, Bunun, Rukai and Tsou. These tribes still preserve their languages, but with extremely small population and without a written system in their own languages, they have been diluted and strongly influenced by Chinese culture and languages.

In the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, the Minnan and Hakka people from the coastal provinces of China, i.e. Fujian and Guandong, came to Taiwan in order to escape from severe economic hardship and political turmoil in China. A large number of Chinese immigrants with better farming and irrigation skills took over the lands of the Plain tribes of the aborigines. As a result, the original inhabitants became assimilated with the Chinese population. Owing to the high mountain ranges, the Mountain tribes were not completely assimilated by the Chinese. By 1905, when first census was conducted, the ethnic Chinese, including the Minnan and Hakka people, emerged as the majority group in Taiwan (2,970,000 Chinese vs. 113,000 aborigines) and have remained so ever since (Tsao, 2000). During Japanese colonization, Japanese was introduced into Taiwanese society. From the phase of appeasement from 1895 to 1919, both Minnanyu and Mandarin were still used in the education system. The phase of assimilation from 1919 to 1937 saw the banning of Mandarin and the less use of Minnanyu. The phase of Japanization was from 1937 to 1945. Minnanyu and other local languages were banned in public domains. Consequently, by 1944, 71% of Taiwanese people had learned Japanese but for most people in Taiwan Minnanyu was still the major medium for daily communication (Chen Mei-Ru, 1997; Huang, 1995).

In 1945, Taiwan was returned to China after fifty years of Japanese colonization and the former national language then Japanese was replaced by a new national language, Mandarin. When the KMT government fled to Taiwan in 1949, the most recent group of immigrants, a large number of Mandarin speakers (the Mainlanders who spoke variable dialects as well as the official language—Mandarin), came to

Taiwan with Chiang Kai-shek. The KMT government promoted Mandarin by banning Japanese in schools, government and media; controlling the media and schools and by 'unidirectional bilingualism' (Tsao, 2004: 309). The indigenous groups are more likely to learn Mandarin than the Mainlanders to learn the 'local dialects' including Minnanyu, Hakka and aboriginal languages. The complex language situation in Taiwan after 1945 can be summarized in three stages (Huang, 1995; Chen Mei-Ru, 1997; Tse, 2000; also see Section 4.2.1 for a fuller discussion).

1. *The stage of transition (1945-1969).* With an emphasis on eradicating the Japanese influence upon Taiwanese people in all aspects of life, the National Language Movement was started for promoting Mandarin as a subject and the medium of instruction in schools. The use of dialects was discouraged in public domains.

2. *The stage of solidification of the national language (1970-1986).* During this period, stricter prohibition policies were applied to languages other than Mandarin in order to solidify the status of Mandarin as the national language. Students were forbidden to speak 'local dialects' in schools.

3. *The stage of liberalization (1987-present).* The lifting of Martial law in 1987 and greater democratization in politics has seen the lifting of restrictions in almost all aspects of society and education. Today, Mandarin remains the national language and a *de facto* lingua franca in Taiwan, but Minnanyu, Hakka and the aboriginal Austronesian languages have been given much more attention by the government and Taiwanese society. Mother tongue education, bilingual education policy and the preservation of endangered aboriginal languages have been devised and implemented.

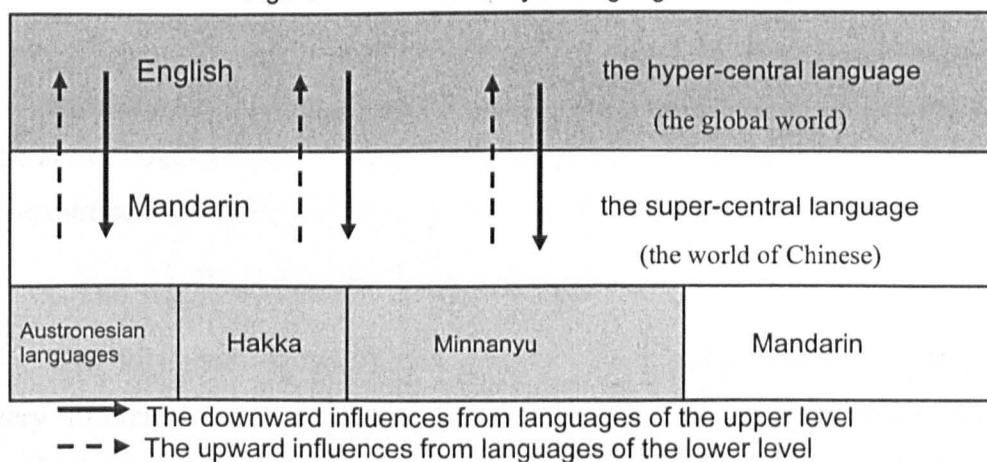
The language situation in Taiwan can be seen as a reflection of its political situation. Language policy and language in education policy have been employed as an important means for national unity and integration. The KMT government justified the strict Mandarin Language Policy by claiming its political mission to recover Mainland China from the Communists, and associating language usage with loyalty to the government (Sandel, 2003). The Mandarinization Language policy separated the ethno-linguistic groups in Taiwan into two sociolinguistic groups—the Mainlanders and the local people (including the Austronesians, the Southern Min people, and the Hakkas), This division inevitably resulted in social and linguistic

inequalities between the two sociolinguistic groups (Chen Su-Chiao, 2003). It was the dominance of political power by the Mainlanders combined with the national language promotion that made Mandarin ability a major requirement for government employment. These policies also ensured the continuity of the Mainlander-dominated KMT government.

Since 2000, Taiwan has experienced significant changes in terms of its politics, society and economy. The election of a DPP government in 2000 signaled a new era of Taiwan's political development and the rise of power of other ethno-linguistic groups, i.e. the Southern Min people, the Hakkas, and the Austronesians. In the twenty-first century, there is hope for multilingual and multicultural development in Taiwan. However, the complex of identity politics within the island and the problematic status of Taiwan restrict the choices for future development. As Huang (2000) points out, local languages in Taiwan face fierce competition from the official language, Mandarin, and English. Mother tongue education in primary schools is regarded by some as unnecessary because it cannot provide the advantages that English as the *lingua franca* of business, science and international communication can offer.

Following De Swaan's (2001a) global language system and Hung's (2002) sociolinguistic structure in Taiwan, an upward-learning and downward-expanding hierarchy of languages in Taiwan can be presented as follows.

Figure 4.1 The hierarchy of languages in Taiwan



Overall, Mandarin, the official language in Taiwan and the communicative medium for all Chinese societies around the world, is the language of power in education, government and business. It thus has a direct and profound influence on

the development of other local languages in Taiwan. English as a global language and at the top of the hierarchy provides appealing socio-economic functions. For Taiwanese society English as an additional language requires additional investment of time and money. Its preceded usefulness has made the language in great demand. Therefore, languages at the lowest level in the hierarchy (e.g. the Austronesian languages, Hakka and Minnanyu) are under direct pressure from the national language, Mandarin, and indirect pressure from the global language, English.

4.2 Language Policies in Education in Taiwan

Language policies in education are an important instrument by which states manage social and political conflict. However, conflicts involving language policy usually have their source in group conflicts (Tollefson, 2002). In Taiwan, under the KMT government in the second half of the twentieth century, language-in-education policy was part of a policy that aimed to eliminate ethno-linguistic diversity in order to reinforce national unification. Similar to many developing countries, the interaction between the two major factors has determined the language-in-education policies in Taiwan: (1) nationalism and national unification and (2) modernization and economic growth (Tsao, 2000).

4.2.1 The National Language Movement and Language-in-education Policy in Taiwan

With a focus on language-in-education policy and its sociopolitical background, the above mentioned three stages of language situation in Taiwan since 1945 will be re-examined alongside the national language movement.

1. The stage of transition (1945-1969)

After fifty years of Japanese colonialism, the language situation in Taiwan was very different from the situation in Mainland China. Rather than having Mandarin as the language for communication among different ethnic groups, the island was inhabited by speakers of Hakka, Minnanyu, and Austronesian languages who had received some Japanese education. For the KMT governors from the Mainland China who spoke Mandarin as the official language, the lack of Mandarin ability

among people in Taiwan was regarded as a threat to national identity. By establishing the Taiwan Provincial Committee for the Propagation and Promotion of the National Language (CPPNL) in 1946, a series of policies and activities were implemented in order to 'Mandarinize' the Taiwanese and attempt to achieve national unification. They were referred to the National Language Movement. The six principles developed by the Committee can be considered as the main guidelines of the National Language Movement:

- (1) to revive Taiwanese dialects so as to enable the public to learn the national language by comparing the dialects with the national language.
- (2) to promote the standard pronunciation.
- (3) to eradicate the influence of Japanese in the daily speech of the people.
- (4) to promote the contrastive study of morphology so as to enrich the national language.
- (5) to adapt National Phonetic Symbols so as to promote communication among people of different races and origins.
- (6) to encourage the intention of learning the national language and to facilitate the teaching of it. (Huang, 1995: 103)

According to the six principles, Taiwanese dialects were revitalized as a transitional means of reinforcing the spread of Mandarin. In 1949, the retreat of the KMT government to Taiwan reinforced the promotion of Mandarin.

At this stage, language-in-education policy was used as a political tool to 'Mandarinize' Taiwanese people, achieve political unification and eventually eradicate the influence of Japan. In the education system, Mandarin became the key subject and occupied 30% of the school curriculum (Chen Mei-Ru, 1997). In addition, Mandarin was the only language used for class instruction and school gatherings. In 1956, the movement for speaking Mandarin was implemented nationwide and Mandarin became the only language which could be used in schools and in public. In 1966, a plan to promote the national language in local governments, and at all levels of schools was implemented:

- (1) Teachers and students at all levels of schools had to use Mandarin at all times; students violating this rule were to be punished according to related regulations.
- (2) Prohibition of screening movie in dialects or foreign languages in cinemas.
- (3) Prohibition of dialects or foreign languages for public use.

- (4) Prohibition against making speech in dialects at all levels of sports events.
- (5) Prohibition of translating movie lines into dialects. (Chen Mei-Ru, 1997: 299)

At a later stage, local languages were prohibited in public and schools. The change of attitude toward dialects in language-in-education policy was a reflection of the changes in politics and the ruling class's perceptions of language and national unification. In the late 1960s, the promotion of the National Language became an important issue in the National Assembly and the Legislative *Yuan* (the parliament). Because of the unfavorable position of Taiwan internationally, language unification or monolingualism was identified as the key factor for achieving national unification and creating a national identity.

2. *The stage of solidification of the national language (1970-1986)*

In 1970, *Regulations of Reinforcement of Mandarin Promotion* came into force for promoting political propaganda and communication among the people of the country. It was also used for reinstating the Committee for the Propagation and Promotion of the National Language (CPPNL) which was abrogated in 1959 (MOE, 1974). Furthermore, in 1975, a new *Television and Broadcasting Law* was introduced, which restricted the use of languages other than Mandarin in the mass media. The proportion of air time for Mandarin was not less than 70%, and air time given to other languages was reduced.

In the 1970s, Taiwan encountered a series of setbacks in diplomacy, foreign policy and domestic affairs. As a result, the ruling class, mainly Mainlanders, became more conscious of the need to intensify a sense of Chinese identity in order to suppress advocates of Taiwanese identity among other ethnic groups on the island and to re-establish the legitimate Chinese culture in Taiwan. Therefore, the language-in-education policy was actually a means of ideological control. Mandarin ability became necessary in order to access positions in government, including central government, local governments, central legislative body and local assemblies. Mandarin also became the dominant language in the education system, including class instruction, school activities, and communication between teachers and students. The CPPNL claimed that dialects were obstacles for national unification while only Mandarin could adequately express Chinese Culture and

enhance the standard of knowledge for the whole nation (BOE, 1987).

3. *The stage of liberalization (1987-present)*

In the 1980s, a movement advocating a stronger Taiwanese identity emerged. Through promotion of Mother Tongue and Taiwanese cultures, it laid claim to the identity of the Taiwan island (Chen Su-Chiao, 2003). This movement resulted in a significant change in Taiwan's political environment. In 1987, the lifting of Martial law, the establishment of the second political party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), and the democratization of politics liberalized the restrictions in almost all areas of society and education. The language rights of the people in Taiwan were one of the key issues that had drawn public's attention, and resulted in significant changes in education and the mass media.

After 1987, Mother Tongue education was first implemented in schools of DPP-governed counties, e.g. in I-Lan County, Taipei County. In 1993, the Ministry of Education announced that Mother Tongue education should be included in the language classes in elementary and junior high schools. From the third to sixth year, a one-hour class (per week) related to native language and culture was provided in the elementary curriculum (MOE, 1994). A class named 'native culture instruction activity' was implemented at elementary level nationwide in 1996. However, except for classes related to native culture and native languages, all classes should still be taught in Mandarin (ibid.). Another important development in 1993 was that the restriction of dialects and local languages in the mass media according to the *Television and Broadcasting Law* was abolished. The revised regulation granted the right to use native languages in domestic broadcasts (Huang, 1994).

From the newly implemented *Grade One to Nine Curriculum of Elementary and Junior High School Education* in 2001¹ (also see Section 4.3 for further discussion on its influence on English education), one to two hours of native languages per

¹ *Grade One to Nine Curriculum of Elementary and Junior High School Education* was implemented as part of curricular and instructional reforms in elementary and junior high school education, initiated by the Ministry of Education and based on the *Action Plan for Educational Reform* (「教育改革行動方案」) approved by the Executive Yuan. This curricular reform plan was launched in April 1997 and the new curriculum was implemented in 2001. Five basic aspects are emphasized in Grade 1-9 Curriculum: developing humanitarian attitudes, enhancing integration ability, cultivating democratic literacy, fostering both indigenous awareness and a global perspective, and building up the capacity for lifelong learning (MOE, 1998c). English as well as local languages are officially included in the curriculum.

week are required in the elementary curriculum from the first to the sixth grade. However, this arrangement has not received much support from the general public. The controversy lies in the inevitable competitiveness between all languages in the curriculum. Mandarin and all other languages in education were integrated into *the learning area of Language Arts* (MOE, 1998c) which occupied 20-30% of the elementary and junior high school curriculum. However, the inclusion of English and native languages in this area has resulted in competition between these languages for limited resources.

4.2.2 Foreign-Language-in-Education Policy in Taiwan

English is the major foreign language taught in Taiwan alongside other foreign languages, such as French, German, Spanish and Japanese. The history of foreign language education in Taiwan can be traced back to the period of Japanese colonization. While Japanese was the main language in education, English was offered as an optional subject for Taiwanese boys in junior high schools (Chen Su-Chioa, 2003). From 1945 English was chosen as the primary foreign language and became the only required foreign language to be taught in the education system in 1968 (ibid). English became the required subject for every student in secondary schools and the first year of college. Japanese, however, gradually became the second most frequently used foreign language in the late 1970s due to the increase in trade with Japan.

As a foreign language, the status of English was promoted by the government for historical and realistic reasons, such as the influence of the US in Taiwan and English as a medium for international communication. And what eventually made the fundamental change in the foreign-language-in-education policy, or more specifically the English-in-education policy in Taiwan, was not a simple concern about the effectiveness of language education. In fact, the English-in-education policy reflects the social and political conflicts and was actually created to solve such conflicts. English in Taiwan's education system and the implications of the new English-in- education policy will be discussed in detail in Sections 4.3 and 4.4.

4.3 English Education in Taiwan

In Taiwan's education system, English is a compulsory subject in the junior high schools, the senior high schools and the first year of colleges until 1993. Furthermore, English has become a part of the curriculum in elementary schools since 2001. This section focuses on English education at different levels of Taiwan's education system.

4.3.1 English Education at the Elementary Level

Although English was officially taught as a subject in elementary schools in September 2001, the issue of teaching English at elementary level had been discussed since 1969 (Shu, 1970). In 1987, the lifting of Martial Law not only revitalized the role of native languages but also stimulated discussion of the extension of English education at elementary level. Before the official implementation of English education, English had been offered as an extra-curricular activities in elementary schools in Taipei City in 1993, and was officially implemented in the elementary curriculum in 1998 (Chan, 2004).

As an important component of educational reforms aiming to foster national competitiveness and the overall quality of citizens' lives, *the General Guideline of Grade One to Nine Curriculum of Elementary and Junior High School Education* was announced by the Ministry of Education in 1998. It included English education in the curriculum at elementary level (MOE, 1998c). In the following year, English instruction was implemented in over one hundred elementary schools nationwide on a trial basis. According to *the Temporary Guidelines of Grade One to Nine Curriculum of Elementary Education*, English education was implemented in the fifth and the sixth grade of elementary schools in 2001 and was officially extended to the third and the fourth grade in 2005 (see Section 4.4 for a discussion regarding the extension of English education at elementary level). However, many local governments, such as Taipei City, Kaohsiung City, Tainnan City, Hualien County, Taiuan County and Taichung City, have already introduced English education in all grades of the elementary curriculum (Dai, 2002). This is because, in the new

curriculum, school subjects are integrated into seven learning areas¹ and local governments and schools are entitled to decide how to assign the 'alternative learning periods' in each learning area in order to organize activities or implement curriculum according to specific circumstances and the needs of students. English learning has become a popular choice and has been introduced to lower grades in elementary schools of many counties or cities.

The goals of English teaching in Grade 1-9 curriculum are (1) to help students develop basic communication skills in English; (2) to cultivate students' interest in and develop in them a better method of learning English; (c) to promote students' understanding of local and foreign cultures and customs (MOE, 2000b). The new English curriculum adopts the principles of communicative approach. This pedagogical emphasis on English education at elementary level in Grade 1-9 Curriculum is more focused on developing students' listening and speaking ability while junior high school concentrates on developing and integrating the four skills in English including listening, speaking, reading and writing.

Following the implementation of the new curriculum, the textbook used at both elementary and junior high levels is no longer the unified national edition. Different sets of textbooks, developed by private publishers, but examined and proved by the National Institute of Compilation and Translation (NICT), are available for teachers' selection. There are currently over ten sets of NICT approved English textbooks for elementary schools on the market².

4.3.2 English Education at the Secondary Level

There are two levels of secondary education in Taiwan: junior high schools and senior high schools. English is a required subject at both levels and three to six hours per week are allocated to it.

¹ Grade 1-9 curriculum includes seven major learning areas: Language Arts, Health and Physical Education, Social Studies, Arts and Humanities, Mathematics, Science and Technology, and Integrative Activities (MOE, 1998c).

² These textbooks were published by private publishers of elementary reference and text books in Taiwan such as Kang Hsuan Educational Publishing Group, Nan-I Books and Han-Lin Publishing Co., major children's ELT franchises in Taiwan such as Hess Educational Organization, Kid Castle Educational Corporation and Giraffe English, and professional ELT publishers such as Cave Books and Pearson Education.

The curriculum of English education at junior high and senior high levels both follows the principles of the communicative approach. The goals of English curriculum at junior high level are stated as (1) to help students develop basic language skills in listening, speaking, reading and writing; (2) to cultivate students' interests in learning English and develop correct learning habits and methods; and (3) to promote students' understanding of local and foreign cultures (MOE, 1994). At the senior high level, apart from developing student interests in learning English, the emphasis is on learner-centeredness and learner strategies of language learning (Chern, 2003). However, the entrance exams for senior high schools or vocational schools and the entrance exams for university have led to more attention given to structure-oriented and text-driven teaching.

As mentioned above, at junior high school level, textbooks developed by private publishers have been used since September 2001. The NICT-approved English textbooks include editions published by major textbook or ELT publishers such as Kang Hsuan, Han-Lin, Nan-I, Hess and Pearson. At senior high level, textbooks were de-regulated even earlier than at junior high level. Since September 1999 senior high school teachers have had the freedom to select teaching materials from different sets of NICT-approved English textbooks developed by private publishers, such as Fare East Book, Lungteng Cultural, SanMin Book and Nan-I.

4.3.3 English Education at the Tertiary Level

English was a required subject, referred to as 'Freshman English', for the first year of university until 1993. It was an eight-credit course (four hours per week) which mostly focused on reading skills. In 1993, the Freshman English course was replaced by a foreign language course. Students could choose any foreign language provided by their universities to fulfill the six-credit requirement. English became an elective rather than a requirement. In 1997, universities were allowed to decide on foreign language requirements, including credit hours and the content of courses. In spite of the changes made by the Ministry of Education, English has remained the core of the foreign language curriculum. In general, mandates of 1993 and 1997 have provided students and teachers with more freedom to take and offer courses in English (Shih, 2000). An overview of English courses offered at university for

non-English major students in Taiwan (Chern, 2003:433) is illustrated in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Overview of English courses offered at universities in Taiwan

First Year	
Course options	General English: integrated skills Skill-based: Conversation, listening, reading, writing, etc.
Second Year and Beyond	
Course options	Content-based: Journalistic English, Business English, English for current events, English for technology , News reading, etc. Skill-based: Oral-report skills, Advanced conversation, Practical English composition, listening comprehension for academic lectures, etc.
Total Required Credits	4-14 (with 6 being the norm)

4.4 The Implications of Extending English Education in Elementary Schools in Taiwan

This section examines the socio-cultural, economic, and political background of introducing English education at elementary level and investigates the impact of the extension of English education in Taiwan.

4.4.1 *English, Globalization and Economic Development*

In the past few decades, the spread of English learning has been growing dramatically not only because of globalization, but also due to a fundamental change of perception and learning culture toward the English language. English is no longer regarded as a foreign language, but a necessary instrument for international communication and globalization.

The *Six-Year National Development Plan* (2002-2008) includes wide-ranging projects focusing on economic growth and environmental protection, i.e. three major reforms (i.e. government, banking, and finance) and four major investments (cultivating talent; research, development, and innovation; international logistics; and a high-quality living environment). The plan was formulated by the Taiwanese government in order to face the technological challenges and a loss of investment

and skilled managers to Mainland China. The English language plays a central role in the project. It aims to cultivate manpower in order to meet the challenges of globalization and internationalization (GIO, 2005).

The project for cultivation of talent for the e-generation has three parts: (1) establishing internationalized living environment and enhancing national English ability; (2) cultivating young generation with vitality through sports and arts; (3) creating a society of lifelong learning (MOE, 2005). The first part of the project focuses on the promotion of English under the basic tactic of the six-year national development plan— ‘global connection, local action’.

Six goals are stated in order to establish internationalized environment and facilitate international interaction. The first goal is to construct an English living environment where English works along with Mandarin in governmental publication, signs, the Internet and the mass media, e.g. producing and broadcasting English radio and TV programs, establishing service network for foreigners living in Taiwan and proceeding English translation of government laws and regulations, and to improving the national English ability.

Secondly, government officials, college students, and teachers at elementary and junior high levels, especially English teachers, are encouraged to take the General English Proficiency Test (GEPT). Thirdly, in order to reinforce the quality of English teachers, the following instruments are proposed: in-service teacher training; opportunities for short-term studies in English-speaking countries for English teachers; the import of teachers from English-speaking countries such as the US, Canada, Britain and Australia; the English summer camp held by university students for teaching English in remote areas.

The fourth and fifth goals aim to accelerate the internationalization of colleges and universities by providing an English study program, enhancing the English ability of students and promoting the cooperation between Taiwan’s universities and universities abroad, and to attract foreign students. Finally, in order to improve the quality and the quantity of manpower in Taiwan, governmental scholarships and sufficient information on education and life in foreign countries will be provided – the aim is to encourage students to study aboard.

English is believed to be the most important medium for access to power and resources and has been seen as the key element of globalization and modernization in Taiwan. Although national and local identities have been the main focus of the cultural politics in Taiwan, the promotion of English, which has great impact on the national development of language, education and culture, has seldom been an issue in these debates. Liao (1996: 75) observes that 'nationalist cultural policy [in Taiwan] has been constantly revised in response to local cultural politics and global forces as felt on both sides of the Taiwan Strait.' Cultural policy in Taiwan can therefore be divided into two categories: local policies aiming to provide resolutions of local cultural politics, and global policies aiming to encounter global changes and resist the threat from Mainland China. English has been playing an important role in the latter category.

Overall, economic development plays a significant role in discourses of globalization and the promotion of English in Taiwan. Hung (2003) explains that the transformation of Taiwan's industrial structure (i.e. losing labor-intensive industries) and the severe pressure of competition after lifting protective measurements on the domestic market, inevitably leads to concerns regarding its economic advantage and how to find possible solutions. The recent English education reforms in Taiwan were a reflection of insecurity and worries about the nation's future in the global world. The subheading of the English education reform in *the Report of the Education Reform* (MOE, 1998b): '*eliminating international illiteracy by teaching English in the elementary schools*', reveals the basic perception of the English language at the national level, and the demand of preparing the basic ability for globalization and future international competition.

4.4.2 The Background and Impacts of Extending English Education at the Elementary Level

The reasons for implementing English education at the elementary level were stated by the Ministry of Education as follows (MOE, 1998a):

- (1) to develop in students an international perspective;
- (2) to maximize students' critical period of language acquisition in language learning;

- (3) to optimize the timing of the implementation of the new curriculum, and
- (4) to follow the trends of the new era and fulfill parents' expectations.

According to these reasons, the processes of policy making were influenced by different forces and facets of concerns. These included the need to internationalize, achieve effectiveness in English language learning, promote educational reform in Taiwan, and meet the public expectations. By examining the political and socio-cultural background of the policy making process, this section aims to investigate the implications of the extension of English education in Taiwan.

The political and socio-cultural context

As explained above, relations with the US have been vital for Taiwan since the Second World War. The protection and support from the US has been like a safety net. They have protected Taiwan from Mainland China's threat and have stabilized the political situation in Taiwan. Therefore, the US has had a profound influence on Taiwan in terms of politics, society, culture and education. As a result, many American influences can be identified in Taiwan's education system and education policies.

Hung (2003) identifies three socio-cultural factors that have influenced the extension of English education: (1) the need for national development; (2) societal expectations; (3) the conflicts between globalization and localization. The issue of including English as a required subject in elementary curriculum was officially raised by the government when the Committee of Education Reform was formed by the Executive Yuan in 1995. It was proposed as part of education reforms aiming at raising standards of English at a national level. The high expectations of the education reforms since the late 1990s also accelerated the process of policy making.

In 2000, after more than fifty years' rule by the KMT government, the president candidate of DPP, Chen Shui-Bian, won the national election and started a new era in Taiwan's political history. DPP, the second political party in Taiwan, finally got the chance to govern the country and began to introduce reforms. Although the policy of the extension of English education was formulated in the late 1990s by the KMT government, the extension of English instruction in elementary schools was

actually a policy in response to the high expectations from the society, as well as indicating the DPP's determination to reform.

Although English is embraced by Taiwanese society, scholars such as Chang Yueh-chen (2002), Liu (2004), Liao (2004) have examined issues regarding the conflicts between globalization and localization, the impacts of English on local cultures and identities, the lack of local reflection on English language teaching, and the possible marginalization of local languages. However, these issues are discussed mostly as an academic discourse and have not attracted much attention from the public. Instead of be concerned about the impact of English on local cultures, languages and values, most discussions in the mass media and in academia focus mainly on the effectiveness of English education and English language policies, studies and criticisms of the existing system of English education, and the comparative studies of English education in Asian countries (Hung, 2003). Debates in the mass media and from scholars in the fields of ELT, Education and Applied Linguistics reflect the process of policy making. They also help create a lively forum in which English education is the prerequisite topic of discussion.

Impacts and problems

The major impacts of the extension of English education at elementary level are as follows:

(1) *The discrepant practices of elementary English education in different areas have resulted in difficulties in supervising the quality of teachers, teaching materials and syllabus.* According to Grade 1-9 Curriculum, English started to be taught as a required subject from the fifth grade of elementary education. However, most of the schools in different cities or counties have already introduced English at earlier grades. Lin Cheng-yi (2004) points out that the difference between the policy from the central government and the practice in local governments could directly have serious impact on the application of teaching materials. The syllabus of the textbooks is no longer applicable to the fifth-grade students who have previously learned English.

(2) *The gap between policy and practice has also provoked considerable controversy regarding the best timing for children to learn English.* While most

parents agree that English education should begin as early as possible, the Ministry of Education (MOE News, 18 Aug. 2003), teachers (e.g. Chang Chi-chen, 2004) and scholars (e.g. Chang Chiang-chun, 2002) argue that introducing English at grade one or two might interfere with the learning of Mandarin and their mother tongues.

(3) *Another concern is the gap between the urban and the rural sectors in English learning and teaching.* Lin Jun-jie (2004) points out the difficulties encountered in elementary English education in the rural areas: the lack of English teachers; the problem of the quality of teachers; the lack of sufficient English learning environment; the huge gap between the urban and the rural sector in terms of resources, parents' investment and the practice of English education of local governments; and the fact that children from poor family might be forced to give up English at an early stage. Families and local authorities in the urban areas are more likely to have the resources and the aspirations to invest in English education. However, such investment and involvement are rare in rural areas. The gap inevitably reinforces inequality between the poor and the rich in education.

(4) *The quality and quantity of English teachers is also a concern.* The lack of English teachers has been identified as a major problem in the elementary curriculum of English education (Wu, 2004; Chan, 2003). Although English as a required subject in elementary curriculum officially started in 2001, many schools in different cities or counties have already started teaching English before 2001 and have introduced English education at lower grades. The number of teachers required greatly outnumbers the number of qualified teachers. And because English is a new subject at the elementary level, there was no course or program for training elementary English teachers in colleges or universities of education before 1999. The result has been a shortage of qualified English teachers. Several steps have been taken to solve the problem, such as recruiting capable graduates, selecting non-English elementary teachers who have sufficient English ability, and encouraging the establishment of related departments in universities of education as the long-term preparation for elementary English teachers.

(5) *The problem of importing foreign English teachers from English-speaking countries.* The recruitment of native speaking English teachers from overseas has

been introduced in order to improve English education in the rural areas and increase cultural interactions with other countries (MOE News, 25 Mar. 2003). This has provoked criticism because it would deprive the employment opportunities of local English teachers and could result in students' confusion regarding their own cultural identity. It is argued that being native speaking English speakers does not guarantee their ability to teach well. Another problem is that, in some cases, native speaker English teachers might burden local teachers with extra administrative work and teaching loads due to their lack of communicative ability in Mandarin. They may even exhibit attitudes of superiority over local cultures (United Daily News, 19 January 2003). Huang (1998) argues that native English teachers should be aware of local cultures and customs, and parents' expectations in order to avoid cultural conflict and communicative difficulties in language classrooms. The controversy also lies in the discrepancies in salary scales between native and non-native English teachers (see Table 4.3). Moreover, there is the considerable financial burden of hiring foreign English teachers.

Table 4.3 A Comparison of Non-Native and Native English Teachers' Pay

	<i>Local English Teachers</i>	<i>Foreign Native Speaking English Teachers</i>
<i>Salary rates in elementary and junior high schools</i>	BA holders: 38900-74150 NTD	59115-86170 NTD*
	MA holders: 45845-75405 NTD	
	PhD holders: 50545-76660 NTD	
<i>Contract length</i>	Long term contract	Renew once a year
<i>Taxation</i>	Exempt	20%
<i>Allowance for teaching in rural areas</i>	3000-9500 NTD	N/A
<i>Allowance for home teacher</i>	2000 NTD	N/A

* The salary scale of Foreign Native English Teachers is based on that of National Experimental High School at Hsinchu Science Park, excluding flight and rent subsidies.

(Source: the Ministry of Education. Extracted and translated from *United Daily News*, 19 Jan 2003, p.6)

Yeh (2002) points out that the distinctive difference in pay between native and non-native English teachers can hinder local non-native English teachers' motivation to work. In addition, the cooperative teaching between native English teachers and local teachers might encounter problems such as communicative difficulties, cultural differences, unequal teaching load and differences of personalities (United Daily News, 7 July 2004). Although the Ministry of Education promised to guarantee the working opportunities of local English teachers and raise the experiences of introducing foreign English teachers in state education system in

other Asian countries such as Japan in 1978, Hong Kong in 1997 and Korea in 1995, there are still doubts about its application in rural areas and in language classrooms generally.

(6) *The competition between English, Mandarin and Mother Tongue.* In an investigation into English teaching in elementary curriculum held by the Committee on Educational and Cultural Affairs, the Control Yuan (CECA, 2003), it was revealed that English education taught as a required subject in the first and second grade in elementary schools might cause learning problem for students who have to learn three language phonetic systems, i.e. English, Mandarin and a local language at the same time. It was also suggested that, due to the over-emphasis of English education, the curriculum design and the distribution of resources should be reconsidered in order to avoid marginalizing Mandarin and local languages.

Extension of English education as the consequences of the convergence of external and internal pressures

The extension of English education in Taiwan can be regarded as a choice made under global-structural and internal pressures. Hypotheses such as the critical period of language acquisition and '*the younger the better*' provide a theoretical foundation for implementing English education at elementary level. The examples and experiences of elementary English education in other East Asian countries also reinforce the necessity of extending English education. However, the key factors which determine the process and result of the new English-in-education policy are predominantly political in nature. Major forces in the policy-making process include the newly-elected DPP government, the mass media, parents, and school teachers. The DPP government has to convince the public that they are capable of leading the country to a better future. And not only central government, but also local governments attempt to include English education as an important policy in their political agenda in order to attract the electorate. In this sense, the promotion of English education in Taiwan is basically a self-demanding process. The extension of English education as part of education reforms and Grade 1-9 curriculum represents the expectations of Taiwanese society and the intent of the government as a whole.

On the other hand, elementary English education, as part of the new curriculum in Taiwan, cannot be isolated from the global context in essence. External pressures inevitably restrict available choices for Taiwanese society. The convergence of external and internal forces has reinforced the spread of English in Taiwan. This situation has led to the controversial question on the spread of English: *'is the choice of English a free choice or are there constraints that make the choice inevitable?'* (Bamgbose, 2003: 421; also see Section 2.3.1). In the case of Taiwan, the choice of English is inevitable. A choice is neither freely made nor imposed by others. It is more a choice for survival. By extending English education and struggling to become an ESL country, Taiwanese society intends to obtain and apply the power of English in order to strengthen its own politico-economic power. However, ironically, the unbalanced nature of power relations between English and other languages is intensified once the choice is made.

Consequently, Taiwan is an active participant in the process of the global spread of English. Taiwanese society promotes, adopts, responds to the English language and begins to resist English and its socio-cultural impacts wherever local cultures and languages are threatened. Overall, the process and impact of extending English education reflects the confrontation of different forces and pressures, as well as the internal politics of English in Taiwan.

4.5 Conclusion

The development of language policies and English education in Taiwan cannot be isolated from their socio-political context. English language policy in Taiwan is shaped by power relations among local languages and at the same time is reshaping these power relations. Through national planning and education policies and practices, English has acquired a powerful status. A final conclusion can be reached by quoting a statement from the *Six-Year National Development Plan*, *'since English is the language that links the world, the government should designate English as a quasi-official language and actively expand the use of English as a part of daily life'* (GIO, 2005). This statement manifests the theme of present situation and the possible future development of language policies and English language policies in Taiwan.

Investigating the Ideology of English in Taiwan

The spread of English in Taiwan involves not only the effect of policy making and education practices but also the subtle influence of discourses and personal attitudes and perceptions regarding English. Before presenting a detailed portrait of the perceptions of English (in Chapter 6), this chapter investigates the ideological character of the English language in Taiwan. It focuses on the prevailing beliefs, values and propositions relating to English as a global language and the spread of English in the country. By analyzing how English is presented in governmental and educational documents, news reports and advertisement, it examines the presentation and construction of discourses and explores public assumptions which will be further investigated at the individual level in the next chapter. In Section 5.1, I look at the development of the concept of ideology, the relation between ideology and language and the ideology of English, and the underlying hypotheses of this research will also be illustrated. Section 5.2 outlines the methodological background of this research. Techniques of discourse/text analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will be employed in all the texts where appropriate. The methods of and controversies regarding CDA and its application in this research will be further explained in this section. Criteria for data collection and analysis will also be presented. In Section 5.3, the construction of discourses concerning English and ideological assumptions regarding the English language in Taiwan will be investigated.

5.1 Introduction

The origin and history of ideology has been thoroughly discussed by several scholars (e.g. McLellan, 1995; Eagleton, 1994; Thompson, 1984; Larrin, 1979). Thus, instead of detailed investigation of the notion of ideology, the first part of this section aims to clarify the concept of ideology as well as the relations between ideology and language. To achieve this aim it is necessary to trace important historical developments and review significant literatures in the fields of linguistics, politics and sociology.

5.1.1 *The Conception of Ideology*

Eagleton (1991) suggests that rather than looking for a single definition, 'ideology' should be regarded as a 'text' composed of different conceptual strands. It is argued that it is more important to look at a variety of useful meanings by tracing the divergent histories of their developments and assessing their value. Ideology is neither a single theoretical idea nor a clear-cut notion, and may be one of the most ambiguous words in the English language.

The word 'ideology' is of French origin, which was proposed as a new study or science of ideas by the French Enlightenment thinkers (e.g. de Tracy). In the Enlightenment sense, ideology was considered a positive and progressive concept which advocated a rational investigation of the origin of ideas. However, 'ideology' was soon given negative connotations for its close ties with republicanism. In Napoleon's use, ideology was discredited and referred to as a proposition of abstract theories without a proper basis of human reality. It was used to attack the Enlightenment thinkers' social theory and conclusions against his interest and power.

Following Napoleon's use of the term, ideology in the Marxist tradition has been regarded as a belief system which conceals the contradictions of class society and promotes false consciousness connected with the unbalanced distribution of resources and power. Although ideology had never been a systematic concept in Marx's work, from his early work, *the German Ideology* (1846), the concept of ideology was a part of Marx's materialist concept of history, in which material

reality determined the life, as well as the consciousness of human beings. It was the struggle of different classes and its social and economic foundation that made certain ideas ideological. By imposing the ideas of the ruling class, the distribution of social and economic power was justified and the conflicts of interest among different classes were hidden. Therefore, those controlling economic production and distribution also controlled the production and distribution of ideas. Overall, Marx and Engel's concept of ideology contains several difficulties and has been criticized for its simplicity and ambiguity (see McLellan, 1995; Gee, 1996).

After Engel's 'vulgarization' (McLellan, 1995:19) of Marx's theories, Lenin's dualism on ideology focused on bourgeois vs. socialist ideology and the decline of Marxism in Western Europe. Later, a neutral (or positive) concept of ideology was adopted by Marxists, especially Western Marxists, such as Lukács (1971), Althusser (1971a) and Gramsci (1971), who consider it more as theoretical discussion than practical political activity (McLellan, 1995). In Gramsci's (1971) discussion of ideology, the negative concept of ideology was rejected and a broad sense of ideology was proposed. He connected ideology with his concept of hegemony and claimed that the diffusion of the ruling class's ideology by its intellectuals and cultural institutions had made their world view the common systems of values of the whole society. Fairclough (1995a) points out that under Gramsci's concept of hegemony, the focus has shifted from the power and dominance of the social classes to the role of ideology in maintaining dominance in relations between different social groups.

By embodying some elements of Gramsci's concept of hegemony, Althusser proposed a different outlook of the concept of ideology with a base of structuralism and psychoanalysis. For Althusser (1971a), ideology as a system of representations works unconsciously to constitute an 'imaginary' indispensable relation between individuals and the social order. Through ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (defined as distinct institutions which function predominantly by ideology such as the system of different churches and the system of different public and private schools), individuals are persuaded to internalize oppressive Laws but they are also provided with a sense of coherence and necessity for living within the social order. Therefore, ideology is the way we 'live' the world unconsciously and the structure of human subjectivity.

Along with the debate over negative (critical) or positive (descriptive) conceptions of ideology (Larrain, 1979; Barret, 1991), Foucault proposed a shift from ideology to discourse in social theory by perceiving the social order as 'the order of discourse' and claiming power is everywhere (Foucault, 1988). Foucault rejected the illusionary concept of ideology and turned himself to 'the effects of power and the production of "truth" (ibid. p.118)'. It is claimed that discourse is not just a medium of domination in language but is power itself, and argued that truth is not a synthesis of given facts, but rather a set of historically and socially constructed entities.

Foucault was not alone in the shift from ideology to discourse and from grand social theory to the linguistically social analysis (it is regarded by some as the linguistic turn in philosophy and the social sciences). Social theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu, Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida have given language an important role in their theories. As Mills (1997) suggests, ideology based on Marxist theories proposes rather clear-cut and passive views of history and progress. It refers to a simple imposition of a particular view on the powerless by the powerful, while discourse without a clear political agenda and a formulated oppressive model provides a more complex analysis. Discourse is seen as an effect of power as well as a point of resistance (Foucault, 1978), and therefore individuals are not necessarily submissive victims of the dominant system of ideas. In the political climate of the 1990s, discourse has become a more favorable notion in analyzing determinants of human thinking and behavior than the term 'ideology'.

However, a shift from ideology to discourse does not necessarily result in the conflict between these two concepts or the abandonment of the concept of ideology. From de Tracy, Marx, Gramsci, Althusser to Foucault and Fairclough, the concept of ideology is not only closely linked to ideas, power and social order but also to language and discourse. Although ideology as a Marxist-inflected concept has been criticized for its unduly simple and illusionary nature, it is still of great importance in the study of language, culture and society, no matter whether it is used as a critical concept for revealing power relations from the invisible or a neutral concept of world view. Taking a more interdisciplinary interpretation and application of discourse and ideology, critical linguists or critical discourse analysts regard ideology as a system of ideas connected to producing, maintaining and changing

social relations of power. They consider discourse and ideology as interwoven notions revealing power relations in language. As Fairclough (2001a) states, the taken-for-granted features of discourse function ideologically to sustain unequal power relations. In the following section, relations between ideology, language and discourse will be further discussed.

5.1.2 Ideology, Language and Discourse

By proposing the abolition of boundaries between linguistics and other disciplines, Hodge and Kress (1993) correlate language with the socially constructed world. Language as the practical consciousness of society can be used as a means to control communication and is therefore ideological. It conveys as well as distorts meaning through linguistic forms in order to inform as well as manipulate the audience. Language as the fundamental instrument for human communication is indispensably the medium of ideology. As Thompson (1984:73) argues,

The analysis of ideology is, in a fundamental respect, the study of language in the social world, since it is primarily within language that meaning is mobilized in the interests of particular individuals and groups.

Ideology, then, can be mediated through language in use, for language is used in the process of communication to form ideas and beliefs. Language is thus not simply a structure for communication but 'a social-historical phenomenon which is embroiled in human conflict' (ibid. p.2). Therefore, it is suggested that, instead of focusing on sentence structure and sign systems, an investigation of the interrelations of language and ideology is to look at how language expressions function as a means of social-historical production and reproduction (ibid.).

Eagleton (1991) clarifies the relation between ideology, language and discourse. He argues that 'ideology is a function of the relation of an utterance to its social context (p.9)' and suggests that

ideology, in short, is a matter of *discourse* – of practical communication between historically situated subjects – rather than just of *language* (of the

kinds of propositions we utter). (ibid. p.11) (original italic)

Discourse in this sense refers to language in context and society, which manifests not only the linguistic features but also the interaction between the text and the world. As a term used in various disciplines with divergent meanings, discourse is defined and employed mainly in two fields – linguistics and social theory. In linguistics, discourse involves a range of language in use from spoken texts to types of language used in different social situations. In social theory, discourse is regarded as a means to represent as well as construct social practices and relations. Language as discourse is therefore not simply a medium for transmitting struggles of domination but the site where struggles of power take place (Mills, 1997). Instead of restricting the application and definition of discourse, ‘a social-theoretical sense of discourse’ (Fairclough, 1992) is adopted in this research as far as ideology and the relation of language and power are concerned. Discourse as social practice involves not only a text but also the whole process of social interaction, including the processes as well as the social conditions of producing and interpreting the text.

An indispensable relation between power, ‘common sense’ in discourse and ideology is proposed by Fairclough (2001a) in order to illustrate the function of discourse when transmitting ideology. He claims that the common sense assumptions of naturalizing authority and hierarchy are actually disguised ideologies. These ideological notions of common sense are used mainly in the form of language in order to legitimate the existing social relations and to sustain unequal relations of power. The ideological nature of language is therefore manifested through discourse in the service of power.

Consequently, language as ideology is less a matter of linguistic properties than a question of the correlation between the linguistic and the social. Fairclough (1992, 2001a) claims that language as discourse is a form of social practice in that whatever people write, read, listen and speak is conditioned by social structures and thus serves to produce a social effect. Therefore, discourse as a medium of naturalized ideological assumptions plays a vital role in the exercise of power and social control. That is, ideologies are embedded in discourse in the service of unequal power relations, while power struggles are acted out through discourse in the processes of production and interpretation. And it is through the common-sense

nature of discourse (Fairclough, 2001a) in relations to the social structures that assure the effectiveness of ideology. The basic notion is that language in context and in society is considered the site of power struggles through the processes of discourse and through the effect of ideologies.

5.1.3 Investigating the Ideology of English

As reviewed above, many scholars have done research on the critical investigation of the global spread of English (e.g. Phillipson, 1992, 2000; Pennycook, 1994, 1995; Kubota, 1998; Canagarajah, 1999; Tollefson, 2000; Sonntag, 2003). Two significant works were published by Phillipson (1992) and Pennycook (1994). Both scholars have been in the profession of English language teaching and intend to uncover power relations from the neutralized and naturalized accounts of ELT. (see Section 2.3 for a fuller discussion of Phillipson's account of *Linguistic Imperialism*)

A poststructuralist point of view was taken by Pennycook (1994) in his study on the cultural politics of English as an international language. He claims that the discourse of English as an international language tends to regard the spread of English as neutral, natural and beneficial and that research in the fields of Applied Linguistics and ELT inclines to 'good' and 'positive' issues such as intelligibility, standards and varieties. The tendency to regard English as 'a neutral and transparent medium of communication (ibid. p.9)' is due to the inevitable global forces in the second half of the twentieth century and English's detachment from its original cultures in the contexts of ESL countries. However, as Pennycook (1994) argues, English is associated with intra-national as well as international social and economic inequalities, and English is also tied to various forms of dominant cultures and knowledge in the world. By proposing an investigation of the worldliness of English, he then claims that the global spread of English can not be fully interpreted and explained without relating to its social, cultural, political and discursive contexts.

Both Phillipson and Pennycook advocate a critical examination of the global spread of English and expose the correlations between the English language and socio-economic inequality. However, under Phillipson's theoretical framework, the

hegemony of English is examined and explained through the notion of imperialism and oppression and thus inevitably falls into the pattern of oppressor vs. the oppressed where the oppressed are powerless victims of oppressors (Anglophone speakers vs. non-Anglophone speakers in the case of English linguistic imperialism). This kind of politico-economic analysis to certain extent might effectively explain language policies and language planning in a collective sense but will inevitably encounter difficulties dealing with issues such as the confrontation between English and local languages, the resistance to English, the localization of English and the subjectivity of individuals, and to empower the powerless. By imposing a powerless position on non-Anglophone speakers, the effect of power is unidirectional and hard to reverse, and the roles of the individual are fixed and controlled.

However, in fact, we are encountering rather complex and divergent phenomena of the global spread of English where roles of the individual are shifting, i.e. a non-Anglophone speaker in Taiwan could be a member of a minority ethnic group and meanwhile an influential official in the government, and power is uncentered as well as multiple-directional. In terms of the subjectivity of the individual, Phillipson's accounts to certain degrees lose its effectiveness for being unable to explain the practices and resistance from the oppressed side and the dispersal struggles and negotiations of power in discourse of the English language. Comparatively Pennycook offers a more effective investigation of the global spread of English. Without a clear agency of power and an evident causal relationship between intentions of native English speakers and outcomes of English spread, power struggles and the effect of ideology are exercised in discourse of English where there is no clear-cut oppressors to blame or victims to save. The focus has been shifted from the oppression of imperialism to the effect of power in processes of discourse. Therefore, rather than under a grand social structure, ideology of English needs to be investigated in a more contextual and discursive way in order to effectively explain the divergent phenomena of global English and the complex relations of power.

Critiques of the global spread of English from Phillipson (1992), Phillipson and Skutnab-Kangas (1996), Pennycook (1994, 1995) and other scholars such as Tollefson (1995, 2000) and Canagarajah (1999) represent a critical reflection on the neutral account of English spread and reinforce a socio-political turn in the fields of

Applied Linguistics and ELT. The social, cultural and political contexts are of crucial importance to investigate language spread where communication, confrontation and assimilation between different language users are subjected to the international structure of power, culture and knowledge. Therefore, an investigation of ideology of a language is not about language alone. Rather, it relates to various aspects in the world to which a language is linked. In other words, the ideology of a certain language is connected to social and discursive practices establishing, sustaining and changing the power relations in certain social-historical context.

As Eagleton (1994) and Lull (2000) suggest, ideology, as a system of ideas expressed in communication, is shaped by as well as shaping our actions. Ideology has persuasive force only when these ideas can be represented and communicated. The mass media and all other large-scale institutions play a vital role in the circulation of ideologies. According to this assumption, the system of ideas about English is conditioned by as well as conditioning the social situation in the process of communication. The values, predispositions and orientations towards the English language in Taiwan are embedded and thus identifiable in the discourses produced by cultural institutions including the mass media, the education system and the government, and this is the focus in this chapter.

5.2 Methodological Background

As far as the ideology of English is concerned, the hypothesis proposed here is that there exists a system of ideas about the English language embedded in social practices of Taiwanese society through cultural institutions, e.g. the government, the mass media and schools. And discursive practices as the linguistic aspect of the social order play a significant role in the production and reproduction of the ideology of English. Under these assumptions, the rationale and procedure of data collection and analysis is explained in this section.

5.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA), with a particular interest in the relation between language and power, regards 'language as social practice'

(Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) and considers the context of language use to be crucial. CDA originates in critical analysis of language developed within 'Western Marxism'. Important influences include Gramsci's conception of hegemony, Althusser's (1971b) theory of ideology, Habermas's (1977, cited from Wodak, 2001) claim of 'language is ideological', and Foucault's work on discourse as knowledge systems which constitute power in modern society. In the field of linguistics, Halliday's (1978, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004) Systemic Functional Linguistics can be seen as an important resource for CDA for its concern with the relationship between language and other elements and aspects of social life. The work of Kress and Hodge (1979), Fowler *et al.* (1979), van Dijk (1985), Fairclough (2001a) and Wodak (1989) amplify the main assumptions and foundations of Critical Linguistics, which is often taken to be the forerunner of CDA.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 258) provide this succinct definition which deserves quoting at length.

CDA sees discourse—language use in speech and writing—as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it. A dialectical relationship is a two-way relationship: the discursive event is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, but it also shapes them. To put the same point in a different way, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people.

Three concepts, language, power and ideology, are important in CDA. Language as social practice is 'a key instrument in socialization, and the means whereby society forms and permeates the individual's consciousness. (Hodge and Kress, 1993: 1)' Hodge and Kress define the constructed consciousness of the society as ideology – 'a systematic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view'

(ibid, p.6). For CDA, ideology is regarded as an important means of establishing and maintaining power relations. The relationship of language and power where 'language mediates ideology in a variety of social institutions' (Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 14) therefore is given considerable attention by CDA analysts. For language is not powerful on its own, rather it indicates, expresses, and even challenges power. It is thus important for CDA to investigate the expressions and manipulations of power by analyzing linguistic forms in context.

Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) summaries five common features of CDA: (1) The character of social and cultural processes and structures is partly linguistic-discursive. In other words, although not all social practices are linguistic-discursive, discourse is regarded as an important form of social practice which partly constitutes the social world. And CDA aims to uncover the linguistic-discursive dimension of social and cultural processes. (2) Discourse as social practice both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices. For CDA, language as discourse not only contributes to change the world but also is socially and historically situated. That is, though people can shape and reshape social structures through discourse, discourse itself is a reflection of social structures. Therefore, (3) Language use should be empirically analyzed within its social context. (4) Discourse functions ideologically. As mentioned above, language as discourse mediates ideology. It is thus claimed that discursive practices play an important part of creating and reproducing unequal power relations between social groups. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects. And it is the aim of CDA to disclose the role of discursive practices in the maintenance of the unequal power relations of the social world. (5) It is these characteristics which make CDA a critical approach. As Gee (2003) points out, what makes CDA critical is that it not only analyzes the relationships between the form and function of language but also connects the form-function correlations with the implications of specific social practices for political relations such as status and distribution of social goods and power. Therefore, CDA is often associated with studying power relations and uncovering power relationships. The intentions of the analyst are to address social problems (Fairclough and Wodak 1997) and reveal inequalities, injustices, bias, etc. embedded in society. By taking the side of oppressed social groups, CDA is committed to social change and is therefore not politically neutral.

Consequently, CDA provides theories as well as methods for empirical study of the relations between discourse and social, cultural developments in different social domains. Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999: 16) states that

We see CDA as bringing a variety of theories into dialogue, especially social theories on the one hand and linguistic theories on the other, so that its theory is a shifting synthesis of other theories, though what it itself theorises in particular is the mediation between the social and the linguistic – the order of discourse, the social structuring of semiotic hybridity (interdiscursivity).

5.2.2 Controversies about Critical Discourse Analysis: A Discussion

As several critical discourse analysts, e.g. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) Fairclough (2001b), van Dijk (2001), Weiss & Wodak (2003), point out, CDA cannot be viewed as one single theory or one specific methodology. The heterogeneity of methodological and theoretical approaches is characteristic of research in CDA. It is regarded as theory as well as method 'which is in a dialogical relationship with other social theories and methods' (Fairclough, 2001b: 120). In a way, CDA is not a holistic paradigm but, as van Dijk (2001: 96) proposes, rather 'a critical perspective on doing scholarship'. The characteristic of CDA, namely diverse, interdisciplinary and critical, manifests its sociopolitical position of struggling against inequality and, meanwhile, attracts criticism regarding the validity of CDA as a research method.

However, critical discourse analysis has been questioned for its validity as well as its over-ambitious research goal. Widdowson (1995) argues that CDA is merely an exercise in interpretation and is invalid as analysis. Hammersley (1997: 245) is skeptical about the 'excessive ambition' of CDA which 'encourages the presentation of what can only be speculations as if they were well-grounded knowledge' and thus questions the validity of research in CDA. It is argued that CDA tends to judge results according to their political implications and therefore as a research method it is not impartial but ideological committed and prejudiced. Fairclough (1996) responds to the criticism by pointing out that though CDA has developed its

location in some political situation, such as the political left and the new social movements. These political positionings and priorities are not inevitable and it does not necessarily lead to partiality and invalidity of the research. He argues that any science or social science might be considered ideological. Indeed, we could interpret CDA and other social subjects or theories as discursive practices. According to CDA these discursive practices are constituted, as well as constitutive and aspects of them may help to support relations of domination. Thus they may therefore be ideological in nature. Fairclough (ibid.) then claims that CDA as well as other discursive practices need to be examined in detail through analysis of their relation with the wider social practices.

In a sense, the controversy surrounding CDA lies in its research aim, its political commitments and in its theoretical assumption that language as social practice is ideological. As Widdowson (1996:58) argues, 'the study of discourse is not just the study of how it is socially constituted but how it is pragmatically realized, not only by confirming to its constitution, but also by subverting it'. The interpretation of discourses relies on the reality one casts in one's mental image. In other words, research aims and theoretical assumptions not only decide what analysts are looking for in a study but also set the limit that a study can contribute.

However, despite these criticisms, CDA is still a useful tool of analysis. It is therefore adapted here for analyzing governmental, educational and media discourses in order to investigate the cultural and ideological meanings of global English in Taiwan. It focuses on the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of the predominant status of global English in Taiwan and the ideological effects of discourses on Taiwanese society and the development of ELT in Taiwan. Under these research themes, CDA is a useful instrument for analyzing the relations between the English language, power and ideology in Taiwan. For CDA not only takes a particular interest in investigating discourse in relation to the wider social practice but also in bridging the social and the linguistic. The target data include governmental and educational documents, and articles and advertisements in newspapers.

5.2.3 The Three-Dimensional Model of CDA

Combining Fairclough's three-dimensional model of a communicative event for CDA (1992, 1995b, 2001a) and analytical framework for CDA (2001b: 125-127), the following framework of analysis will be employed:

STAGE I Description:	Analysis of text. (the linguistic features of the text.)
STAGE II Interpretation:	Analysis of discursive practice. (the articulation of the discourses and genres in the production and the consumption or interpretation of the text.)
STAGE III Explanation:	Analysis of social practice. (the wider social practice to which the communicative event belongs.)

Analysis of text (description) focuses on the formal linguistic features of the text, such as vocabulary, grammar, syntax and sentence coherence. Analysis of discursive practice (interpretation) is analysis of the discourses and genres which are articulated in the production and the consumption or interpretation of the text. It examines how authors of texts apply the existing discourses and genres to create a text, and at how readers or audiences of texts also apply available discourses and genres to consume and interpret the texts. Analysis of social practice (explanation) focuses on the wider social practice to which the communicative event belongs. It examines social determinants of discourse and the role of discourse in the maintenance or transformation of the social order. The three-dimensional model is based on the principle that text can only be understood in relation to the social context and in relation to other texts. Therefore, discursive practice mediates between texts and social practices. It is only through discursive practice that texts shape and are shaped by social practice. In analyzing texts, it is not necessary to apply these three stages of analysis in one specific order. The application of the stages depends on questions drawn upon and its function to facilitate analysis.

According to Fairclough (2003), discourse (semiosis) figures three main ways in social practice: genres, discourses and styles. For genres (text as action) are diverse ways of acting and interacting linguistically, e.g. interview, lecture and news reports. Discourses (text as representation) are particular ways of representing some part of the world associated with different group of people in different social positions, for

instance, the political discourse of neo-liberalism. Styles (text as identification) are ways of being and identities in their semiotic aspect and are messages about social identity (e.g. social class) and personality carried by different selections of language use people make, i.e. different phonological features such as pronunciation, intonation, ect., and different choices of vocabulary and metaphor. Discourse here is understood in two senses: first, it is an abstract noun, referring to language and other type of semiosis as element of social life; secondly it is a countable noun, referring to particular ways of representing part of the world.

Since social practices networked in a particular way constitute a social order, the semiotic aspect of a social order is therefore an order of discourse. This explains the way in which different genres and discourses are networked. An order of discourse is seen as an open system which is affected by actual interactions. In a sense, it both shapes and is shaped by specific instances of language use. An order of discourse is the sum of all the genres and discourses within a specific social domain, e.g. orders of discourse of specific institutions such as the media, or orders of discourse of specific fields such as sport or politics. Intertextual analysis therefore focuses on the shifting relationships between genres, discourses and styles in orders of discourse as well as in texts and interactions. In the next section, a detailed account of Fairclough's CDA model and analytical tools applied in this research are presented.

5.2.4 Application of CDA Methods in this Research

By employing Fairclough's (1995b; 2001a) analytical framework of CDA, Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004), and discourse/text analysis, this research examines the following features at the three levels of analysis (i.e. textual analysis, discursive practices, and social practices) in the selected texts (see Section 5.2.5 for the background of data collection and analysis).

Textual analysis: the stage of description

Fairclough (1995b: 58) bases his idea on 'a multifunctional view of text' embodied in Halliday's systemic functional grammar (Halliday, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). In Halliday's view, every text simultaneously performs

three functions: *experiential (ideational)*, *interpersonal*, and *textual*. The experiential (ideational) function constitutes how the world is represented and systems of knowledge. Through an interpersonal function, texts produce social interactions between participants in discourse. And the textual function is concerned with how the speaker/writer organizes messages in relation to situational contexts. Through the multifunctional view of text, Fairclough (1995b: 55) suggests that '[l]anguage use – any text – is always simultaneously constitutive of (1) social identities, (2) social relations and (3) systems of knowledge and belief.' That is, these aspects of society and culture are shaped by and in turn, shape texts. Accordingly, textual analysis can be represented in the following figure.

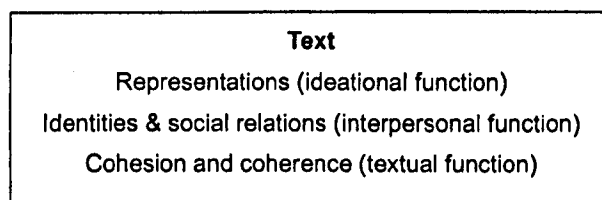


Figure 5.1 Textual analysis (Richardson, 2007: 38)

At the level of textual analysis, the focus is on content, form and textual organization. As Fairclough (1995b: 57) offers the following explanation:

The analysis of text [...] covers traditional forms of linguistic analysis – analysis of vocabulary and semantics, the grammar of sentences and smaller units, and the sound system ('phonology') and writing system. But it also includes analysis of textual organization above the sentence, including the ways in which sentences are connected together ('cohesion'), and things like the organization of turn-taking in interviews or the overall structure of a news paper article.

Therefore, by focusing on representations, social relations and identities, the stage of description includes three levels of analysis: lexical analysis, sentence structures, and textual structures.

Lexical analysis

1. Lexical structures

The first stage of textual analysis focuses on words used in a text. It looks at the choice of words and their connoted and denoted meanings. As Fowler (1991: 82)

points out:

Vocabulary can be regarded [...] as a representation of the world *for* a culture; the world as perceived according to the ideological needs of a culture. Like the map, it works first by segmentation: by partitioning the material continuum of nature and the undifferentiated flux of thought into slices which answer to the interests of the community. [original italic]

The choice of vocabulary items in a text represents a particular perception of some aspect of reality and therefore can be ideologically significant.

The lexical structure of a text has a 'categorizing function (ibid. p.84)'. Through clusters of related terms (lexical registers), distinct preoccupation and topics are marked off in a text. In Fairclough's (2001a: 96) term, it is the 'classification scheme' of a text that conveys socially and ideologically distinct aspects of reality. For example, following is a quote from *Taiwan's Six Year National Plan* (see Text 5.1 and Section 5.3.1). Its lexical structure indicates a classification scheme of *development* and *manpower*. The relevant lexical items are italicized.

The first project of the 6-year national *development* plan is the *cultivation* of *talent* for the *e-generation*, since *manpower* is the basis of all *development*. To meet the future challenges of globalization and internationalization, the ROC should first *enhance* the *abilities* of its people. Concurrently, the government will *establish* an environment for internationalizing *learning*.

According to Fairclough, overwording (the existence of an unusually high degree of quasi-synonymous terms) 'shows preoccupation with some aspects of reality – which may indicate that it is a focus of ideological struggle' (ibid. p. 96).

2. Metaphors

A metaphor is a means to represent one thing in terms of another. Goatly (1997: 2) states that 'the metaphors we use structure our thinking, hiding some features of the phenomena we apply them to, and highlighting others'. In addition, a metaphor 'demonstrates, in an exaggerated way, how all linguistic classification constructs a representation of experience on the basis of selective perception and selective ignoring of aspects of the world' (ibid. p.3). For example, war is used as a metaphor

to describe the intense competition of English education between Taiwan and Mainland China, e.g. '*this is a war starting from 5 years of age*' and '*the warfare of teaching ABC spreads down*' (see Text 5.6 and Section 5.3.5). The metaphorical representation of war highlights the necessity of acquiring English proficiency for international competition and ignores other aspects of English education. Therefore, metaphors and metaphorical representation are examined in the selected texts in order to investigate their ideological significance.

3. Euphemistic and formal expressions

A text's choice of wording not only represents particular perception of reality but also social relationships between participants. In other words, by choosing certain words and expressions, the speaker/writer assumes commonality of certain values with the reader. Therefore, an assumed readership can be identified through a choice of wording. For example, Fairclough (2001a) suggests that both euphemism and formality in texts are strategies for relational reasons. The choice of euphemistic words is a way to avoid negative or offensive expressions to readers, while vocabulary of formality in a text (e.g. see Text 5.2) demands formal social relationship, such as expressing politeness and respect for status and position.

4. Reference and predication

The way to categorize and evaluate a person, an object or an event in discourses can have significant impact on how it is perceived. By choosing one social category over another and by assigning certain qualities to social actors, objects or events, different social or political purposes or interests of the speakers/writers can be served. Richardson (2007: 49) makes the point that:

We all simultaneously possess a range of identities, role and characteristics that could be used to describe us equally *accurately* but not with the same *meaning*. The manner in which social actors are named identifies not only the group(s) that they are associated with (or at least the groups that the speaker/writer *wants* them to be associated with) it can also signal the relationship between the namer and the named. (original italic)

In Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) analysis, these kinds of classification options are categorized into *referential* and *predicational strategies*. While *referential strategies*

are chosen to classify a social actor as exclusion from or inclusion in certain social group, '*predicational strategies* may, for example, be realized as stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits in the linguistic form of implicit or explicit predicates' (ibid. p. 45).

For instance, in an article reporting the association between one's English proficiency and salary in Taiwan (see Text 5.5 and Section 5.3.4, *Fluent English Higher Pay—Manpower industry: English as salary criterion in nearly half enterprises, most commonly in high-tech industry and foreign companies*), a collectivized term, *manpower industry*, is used in the headline, instead of 'experts or executives' in manpower industry. The viewpoints of the two executives in this article are identified as those of the whole manpower industry. The choice of words therefore linguistically provides predications and is ideologically significant.

Sentence analysis

1. Transitivity

Transitivity refers a system of process types which describes how speakers or writers represent their experience of the world. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 170) provides this explanation:

Our most powerful impression of experience is that it consists a flow of events, or 'going-on'. This flow of event is chunked into quanta of change by the grammar of the clause: each quantum of change is modeled as a figure – a figure of happening, doing, sensing, saying, being or having. All figures consist of a process unfolding through time and of participants being directly involves in this process in some way; and in addition there may be circumstances of time, space, cause, manner or one of a few other types. [...] All such figures are sorted out in the grammar of the clause. [...] The grammatical system by which this is achieved is that of TRANSITIVITY. The transitivity system construes the world of experience into a manageable set of PROCESS TYPES.

Simpson (1993: 88) illustrates the three components in the processes expressed by clauses:

- (1) *process* itself, which will be expressed by the verb phrase in a clause.
- (2) The *participants* involved in the process. These roles are typically

realized by noun phrases in the clause.

- (3) The *circumstances* associated with the process, normally expressed by adverbial and prepositional phrase.

Four major types of process can be identified. First, *material processes* are processes involving physical actions, e.g. walking, running, cooking etc. Two participants are involved in these processes. The first is the doer of the action – the Actor. The second participant is the Goal which is affected by the process. For example:

Actor	Process: material	Goal
John	kicked	the ball.
The lion	sprang.	

Examples extracted from Simpson (1993: 89)

The first example can be presented in a passive form where the Goal is placed first and the Actor is placed in the end of the sentence:

Goal	Process: material	Actor
The ball	was kicked	by John.

Material processes can be sub-categorized by separating processes which *create* Goals from which *transform* existing Goals. For example:

	Actor	Process: material	Goal
<i>Creative:</i>	I	have just made	the Christmas pudding.
<i>Transformative:</i>	My mum	never eats	Christmas pudding.

Examples extracted from Thompson (2004: 91)

Another way to subdivide material processes is according to whether the process is *intentional* or *involuntary*. For example:

	Actor	Process: material	Goal
<i>Intentional:</i>	John	kicked	the ball.
<i>Involuntary:</i>	Mary	slipped.	

Examples extracted from Simpson (1993: 89)

The second, *mental processes* represent the internal world of mind. Many verbs refer to the mental processes, such as thinking, seeing, and liking. The two participants associated with mental processes are the Sensor and the Phenomenon. The former is the person who is undergoing a mental process, while the later is what

is perceived, thought about or reacted to, for example:

Sensor	Process: mental	Phenomenon
John	saw	Alice.
She	realized	that she would never see him again.

Four sub-categories of mental processes can be identified:

	Sensor	Process: mental	Phenomenon
Emotion: (processes of feeling)	I	like	most operas.
Cognition: (processes of deciding, knowing, understanding, etc.)	You	can imagine	his reaction.
Perception: (seeing, hearing, etc.)	He	heard	a faint sound.
Desideration: (a technical term for 'wanting')	I	don't want	any trouble.

Examples extracted from Thompson (2004: 94)

The third, *relational processes* signal the existence of a relationship between two participants. There are two types of relational processes: *attributive* relational processes (in which the entity carries the attribute) and *identifying* relational processes (which identify one entity in terms of another), for example:

Attributive relational processes:

Carrier	Process: relational	Attribute
This bread	is	stale.
He	felt	uneasy.

Examples extracted from Thompson (2004: 97)

Identifying relational processes:

Value	Process: relational	Token
His immediate objective	is	the church.
The optional courses	include	Stylistics and Phonetics.

Examples extracted from Thompson (2004: 98)

Relational processes can also be subdivided by identifying three main types of relationships: *intensive*, *circumstantial* and *possessive*. The following examples illustrate these distinctions.

Intensive:	Mary is wise Tom seems foolish.
Circumstantial:	Bill is at home. The queen was in the parlour.
Possessive:	Gill has a guitar. John owns a piano.

Examples extracted from Simpson (1993: 92)

The Fourth, *verbal processes* are processes of *saying*. The participants associated with verbal processes include the Sayer (the person who is speaking), the Receiver (the person to whom the message is addressed), the Target (the entity at which the message is directed), and the Verbiage (the message itself). The following are some examples of verbal processes:

Sayer	Process: verbal	Receiver	Verbiage
I	explained	to her	what it meant.

Sayer	Circumstance	Process: verbal	Target
The report	sharply	criticized	Lilly's quality-control procedures.

As Simpson (1993: 104) points out:

The transitivity provides one means of investigating how a reader's or listener's perception of the meaning of a text is pushed in a particular direction and how the linguistic structure of a text effectively encodes a particular 'world view'.

When one chooses a certain type of process and participant to represent some action, event or relationship, the selection can be ideologically significant (Fairclough, 2001a). The same event can be expressed in many different ways. For example, one may choose to represent the situation of English education in Taiwan as an intensive relational process, e.g. (a) *Overhaul is necessary in English education* (see Section 5.3.3), as an active material process, e.g. (b) *The government should overhaul English education*, or as a passive construction, e.g. (c) *English education should be overhauled*. By choosing different process types, the relationship between participants is changed. In example (a), English education is the Circumstance where an overhaul should take place, while in example (b) English education is the

Goal that the government should work on. In addition, to highlight or background a certain participant may be conscious options to obscure agency, causality and responsibility. In example (b), the responsibility of the government (the Actor) is highlighted, while in example (c) the agent of the material process is unclear and the responsibility of overhauling English education is obscured. Such choices carry significant connoted meanings. Therefore, in transitivity analysis, we need to consider the option of process types and their implication regarding the relationships between participants, and the transformation of processes, e.g. active agent deletion. Two related features of transitivity, i.e. modality and nominalization, are discussed in the following sections.

2. Modality

Modality can be regarded as comments or attitudes explicitly or implicitly taken by the speaker/writer in a text. As Simpson (1993: 47) explains, 'modality refers broadly to a speaker's attitude towards, or opinion about, the truth of a proposition expressed by a sentence. It also extends to their attitude towards the situation or event described by a sentence'. Modality usually involves the use of modal auxiliary verbs, (e.g. *can*, *will*, *must* and *should*), their negation (e.g. *cannot*, *will not*, *must not* and *should not*), and adverbs (e.g. *certainly*, *probably* and *possibly*).

There are two principle forms of modality: truth modality and obligation modality. Firstly, truth modality expresses a commitment to the truth of a proposition a speaker/writer makes or to the degree of likelihood of a predication. It conveys varying degree of certainty, from the absolute categorical, e.g. 'Your ability *will* determine your future' (see Text 5.3 and Section 5.3.2), to various degree of lesser certainty, e.g. 'John *can* be right' and 'John *could* be right'. Secondly, obligation modality refers to the degree of the speaker/writer's belief in a certain action or decision ought to be taken. This modality can be expressed in modal auxiliaries, such as *should*, *ought to* and *must*, (e.g. 'the government *should* designate English as a quasi-official language' and 'You *must* leave').

In addition, modality is more than the use of modal auxiliaries or adverbs and can be expressed in the form of categorical assertions. Lyons (1977) makes the point that the non-modal categorical assertions indicate a speaker/writer's strongest commitment to his or her proposition. He further explains:

It would be generally agreed that the speaker is more strongly committed to the factuality of 'It be raining' by saying *It is raining* than he is by saying *It must be raining*. It is general principle, to which we are expected to conform, that we should always make the strongest commitment for which we have epistemic warrant. If there is no explicit mention of the source of our information and no explicit qualification of our commitment to its factuality, it will be assumed that we have full epistemic warrant for what we say. (ibid. p.808-9, original italics)

For example, in the sentence '*The English level of the average Taiwanese citizen is inadequate*' (see Text 5.4 and Section 5.3.3), a non-modalized form of modality is used. The argumentative force of this claim would be decreased if it is modalized, e.g. *The English level of the average Taiwanese citizen must be inadequate*. And the choice of non-modal categorical assertion indicates the speaker/writer's judgment and belief.

3. Nominalization

Another feature related to transitivity is nominalization which refers to the transformation of a process into a noun or a nominal. It can be ideologically significant because, compared to a full clause, the meaning and information a derived nominal can express is largely reduced. Fowler (1991: 80) clarifies this:

Deleted in the nominal form are the participants (who did what to whom?), and indication of time – because there is not verb to be tense – and any indication of modality – the writer's views as the truth or the desirability of the proposition.

For example, in the sentence '*in the recent years much attention has been paid to the lack of adequate English education in Taiwan*' (see Text 5.4 and Section 5.3.3), a nominalization (*the lack of adequate English education in Taiwan*) is used, which compresses a process and leaves attributions of causality and responsibility unclear. *The lack of adequate English education in Taiwan* is presented as a presupposition.

4. The choice of pronouns 'we' and 'you'

According to Fairclough (2001a), the choice of pronouns in a text has relational values. He points out that the use of 'we' and 'you' can be ideologically significant.

By using 'we' to include or exclude the reader, a text can speak on behalf of itself, the reader and all. And by using 'you', actual and potential members of the audience are stimulated. For example, in Text 5.4 (see Section 5.3.3) inclusive 'we' is used to evoke the reader's recognition of the writer's propositions (e.g. '*We all know Taiwan is a small nation that does not have a high profile on the international stage*'). In Text 5.3, an advertisement of an English language center, 'you' is used to target every single reader and activate their response (e.g. '*Do you know this? English fever in Taiwan is now proceeding ardently*').

5. Cohesive features

Cohesive features refer to formal connections between sentences in a text and reference-words which refer back to an earlier sentence or forwards to a later one. These cohesive features are important because they explicitly or implicitly convey ideological assumptions (Fairclough, 2001a). First, logical connectors can establish a causal or consequential relationship between sentences and signal the assumption (ibid.). For example, in the following sentence '*Since English is the language that links the world, the government should designate English as a quasi-official language and actively expand the use of English as a part of daily life*' (see Text 5.1 and Section 5.3.1), coherence depends on the assumption that if a language links the world, it is the language expected to be designate an official status and used widely. The example can be paraphrased by using other connectors, such as '*Because English is the language that links the world, the government should designate English as a quasi-official language and actively expand the use of English as a part of daily life*' or '*English is the language that links the world. As a result, the government should designate English as a quasi-official language and actively expand the use of English as a part of daily life*'. These logical connectors signal what would be expected to happen and commonsensicalize a relationship between things which might be ideological.

Second, complex sentences, especially subordinate clauses, can signal ideological assumptions. As Fairclough (2001a: 109) points out, '[i]t is generally the case that the main clause is more informationally prominent than subordinate clauses, with the content of subordinate clauses bekgrounded'. A sentence in Text 5.4 (see Section 5.3.3) is an example: '*Government officials and educational*

policymakers are pointing fingers and finding new problems, when they should be proposing ways to fix the old ones'. While the first clause is the main clause contains an assertion, the second clause – '*they should be proposing ways to fix the old ones*' is presupposed.

Finally, grammatical devices of reference, such as the pronouns (e.g. *it, he, this, that*, etc.) and the definite article (*the*), can refer to referents (persons, objects and events) which are not established textually but presupposed (Fairclough, 2001a). To take an earlier quoted sentence as an example: 'in the recent years much attention has been paid to *the* lack of adequate English education in Taiwan'. *The lack of adequate English education in Taiwan* is stated as an existing fact and therefore presupposed.

Textual structures

At the level of textual analysis, the organizational features of the text are also examined. It is important to examine how the whole of a text may be structured and how the story of a text is presented. According to Fairclough (2001a: 115),

[p]articipants' expectations about the structure of the social interactions they take part in or the texts they read are an important factor in interpretation – and particular elements can be interpreted in accordance with what is expected at the point where they occur, rather than in terms of what they are.

In other words, the structure of a text is an imposed routine on social practice, and familiarity with the structural elements makes it difficult to see the aspects of event which do not conventionally confirm to the expected routine. For example, a hard news story generally includes the following main elements: setting, event and outcome. And the lead paragraph is normally written to answer five W-questions: Who? What? Why? When? Where? Although this order helps us to comprehend the event, it to a large extent reflects the values and assumptions of our culture and is therefore ideological and contestable (Richardson, 2007).

Analysis of discursive practices: the stage of interpretation

Discursive practice mediates between text and social practice and focuses on

'how authors of texts draw on already existing discourses and genres to create a text and on how receivers of texts also apply available discourses and genres in the consumption and interpretation of the texts' (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 69). In other words, the interpretation of a text is not only constructed by the formal features of a text but also depends on background assumptions of the reader, 'the members' resource' (MR) (Fairclough, 2001a:118). Fairclough states that 'from the point of view of the interpreter of a text, formal features of the text are "cues" which activate elements of interpreters' MR' (ibid. p.118). Therefore, the analysis of discursive practice involves not only an explanation of how a text is produced and interpreted but also 'what genres and discourses were drawn upon in producing the text, and what traces of them are there in the text' – intertextuality (Fairclough, 1995b: 61).

In the interpretation stage, the focus is on the context through which the authors produce texts, and readers use and understand them. Two levels of context are examined: situational and intertextual context. According to Fairclough (2001a: 122-3), situational context looks at the four dimensions of the situation: 'what's going on, who's involved, what relationships are at issue, and what's the role of language in what's going on?' These four dimensions correspond to four main determinants of a discourse type: contents, subjects, relations and connections (ibid.). First, 'what's going on' refers to what activity types, topics and purposes a situation/discourse is related to. For example, an advertisement of an English language center can be regarded as an activity type of advertising English classes, a description of English promotion (topic), and an attempt to attract potential students (purpose). Second, 'who's involved' specifies subject positions of participants in a situation/discourse. In the case of an advertisement of an English language center, the receivers of the text have multi-dimensional subject positions, including readers, consumers and potential English learners. Third, 'what relationships are at issue' looks at subject positions 'in terms of what relationships of power, social distance, and so forth are set up and enacted in the situation. (ibid. p.124)' For instance, in the same case of advertisement, the focus turns to the nature of relationships between the English language center and 'potential English learners'. Finally, 'what's the role of language' refers to the function of language use as a part of a wider institutional objective. It involves a choice of genre, e.g. advertisement and editorial,

and channel, e.g. spoken or written language.

Jørgensen and Phillips (2002: 70) note that Fairclough's CDA model 'is based on, and promotes, the principle that texts can never be understood or analyzed in isolation – they can only be understood in relation to webs of texts and in relation to the social context'. The interpretation of intertextual context thus involves which series a text is related to and what common ground is presupposed by participants (Fairclough, 2001a). It includes presuppositions which are assumed to have been said or written elsewhere without referring to specific texts, and intertextuality which refers to 'the presence of actual elements of other texts within a text – quotation' (Fairclough, 2003: 39).

Presuppositions are taken-for-granted claims embedded in a text. They can be regarded as the hidden agenda of a text that the author wants to impose on the reader, and therefore have ideological functions. As mentioned earlier, presuppositions can be triggered by some formal features, such as nominalization, the definite article and subordinate clauses. They can also be marked in other ways. For example, presuppositions are present in *wh*-questions and *that*-clauses after verbs and adjectives, such as realize, aware, angry, etc (Fairclough, 2001a). By asking '*Who is responsible for the lack of adequate English education in Taiwan?*', two questions are actually being asked: the explicit request to name someone to take the responsibility, and the presupposed question '*Is someone responsible for the lack of adequate English education in Taiwan?*' Another signal of presupposition is the use of negation. In the example '*The problem is not how to improve national English ability. The issue is how we use English to benefit our society*', the assertion denied by negative clause is a presupposed element of intertextual context. It is presupposed that someone has asserted that national English ability needs to be improved and that the issue is how to improve national English ability.

On the other hand, reported speech, writing or thought which incorporates opinions of the prior text into the present text is also an intertextual issue (Fairclough, 2003; Richardson, 2007). Richardson demonstrates different forms of reported speech in news reporting, including direct quotation, strategic quotation, indirect quotation, transformed indirect quotation, and ostensible quotation, and indicates their impact on readers' interpretation of a text (see Richardson, 2007 for a

fuller account). For instance, using different verbal processes in a direct or indirect quotation (e.g. 'David claimed...', 'David admitted...' or 'David said...') can have totally different meanings and be ideologically significant. In the analysis of reported speech, one also needs to consider 'the relationship between the report and the original text that is reported (the event that is reported)' as well as 'the relationship between the report and the rest of the text in which it occurs – how the report figures in the text, what work the reporting does in the text' (Fairclough, 2003: 53).

Overall, the analysis of discursive practices investigates what interpretations are generated through situational and intertextual contexts.

Analysis of social practices: the stage of explanation

The analysis of social practices assumes a dialectical relationship between society and texts. Fairclough (2001a: 135) provides this explanation:

The objective of the stage of explanation is to portray a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them. These social determinants and effects are 'mediated' by MR: that is, social structures shape MR, which in turn shape discourses; and discourses sustain or change MR, which in turn sustain or change structures.

At this stage, the MR is regarded as ideologies because they are associated with assumptions about culture, social relationships and identities. It is thus important to investigate 'what elements of MR which are drawn upon have an ideological character' (ibid. p.138). By focusing on processes of social struggles or relations of power, the analysis of social practices examines determinants and effects of discourse at three levels: societal, institutional and situational. For example, Text 5.1 *Cultivate Talent for E-Generation* can be seen as a national policy in response to social expectation and global challenges, a project designed and implemented by the government and educational institutions, and a discourse of national propaganda of internationalization.

5.2.5 Background of Data Collection and Analysis

In order to investigate the ideological assumptions regarding the English language in Taiwan, the following texts (Table 5.1) are selected for analysis.

Table 5.1 Texts Selected for Analysis

<i>Text</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Date of publication</i>	<i>Title/ Headline</i>	<i>Type of text</i>	<i>Language</i>
5.1	Government Information Office, Executive Yuen	Feb. 2002	Challenge 2008: Taiwan Six-Year National Development Plan	Government policy	English
5.2	Ministry of Education	Apr. 2003	Teachers' Manual for English Language Teaching in Junior High and Elementary Schools	Teacher Manual	Chinese
5.3	Central Daily News	21 Mar. 2002	2002 Year of English Fever: Your Ability Determines Your Future!	Advertisement	Chinese
5.4	Taipei Times	31 Oct. 2004	Overhaul Necessary in English Education	Editorial	English
5.5	Economic Daily News	10 Sep. 2004	Fluent English Higher Pay—Manpower industry: English as salary criterion in nearly half enterprises, most commonly in high-tech industry and foreign companies	News report/ National news	Chinese
5.6	United Daily News	30 Aug. 2002	Series of Teaching ABC in elementary schools of rural areas (3) English Early Rooted Better Result— Due to the lack of elementary teachers, the distance of cram schools and affordability of supplement education are problems	News report/ Local news: Miaoli County	Chinese

(see Appendix 1 for the original print of Text 5.3, 5.5, 5.6)

These texts are chosen from governmental and educational documents, printed news and advertisement in a time period from September 2001 when English education was introduced to elementary curriculum to December 2005. Governmental and educational documents include *Taiwan Six-Year National Development Plan* (Text 5.1), which represents the blueprint of national development from 2002 to 2008 and emphasizes the importance of English at national level, and *Teacher Manual for English Language Teaching in Junior High and elementary Schools* (Text 5.2), which manifests the rationale and methodology of English language teaching at elementary and junior high levels according to Grade 1-9 Curriculum. These two texts are selected because of their significant influence on Taiwan's government policies and educational practices of English.

Another four texts are also included for investigating discourses of English

promotion and English in employment and local education. Text 5.3 is a propaganda text which advertises a private English language center from *Central Daily News*, a newspaper used to run by the KMT. Another news text (text 5.4) is an editorial about issues of English and education from *Taipei Times* which is a branch newspaper of the Liberty Times Group and currently the most-circulated English newspaper in Taiwan area. Text 5.5 is a news article about English and employment from *Economic Daily News* and Text 5.6 is a news report about English language teaching in elementary schools in rural areas on *United Daily News*.

Economic Daily News belongs to the United Daily News Group, one of the printed news media with the largest readership in Taiwan, and is a newspaper focusing on economic and business affairs. Currently, the United Daily News Group along with the China Times Group and the Liberty Times Group are three national newspaper groups with the highest circulation in Taiwan. These three newspaper groups are varied in terms of their historical background and political position. The political positions of the United Daily News Group and the China Times Group are relatively pro-KMT, the previous ruling political party, while the Liberty Times Group is relatively pro-DPP, the current ruling political party in Taiwan. The difference of their political positions and underlying ideologies can also be distinguished by issues concerning relations between Taiwan and the Mainland China and the status of Taiwan. The United Daily News Group and the China Times Group are often more positive regarding relationships between Taiwan and the Mainland China and more optimistic about the possible consequence of the unification across the Taiwan Strait. However, the Liberty Times Group is an advocate of the uniqueness of Taiwan as an independent country and therefore often shows hostility toward threats from the Mainland China and concerns about local development.

Text 5.3 is one of the advertisements on the page specifically for reports regarding English education during a National English Exposition held by *Central Daily News* and Taipei City Government in 2002. This text is selected because it represents a discourse type of English promotion which can be found frequently in the printed media by Taiwan's ELT industry. Instead of a propaganda text, Text 5.4 is an editorial written by an owner of an ELT franchise commenting on the event concerning an educational agreement between Taiwan and Palau proposed by

Ministry of Education and criticizing the current English language policy in Taiwan. In a way, it represents another kind of discourse type of English promotion and is selected in this research for investigating the power relation between English education, governmental practice and the ELT industry. In terms of the relationship between English and employment, text 5.5 is chosen not only because it is a report specifically on this issue, but also because it appeared on *Economic Daily News*, a newspaper focusing on business affairs, and is accompanied by other relevant reports which occupy half of the newspaper page. Finally, Text 5.6 is selected because it is an example of examination of English education in rural areas in Taiwan and a response to the national policy of English education from the local.

All texts will be analyzed using techniques of discourse/text analysis and the three-dimensional model of CDA (see Section 5.2.3 and 5.2.4) where appropriate, and according to their contents and contexts. Texts will be classified and analyzed through different subjects, i.e. the role of English in national planning and education; worries about English ability; English and employment; English promotion; and English in local areas. Important paragraphs and elements of all texts will be illustrated accordingly. The Chinese texts will be translated into English when certain sections of the texts are discussed and analyzed. Although this research follows Fairclough's analytical framework of CDA, analysis of Chinese texts at the stage of description will focus on Chinese linguistic features rather than their English translation. Both the English translation and analysis will be applied and presented cautiously in order to avoid ideological projection in the process of translation. Overall, the intention of this chapter is not to develop a list of Chinese analytical framework of CDA but to apply principles of CDA in the analysis of Chinese texts. These Chinese texts (text 5.2, 5.3, 5.5, 5.6) will be scrutinized in terms of words or phrases, grammar and textual structures by Chinese linguistic features comparable to the set of formal features in English mainly developed by Fairclough (2001a) (see Section 5.2.4). In addition, at the stage of interpretation, Chinese linguistic features combined with 'members' resources' (Fairclough, 2001:118)' (background knowledge used by discourse participants to interpret a text) will be taken into account. Sentence or paragraph numbers have been added in each text for convenience of reference.

5.3 Analysis of Texts

5.3.1 *The Role of English in National Plan and in Education*

This section aims to investigate the ideological assumptions embedded in discourses of national policies and educational practices regarding English in Taiwan.

Text 5.1 Cultivate Talent for the E-Generation

Text 5.1 (see below) is an extract of *Taiwan Six-Year National Development Plan*. With its title – *Cultivate Talent for the E-Generation*, the main idea of this project focuses on manpower. This project is the first of the ten projects of *Taiwan Six-Year National Development Plan* and is designed to be implemented as an independent project. Text 5.1 is an extract from an English edition of *Taiwan Six-Year National Development Plan* which is available on the Washington State Taiwan Office Website. Another English edition can be found on the web site of Council of Economic Planning and Development, Executive Yuan (<http://210.69.188.227/2008/index.htm>), which is titled *the English summary of Taiwan Six-Year National Development Plan*. Text 5.1 is selected because this edition is designed to provide more detailed information regarding the national plan rather than a bullet-point summary.

According to the presentation of Text 5.1, the English edition on the Washington State Taiwan Office Website is used as information for foreign companies interested in doing business in Taiwan and can be regarded as national propaganda. Therefore possible audiences of this text are foreigners and people interested in its English translation or these issues such as researchers. Although this text is a translation of its Chinese origin, it still implies new meanings in the process of its production. Specifically, the English edition is less about national policies than a showpiece of internationalization or ‘Englishization’. The English edition of *Taiwan Six-Year National Development Plan* therefore is not only a translation but also a form of international propaganda to provide readers of English with information about Taiwan’s current development.

1. Cultivate Talent for the E-Generation

(1) The first project of the 6-year national development plan is the cultivation of talent for the e-generation, since manpower is the basis of all development. (2) To meet the future challenges of globalization and internationalization, the ROC should first enhance the abilities of its people. (3) Concurrently, the government will establish an environment for internationalizing learning.

(4) This project emphasizes the ability to master foreign languages, especially English, and the use of Internet. (5) Since English is the language that links the world, the government should designate English as a quasi-official language and actively expand the use of English as a part of daily life.

(6) In addition, physical health and culture is the foundation for the next generation of society. (7) Therefore, education in culture, art, sports, and civility is an important goal for the new government. (8) Since it is necessary for the entire society to enter the new era with the e-generation, we must make concerted efforts to establish a comprehensive life-long learning system, promote voluntary social services, and integrate learning resources, including those in the civil service system, to immerse ourselves in cultural, social transformation, and reconstruction.

Text 5.1 Extracted from the English version of 'Taiwan Six-Year National Development Plan', 2002 (available at <http://www.washingtonstate.org.tw/English/taiwan-trade-economy/6-year-plan/ talent-e-generation.htm>, accessed 21 September 2005)

1. E 世代人才培育計畫

目標：培育具有創意活力及國際對話能力的新世代，也就是能夠嫻熟應用「資訊與英語」的新世代。

(1)人的投資是所有建設和發展的基礎與目標。國家發展建設重點計畫的第一項就是 E 世代的人才培育。(2)面對未來的挑戰，首先就要強調國民適應全球化與國際化的能力，同時也要營造一個國際化的環境和全民學習的條件。(3)使用外語(特別是英語)和網路通訊能力的培養乃成爲這項計畫的重點，尤其是英語，已經成爲與世界接軌的主要工具，政府在六年內應該將英語的地位提升爲準官方語言，積極推動擴大英語應用的範圍，讓英語成爲生活中的一部分。(4)而下一代的體魄健康與文化涵養更是整個社會國家依賴的基礎。(5)因此有關文化藝術、體育運動與公民社會等全智養成教育，更是新政府決心落實的目標。(6)然而，整個社會也都需要跟著 E 世代一齊邁入新世紀。(7)因此，我們要同心協力，建立全面性的終身學習體系，推動志願性的社會服務，並整合包括政府體系在內的學習資源，投入文化與社會的轉型，重建台灣新社會。

1. The Project of Cultivating Talent for E-generation

Aim: To cultivate the new generation with creativity and the ability of international communication, that is, the new generation who can be highly skilled in application of 'information and English'.

(1) Manpower is the basis and aim of all development. The first project of the 6-year national development plan is thus the cultivation of talent for the e-generation. (2) To meet the future challenges, the first is to emphasize the abilities of citizens to accommodate to globalization and internationalization and concurrently to establish an internationalized environment and conditions for national learning. (3) This project emphasizes the ability to master foreign languages, especially English, and the use of the Internet. Since English has become the language that links

the world, the government should designate English as a quasi-official language and actively expand the use of English as a part of daily life. (4) In addition, physical health and the cultural cultivation of the next generation is the foundation of society. (5) Therefore, education in culture, art, sports, and civility is an important goal for the new government. (6) However, it is necessary for the entire society to enter the new era with the e-generation. (7) Therefore, we must make concerted efforts to establish a comprehensive life-long learning system, promote voluntary social services, and integrate learning resources, including those in the civil service system, in order to devote ourselves to cultural and social transformation and to reconstruct a new Taiwan society.

Text 5.1.2 Extracted from the original (Chinese) version of 'Taiwan Six-Year National Development Plan', 2002 (available at http://hirecruit.nat.gov.tw/chinese/html/taiwan_05.htm, accessed 21 September 2005)

Compared to the Chinese edition (Text 5.1.2), most of the English edition is faithfully translated according to the original paragraphs except for a few differences in length, order of words and phrases, and the layouts. The English edition only includes the first paragraph of the original, while the Chinese edition consists of this paragraph, a lead to state the aim of this project, and four subheadings and details as instructions to implementation. The lead (aim) in the Chinese edition declare the aim of this project in a sentence which explaining the characteristic and quality of 'e-generation'.

The possible reason that both the lead and further instructions are skipped in the English version (Text 5.1) is that, as mentioned earlier, English is not considered as the main channel to present this national plan and is used here as a form of international propaganda. Therefore, a simplified and summary text is produced (without mentioning that it is a summary version). This is also verifiable if we closely compare these two texts in terms of the translation. Some phrases in the original text are not translated word by word but shortened or summarized. For example, the Chinese original of '*establish an environment for internationalizing learning*' (in sentence 3 of Text 5.1) is 營造一個國際化的環境和全民學習的條件 (in sentence 3 of Text 5.1.2) which means 'to establish an internationalized environment and conditions of national learning'. And 投入文化與社會的轉型, 重建台灣新社會 (in sentence 7 of Text 5.1.2) meaning 'to devote ourselves to cultural and social transformation and to reconstruct new Taiwan society' is translated as '*to immerse ourselves in cultural, social transformation, and reconstruction*' (in sentence 8 of Text 5.1). These differences do not significantly alter the meaning of the original text in the process of translation but in a way do reflect the function of

English at the governmental level. Although the English edition of governmental documents or national policy is needed for creating international profile of Taiwan, it does not have significant function domestically and can be regarded as an extended, summary presentation of the original.

Focusing on Text 5.1, *Cultivate Talent for the E-Generation* is preoccupied with manpower and development by wording including the nouns *cultivation, talent, e-generation, manpower, development, abilities* and the verbs *cultivate, enhance, establish, expand, promote, integrate*. Most sentences of the text are formulated in modality forms through non-modalized categorical assertions, e.g. *The first project of the 6-year national development plan is the cultivation of talent for the e-generation, since manpower is the basis of all development* (sentence 1). or through the use of modal auxiliary verbs, e.g. *To meet the future challenges of globalization and internationalization, the ROC should first enhance the abilities of its people* (sentence 2).

According to Fairclough (2001a), the use of modality is related to author's authority or power in terms of relations between participants or the truth of a proposition. Non-modalized categorical assertions can be regarded as a form of modality that expresses the author's strongest commitment to the truth of the proposition and that affirmatively supports a view of the world as transparent and self-evident. The modality forms used here represent a declarative mode, where the subject position of the author (i.e. the government) is the subject position of an information provider and the audience's position is a receiver (Fairclough, 2001a: 104-105). The forms manifest a commitment to the truth of the statements and to the implementation of policies. The authority and commitment of the government can also be identified through sentences in modality form with *the government* or *the ROC* as subject, such as *the government will establish an environment for internationalizing learning* (sentence 3). It is the government that has the authority and the obligation to *Cultivate Talent for the E-Generation*. The pronoun *we*, an 'inclusive' *we* referring to the government and the reader, is only used in the last sentence of the text (sentence 8). This is followed by the modality *must* in order to shorten the distance between the author and the reader, to show the obligation of implementation and to converge the government's aims with the reader's.

E-generation in this text represents the generation with great capability of English and the Internet communication. Through the use of the definite article *the* and nominalization, *The future challenges of globalization and internationalization* (in sentence 2) are regarded as inevitable tendencies which need to be overcome and resolved by enhancing the ability of its people, especially English ability and the use of Internet. Although other foreign languages are not excluded, English is endowed with a primary status and considered as a quasi-official language-to-be. As mentioned earlier, in sentences like '*the ROC should first enhance the abilities of its people*' (in sentence 2), '*the government should designate English as a quasi-official language*' (in sentence 5), *the ROC* or *the government* followed by *should* shows the strong commitment to the aim of promoting English in Taiwan.

The first sentence of the first paragraph (sentence 1) and the second sentence of the second paragraph (sentence 5) are both subordinate. The content of the subordinate clauses (*since...*) are presuppositions (Fairclough, 2001a:109-110). It is stated that '*manpower is the basis of all development*' and therefore '*the first project of the 6-year national plan is the cultivation of talent for the e-generation*'. The statement that '*the government should designate English as a quasi-official language and actively expand the uses of English as a part of daily life*' is based on the presupposition that '*English is the language that links the world*'. Through the use of nominalization, *the basis of all development* and *the language that links the world* are presupposed. By using relational processes, the relationship between the elements of the two sentences (e.g. *manpower* and *the basis of all development*) is set up with causality left unclear. These two presuppositions are treated as clear and undoubted facts or truths. However, if we closely examine these two presuppositions, they may be seen not as unquestionable truths but common sense assumptions. *Manpower* is of great importance for the *development* of a nation, especially economic development. However, it is questionable if *the basis of all development* is *manpower*. It is quite possible that *all development* refers to national development (since it is a presupposition in a project under *Taiwan Six-Year National Development Plan*) and therefore focuses on economic development according to Taiwan's socio-historical background. *English as the language that links to the world* implies that English is the communicative instrument to interact with people, institutions and countries around the world. This presupposition is also

related to sentence 2 in the first paragraph. *The ROC should first enhance the abilities of its people in order to meet the future challenges of globalization and internationalization.* The ability to master English or, in other words, the ability to link to the world is especially emphasized for facing the *challenges of globalization and internationalization.* However, it is not necessarily true that one cannot *link to the world* without the English language and language is only one facet of the challenges of globalization and internationalization.

In the analysis of sociocultural contexts, *Taiwan Six-Year National Plan* was proposed by DPP government in 2002 – a midterm policy of DPP’s first four-year term of office (from 2000 to 2004) which intended to raise public support, by including almost all important issues related to economic growth and national development. The promotion of English is presented as one of the elements for cultivating talent for the e-generation. Actually, English is the main focus of this project as articulated in the text. Accordingly, English will be promoted in two ways: by giving it an official status and by expanding its use in daily life. Although the statements are simple, the implications of these two methods of English promotion are considerable. They involve the development of Englishization nationwide; a change of English education; enhancing quality and quantity of English teachers; internationalization of universities and colleges; recruitment of foreign students and encouragement of studying overseas (MOE, 2005).

Furthermore, the significance of this project can especially be identified through other discourses in English education. Text 5.2 can be regarded as discourse following the aims and rationale of English promotion in this project.

Text 5.2 Teachers' Manual for English Language Teaching in Elementary and Junior High Schools

Text 5.2 is an extract from the *Teachers' Manual for English Language Teaching in Elementary and Junior High Schools*, which is a practical guide of Grade 1-9 Curriculum in English education and intends to provide teachers with directions and references in their teaching. Grade 1-9 Curriculum has been considered as a radical change in Taiwan’s education system, and Teachers’ Manual as the practical guide of implementation is a reflection of this movement.

壹 前言

1. Preface

(1) 綜觀我國的學校教育，英語一直以來佔有重要的地位，受到學校、家長、社會大眾、甚至政府的重視。(2) 然而，在長期考試領導教學的偏差影響之下，傳統英語教學重心在於字彙文法等語言形式的傳授，忽略語言實際運用的重要性。(3) 以往由國中一年級開始學習英語，經高中到大一英語，一位大學畢業生在正統教育中至少學習七到八年的英語課程，但是往往卻無法開口說順暢的英語。

(1) English has had an important status in Taiwan's education system and has been paid much attention by schools, parents, the mass media and even the government. (2) However, under the long-term influence of exam-led instruction, traditional English language teaching focuses on the instruction of linguistic forms such as vocabulary and grammar but neglects the importance of practical language use. (3) In the past, starting from the first year of junior high school to the first year of university, a university graduate has at least 7 to 8 years of English education but often he/she can not speak English fluently.

(4) 有鑑於此，九年一貫課程綱訴求培養學生「帶得走」的能力，(5) 內容更明確揭示：英語教學的目標在於基本溝通能力的培養，而非只是語言知識的習得與背誦。(6) 為了扭轉我國學生傳統上不敢開口說英語的弊病，英語教師扮演著相當重要的角色。(7) 因為教師怎麼教，學生怎麼學；教師教學的方法影響學生學習的習慣。(8) 因此要改變以往偏重於語言知識的傳授，九年一貫英語課程目標的落實，有賴教學現場的英語教師。(9) 教師是英語學習的催化者也是教學活動的設計者，教學以學生為中心，而且要營造對學生有意義且豐富英語學習情境，使學生從直接參與學習活動中學會能整體靈活應用英語。

(4) As a response to the above mentioned situation, the Guideline of Grade 1-9 Curriculum was designed to cultivate students with 'mobile' ability (ability which will not be taken away after leaving schools). (5) It is also illustrated that the aim of English language teaching is to cultivate the basic communicative ability rather than only acquire and recite the knowledge of language. (6) For overcoming the problem that students in Taiwan traditionally are afraid of speaking English, English teachers play a rather important role. (7) It is because students learn what they are taught by teachers; teaching methods employed by teachers have an impact on students' learning practices. (8) Therefore, it depends on teachers in language classrooms to realize the curricular goals of Grade 1-9 curriculum and to change the traditional teaching methods which focus on instruction of language knowledge. (9) Teachers as catalysts of English learning and designers of teaching activities shall create meaningful and abundant leaning situations where students are centered in the learning process and learn how to apply English integrally and flexibly through direct participation.

貳 國中小英語教育方向

2. Direction of English Education in Elementary and Junior High Schools

(10) 隨著全球化的世界趨勢潮流，地球村儼然成型，國際間政治、經濟、文化往來頻繁，英語的重要性日益突顯。(11) 從資訊、科技、工商業、乃至高等教育，英語已成為國際溝通交流的主要強勢語言。(12) 因此，重視英語教育已成為多數現代國家的教育趨勢。(13) 為了營造國際生活環境，提昇全民英語能力，要台灣與國際的接軌，行政院挑戰二〇〇八年計畫中，提出e世代培育人才計畫，(14) 奠定國人英語溝通基礎，涵泳國際觀，以期未來能增進國人對國際事務之處理能力，增強國家競爭力，(15) 此正乃是國民中小學英語課程設計宗旨所在。

(10) Following the trend of globalization worldwide, a global village has emerged and the importance of English is gradually raised due to the frequent international interaction in terms of politics, economy and culture. (11) English has become the dominant language of international communication in areas of information, technology, business and higher education. (12) Therefore, there has been a tendency to emphasize English education in most modern countries.

(13) In order to create an international living environment, to enhance national English ability and to connect Taiwan with the world, Executive Yuen proposes a project for Cultivating Talent for the E-Generation in the National Six-Year Plan. (14) This project intends to establish the national foundation of English communication in order to develop an internationally-oriented vision, so as to improve national ability of conducting international affairs and to enhance national capability of competition. (15) The curricular designation of English education at elementary and junior high levels is grounded in the intentions and goals of this project.

Text 5.2 Extracted and translated from 'Teachers' Manual for English Language Teaching in Elementary and Junior High Schools [in Chinese]', 2003

Text 5.2 is located at the beginning of the *Teachers' Manual for English Language Teaching in Elementary and Junior High Schools*. Its function is to state the fundamental aim of the teacher's manual, the rationale and the direction of English education. The formality of this text can be identified by the choice of certain words or phrases, such as 綜觀 (in the beginning of the first paragraph, a formal or literary way of expressing 'making a comprehensive survey of something'), 有鑑於此 (in the beginning of the second paragraph, a formal or literary way of expressing 'as a response to the situation or to reflect on this situation') and 此正乃是 (in the beginning of the final sentence, a formal or literary way of expressing 'this is exactly'). In Chinese, these kinds of literary phrases are used mainly in formal texts such as official documents. The intention of choosing these literary or classical Chinese phrases here is not only to show the formality of this text, but also to state the authority behind the discourse.

In the *Preface* section, the first paragraph includes elements of 'problem-solution' discourse. According to Hoey (2001), the Problem-Solution pattern contains the following elements: Situation, Problem, Response or Solution and Positive Evaluation or Result¹. In Text 5.2, sentence 1 provides the Situation of English in Taiwan's education system. The Problem, which can be regarded as a negative evaluation of the situation and an aspect of the situation requiring a Response, is stated in sentence 2 and 3, e.g. '*neglects the importance of practical language use*' (in sentence 2), '*a university graduate has at least 7 to 8 years of English education but often he/she cannot speak English fluently*' (in sentence 3).

¹ According to Hoey (2001), 'Situation' provides background information. 'Problem' refers to negative evaluation of a Situation which invites a description of some 'Response'. The element of 'Response' refers to the description of something done to deal with the Problem and is not necessarily something that is successful in dealing with the Problem. And 'Positive Result' or 'Positive Evaluation' can be regarded as the final element to complete the Problem-Solution pattern, which proves the 'Response' to be a solution.

These statements not only reflect the defects of English education in Taiwan but also manifest a taken-for-granted assumption, namely that the effectiveness of English education is the fundamental aim. As part of the 'problem-solution' discourse, the second paragraph of the *Preface* section provides the required Response to the Problem. The rationale of English language teaching in Grade 1-9 Curriculum (sentence 4 and 5) and the important role of teachers in the curriculum (sentence 6 to 8) is presented as the Response or Solution to the Problem, in order to convince teachers to follow the guidance and be a part of this movement. And the Response is followed by a Positive Evaluation/Result in sentence 9 (e.g. '*create meaningful and abundant learning situation*', and '*learn how to apply English integrally and flexibly*') to prove that the Response is in fact a Solution and therefore completes the Problem-Solution pattern.

Rather than acquiring and reciting knowledge of language, cultivating basic communicative ability is regarded as 培養「帶得走」的能力 (in sentence 4, '*cultivate mobile ability or ability that can be transferred*') which is advocated as the aim of Grade 1-9 Curriculum. It is assumed here that '*students learn what they are taught by teachers*' and '*teaching methods employed by teachers have an impact on students' learning practices*' (sentence 7), and therefore '*teachers play a rather important role for overcoming the problem that students in Taiwan traditionally are afraid of speaking English*' (sentence 6) and '*it depends on teachers...to change the traditional teaching methods which focus on instruction of language knowledge*' (sentence 8). The problems of English learning are implicitly attributed to English teaching and teachers who are thus designated as the key players in improving the situation of English learning and fulfilling the teaching aims of English education in Grade 1-9 Curriculum. Under these presuppositions, the aims and the function of this teachers' manual are rendered legitimate. However, in fact, it could be argued that teaching methods employed by teachers are neither the main cause nor the only solution for the deficiencies of English learning in Taiwan. Factors such as the exam system, school system, students' attitudes and participation, and teaching materials etc. are also responsible for some of the problems of English education in Taiwan (see Wu, 1999; Chang Chi-chen, 2004).

In the part of the *Direction of English Education in Elementary and Junior High Schools*, a conventional tone of discourse is employed and the project of

Cultivating Talent for E-Generation is articulated as the significant reference of the directions of English education. The rewording of 國際(*international*) in this paragraph combined with wordings such as 全球化(*globalization*) and 地球村(*global village*) represent the main focus or presupposition of the direction of English education at the elementary and junior high level. In this paragraph, through the use of nominalization (e.g. *'the trend of globalization worldwide'*, *'the importance of English in international interaction'*, and *'the dominant language of international communication in areas of information, technology, business and higher education'*) these assumptions are presupposed and English education is considered as an important resource in advanced modern societies. These statements reflect the nature of the globalized world and, in a way, provide us with a general picture of how the teaching of English is legitimized in Taiwan. In sentence 13, 14 and 15 of the paragraph, the connections between *'national English ability'*, *'international communication'* and *'national capability of competition'* are stated and through these connections the importance and necessity of effective English ability is reinforced. As mentioned previously, since English is assumed to be of crucial importance and the effectiveness of English education is regarded as the fundamental aim, English teaching and learning focuses on communicative ability and natural, situated learning environments.

To sum up, Text 5.1 and Text 5.2 are related to each other and are conditioned by a social structure where ELT has become a global trend. English is thus a central factor making an indispensable linkage between national plan and educational practices. Since English is a tool for international communication and educational and national development, a neutralized instrumental role of the English language is presented here. In turn, discourses on English in these two texts reproduce the basic assumptions of English in Taiwan and thus sustain the existing power relations. Overall, these ideological assumptions of English play a significant role in the formation of national and educational policies. However, these assumptions are converted common sense suppositions and seldom critically examined. In the following sections, news media texts on English language ability and English education will be analyzed in terms of how the presence of English in Taiwan's education system is constructed in order to investigate underlying power relations.

5.3.2 English Promotion in Education

Text 5.3 (see below) is an advertisement of a private language center on *Central Daily News*. In 2002 a National English Exposition was held by the *Central Daily News* and Taipei City Government. Along with the English Exposition, the *Central Daily News* also published a series of reports about ELT related issues and advertisements of ELT industries. This text is one of the advertisements which followed the theme of the English Exposition in order to promote the companies.

By defining 2002 as *Year of English Fever* (英語發燒年) and using 發燒 (*fever*) as a metaphor, English in the beginning of this advertisement is correlated with something hot, burning and prevailing. As stated in the first paragraph, (sentence 1) '*entering the epoch of internationalization of the twenty-first century*' (邁向 21 世紀國際化時代) and '*Taiwan has joined the WTO*' (*World Trade Organization*) (台灣進入 WTO) are presented as self-evident facts to persuade the audience and prove that (sentence 2) 台灣的英文正在如火如荼進行中 (*English in Taiwan or Taiwan's English is now proceeding ardently*). Here English is associated with *internationalization* (國際化) and the WTO is represented as the most important global international organization dealing with rules of trade between

2002 年 英語發燒年

您的能力將決定您的未來!

2002 Year of English Fever

'Your' Ability Will Determine 'Your' Future!

(1) 邁向 21 世紀國際化時代，加以台灣進入 WTO，(2) 您知道嗎？台灣的英文正在如火如荼進行中

(1) Entering the epoch of internationalization of the 21st century, Taiwan has joined the WTO. (2) Do 'you' know this? English fever in Taiwan is now proceeding ardently.

(3) 先是 90 年上半年，全台 26 萬人次的上班族進修英文或日語課程；其次，台大等大專院校紛紛決定將英文列入必備專業科目，就連小學生開始必修英語，(4) 面對這項強大的競爭力器，您是否準備好呢？

(3) Firstly, in early 2001, 260,000 employees nationwide took English or Japanese language classes; secondly, many colleges and universities such as National Taiwan University have decided to include English as a required subject; even elementary students have started learning English as a required subject. (4) Facing this powerful instrument of competition, are 'you' prepared?

(5) 許多民眾在面對英語學習時，常感到困擾。(6) 一般而言，在於沒有開口說的環境與心理的障礙，

(7) 而已有 28 年歷史的 GEOS 大世界外語學院，特別強調小班教學，提供英語聽與說的環境，並採取精確的分授課，讓學員開口無負擔，輕鬆學英語

(5) Many people feel confused when encountering English learning. (6) Generally speaking, it is due to the lack of English speaking environment and psychological obstacles. (7) With a history of 28 years, GEOS Language Academy emphasizes small-class instruction, provides students with a listening and speaking environment and adopts accurately graded instruction, in order to help students speak English without difficulties and learn English easily.

(8) 為幫助民眾建立正確的英語學習觀念，大世界外語學院特別提供免費的英文程度測試與英文學習諮詢，幫助民眾更容易學好英文

(8) For helping the masses establish correct concept of English learning, the Big World Foreign Language Center especially provides free test of English ability and consultation for English learning in order to help the masses to learn English more easily.

(9) 想要知道您的程度在哪裡嗎？(10) 想要知道如何學好英文嗎？

(11) 歡迎您來電/ 來店 (12) 大世界外語學院專業的諮詢顧問將竭誠為您服務！

(9) Do 'you' want to know the level of 'your' English ability? (10) Do 'you' want to know how to learn English well? (11) 'You' are welcome to call/ to visit us. (12) Consultants of GEOS Language Academy will assist 'you' with sincerity!

Text 5.3 Source: *Central Daily News*, Mar 21, 2002, p.13

(See Appendix1 for the original print)

nations. Sentence 2 in the first paragraph is an active material process and the Actor is 台灣的英文 (*Taiwan's English* or *English in Taiwan*). Present continuous tense (正在...進行中 meaning *is now proceeding*) combined with an adverb phrase 如火如荼 (to describe things developing ardently like a raging fire) are used in order to show how intensively English spreads or how prevailing English is now in Taiwan. Here English is not treated as a choice of language learning, for example, a Goal in a passive material process (e.g. English in Taiwan is proceeded ardently.) or a Phenomenon in a mental process (e.g. More and more people in Taiwan decide to learn English.) but is an Actor that is prevailing or even growing. However, language does not spread by itself but is learned by human beings. The neglect of the actual agency of language spread (i.e. language learners) not only emphasizes the irresistibility of the spread of English but also ignores audience's option of choosing not to learn English.

The singular respect form of *you* (您) rather than the singular ordinary *you* (你) is used throughout the whole text. In Chinese, using the singular respect form of *you* (您) is a way to show respect to people in higher status or politeness to others in formal written or spoken discourses. Here the singular respect form of *you* (您) shows the formality of the text as well as author's respect to the reader, the

prospective customers. Although it is the audience that has the power to decide whether or not to buy a commodity, an advertisement can influence audience's decision-making. By declaring in the beginning of this text that 您的能力將決定您的未來 (*your ability will determine your future*), every single reader of this text is targeted. And by using the second-person questions such as 'Do you know this?' (in sentence 2), 'Are you prepared?' (in sentence 4), and 'Do you want to know the level of your English ability?' (sentence 9), every single reader is in a way forced to get involved and make response. The singular respect form of *you* and these *you*-questions are therefore used and designed to activate the audience's response and provide the audience with incentives to learn English.

Taking a closer look at the declaration in the title—您的能力將決定您的未來 (*your ability will determine your future*), several propositions are transmitted through this modalized sentence. By using a form of modality—將 (*will*), this simple sentence is presented as a transparent fact or common sense that one's good ability will result in bright future but poor ability will result in gloomy future. 能力 (*ability*) and 未來 (*future*) both are abstract concepts but here *ability* refers to English ability. Through a relational process, the relationship between the two concepts (*your ability* and *your future*) is set up. It is presupposed that *your future* is based on *your ability* and that since *your English ability will determine your future*, *you* have to take action 'now' in order to enhance *your English ability* and thus secure *your future*.

Following the 'burning' statements in the first paragraph, the second paragraph also provides the audience with the fact about English in Taiwan. By using 先是 (*first*), 其次 (*secondly*) and 就連 (*even*) in sentence 3 to connect the following three developments or happenings in Taiwan: (1) *in early 2001, 260,000 employees nationwide took English or Japanese language classes*; (2) *many colleges and universities such as National Taiwan University have decided to include English as a required subject*, and (3) *elementary students have started learning English as a required subject*, the author attempts to offer an impression that English is spreading irresistibly. By asking 'facing this powerful instrument of competition, are you prepared?' (sentence 4), English is presupposed and defined as a powerful instrument of competition, and the audience are urged to join the trend of learning

English to equip themselves with this *powerful instrument* in order to compete with others.

Both paragraph one and two can be considered persuasive discourse. By offering a view that English as a powerful instrument for competition is spreading irresistibly, and that the audience's English ability is closely linked with their future, the audience is persuaded that it is imperative to enhance their English ability. In paragraph three and four, 'problem-solution' discourse (see Section 5.3.1) is used to not only claim the problematic situation of English learning, but also to encourage the audience to learn English in this particular language center. Sentence 5 triggers recognition of the Problem-Solution pattern with the term 感到困擾 (*'feel confused'*) – a negative evaluation of the Situation (*'when encountering English learning'*). The author deals with general problems of learning English in sentence 6 (*'lack of English speaking environment and psychological obstacles'*) and then raises the Solutions the language center can provide in sentence 7, including *'small-class instruction'*, *'provides students with listening and speaking environment'* and *'adopts accurately graded instruction'*. Sentence 7 also contains a Positive Evaluation/Result (*'help students speak English without difficulties and learn English easily'*). This Evaluation/Result is repeated in the sentence 8 (*help the masses establish correct concept of English learning and help the masses to learn English more easily*). According to Hoey (2001), the Solution provided in sentence 7 is not an actual Response but a Recommended Response. This is because it does not present what the masses do about the problem but offers a service to deal with the presumably problematic situation.

One point worth noting is that in paragraph three and four, none of the singular respect form of *you* is used. Rather, the author uses 許多民眾 (*many people* in sentence 5), 民眾 (*the masses* in sentence 8) while discussing problems of learning English and solutions provided by the language center. This kind of non-personal expression, on the one hand, generalizes the problems of learning English and creates an objective and professional image while dealing with issues concerning effective English learning and teaching, on the other. Comparatively, the singular respect form of *you* is used in the final paragraph in order to again activate the audience's response and motivation to learn English by personalizing the solution

and the service provided by the particular language center. Consequently, by employing persuasive discourse (i.e. a discourse of English as an indispensable instrument for competition) and 'problem-solution' discourse (i.e. a generalization of the problematic situation of English learning), this text does not reflect reality. In contrast, it presents a hypothetical description of the reality that aims to attract the audience to the language center.

The discourse of Text 5.3 also reflects the institutional context of this particular language center. The GEOS Language Academy, with six branch schools in Taiwan (four of them are in Taipei), is a Japanese franchise providing adult English and Japanese language courses worldwide. Compared to other private-sector language centers in Taiwan such as Global Village Language Center (with fifty-six branch schools) and KOJEN English Centers (with more than twenty branch schools), the GEOS Language Academy is not the main franchise of adult English language centers due to the small number of its branch schools and their low profile advertising. Therefore, advertising in newspapers and participating in local expositions are the most economic and effective way to promote language centers such as the GEOS Language Academy. As a language franchise with a low profile, the strategies used in the text are predominantly active. The aim here is to target every possible audience (by using the singular respect form of *you*), personalize their service (by providing free personal consultation on English proficiency) and encourage audience to show up (by phone or in person). Overall, without mentioning any detailed information about English courses or classes of the particular language center, English as a commodity is advertised in this text as an irresistible trend and a powerful instrument for a brighter future.

As mentioned earlier, this text is an advertisement in the *Central Daily News* in response to a National English Exposition held by the Taipei City Government and the *Central Daily News* from 22 to 24 March 2002 in the townhall of the Taipei City Government. Apart from activities such as English learning lectures, English speech contests and English listening contests, the Exposition was more like a trade exhibition. It is indeed similar to a trade fair as forty-two ELT related enterprises such as private ELT institutes, publishers of ELT materials and overseas-study agencies, can promote their courses or products. Furthermore, there was a series of English related news reports, e.g. *A Series of Examinations on National English*

Education—English Assumes International Leadership, Private Sector and State Education System Complement Each Other (Central Daily News, 22 March 2002), and advertisements in the *Central Daily News* during that time. This event, including the Exposition and the role of the Taipei City government, mass media and ELT industries, transmitted a clear message: in that English education and English ability are of great importance not only for individuals but also for the whole nation.

Consequently, the advertisement is a reflection of the wider socio-cultural contexts of the time. The effectiveness of English education and the need to enhance national English ability has been an important issue since the 1990s. Several developments were therefore designed and implemented by the government at the beginning of the twenty-first century. English education was introduced to elementary education in 2001 and the *Taiwan Six-Year National Development Plan* was proposed in order to meet the challenge of 2008. In response to these developments, private-sector language centers such as the GEOS Language Academy and other ELT industries have become a supplementary agent to the state education system, as well as a component within the alliance of English promotional initiatives in Taiwan.

5.3.3 Worries about English Ability

Concerns about the national English ability repeatedly appear in discourse regarding English in Taiwan as is exemplified in the text below. This section examines a commentary published in the *Taipei Times*, Taiwan's leading English language newspaper and written by the employer of a famous private English language franchise in Taiwan. This editorial was a response to, and a reflection of an educational agreement between Taiwan and Palau as proposed by the Ministry of Education. The English edition of the agreement was criticized by Taipei City Mayor Ma Ying-Jeou for spelling and grammatical mistakes on 22 Oct 2004.

In the title of Text 5.4 '*Overhaul Necessary in English Education*', through the use of modality *necessary*, *overhaul in English education* is affirmatively supported but with the agent of the process unclear. It is not clear who should take the action of the overhaul (e.g. the government or the audience?) and what should be

overhauled in English education (e.g. the curriculum or teaching materials?). And through the use of 'overhaul' as a nominal and 'English education' as a Circumstance, the necessity of overhaul in English education is presupposed.

Taipei Times

Editorials

Overhaul necessary in English education

By Jerry Hua

Sunday, Oct 31, 2004, Page 8

(1) In recent years much attention has been paid to the lack of adequate English education in Taiwan.

(2) Most recently, Taipei Mayor Ma Ying-jeou (馬英九) criticized the Ministry of Education for writing an English educational agreement that was riddled with spelling and grammatical errors.

(3) Even the spellings of the names of the two nations that the agreement was between (Taiwan and Palau) were inconsistent throughout the document.

(4) This is just the most recent event exposing the deep flaws in Taiwan's English education system.

(5) The English level of the average Taiwanese citizen, even those in the Ministry of Education who set English education policies on the island, is inadequate.

(6) In last year's Standardized National University Entrance Exam over 15,000 of the students who took the test received a score of under 10 percent on the English section. These students had undergone six years of English education and yet they scored in the single digits.

(7) This should be an outrage to the Taiwanese taxpayer and should have incited major educational reforms. Instead, government officials and educational policymakers are pointing fingers and finding new problems, when they should be proposing ways to fix the old ones.

'We as a society can not be satisfied with only having a few exceptional students who have studied overseas, but must strive to make the average student that learns here in Taiwan proficient in English.'

(8) We all know Taiwan is a small nation that does not have a high profile on the international stage. We also know from our daily lives that how we speak and how we write affects how others think of us.

(9) When communicating with foreigners we need to use fluent and correct English to give others a good impression of us and of Taiwan.

(10) We as a society can not be satisfied with only having a few exceptional students who have studied overseas (like Ma), but must strive to make the average student that learns here in Taiwan proficient in English.

(11) This means that we must not only eliminate spelling and grammatical errors (like the ones made by the Ministry of Education), but we must also give students enough exposure that they are capable of understanding and speaking spoken English.

(12) Our current English education system is training students in mute English. They are only learning to read and write, and even in that regard they have problems.

(13) Ma and other officials need to take responsibility for the state of our English education

system. Recognizing the problem and doing nothing to solve it is unacceptable.

(14) If they continue to point fingers and pass the buck then it is up to parents and average citizens to demand change for the sake of their children's education.

Jerry Hua is the founder of the Hua Language Institute.

Text 5.4 Source: 'Overhaul necessary in English education', *Taipei Times*, Oct 31, 2004, p.8 (available at <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2004/10/31/2003209112>, accessed 10 January 2005)

In the title and content of Text 5.4 (see below), '*English education*' and '*English*' are often collocated with wordings which have negative meanings, e.g. '*overhaul necessary in English education*', '*the lack of adequate English education*', '*the deep flaws in Taiwan's English education system*'. The wordings of negation not only question the effectiveness of English education in Taiwan but also presuppose the importance of mastering the English language. Modality is also used in the text through modal auxiliary verbs, e.g. *should*, *must*, *need*, *cannot* and through non-modalized categorical assertions, e.g. *The English level of the average Taiwanese citizen...is inadequate*, in order to show the authority of the truth of the statements or the authority regarding to the relation between participants. In paragraph 9 to 11, the author uses *need*, *cannot*, *must*, *must not* to express the certainty and assertion of his statements, and uses 'inclusive' *we* to reinforce the closeness between himself and the reader. *We* could equally refer to Taiwan, Taiwanese people, possible English learners or parents. By using *we*, readers are drawn to the position of the author and are invited to accept the statements.

The first sentence of the text, '*in recent years much attention has been paid to the lack of adequate English education in Taiwan*' is a passive sentence without a clear agent. Instead of presenting the sentence in other ways (e.g. *many people have paid attention to the lack of adequate English education in Taiwan*), it emphasizes the problem of '*the lack of adequate English education*' by starting with '*much attention has been paid to*' and without explaining who has paid attention to the problem. Furthermore, through the use of nominalization, *the lack of adequate English education in Taiwan* is presented as a presupposition with attributions of causality and responsibility unclear. From paragraph 2 to 6, the author provides negative events or data combined with presuppositions in order to convince the reader of '*the lack of adequate of English education in Taiwan*'. Paragraph 2 to 5 can be regarded as a process of making an inference a presupposition. Paragraph 2 and 3 are reported speech describing the event of Ma's criticism on the English

agreement between Taiwan and Palau. By using a verbal process, paragraph 2 is an indirect quotation of Taipei Mayor Ma's criticism on the mistakes made by the Ministry of Education in writing an English education agreement. And in paragraph 3, 'even' is used in the beginning of the sentence to emphasize the unusualness of what has happened.

These paragraphs (paragraph 2 to 6) are the claims made by the author that what is assumed here (i.e. *the lack of adequate English education in Taiwan*) has been said elsewhere. In paragraph 4, '*this is just the most recent event exposing the deep flaws in Taiwan's English education system*' is an attributive relational process that attributes the event to *the deep flaws within Taiwan's English education system*. Therefore, an inference, as well as a presupposition, are reached: '*the English level of the average Taiwanese citizen, even those in the Ministry of Education who set English education policies on the island, is inadequate*'. Here again a non-modalized categorical assertion is used to show the author's strongest commitment to the truth of this statement. However, the correlation between this event and the inadequate English level of average Taiwanese citizens could be arguable. The errors in the educational agreement can be attributed to the inadequate English level or carelessness of officials in the Ministry of Education but does not necessarily reflect '*the deep flaws in Taiwan's English education system*' or lead to the conclusion that '*the English level of the average Taiwanese citizen... is inadequate*'. The spelling and grammatical mistakes in the agreement are only minor factors rather than a general phenomenon, and they can be avoided by a more careful proofreading and editing.

Another negative point about English education is presented in paragraph 6. Again the low score received by many students in the Standardized National University Entrance Exam can be regarded as the claim made by the author that what is assumed ('*the lack of adequate English education*') has been proved elsewhere. Paragraph 7 further points out that the English education system in Taiwan remains inadequate because of the tolerance of Taiwanese taxpayers and the irresponsibility of government officials and policymakers. *Should* and *should have* are used in sentences like '*this should be an outrage to the Taiwanese taxpayer and should have incited major educational reforms*' or '*...when they should be proposing ways to fix the old ones*' to refer to things that need to be done by the

government but yet remain unresolved. In the complex sentence '*government officials and educational policymakers are pointing fingers and finding new problems, when they should be proposing ways to fix the old ones*', through the subordinate clause, government officials and educational policymakers' responsibility to proposing ways to fix the old problems is presupposed. From paragraph 1 to 7, '*the lack of adequate English education*' is presupposed as well as the government's responsibility for it. In the final part of the text, paragraph 12 to 13 reassert the shortcomings of English education and the responsibility of the government while paragraph 14, by using if-clause, demands a change of the existing situation.

In paragraph 8 to 11, the author repeatedly uses *we* and phrases such as '*we all know*', '*we as a society*' to evoke the reader's recognition and uses *need, must/not, can/not* to enhance the certainty of his statements and the urgency of improving national English ability. In Paragraph 8, non-modalized categorical assertions are used again to present his assumptions, e.g. '*We all know Taiwan is a small nation that does not have a high profile on the international stage. We also know from our daily lives that how we speak and how we write affects how others think of us*'. These statements lead to another assumption in paragraph 9, '*when communicating with foreigners we need to use fluent and correct English to give others a good impression of us and of Taiwan*'. Good and correct English is therefore of crucial importance if Taiwanese people want to make a good impression in front of foreigners. However, the question is: can one make a good impression in front of foreigners without speaking good and correct English? Although English ability is important for international communication, the positive impression of certain countries is less a matter of how good their English is than the image and hospitality of the respective people and cultures.

The subject positions of the author are a combination of the following three: a respondent to an event, a critic of English education, and most importantly, an employer of a language institute (a cram school). It was his professional position combined with current events related to issues concerning English that evoke criticism and claim to reform English education. Private-sector language centers in Taiwan are supplements to the state education system and therefore focus on courses in demand such as conversation and classes preparing for TOFEL or IELTS.

The relation between private-sector language centers and the state education system can be complementary as well as in opposition. In this case, the author suggests the vital importance of English with strong criticism of English education in Taiwan's education system. He implies that effective English education cannot be found in the current state education system but only in the private-sector language centers. The existing power relations in English education are therefore challenged. The claim for transformation and improvement of English education can also be regarded as a claim for new distribution of resources. Another point worth noting is that in English education, for the most part, the students are treated as passive receivers of the education system in the discourse.

This text is a response to Mayor Ma's criticism of the English of an educational agreement between Taiwan and Palau. It is influenced by the fact that the author is the founder of a language institute and by the social reality that promotion of English has become an important policy in Taiwan. In addition, it emphasizes that English education has been extended to elementary level. The intention of the text is twofold: to echo Ma's criticism; to challenge the existing state of English education and demand changes. In a news report on the event of the educational agreement (United Daily News, 22 October 2004), Mayor Ma indicates that the reason he corrected the mistakes in the educational agreement between Taiwan and Palau is not because he likes teaching others, but because he is worried that the agreement will pass through uncorrected and the Office of the President will publish it without reading it carefully. Ma's criticism focused on the English mistakes of an official document for international cooperation, and as the leader of the KMT, his action implied a challenge to the government and a question to the effectiveness of the administrative system. In broader sense, this text can be regarded as a part of Ma's discourse of challenging the government. It also represents a political power struggle in the context of English ability and English education in Taiwan. In terms of English education and English promotion, this text addresses the importance of English and implies that the education system is ineffective and inefficient.

5.3.4 English and Employment

Text 5.5 (see below) is a news report in the *Economic Daily News* 10 Sep. 2004. The *Economic Daily News* is the largest economic and business newspaper in Taiwan. It emphasizes local and world economic and financial news including commerce, industry analysis, equity and bond markets, and commodities. Businessmen and professionals are the main target readers.

英文輪轉 薪情更好

人力業：盡半企業力入給薪標準 科技業及外商最普遍

Fluent English Higher Pay

Manpower industry: English as salary criterion in nearly half enterprises, most commonly in high-tech industry and foreign companies

(1) 英語能力逐漸成為職場必備技能，人力業者指出，46%的企業將依照員工英語能力提供不同的給薪標準，尤其以高科技及外商公司最普遍，甚至包括傳統產業，已將多益測驗列入升遷標準。

(1) English ability gradually becomes the requisite technique in employment. An employer of manpower industry pointed out that 46% of enterprises will decide employees' salary scale according to their English ability. This most commonly happens in the high-tech industry and foreign companies. Even in the traditional industry TOEIC test result has been considered as a criterion of promotion.

(2) 就業情報雜誌社總編輯臧聲遠表示，企業全球佈局腳步加速，英語能力需求提高，國內最早重視職場英語首推科技業，高科技營運範圍擴及全球，不僅內部文件一律以英文書寫，就連視訊會議進行也以英語溝通。

(2) The chief editor of Career Magazine, Chi Sheng-yuan, indicates, while the global disposition of enterprises accelerates, the demand of English ability increases. In Taiwan the high-tech industry is the earliest to start concerning the importance of English. Having business around the world, High-tech industry not only has internal documents written in English but also has video conferences communicated in English.

(3) 臧聲遠分析，近幾年上班族開始警覺到英語的重要性，但行動力稍嫌不足，以多益測驗(TOEIC)為例，每年報名人數約7萬人，相較日本每位上班族人手一張多益的檢定證照，職場英語仍未獲上班族重視。

(3) Chi Sheng-yuan analyzed that in recent years, the working population starts to be alert to the importance of English but still lack determination to take action. Take TOEIC for example, 70,000 people register for the test every year. English in employment in Taiwan has not been paid enough attention comparing to English in Japan where almost every employee has a TOEIC certificate.

(4) 1111人力銀行副總經理吳睿穎舉例，1111人力銀行曾對兩千位上班族、近千家的企業進行語言能力調查，結果上班族自認英語程度只有40分，距離60分的格標準，還差一大截。

(4) The vice general manager of 1111 Job Bank, Wu Rui-ying gives an example. 1111 Job Bank has carried out an investigation of language ability on 2,000 employees in around a thousand enterprises. The result shows that the scores of employees' self-rated English proficiency are only 40, a lot lower than the pass scores of 60.

(5) 台灣國際化程度提升，企業給薪標準因員工具備英語能力與否而有差異，吳睿穎表示，46%的企業將依照員工英語能力採取不同的給薪標準。

(5) The degree of internationalization of Taiwan increases. The standard of salary scales in enterprises is different according to employees' English ability. Wu Rui-ying expresses, 46% of enterprises will decide employees' salary scale according to their English ability.

(6) 包括中華汽車、中鋼等傳統產業，已將多益測驗視為主管升遷的依據。中華汽車員工晉升為課長前，得先拿到多益 500 分的成績，才有資格擠入管理階層。

(6) Including traditional industry such as China Motor and China Steel, TOEIC test result has become a criterion for promotion to executive positions. Employees in China Motor have to obtain a 500-score result of TOEIC in order to be qualified at the executive level.

(7) 臧聲遠觀察，科技業、精品業、觀光旅遊業，因為時常面對國際客戶，基本的英語會話能力不可少，例如微風廣場就要求精品部員工，必須具備基礎的英日語會話能力。

(7) Chi Sheng-yuan observes, basic English conversation ability is indispensable in the high-tech industry, commerce of quality goods and tourism, because they often have to face international clients. For example, employees in the department of quality goods in Breeze Center have to have basic ability in English and Japanese.

(8) 近年來金融業也因全球佈局加速，逐漸要求員工提升英語能力。

(8) In recent years, the industry of finance and banking also accelerated its global disposition and has gradually requested their employees to enhance their English ability.

(9) 若從職業別檢視，國貿人員、報關押匯人員、國外業務人員、技術文件編譯及商標專利人員等職缺，英文能力是廠商徵才的關鍵因素。

(9) According to the types of occupation, English ability is the critical criterion when recruiting for positions such as staff of international trade; staff of declaring customs; staff of international affairs; interpreters of technological documents and patent engineers.

(10) 一般科技業者多會在面試前舉行簡單的英文筆試，測試求職者的英語能力。近年來部分企業開始採取「英語面試」，臨場測驗求職者的英語能力，主考官多會要求求職者先以英文自我介紹，並詢問職缺相關問題。

(10) In the high-tech industry, usually a simple English written test will be held before interviews in order to examine applicants' English ability. Recently some enterprises start to adopt 'English interviews' for testing applicants' on-the-spot English ability. Examiners usually request applicants to make a self-introduction in English and ask questions related to the position of application.

(11) 業者建議，目前多益測驗、全民英檢、托福等三大英語檢定系統最常被企業接受，不論是求職者或是上班族，應該具備基本的英語能力檢定證照，經由附加價值，提高職場競爭力。

(11) [Manpower] industry suggests, at the moment TOEIC, GEPT and TOFEL are the three major tests of English proficiency accepted by most enterprises. Not only job applicants but also employees should obtain a certificate in basic English ability in order to enhance competitiveness of employment through additional value.

Text 5.5 Source: 'Fluent English Higher Pay [in Chinese]', *Economic Daily News*, Sep 10, 2004, p.A3 (See Appendix1 for the original newspaper page)

This article is from the middle of a newspaper page surrounded by other reports¹ related to English and employment (see Appendix 1). By assigning a major proportion of this page to reports about the importance of English in employment, the layout reflects the presupposition of the editors. As the title of the news analysis states, English has become the official language of enterprises.

According to the headline of this news article 英文輪轉 薪情更好 (translated as *Fluent English, Higher Pay*), here 薪情 (meaning *the quotation of one's salary*) is a term with a double meaning due to its pronunciation. 薪情 (pronounced as *shin-chin*) is intentionally composed according to the term 心情 (also pronounced as *shin-chin*, meaning *mood or feeling*). The headline implies that if one can speak fluent English, the person can have better pay and thus feel highly satisfied. The correlation between English ability and salary is reinforced by the subtitle. It offers a summary of the lead, a claim from the manpower industry that English has become '*salary criterion in nearly half enterprises, most commonly in high-tech industry and foreign companies*'. 人力業 *manpower industry* is a generalized term. It does not explain which company or institute is the source of information. It also gives an impression that this manifestation is a viewpoint agreed by all members of the manpower industry. In this sense, the viewpoints of the two executives in this article are identified as in agreement with those of the whole manpower industry.

In the lead, by citing accounts of 人力業者 '*manpower industry*' (again, a generalized term of companies or institutes in manpower industry), it is presupposed that '*English ability gradually becomes the requisite technique in employment*'. '*46% of enterprises will decide employees' salary scale according to their English ability*' and '*most commonly happens in the high-tech industry and foreign companies*' are presented as facts or evidence for the presupposition. Here '*the high-tech industry*' and '*foreign companies*', the advantaged industries in Taiwan, are raised to inform that 46% of these enterprises are not ordinary companies but those at the cutting edge. 甚至 (*Even*) is used to emphasize that '*in*

¹ The layout and topics of other news reports on the newspaper page: on the top – a news report about all English movement in Chinatrust Financial Holding Co.; on the upper right – a news analysis on English becoming the official language of enterprises; on the lower right – two reports about the experiences of learning English by two business celebrities; on the middle left – two short balanced reports about some financial companies or banks deciding not to adopt English as the only language for internal communication.

the traditional industry TOEIC test result has been considered as a criterion of promotion'. It is sued to imply that the statistics given here are very likely to increase in the near future and to reinforce the idea that English ability has become a necessary qualification for employment. By covering the most important and major industries in Taiwan, from the high-tech industry, foreign companies to the traditional industry, and by providing a statistic and information from a professional source, the author has created a discourse to convince the audience that English ability has become a requisite for finding a better job.

In the second paragraph, opinions from an 'expert', the chief editor of Career Magazine are cited. Career Magazine is a monthly journal belongs to Career Media which provides personnel service and employment information for employers and people looking for jobs through media such as magazines and websites. The chief editor indicates that 企業全球佈局腳步加速, 英語能力需求提高 (translated as *while the global disposition of enterprises accelerates, the demand of English ability increases*). In Chinese, these two sentences are assertions connected without using a conjunction but by using only a comma. Both of the two sentences are material processes in which the Actors are not conventional doers of an action (e.g. enterprises or English learners) but abstractions/ nominals (*'the global disposition of enterprises'* and *'the demand of English ability'*). The actual doers are therefore obscured. And through non-modalized categorical assertions, both *'the global disposition of enterprises accelerates'* and *'the demand of English ability increases'* are presented as background statements or transparent facts, and the correlation between them is assumed to be without question. Following these background statements, a further account of English in high-tech industry is given. By raising the high-tech industry as an example and using 不僅...就連 (*not only...but also*) to connect *'internal documents written in English'* and *'video conferences communicated in English'*, the importance of English ability in employment is again reinforced.

In paragraph 3, 警覺(*alert*) rather than 發覺 (*find out or figure out*) is used when the chief editor analyzes the working population's knowledge of English in recent years. 警覺 (*alert*) implies a sense of watchfulness and warning that the importance of English in employment has become a reality and thus needs to be

heeded. The paragraph expresses criticism of the workforce in Taiwan such as ‘to lack determination to take action’, ‘English in employment in Taiwan has not been paid enough attention’ and a comparison of the situation in Japan that ‘almost every employee has a TOEIC certificate’. This paragraph also warns that action and attention are needed for the working population to enhance their English ability and reasserts the importance of English in the employment market.

Paragraph 4 to 6 are accounts by another ‘expert’. 1111Job Bank is a company providing career service to people looking for jobs, and companies looking for new staff through the Internet. Two statistics are presented in the text: the scores of self-rated English proficiency of employees and the percentage of enterprises that will decide the employees’ salary scale according to their English ability. In addition, companies which use English ability as promotion criterion are also listed. In the investigation of English proficiency ‘on 2,000 employees in around a thousand enterprises, the result shows that the scores of employees’ self-rated English proficiency are only 40, a lot lower than the pass scores of 60’. From this statement, readers are given an impression that most employees are not satisfied with their English proficiency and an improvement in English proficiency is required. However, without mentioning the job attributes of employees, and which types of enterprises were sampled in the investigation, an average self-rated score of English proficiency provides very little information on English in employment. The reason is that English is not a necessary prerequisite for jobs in industries in Taiwan. Moreover, a difference between 40 and 60 shows nothing more than a margin of 20 scores if further information regarding the scoring criteria is not provided.

In paragraph 5 and 6, through the use of non-modalized modality and nominalization (*‘the degree of internationalization of Taiwan’*), 台灣國際化程度提升 *‘the degree of internationalization of Taiwan raises’* is presented as a categorical assertion or a fact. Under this assertion, the employee’s English ability is correlated with 給薪標準 *‘the standard of salary scales in enterprises’* and 主管升遷的依據 *‘a criterion for promotion to executive positions’*. It is stated that *the degree of internationalization* will determine the degree of importance of English ability for individuals’ development in their companies. The importance of English is evident from the fact that English ability is used as criterion for deciding salary

scales as well as acting as a gatekeeper to executive positions. Without close examination, it is possible that readers may overlook that actually English ability is used as a criterion for deciding salary scale by 'less than half' (comparing different way of expressing the same concept in headline—近半 *nearly half*) of the enterprises in Taiwan and for promotion to executive positions in 'few' companies in the traditional industry.

In paragraph 7 to 10, the importance of English ability in employment is again reinforced by the observation of Chi Sheng-yuan, the chief editor of Career Magazine. By providing examples in different industries and job positions as observed facts, English is repeatedly promoted through sentences or phrases such as '*basic English conversation ability is indispensable*' (in the high-tech industry, commerce of quality goods and tourism), '*the industry of finance and banking...has gradually requested their employees to enhance their English ability*', '*English ability is the critical criterion*' (in recruiting for positions such as staff of international trade, staff of declaring customs, staff of international affairs, interpreters of technological documents and patent engineers) and '*English interviews for testing applicants' on-the-spot English ability*' (in the high-tech industry). The discourse of persuasion reaches a conclusion in the final paragraph using a modality suggested by 業者 (a general term meaning member of a industry, translated as '*member of manpower industry*' and can be referred to the two so-called 'experts' in this report). 不論是...或是... ('*not only...but also...*' or '*no matter... or...*') is used to include all working population (people looking for job and already having a job) while 應該 ('*should*') is used to express a sense of obligation and necessity that it is requisite to obtain '*a certificate in basic English ability, in order to enhance competitiveness of employment through additional value*'.

In terms of text structure and discourse type, this news report is presented in a manner that the author is only a medium for delivering perspectives from a professional third party, i.e. the experts in career services. Reported speech, mainly indirect quotations, is used in most of the paragraphs as the claim made by the author reproduces what has already been said. This approach also makes the report impersonal and factual and therefore tends to increase its credibility and objectivity.

In addition, a referential strategy is also used. In other words, the speakers in the article are classified as experts in the industry of career service and opinions from other social groups are excluded. Through reported speech and a referential strategy, the audience is persuaded to accept the author's perspectives and analysis at face value. The reality presented here is that English has become a criterion for finding better jobs in the high-tech industry and foreign companies and is also essential for gaining promotion. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, this report is surrounded by a group of articles concerning the use of English in various enterprises and successful English learning experiences of business celebrities (see Appendix 1). Through the presentation of these reports, the importance of English is repeated and thus reinforced.

In terms of its socio-political context, 2004 in Taiwan was a year full of political drama and conflict. Under the shadow of the assassination attempt on President Chen Shui-Bian the day before the Election Day, Chen won his second round of presidency by an extremely narrow margin. Investigation of the assassination attempt and the controversial result of the election in March caused a series of political confrontations between the political parties, the KMT and the ruling government, the DPP, and economic instability. In the international media, Taiwan was reported as a country of considerable political unrest. As a result, concerns were expressed about Taiwan's economic future in regard to local enterprises as well as foreign investors and companies (Economic Daily News, 23 March 2004). In addition, under the structure of global capitalism and political environment, the competition and conflict between Taiwan and Mainland China intensified due to China's economic development and China's strong opposition to the DPP government. There were fears that Taiwan had lost its advantage and might be marginalized in the global market. Facing a very pessimistic picture of Taiwan's politico-economic future, local enterprises started to accelerate the process of globalization/ internationalization in order to avoid the high risk of relying on the unstable economic system of Taiwan. The measures included expanding the global disposition of capital, branches or factories and recruiting foreign executives (Economic Daily News, 23 May 2004). The process of globalization/ internationalization in local enterprises thus increased and deepened the demand of high English proficiency in employment.

To sum up, this text is not only a discourse on English and employment but also a reflection of the politico-economic situation in Taiwan. It presumes that English is not only an instrument for individuals to gain an edge in employment, but also a medium for enterprises. It also advocates that Taiwan's economic system must hold on to their advantages in the ever-changing global market, and deal with the politico-economic uncertainty in Taiwan.

5.3.5 English Education and Local Practices

Text 5.6 (see below) belongs to a series of reports on English education in elementary schools in Miaoli County in the local news page of the *United Daily News*. As featured news reports in the local news page of Miaoli County, these news stories were produced by local journalists and editors for their local residents. This series included four reports (published from 28 to 31 August 2002) focusing on local practices of English education in Miaoli County at the beginning of the second academic year. (Academic year of elementary schools in Taiwan starts in August and ends in July of next year.) The main topic concerned extending English instruction in elementary schools. The headlines of the four reports are as follows:

Report 1

「山城小學 ABC 教學」系列報導之一／苗栗小學現象篇

愈是鄉下 家長的焦慮感愈嚴重

*Series of Teaching ABC in elementary schools of rural areas (1) — Phenomena in Miaoli elementary schools
The More Rurally the Area locates, The More Anxious the Parents*

(United Daily News, 28 August 2002, p.18)

Report 2

「山城小學 ABC 教學」系列報導之二／教學特色與成功案例篇

上海小學生英語輪轉 苗縣校長羨豔

Series of Teaching ABC in elementary schools of rural areas (2) — Teaching characteristics and successful cases

*Elementary Students in Shanghai Speak Fluent English, School Headteacher of Miaoli
Elementary School Envis Them*

(United Daily News, 29 August 2002, p.18)

Report 3 (please see Text 7.6 for the whole text)

「山城小學 ABC 教學」系列報導之三／競爭與成效篇

英語愈早扎根 成效愈佳

*Series of Teaching ABC in elementary schools of rural areas (3) — competition and effect
English Early rooted, Better Result*
(United Daily News, 30 August 2002, p.18)

Report 4

「山城小學 ABC 教學」系列報導之四／檢討篇

爭取合格教師赴偏遠 應提高誘因

*Series of Teaching ABC in elementary schools of rural areas (4) — Review
Incentives Should Be Raised to Win over Qualified Teachers Teaching in Rural Areas*
(United Daily News, 31 August 2002, p.18)

Text 5.6 is the third report in this series. Two of the headlines of the reports use the comparative sentences including 愈是鄉下 家長的焦慮感愈嚴重 (the headline of the first report of the series, *The More Rurally the Area locates, The More Anxious the Parents*) and 英語愈早扎根 成效愈佳 (the headline of the third report, Text 5.6, *English Early Rooted, Better Result*), to show a sense of comparison and competition in terms of English education. They emphasize and reinforce the correlation between rural area and parents' anxiety and between the early age of learning English and effective results. Another indication of showing a sense of comparison and competition can be found in the headline of report 2. By headlining 'Elementary Students in Shanghai Speak Fluent English, School Headteacher of Miaoli Elementary School Envis Them', a contrast between English education in Shanghai, one of the most developing cities in Mainland China, and in Miaoli, a rural county in Taiwan, is presented. And wordings such as 焦慮感 'anxious' and 羨艷 'envy' are used to show a general feeling or emotive reactions towards English. The text conveys anxiety regarding the deficiency of English education and its implications, and the envy of high English proficiency and its benefits, while wordings such as 提高 'raise' and 爭取 'win over' indicate the intention to change the situation and to overall improve English education in rural areas.

Following the theme of comparison and competition in the English education system, Text 5.6 focuses on the competition and effect of English education in Miaoli County. The headline, 英語愈早扎根 成效愈佳 'English Early rooted, Better Result', expresses a common-sense assumption of English education about the early introduction of English language instruction though little evidence has

英語愈早扎根 成效愈佳

國小師資不足 孩子補習 路程與負擔都是問題

Series of Teaching ABC in elementary schools of rural areas (3) — competition and effect

English Early Rooted, Better Result

Due to the lack of elementary teachers, the distance of cram schools and affordability of supplement education are problems

(1) 「這是一場五歲就開始的戰爭。」補教業者曾用如此震撼的廣告詞來形容海峽兩岸的幼兒英語教育競賽。在地球村形成的此刻，英語是增強競爭力不可或缺的工具

(1) 'This is a war starting from 5 years of age,' such a shocking advertisement has been used by an employer of cram schools to describe the competition of children's English education across the Taiwan Strait. While a global village is emerging, English is an indispensable tool for enhancing competitiveness.

(2) 英語教學課程規定小學五、六年級實施，但縣內許多小學為滿足家長需要，從小一到小六都教英語。幼稚園、托兒所學英語也成為趨勢，一場 ABC 教學戰火向下延伸。

(2) According to the English curriculum, English education is extended to grade five and six in elementary schools. But many elementary schools in Miaoli County teach English from grade one to grade six in order to meet the demand from parents. Learning English in kindergartens and nurseries has also become a tendency. The warfare of teaching ABC spreads down.

(3) 「從教育觀點，其實孩子愈早學英語成果愈好」新隆國小校長賴富金就發現校內孩子學英語，低年級學生的反應比高年級來得熱情，也更敢開口

(3) 'From an educational point of view, actually the earlier English is learned, the better the result would be.' School headteacher of Shin-Long elementary school, Lai Fu-jin, discovered that comparing to students of higher grades, lower-grade students are more enthusiastic about learning English and are more willing to speak English.

(4) 縣內家長擔心孩子在校內接受的英語教育缺乏競爭力，許多人將孩子送去補習，多少消弭一些疑慮。但相對的，教育經費支出和孩子的學習負擔也增加

(4) Parents in this county worry that English education in schools lacks the ability to compete. Many people send their children to cram schools to reduce their concerns. However, it would relatively increase the educational expenditure and the learning burden of children.

(5) 一位國小校長就不諱言自己把唸小學的子女送去補英語，他認為目前小學英語課程旨在培養對英語的興趣，要求不高，學生程度也不一，小孩到補習班可獲較佳學習情境，較能提升英語能力

(5) One elementary school headteacher admitted that he did send his child in elementary school to to learn English in cram schools. He thinks that the English curriculum at elementary level aims to cultivate students' interests in English. The required standard is not high and the levels of the students are varied. Children can learn English in a better environment and improve their English ability more easily in cram schools.

(6) 補教界的劉老師指出，小學英語教學難與補習班比較，學校師資就是大問題。且國小大多每週上一節英語課，成效大打折扣。校外補習英語，時數比校內多三至十倍

(6) Teacher Liu who works in cram schools, pointed out that it is difficult for English education in elementary schools to compete with English education in cram schools. The big problem is the lack

of teachers in elementary schools. And English instruction, with only one hour a week in most elementary schools, has a limited effect. The time allocated to English instruction in cram schools is three to ten times more than in elementary schools.

(7) 縣內偏遠學校多，家長想送孩子補英語，路程就是困擾。通苑地區有家長在暑假洽請補習班老師到當地，借用村里活動中心或學校教室為當地學童加強英語。但校方反而覺得不宜，認為學生還是應透過校內正規課程培養良好的英語學習興趣

(7) There are many schools in remote areas of this county. The long distance would make sending children to cram schools troublesome. In Ton-yuan area some parents use town activity centres or school classrooms and invite cram-school teachers to enhance students' English ability during summer vacations. However, this arrangement was regarded as inappropriate by the elementary school. They think students should cultivate an interest in English learning through the official elementary school curriculum.

(8) 家長擔心小孩的英語能力不如別人，但教育主管當局則以均衡教育的觀點，認為不可能獨尊英語，將所有資源都投入，且教學目標是培養學生興趣為主，對一些家長「捨母語而就英語」的心態也不以為然，與家長認知有落差。未來，縣內小學英語教育如何提升，取得平衡點，還有待努力

(8) Parents worry that the English ability of their children might be inadequate compared with others. But from a view point of balance education, the Bureau of Education considers that English should neither be regarded as the priority nor should all recourses be invested in it. In addition, since the major teaching aim is to cultivate students' interest, the Bureau of Education disapproves parents' 'giving up Mother Tongue and embracing English' attitude and has different attitudes regarding English education compared with the parents'. In future, efforts are needed to improve English education in the elementary schools of Miaoli county and to find a balance.

Text 5.6 Source: 'English Early Rooted, Better Result' [in Chinese], *United Daily News*, Aug 13, 2002, p.18 (See Appendix 1 for the original newspaper page)

been found to substantiate this claim (Scovel, 2000; Singleton, 2001). It is presupposed that the earlier English is learned, the better the result will be. In Chinese, instead of using 學習 *learn*, 扎根 (used as a verb, meaning 'to root' or 'to build a good foundation from the very beginning') is used here to emphasize that English should be learned at the early stage of children education. The implication is that building a good foundation of English ability, and making English a rooted ability are important. Since English education at elementary level is accepted as a prerequisite for greater competitiveness without controversy, enhancing the effectiveness of English education is thus an accepted goal. Problems that would obstruct 'better result' of English education are stated: 國小師資不足 孩子補習路程與負擔都是問題 ('Due to the lack of elementary teachers, the distance of cram schools and affordability of supplement education are problems'). Through the use of nominalization, 'the lack of elementary teachers' is presented as a presupposition or fact without explaining its causality and responsibility. It is this deficiency in the state education system that makes supplementary English education necessary. While supplementary English education is necessary for better

English education, availability or affordability of supplementary English teaching (i.e. *'the distance of cram schools and affordability of supplement education'*) are therefore identified as problems in English education.

The author uses a startling, though unidentified, direct quotation from an advertisement of a cram school to start the lead. *'This is a war starting from 5 years of age'* echoes the statement of the headline that English should initially be learned at the very early stage of child education and further reinforces the importance of English. In this *'shocking'* quote, 一場戰爭 (*a war*) is used as a metaphor to describe *the competition of children's English education across the Taiwan Strait*. According to *Oxford English Dictionary* (1989), *war* is defined as 'hostile contention by means of armed forces, carried on between nations, states, or rulers, or between parties in the same nation or state; the employment of armed forces against a foreign power, or against an opposing party in the state.' It is also 'applied poetically or rhetorically to any kind of active hostility or contention between living beings, or of conflict between opposing forces or principles.'

War as probably the most violent form of any conflict or competition often leads to a consequence that participants either win or lose. It is often defined as an emergency in which no sacrifice is excessive and also implies that there is a need to become well prepared and equipped in order to fight for final victory. According to the author, this is not only competition in English education on Taiwan Island but also a competition between Taiwan and Mainland China. For Taiwan, Mainland China is not only a political and military threat but also a threat in terms of economy and manpower. It is presupposed that since the competition has been defined as a form of a war and *'a global village is emerging'*, *'English is an indispensable tool for enhancing competitiveness'* in this particular 'war'. By using the metaphorical representation of *war*, the necessity of acquiring English proficiency for international competition is highlighted and other valid aspects of English education are ignored.

Paragraph 2 describes to what extent the 'war' can spread. Regardless of the official English curriculum, it is *'the demand from parents'* that has led to the introduction of English from grade one to grade six in many schools in Miaoli County and there is a tendency to learn English in kindergartens and nurseries. The

description of the *de facto* situation of English education echoes the statements in the headline and the lead paragraph.

By quoting a personal observation regarding English teaching and learning from the school headteacher of Shin-Long elementary school, paragraph 3 is a reported speech but presented as evidence for the statement of the headline. Through the use of a direct quotation (*'from an educational point of view, actually the earlier English is learned, the better the result would be'*) and the referential strategy (referent categorized as a *'school headteacher of Shin-Long elementary school'*), the structure of this paragraph successfully produces an image of professional and first-hand information to prove that English learning should start as early as possible. However, on a closer examination of this paragraph, the authority of the source is actually questionable. A school headteacher might be able to have a general impression of English instruction in the school but does not necessarily personally get involved in theories and practices of English teaching. Therefore the professionalism and truth of his opinion is not guaranteed. Furthermore, the statement that *'comparing to students of higher grades, lower-grade students are more enthusiastic about leaning English and are more willing to speak English'* does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that learning English from lower grades can produce better results. In fact, there is little evidence to support the hypothesis that second-language acquisition is constrained by the age factor (Birdsong and Molis, 2000; Chang, 2001). However, neither alternative opinion on this hypothesis nor the impact of English on education of Mandarin and local languages is mentioned.

Paragraph 4 can be regarded as the lead for the following paragraphs (paragraph 5 to 7). It is stated that many parents *'send their children to cram schools to reduce their fears'* that *'English education in schools lacks the ability to compete'*, though *'it would relatively increase the educational expenditure and the learning burden of children'*. The wording of this paragraph, 缺乏競爭力 (*lack the ability to compete*), 送去補習 (*send to cram schools*), 消弭疑慮 (*reduce the fears*) and 負擔增加 (*increase expenditure and the burden*), shows a causal relationship between these actions (or processes). 補習 (*cram*, can be a verb or a noun, meaning to take supplementary or extra lessons after schools or work) is a

means to make up the deficiency and to complement what one lacks. And *sending children to cram schools can reduce the fears but increase the burden.*

The statement of paragraph 4 is supported by a verdict of a school headteacher and a cram school teacher. These two referents are categorized as important members in English education. By stating experiences and opinions as a parent by a school headteacher, paragraph 5 is an indirect quotation which questions the effect of English education in the state education system. Through the choice of verbal processes, 不諱言 (*admit*, meaning he does not scruple to say) and 認為 (*think*), the authenticity and credibility of this quotation is reinforced. In addition, sending children to cram schools to learn English is legitimated by his further explanation—*'the English curriculum at elementary level aims to cultivate students' interests in English'*, *'the required standard is not high and the levels of the students are varied'*, and *'children can learn English in a better environment and improve their English ability more easily in cram schools'*. The presumption here is that English education at the elementary level is considered inadequate. Citing an elementary school headteacher's disapproval of the aim of English curriculum also weakens the argument regarding elementary education and the education bureau's position on elementary English education in paragraph 7 and 8. The mergence of the two identities, parents and school headteacher, reinforces the authority of this statement. It implies that even a school headteacher does not trust the quality and the present state of English education. It implies he has to look for a supplement outside the system.

Further in paragraph 6, the author uses a cram school teacher's verdict on comparison of English education between the state education system and cram schools as a different point of view to support paragraph 5. From a view point of a cram school teacher, it is predictable that he comes to a conclusion that *'it is difficult for English education in elementary schools to compete with English education in cram schools because of the lack of teachers'* and because *'English instruction with only one hour a week in most elementary schools has a limited effect'*. Under the structure of paragraph 5 and 6, the effectiveness of English education is the only point taken into account with the belief that English ability is imperative for children.

The parents' own efforts to overcome the deficiency of school English education and the response from the schools are stated in paragraph 7. The endeavors of parents in remote areas to overcome '*the long distance*' and to invite cram-school teachers to enhance students' English ability during summer vacations can be regarded as statements corresponding with the verdict of a school headteacher and a cram school teacher. The opinion from the school is presented as an alternative or balance account. However, the focus of this report (i.e. the *competition and effect* of English education), the assumption of this report (i.e. *English Early rooted, Better Result*), the *de facto* situation of English education in the County, and the discourse of a school headteacher's disapproval of elementary English curriculum in paragraph 3, have questioned and weakened its central thesis. What is unsaid intentionally or unintentionally in this report is a detailed account of the rationale of the English curriculum. In other words, elementary English education is a part of Grade 1-9 curriculum. As such, it aims to integrate pedagogies of elementary education and junior education in different learning areas. And although cultivating students' interests is one of the aims of elementary English curriculum, the design of elementary English education is based on a more theoretical rationale (MOE, 2000b).

The point of view stated by the Bureau of Education in the final paragraph is also presented in a similar manner. Regardless of the parent's worries that the '*English ability of their children might be insufficient while comparing to others*' and of the presuppositions that '*English is an indispensable tool for enhancing competitive ability*' and '*English Early rooted, Better Result*', the Bureau of Education takes the position that '*English should neither be regarded as the priority nor should all recourses be invested in it*'. The contrast between the parents' and that Education Bureau's perceptions and the overall aim of English education is presented as the final and fundamental issue needed to be resolved in this report. In addition, Education Bureau's disapproval of '*giving up mother tongue and embracing English attitudes*' also contrasts with accounts regarding the deficiency of English curriculum and the concerns about English education in the remaining paragraphs of this report.

By presenting accounts from diverse perspectives (including cram schools, a school headteacher, various parents, a school headteacher as a parent, a cram school

teacher, elementary schools, and the Bureau of Education), it seems that the author attempts to present a range of opinions on English education at the elementary level in Miaoli County. Most accounts reported are unfavorable regarding the effects of English education at this level. It is worth noting that an obvious neglect of perspective here is accounts from school *English teachers and students*, the actual participants in language classrooms, as well as informed expert accounts from the field of Applied Linguistics or ELT. Although students are supposed to play an important role in the evaluation of their English education, they are not treated as useful informants in this report. According to the presentation of reported speech, and the use of referential strategies, what the author attempts to draw is a discourse of criticism in order to address problems and challenge the *status quo*.

This report was published in the local page of the *United Daily News* and written by journalists and editors in Miaoli County. Although this newspaper is one of the largest circulated daily newspapers in Taiwan, this report only has regional influence for the circulation of this local page is restricted to Miaoli area only. Local residents are the informants as well as the supposed readers. They therefore play, as prospective readers, an important role in both the production and consumption of the text.

In terms of its socio-cultural context, Miaoli County is located in the mid-northern coast of western Taiwan. With a population of around 560,900, it is composed of different ethnolinguistic groups including Hakkas, Minnan and aboriginal tribes such as the Sai-Hsia Tribe, Tai-ya and accounts for 2.6% of the total population in Taiwan. Miaoli is a middle size county located between two competitive city areas, Taichung, the biggest city in central Taiwan and Hsinchu, the high-tech center in Taiwan. The geography of Miaoli County has made it a border area attached to these two cities. The anxiety expressed in Text 5.6 not only reflects parents' worries but also the consequences of regional competition. Furthermore, as mentioned in Chapter 4, the problems and criticisms of Grade 1-9 Curriculum and English education in elementary curriculum has been raised since 2001 due to their hasty implementation. The gap between the urban sector and the rural sector in English learning and teaching has been criticized for reinforcing the inequality between the poor and the rich in education. A year after implementing the new curriculum, in 2002, this review of the effect of English education can be

considered as a reaction against the problem, as well as a response from the rural sector. The overall gist of Text 5.6, as well as the other three reports in the series, is that English is of crucial importance in a competitive environment and thus there is an urgent need to overcome the problems that prevent rural areas from obtaining better English education.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed how English and English language teaching is discursively presented in a variety of reports and documents. Common-sense assumptions in these texts not only indicate the existing power relations and power struggles, but also sustain or change power relations. The underlying ideological assumptions of English are closely linked to the current trends in globalization or internationalization, the concepts of economic development, and competition. The discourse of globalization/internationalization associated with the English language prevails in all the texts examined. Globalization is regarded as an irresistible trend while English is considered as a requisite of globalization and a potent symbol of internationalization. In addition, the importance of the modern state in the global capitalist system has also implicit effects on the discourse of English. It results in notions and issues such as economic development, national interest, international competition and global market etc. And these notions are used as 'background knowledge' and thus constrain the production and interpretation of discourse of English.

The discourses of English are the site where the effect of ideologies functions and power struggles take place. Power relations and power struggles can be identified through presentation of perspectives of different participants. In the above analysis we identified various agents and practitioners: the government, parents, school teachers, cram school teachers and owners, possible English language learners, employers and employees. It is worth noting that the perspectives of pupils and students are often absent or largely ignored as irrelevant. As stated earlier in Text 5.4 and Text 5.6, students are regarded as passive receivers of governmental, paternal, educational and social influences in processing discourses of English.

According to text analysis, the ideology of English in Taiwan can be categorized into the following types of common-sense assumptions.

(i) *English is the language that links the world.* As mentioned earlier, the ideological assumptions of English mostly are based on the irresistible trend of globalization/internationalization. As stated in Text 5.2, '*English has become the dominant language of international communication in areas of information, technology, business and higher education*'. And since '*English is proceeding*' (Text 5.3) and the trend of English is irresistible, English ability as the ability to link to the world is therefore the major skill which needs to be cultivated in the new generation. In addition, English is not only linked to the world, but also to the activities and interactions in the world of global capitalism. For Taiwan, economic value is shared above other values. The economy is invariably the focus of its political propaganda. English is proclaimed as the language that links the world and is thus imperative for economic development: it is considered the lifeline of Taiwan's future development.

(ii) *English is a socio-cultural commodity.* English as a foreign language is described as 'hyper-collective goods' (De Swaan, 2001a) and has already become a huge financial market around the world (Kaplan, 2001). Ideological assumptions used in advertising or promoting ELT not only relate to the effectiveness of English education but also to socio-cultural meanings of the English language itself as well as the process of acquiring English. In Text 5.3, English is advertised by correlating it to a proceeding trend, a powerful instrument, or a problem can be solved and individual's future. These socio-cultural assumptions can play a vital role in the promotion of English.

(iii) *English is an indispensable instrument for competition nationally and individually.* For Taiwan, under threat from Mainland China, and as a small-scale player in the highly competitive economic environment, success in the world is one of struggle, tension and competition. Following the first assumption that '*English is the language that links the world*', it is presupposed that English determines competitiveness in global capitalism. To certain degree, national English ability equals to national capability of competition. In terms of individuals, English becomes an indispensable skill for individuals in a competitive domestic workforce

(see Text 5.5). English ability as the requisite skill in employment is used as a gatekeeper to better jobs and promotion. The assumption that links competitiveness with English proficiency, nationally and individually, leads to concerns and worries about English ability and English education in Taiwan.

(iv) Common-sense assumptions about the effectiveness of English education, such as *'the earlier English is learned, the better the result would be'*, *'English level of average Taiwanese citizen is inadequate'* and *'English education in Taiwan is insufficient'*, can be found in discourses on English learning and teaching. For example, in Text 5.4 and 5.6, combined with the above mentioned ideological assumptions, it is assumed that English level of the average Taiwanese citizen is inadequate and English education in schools lacks the ability to compete. These common-sense assumptions can thus result in a fear that action and attention are needed in order to enhance one's English ability

(v) *Lack of English will have negative consequences*. Varying degrees of anxiety and worry can be found in the above analyzed texts. In Text 5.2, problems of English education are presented as concerns on the effectiveness of English education. In Text 5.3, by presenting the prevalence of English in Taiwan and asking the readers: *'facing this powerful instrument of competition, are you prepared?'*, unease about the consequence of lacking English ability is reinforced. In Text 5.4, it is presupposed that since English is imperative for creating an international profile of Taiwan, and for giving foreigners a good impression about Taiwan, deficiencies in English education are claimed to have serious outcomes. Text 5.6 represents parents' worries that *'English ability of their children might be insufficient while comparing to others'* and shows the anxiety about the deficiency of English education and its implications, as well as the envy of high English proficiency and its benefits. In regard to comparison and competition, the discourse of English in Taiwan shows national as well as individual anxiety of falling behind other competitors. In a way, through the discourse of these texts, unjustified anxiety and worry are created.

To sum up, discourses concerning English in Taiwan are conditioned by the external global structure and Taiwan's socio-cultural context. Concepts such as globalization, internationalization, economic development, national competitiveness

and individual competitiveness influence the discourses on English. Furthermore, the socio-cultural context of Taiwan nationally and individually reinforces the impact of English in terms of economy, education, employment and future development and therefore can result in anxiety and worry for those not possessing this particular language proficiency. Alternative voices concerning English education and English promotion in Taiwan, such as the influence of early English education on children's Mandarin or mother language ability or the impact of English on local cultures and identities in Taiwan, are absent in all of the texts. As mentioned in Chapter 4, criticisms of the spread of English in Taiwan has been raised by some scholars (Chang Yueh-chen, 2002; Liu, 2004; Liao, 2004), but these opinions are not prevalent. For the government, the ELT industry, parents and in the mass media, the main focus is clearly on the benefits English can provide and the effectiveness of English education, rather than on the socio-cultural impact of the spread English. Overall, English is regarded positively as the language of advantage; as gatekeeper to better development in employment; and as means to enhance competitiveness. The necessity of English is thus presupposed. In the case of Taiwan, the ideology of English consequently functions as part of the mechanisms involved in the global spread of English.

Perceptions of English in Taiwan

6.1 Introduction

As mentioned in earlier chapters, English language policy in Taiwan has been through major changes in the beginning of the twenty-first century. The national policy of promoting English and the extension of English education at the elementary level has inevitably made a great impact on Taiwan's education system, and the status of English in Taiwan. Discourses on English in governmental documents and print media also reinforce certain views of the English language. While the global spread of English has been taking place via national policy, cultural institutions and ideological presuppositions, a further question is how the spread of English is perceived and what responses are made by individuals in Taiwan.

Through Taiwanese people's perceptions and expectations of the English language, this chapter explores the implications of the spread of English at the individual level. It examines individuals' experiences, beliefs and attitudes regarding the English language, and focuses on personal responses toward the spread of global English and its impact in Taiwan. Through the employment of semi-structured interviews, the following issues will be investigated: attitudes towards local languages; English and other foreign languages; English learning experiences; the use and functions of English; and the impact of English on the individual, socio-cultural and politico-economic levels in Taiwan.

6.2 Research Method

6.2.1 Semi-Structured Interviewing and Interview Schedule

In order to explore individuals' perceptions of English in depth, semi-structured interviews are employed in this research. The reason is that a semi-structured interview is neither totally restricted by a list of standard questions, nor non-directive. It lies between the extremes and leaves certain space to be filled in during the interview under a general structure of the main questions. It also allows interviewers to use prompts, probes and follow-up questions to obtain further information about interviewees' circumstances and to clarify or expand their answers (Drever, 1995). In this research, interviews on a one-to-one basis are used. An interview schedule with main questions (see Section 3.3.3 for discussion on the rationale of interview questions and Appendix 2 for the interview questions) is used as a guideline during the interviews. Apart from these main questions, follow-up questions and other relevant questions will be raised according to individual's background and circumstances.

Seventeen questions are included in the interview schedule with follow-up questions asked according to the background of interviewees and the situation. Each interview took around forty minutes though it also depended on interviewees' responses and the on-the-spot interaction. All the interviews were conducted in Chinese (Mandarin) by myself in a period of three months from July to September 2005. All the interviews were recorded and will be presented and analyzed mainly through selective transcription (with original Chinese transcripts presented in Appendix 3 and their English translations presented in this chapter) though two of the interviews will be fully transcribed and translated as examples (see Appendix 4). In the transcripts, following abbreviations and symbols are applied.

I = interviewer

(example) ETH1 = the first interviewee of English teachers in high schools

(please see Table 6.1 for a full list of codes of interviewees)

... = pause

.....= long pause

[...] = an omission of some text

6.2.2 Sampling

Interviewees from different levels of the education system have been included. Informants also include government officials who participate in the process of policy making and policy implementation, and student parents who in most cases make decisions for their children. The hypothesis here is that since English education is required in the state education system. As English is introduced and learned systematically, participants in the education system can be regarded as agents of the spread of English in Taiwan. Thus their overall perceptions of English can be considered representative. Additionally, in order to present individuals' perceptions of English, interviewees from different social backgrounds are also selected, including social elite and people in the other private sectors.

In general, the interviewees consist of people from the following six groups: governmental level, elementary level, secondary level, tertiary level, members of the social elite and people from the other private sectors (see Appendix 5 for detailed information regarding the respondents). Each group is allocated a quota of interviews. Other variables such as gender, age, ethno-linguistic background, region of residence and in some cases (e.g. student parents), occupational and education background are considered as influential factors which will be taken into account in data analysis. Codes of interviewees are presented in brackets according to their roles, e.g. ETE1 = the first English teacher in elementary schools.

Table 6.1 Table of Interviewees

<p><i>Group 1: Governmental level</i> Government official in Ministry of Education (1 interview) [G1] (Han) Government official in Council of Indigenous Peoples (1 interview) [G2] (Aboriginal) Government official in Council of Indigenous Peoples (1 interview) [G3]</p> <p><i>Group 2: Elementary level</i> English teachers in elementary schools (3 interviews) [ETE 1, 2, 3] Teachers of other subjects in elementary schools (3 interviews) [TE 1, 2, 3] Parents of elementary students (2 interviews) [PE 1, 2]</p> <p><i>Group 3: Secondary level</i> English teachers in high schools (3 interviews) [ETH 1, 2, 3] Teachers of other subjects in high schools (3 interviews) [TH 1, 2, 3] Students in senior high schools (2 interviews) [SH 1, 2] Parents of high school students (2 interviews) [PH 1, 2]</p> <p><i>Group 4: Tertiary level</i> English teachers at university/college level (3 interviews) [ETU 1, 2, 3]</p>

Teachers of other subjects at university/college level (3 interviews) [TU 1, 2, 3]
English major students (3 interviews) [ESU 1, 2, 3]
Non-English major students (3 interviews) [SU 1, 2]

Group 5: Members of the social elite

Engineer, law clerk, medical doctor, researcher and executive etc.
(5 interviews) [SE 1, 2, 3, 4, 5]

Group 6: People in the other private sectors

People from the manufacturing industry, technician, nurse and salesperson etc.
(5 interviews) [PP 1, 2, 3, 4, 5]

Three respondents from the governmental level were interviewed, including a high ranking governmental official in the Ministry of Education, a governmental official from an aboriginal (Austronesia) ethno-linguistic background, and a governmental official from a Han ethno-linguistic background in the Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive *Yuan*. The perspectives on English and English education from people who design and implement English-in-education policy are significant in this research because they reflect the rationale of English language policy in Taiwan. Two officials in the Council of Indigenous Peoples were also interviewed because of the current complex relation between English and local languages (see Chapter 4 for language situation and English education in Taiwan).

The second group focuses on participants at the elementary level. Three English teachers and three teachers of other subjects, including two home teachers (who tutor a class of students and teach other major subjects) and one teacher of special education needs, were interviewed. In addition, two student parents were selected for interviewing. However, students at the elementary level are not included because students at this stage are very young and not really capable of answering these interview questions, and their perceptions of English are mostly influenced by their teachers, parents and surroundings. In the next group, participants in secondary education are included. Three English teachers and three teachers of other subjects including Mandarin, geography and art in junior and senior high schools were interviewed. Two parents of high school students, one junior high graduate and one second-year senior high student were selected.

The fourth group focuses on participants at the university or college level including three English teachers, three teachers of other subjects, three English-major students and three non-English major students. English teachers at

the tertiary level refer to lecturers and professors teaching in the English related departments such as Applied Foreign Languages and English Literature or teaching English in other departments. Teachers of other subjects refer to lecturers and professors teaching non-ELT courses. One English-major junior college student, one English-major university student and one English-major post-graduate student were selected in order to include participants from different levels of higher education. Three non-English major students include one university student majoring in international trade, one university student majoring in accounting, and one student of a Technology University majoring in engineering.

Defining the social elites, education and occupation are the two most determinant factors. Bachelor degrees of certain national universities such as National Taiwan University or certain occupations or positions such as medical doctor and executive indicate membership of the social elite. In the fifth group, five members of the social elite were interviewed in order to explore relations between perceptions of English and social status. In the sixth group, five people from non-elite social group were interviewed including people from the manufacturing industry, a technician, a nurse and a salesperson. The group of social elites and the group of people from the other private sectors not only contrast with each other, but they can also be considered as comparison with the rest of the groups.

Generally, Group one to four can be regarded as a cluster of participants in the education system, while Group five and six can be considered as a cluster of participants from different professions. However, several variables such as educational and occupational background and social identities interact or overlap among informants in different groups (e.g. a student parent can also be a member of the social elite or an English teacher can also be a student parent). In the section of data analysis, all these interrelated and overlapping factors will be extracted and categorized from the data.

6.2.3 Limitations of This Research

The intention of this research is to explore in-depth accounts of individual perceptions of English rather than to generalize about the whole population, and to focus on critical and qualitative investigation rather than quantitative measurement.

Due to the research design and the limited scale of sampling and interviewing, this research only focuses on perceptions of English in Taiwan's education system and perceptions of English of respondents of certain social status or occupations. Although elements such as gender, regional and age differences are not regarded as parameters in sampling, they are influential factors in data analysis. These can also limit the generalization of research results.

Another limitation is that data from lower social classes such as street vendors, workers and cleaners are absent in this research. However, as stated in the rationale of sampling section above, since English is promoted in Taiwan mainly by English language policy, English education at school and the ELT industry, the effect of English is direct and more profound for people in the education system and certain professions. Thus their perceptions are selected as a limited but significant representation of English perceptions in Taiwan.

In terms of data interpretation, there might be some doubts regarding faithfully presenting original data due to the procedure of translation. Since thinking is interwoven by language in use (Vygotsky, 1986), choosing a language that both the participants and the interviewer are fluent in, cannot only accelerate the progress of the interview, but also effectively help mutual communication by sharing the same thought patterns inherent in that language. Thus all the interviews were conducted in Chinese Mandarin. However, for readability, the results are presented in English. Some words, terms or sentences will be rearranged or restated in order to be expressed and interpreted accurately and effectively in English. For the avoidance of data distortion and for further inspection of the validity of the data, the original Chinese transcripts will be presented in Appendix 3.

6.3 Analysis and Discussion

6.3.1 English, Mother Tongue, Local Languages and Other Foreign Languages

It is claimed by some that English is a 'killer language' (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000a). However, it is not English that kills other languages, but the struggle of power and resources between English and other languages that disadvantage those

minority languages. For expanding-circle countries, the global spread of English has become an important factor for the making of local languages and education policy. And this trend also makes English a strong competitor in drawing public attention and seeking resources. Minority languages in these countries might encounter double pressures, i.e. the domestic pressure from national or majority language and the global pressure of English spread. In the case of Taiwan, the global spread of English has been making an impact on language policy and education system and has resulted in conflict when languages and cultures interact, compete and interweave. To a certain extent, perceptions of English both are shaped by and shape the existing language situation in Taiwan. Therefore, sociolinguistic factors need to be taken into account in the first part of this research with the main focus being on how English is perceived in relation to local and other foreign languages.

Language of power in Taiwan

The language situation in Taiwan is complicated in terms of its historical and political background (See Chapter 4 for a discussion on the language situation in Taiwan). Question 1 and 2 aim to explore respondents' perceptions of Taiwan's language situation. A summary overview of the responses to question 1 and 2 is presented in the tables below.

Question 1: What is your mother tongue? What status does it have in Taiwan?

Table 6.2 Summary overview of responses to Question 1

<i>Language</i>	<i>Number of respondents whose mother tongue is the language (N=43)</i>	<i>Status of the language</i>
Mandarin	8	The official language and the lingua franca in Taiwan, language of the mainstream
Mandarin and Minnanyu/Taiwanese	2	
Minnanyu/Taiwanese	29	25 out of 29 respondents considered that Minnanyu/Taiwanese is a powerful language in Taiwan because of the large population of its speakers and that its status has revived recently due to the change of political climate. But several respondents said that Miannanyu and its speakers are still stigmatized.
Hakka and Minnanyu/Taiwanese	1	
Hakka	2	Minority language
Aboriginal languages	1 (Amis)	Minority languages

*Question 2: Which language is the most important or powerful one in Taiwan?
(Mandarin, Hakka, Taiwanese or aboriginal languages) Why?*

Table 6.3 Summary overview of responses to Question 2

<i>Language</i>	<i>Number of respondents who consider the language as the most important or powerful in Taiwan (N=43)</i>	<i>Notes of responses</i>
Mandarin	38	Majority of the respondents considered that Mandarin is the language of power in Taiwan because it is the dominant language in education, government and public domains.
Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	1	A senior research assistant whose mother tongue is Mandarin considered that Minnanyu has become the language of power in Taiwan.
Mandarin as important, Minnanyu/Taiwanese as powerful	2	A government official in MOE and an aboriginal government official in CIP considered that Mandarin is the lingua franca in Taiwan while Minnanyu is powerful in terms of population and politics.
Hakka	0	
Aboriginal languages	0	
Others	2	Depend on different regions and situations.

The majority of the interviewees expressed the view that Mandarin is the most important language in Taiwan. The importance of Mandarin is undeniable because Mandarin is the major language in government, education and public domains. For example, as the government official in CIP stated, in Taiwan Mandarin is more important than other languages because of its status in education and the government.

[Q 1-(1)]

Its status of dominance had been established in the past. Now the degree of its importance is higher than other languages. Though Minnanyu has revived, its importance is less than Mandarin. [...] The reason Mandarin is still the most important language is because the government, including policies, announcements to the public and people, uses Mandarin, and Mandarin is the major language in its education policy and education system

(G2, Female, 35, governmental official in CIP [Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuen], MT: Minnanyu)

The official language and the language of public domains in Taiwan is Mandarin while the majority ethno-linguistic group is Minnan people (the Taiwanese). The languages of importance and language of power are therefore distinguished by the government official in MOE (the Ministry of Education).

[Q 1-(2)]

Official language definitely is the most important. But if we are talking about 'powerful', then I would think that Taiwanese should be the more powerful one.

(G1, Female, 42, government official in MOE, MT: Minnanyu)

For several respondents, Mandarin is important for general communication but the status of Minnanyu is reviving because of the current political climate in Taiwan. The transition of sociolinguistic situation in Taiwan, and the shift of language power, can be attributed to the change of political climate since the late 1990s. As stated in Chapter 4, the DPP government emphasizes localization and mother tongues. Minnanyu, with its larger ethno-linguistic population in Taiwan, has become the major language in its political propaganda, and is thus placed at the center of the language and culture policies. As the government official in MOE argued, Minnanyu has become a powerful language because of its large population and due to the recent political situation in Taiwan.

[Q 1-(3)]

Population... and I think the main factor is political...the political influence of domestic situation is that the DPP emphasizes localization. Therefore they will focus more on mother tongues. They emphasize this point very much.

(G1, Female, 42, government official in MOE, MT: Minnanyu)

As a member of the minority ethno-linguistic group, Amis, the government official in CIP explained, for those minority ethno-linguistic groups, Mandarin has been neutralized because it has been used as a common language without being linking to any specific ethno-linguistic identity. In contrast, the majority language, Minnanyu, is associated and linked with power and advantage in politics.

[Q 1-(4)]

Mandarin is the official language and it is neutral. I think theoretically speaking language should be linked to ethnicity. But Mandarin almost cannot be linked to Taiwan's ethnic groups. Of course Mainlanders are exception. When you speak this language, you cannot feel the vigor. It doesn't matter if I speak this or not. Very neutral. But if you speak aboriginal languages or Hakka, it will show the status of certain ethno-linguistic group when you speak the sentences. Therefore, Mandarin is a neutral language. In terms of power, Minnanyu is more powerful.

(G3, Male, 39, government official in CIP, MT: Amis)

Although Minnanyu is the language of the biggest ethno-linguistic group in Taiwan and has been the focus of much attention by the government and the education system, several respondents remarked that its use still raises the problems of identity and stigmatization. For example, an elementary English teacher who was

also a parent of three children argued that her children could not speak Minnanyu but English. This is because Minnanyu is regarded as a language of lower social status and English learning has been encouraged.

[Q 1-(5)]

...Because, in fact, children cannot speak Minnanyu. Now they cannot understand us when we speak Minnanyu at home. In the past, we could not understand when our parents spoke Japanese. Now it turns out that they cannot understand Minnanyu. But they understand English because they have studied overseas and I pay much attention to children's English. But why I said it is not advantaged enough is because my children would think that people who speak Minnanyu seem to be of a lower social status, because my eldest child told me so. It seems that speaking Minnanyu will be considered...considered as lower social class. I did tell him it's not true though.

(ETE1, Female, 42, elementary English teacher, MT: Minnanyu)

Minnanyu as the majority language still has problems of being preserved in the family and has to face competition from English. As regards other minority languages such as Hakka and aboriginal languages, respondents of these minority ethno-linguistic groups stated that their mother languages are not only powerless in public domains but they also are difficult to pass on to the younger generation. For example, the aboriginal government official in CIP explained the language situation in the ethnic group and expressed his worries.

[Q 1-(6)]

I: Nowadays, Amis children, I mean the next generation, how is their mother tongue ability?

G3: almost unable...actually now those under 30 years old almost cannot speak Amis. In the tribe of Amis, generally speaking, people under 30 cannot speak the language. They might be able to listen, but they are unable to speak. For those at around 40, 50 years of age such as myself, Mandarin ability is better than mother tongue ability. Then for those above 50, mother tongue ability is better than Mandarin ability...That's because ..after senior high school, it depends on your environment. Like myself, after senior high school, if you leave hometown and live in urban area, your Mandarin ability will gradually replace your mother tongue ability. So sometimes when I speak Amis, it was translated from Mandarin...Then young children might be able to know some vocabulary. I think...I doubt their listening ability. That is, he/she might only understand 20 or 30 percent. So they almost cannot speak the language, only know some vocabulary...

(G3, Male, 39, government official in CIP, MT: Amis)

To sum up, the responses to Question 2 showed that in Taiwan, Mandarin is dominant in public domains while the status of Minnanyu has been revived because

of current political developments. Hakka and aboriginal languages remain minority languages used for restricted communication in certain ethno-linguistic groups or regions. It also implies that English has been paid more attention by parents and has consequently become more powerful in Taiwan's sociolinguistic contexts.

Mother tongues vs. English

In response to the inclusion of English education and mother tongue education in elementary curriculum, the effectiveness and impact of language education in Taiwan has drawn much attention and has been discussed and debated among scholars, the MOE and in the mass media. The introduction of English education at elementary level is welcomed by many, especially parents, while worries about its impact on local languages and cultures are also raised. In addition, mother tongue education is regarded by some as crucial but is considered as unnecessary by others. Actually, there is no opposition between English education and mother tongue education. The real conflict lies in the distribution of resources and the priority of education agenda. Question 3 aims to explore interviewees' perceptions on this issue. Following is a summary overview of the responses.

Question 3: Should mother language education of each ethnic group be given priority over English education? Why or why not?

Table 6.4 Summary overview of responses to Question 3

Responses to question 3		Number of respondents (N=43)	Notes of responses
Yes		28	The majority of respondents considered that mother tongue education should be given priority because mother language is the medium of daily communication and culture.
No	English education should be given priority	8	3 out of 4 student parents, 3 English teachers (2 elementary and 1 junior high English teachers) and 2 elementary teachers stated that English education should be given priority because mother tongue should be learned at home rather than at school.
	Both mother tongue education and English education should be given priority	4	An elementary English teacher, a university English lecturer, a university student and an executive of an electronic company proposed that both mother language and English education should be given priority.
Others		3	A junior high English teacher and a university English lecturer expressed that instead of mother language education but Mandarin education should be given priority. An employee in the manufacturing industry considered that emotionally mother language education should be given priority but realistically English education should be given priority.

Interviewees' responses to this issue can be classified into following broad categories.

Mother tongue for local communication and as important element of culture

Some respondents remarked that the important function of mother language is for daily-life communication and therefore their mother tongue is necessary for everyone, while English is not a requisite for every person. For example, an elementary teacher indicated that mother tongue should be given priority because there are relatively few people in the upper levels of society who really need to use English.

[Q 3-(1)]

Of course the mother language should be learned first, because it is in fact the mother tongue. Actually only the minority at the top of society, who has to deal with external affairs, will use English. In fact, the stratification of people is a pyramid. Not everyone in each level should learn English. [...] but the mother language is for our, everyone's communication, interaction, life and human relationships. That's what everyone should be able to use. That's my opinion...

(TE2, Female, 37, elementary teacher, MT: Minnanyu)

Apart from daily communication, some interviewees argued that mother tongue education should be given priority because of its linkage to their culture. The mother tongue is not only a language for communication but also the foundation of a certain speech community. For those whose mother language is not Mandarin, English education could be threatening to the mother tongue. For example, an assistant professor claimed that mother tongue education is strongly related to the foundation of cultural heritage and that the mother tongue is an important cultural entity.

[Q 3-(2)]

Mother tongue is not only a tool for communication but also an important element of culture. Culture cannot be inherited only if mother language is learned. If English is learned first, children's way of thinking will be westernized. And this will be a tragedy of the third world culture. The most important thing for internationalization is not learning English but having the will and outlook...

(TU3, male, 36, assistant professor, MT: Minnanyu)

Professors, teachers and officials in aboriginal affairs doubt whether the notion of internationalization should be equated with the process of 'Englishization'. Language is in a way regarded as culture, and cultural identity is the main concern for mother tongue education. An aboriginal government official also pointed out

that the overemphasis on the communicative function of language could result in a loss of cultural uniqueness.

[Q 3-(3)]

Language actually has two functions. One is the function of communication. The second function is what has been said—language is the window of soul. How a person speaks the language actually represents one's culture, the formation of one's personality and the way of thinking. So I think if you don't use your own language and choose to speak another language, it means you give up yourself. Language has two functions. If you only emphasize the function of communication, you'll lose your uniqueness rapidly. As often mentioned nowadays: "global connection, local action". But the 'Local' is often ignored and we invariably emphasize competitive capability. Overall, it is about how to achieve the balance between competition and culture.

(G3, Male, 39, government official in CIP, MT: Amis)

To achieve a balance between the global and the local and between competition and culture is crucial for Taiwanese society. For those whose mother language is endangered, the mother language is not only related to their culture, but also to their ethnicity and identity.

A junior high school English teacher also expressed her concerns regarding Taiwan's language situation.

[Q 3-(4)]

Mother tongue learning should be given priority over English learning. Learning mother tongue also represents learning the culture. If one doesn't know one's own culture, it's like being a person without a soul. On the one hand, Taiwan has not paid attention to mother tongue learning. On the other hand, Taiwan cannot create a good English learning environment. And that results in an awkward situation that none of the languages, including English, Mandarin and mother tongue, are effectively learned.

(ETH1, female, 34, junior high school English teacher, MT: Minnanyu)

As a Minnanese, the teacher considered that the mother tongue deserves more attention while as an English teacher she questioned the effectiveness of English education. The 'awkward situation that none of the languages are effectively learned' can be regarded as the crucial issue in Taiwan's language education. The priority of the mother tongue is stated, while the importance of English is also stressed.

The priority of English education

Some respondents questioned the importance of mother tongue education by pointing out that the mother tongue is supposed to be acquired within the family and thus resources in the education system should be invested in English learning. For example, an elementary English teacher who is also a parent claimed that mother tongue education in schools is unnecessary.

[Q 3-(5)]

I think there is no need to learn the mother tongue. It is supposed to be inherited at home. I think if mother language is aimed at communication, conversation and use, it should not be taught as a course in schools. But if it is about cultural background and research, such as Han phonology which we learned in the past for obtaining educational credits or investigation on cultural background, it should be taught as a course. [...] Because we don't have that kind of environment for English. In terms of learning, I think learning is something acquired in later days. That's what I think. Learning is acquiring...

(ETE1, female, 42, elementary English teacher, MT: Minnanyu)

The interviewee further explained that English education should be given priority in schools and argued that the mother tongue is something you learned in your own family. But English is the language that needs to be taken care of in the education system due to the lack of learning environment in our daily lives.

However, for an elementary teacher whose mother tongue is Hakka, English is considered as a more important language while her mother tongue is less functional in daily life.

[Q 3-(6)]

I would think that English should be given priority. Because it's not necessary to learn Hakka, because you already have a language for communication. Mandarin is the language for communication. So I think English learning is prior to the mother tongue... Hakka is seldom used, such as me living in Taichung Taiping. I seldom use it. If in schools of Tungshih area, parents might use Hakka. Mother tongue will be needed only in this kind of situation.

(TE1, female, 38, elementary teacher, MT: Hakka)

The sociolinguistic tendency appears to be that when the mother tongue of minority ethno-linguistic groups gradually loses its function in public domain and daily life, the demand for mother tongue learning also tends to decline. Therefore, English as a language with more perceived functions, is given a higher priority in language

education.

For some respondents whose mother language is Mandarin, the importance of commerce for Taiwan and the function of English are often stressed. Their perceptions suggest that languages are in a free competitive market and the existence and acquisition of a certain language depends on the function and benefit it can provide. For example, one of the parents of elementary students argued that English education should be given priority because it is more practically useful.

[Q 3-(7)]

PE1: I think it's not that necessary to emphasize the importance of mother tongue. It is good to have the communicative ability of mother tongue. But we can have the advantage only if we obtain English ability...The issue is about competitiveness for the future. So English ability should be reinforced...

I: How about mother tongue education of minority languages such as aboriginal languages?

PE1: I think the reason for their disappearing is that these languages are not needed. To overemphasize things that are not in demand...then...I don't know if that is cost effective...

(PE1, Female, 44, international trader, MT: Mandarin)

If there is a dilemma between embracing the global and preserving the local, the choice made here is to emphasize global competitiveness for the future. From an economic point of view, the interviewee implied that languages have different values and that learning different languages can offer different rewards.

A university student further questioned if there was a need to prioritize mother tongue education or English education. She argued that language and culture are two separate concepts and learning the mother tongue does not guarantee one's identification with the culture.

[Q 3-(8)]

SU1: I think whether English or mother tongue should be given priority is not important. Why can't we learn both of them at the same time?...

I: Can both be learned at the same time without mutual influence?

SU1: Yes, it's like if you learn mother tongue, you don't necessarily identify yourself with the culture. I think there is not a very close relation between identifying culture and learning language. [...] I don't know why we insist on mother tongue. I don't think learning mother tongue can definitely lead to cultural identification... It is possible that you can speak only English and still identify yourself with Taiwanese culture...

I: How about mother tongue education of minority languages such as aboriginal languages? Should they be given priority?

SU1: No need. Actually I think in terms of language, it's mainly for communication. Then basically this...that...that nobody uses it. That is actually there is no necessity to preserve it, because comparing to that, English is much learned...In terms of function, then if you learn Minnanyu...that...its functions will not be as many as English...

(SU1, female, 20, university student, MT: Mandarin and Minnanyu)

The main concern in this quote is once again the function and benefit that a language can offer. With little function in public domains, the minority languages in Taiwan are regarded as less important languages. English, however, with more functions, is considered as a possible medium to express and identify with one's culture.

For an English teacher in a senior high school, English is the language of power in the international society and this attribute determines its priority.

[Q 3-(9)]

Should mother language of each ethnic group be given priority over English? My answer is 'no'. The reason is because if a powerful language is the language used by most people, then English...worldwide speaking is one of the languages used by most countries. So I think it is a powerful language. Then English learning should be given priority over mother language learning. But giving priority doesn't mean that mother language should be given up. It's just the priority is English. That's it...

(ETH3, female, 34, senior high school English teacher, MT: Mandarin)

In this quote, culture is not even an issue. There is no need to consider the relation between mother tongue and culture. Power and prevalence of languages is the main concern for deciding the agenda of language education. Mother language is not supposed to be abandoned but English is prioritized because of its advantage.

English education as a response to the global pressure

Although the responses were divergent in terms of the priority of the mother tongue or English education, all respondents were aware of the influence of English; whether they expressed their acceptance or rejection of the language. For example, an employee in the manufacturing industry highlighted the tension between mother tongue and English education.

[Q 3-(10)]

PPI: According to the current situation... that Taiwan is facing... the trend of globalization, you cannot go outward without English. But basically and emotionally

mother language of course has priority. Realistically international language English should be given priority. ...

I: Which would you choose for your children or the next generation to learn first?

PP1: Which to learn first... I still think English learning should be given priority...If you want to stay in Taiwan, it would be good enough that you can communicate in the mother tongue...Mandarin. But if you have the ambition to go outward, you would not be able to go outward without English ability...

(PP1, male, 61, employee in manufacturing industry, MT: Minnanyu)

English as the dominant international language is regarded as the key to enter the global market. Although for the majority of people, Mandarin and mother tongue ability might be enough for making a living in Taiwan, English education is given priority because of the need to establish external relationships.

Commentary

To sum up, responses to Question 3 varied. On the one hand, for most respondents the importance of mother language education was identified for its function of daily communication and cultural identification. The mother tongue was perceived as the root of culture and therefore should be given priority in education agenda. On the other hand, the importance of English was acknowledged by all the respondents. For those approving the priority of English education, the function and advantage of a language in international domains was considered the main concern. The main factor determining interviewees' responses was not their ethno-linguistic background but rather their attitudes toward the meaning and nature of language. If language is considered, not as a vehicle of culture but of communication and practical function, it is very likely that a language with functional and communicative advantages will be given priority in language education.

On the other hand, if cultural identity is regarded as the central element of language, mother tongue education is perceived as important instrument for preserving the foundation of culture. It is therefore prioritized. However, individuals whose mother language is the official language, Mandarin, tended to focus on power and the functions of language, and tended to discriminate against minority or local languages.

The Status of English in the next 50 years?

In *The Future of English?*, Graddol (1997) predicted that within the next 50 years no single language will have achieved the monopolistic status of English by the end of the twentieth century. However, the future of English could be more complicated and uncertain than some assume. To some extent predictions of the future of English are not only an index of its future development but also a reflection of the reality. Therefore, this question not only explores interviewees' prediction of the status of English in the next 50 years, but also their reflection on the dominance of English in the world. The following is a summary overview of the responses.

Question 4: Will English continue to be the global language in the next 50 years? Why or why not?

Table 6.5 Summary overview of responses to Question 4

<i>Responses to question 4</i>	<i>Number of respondents (N=43)</i>	<i>Notes of responses</i>
Yes	15	Factors that sustain English's status: American domination of world politics, economy and technology, the population of English users around the world, the dominance of English in international domains and on the Internet, and the existing foundation and network of global English.
Yes, but other competitor languages will rise.	26	Chinese was the most favored candidate of global language (24 out of 26 respondents mentioned Chinese) while two respondents (an employee in sales department and an aboriginal government official in CIP) mentioned other languages as possible candidates including German, Japanese, Russian and Portuguese (Brazil's national language).
No	2	An English-major postgraduate and a parent of elementary students doubted that English would continue its status while taking into account of the rise of Asian and European powers.

Majority of the respondents agreed that English would continue to be the global language in the next 50 years, though more than half of these respondents considered that other super-central languages (De Swaan, 2001a) such as Chinese, German, and Japanese could rise and become possible candidates as global languages. Only two respondents had doubts that English would sustain its status due to the rise of Asian or European powers. To a certain extent, the concept of power, globalization, technology and economic interest were considered important elements in creating a global language and could be identified in most responses.

English continues to be the global language

Respondents gave several reasons why English will maintain its global status. According to interviewees' responses, the importance or advantage of English can be attributed to following factors: American domination of world politics, economy and technology; the population of English users around the world; the dominance of English in international domains and on the Internet; and the existing foundation and network of global English. For example, according to an assistant professor, not only the politico-economic power of English speaking countries but also the prevalence of computer and Internet were mentioned as factors that would maintain the status of English in the next 50 years.

[Q 4-(1)]

It will have to continue. Because now computers are too popular. Communication on the Internet have to proceed via English, and from a politico-economic point of view, those English-speaking powers definitely will not give up their advantage...

(TU3, male, 36, assistant professor, MT: Minnanyu)

In addition, the large population of English users around the world and the prevalence of English in international domains were considered as the foundation that would help maintain English's status in the next 50 years. For example, as a law clerk explained, although the popularity of English might change in the future, 50 years is such a short time that it would be impossible for English to lose its status. This is because communicating in English in international domains has become a custom and learning another language might not be a cost effective option for many people.

[Q 4-(2)]

English will continue to be the global language in 50 years because of the great population of its users. English has the advantage, so, many people choose to use it. And then a great number will continue to use it. If the popularity of English gradually decreases, it will only happen in a very slow way. And 50 years is not long enough to see English loses its status. [...] If you are used to one thing, why does everybody intentionally change to use Chinese in international conferences and make people from different places all speak Chinese? I think that's kind of wasting the costs, and I think it is impossible to happen in such a short time...

(SE2, female, 33, law clerk, MT: Minnanyu)

According to these respondents, the global status of English would be sustained because of its strong foundation in international domains. For those confident of the future of English, fifty years is not long enough for other potential languages to overtake English

The rise of other languages

However, for some others, fifty years is considered a long time that other languages could become another languages of power. Only two respondents thought that languages such as German and Japanese were possible candidates to become global languages, while a large number of respondents preferred Chinese over other languages. For several respondents, the development of Mainland China was considered a key factor in making Chinese a global language. As a medical doctor pointed out, the market and economic strength of Mainland China has made Chinese an attractive option in language learning, especially in Asia.

[Q 4-(3)]

SE3: Isn't it Chinese's turn in the 21st century? (laughs)... I think in 30 years. I expect that I can speak only Chinese after 60, so I said 30 years...

I: It's the age of Chinese after 30 years?

SE3: Yes, because of Mainland China. If I attend meetings in other countries, last time I attended a meeting in South Korea, a Korean asked me in Chinese, 'what are you doing here? Are you from Mainland China?' So actually according to the tour guide, in Asian countries, learning Chinese has become an obvious trend. Because everybody wants to do business in Mainland China. The market of Mainland China is too big, so now all attention is drawn to Mainland China. As long as Mainland China continues to open up. It should happen, everybody will follow the trend of the Chinese, because it is customer-led...

(SE3, female, 35, medical doctor, MT: Mandarin)

Nevertheless, the rise of Chinese would not necessarily lead to a decline in English. The advantage of English is undeniable, while the potential of Chinese as a global language is definitely conceivable. A junior high school English teacher confirmed the status of English and the trend of learning Chinese

[Q 4-(4)]

At the moment, English is the main language and gradually there is also a tendency of learning Chinese. After all, America is the big brother and China is also a kind of big brother. But I think English is the language used by so many people and therefore, it will not be replaced. English has a strong foundation. Chinese might be added as an

international language but English will continue to be the major language for international communication. The use of Chinese will rise, but it cannot replace English. English is still the international language. Most countries still use English as the language for communication...

(ETH2, female, 35, Junior high school English teacher, MT: Minnanyu)

For most of the interviewees, in the next fifty years, the status of English should not be seriously threatened by the rise of other languages.

Commentary

Interviewees' responses are rather similar to Graddol's (1997) conclusion. English is expected to continue its status as the global language but a regional *lingua franca* such as Chinese, could play a significant role in the future. Respondents' predictions not only reflected their understanding of the reality but also their expectations of the future. For all respondents, the dominant status of English is unquestionable and a global language is more or less related to the concept of power. Through various economic and political power, developments in technology or science, and population spread, the power of a language is therefore established or sustained.

Due to close and rather complicated relationships between Taiwan, Mainland China and the US, American power and the rise of Mainland China are frequently mentioned in terms of international politics and economic development. Since English is often associated with America power, the rise of the Chinese language is thus strongly related to the politico-economic strength of Mainland China. For the Taiwanese people who also use Chinese Mandarin as the official language, English as a global language is an undeniable fact while the rise of Chinese Mandarin is a future possibility. However, the results do not necessarily lead to the conclusion that Chinese or other languages will attain the status of a global language. Furthermore, the importance of English and the role of English education may not change markedly in the first half of the twenty-first century

English and other foreign languages

Question 5 is an attitude-scale question which aims to explore the perceived relationships between English and other foreign languages by investigating to what extent interviewees agree with the following statement: *English as a global*

language has decreased or marginalized the teaching and learning of other foreign languages in Taiwan. Its aim is to assess to what extent they agree or disagree with the statement. A summary overview of the responses is presented in the table below.

Question 5: Do you agree that English as a global language has decreased or marginalized the teaching and learning of other foreign languages e.g. French, Japanese, German etc. in Taiwan? (a) strongly agree (b) agree (c) neutral (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree. Why? Please comment.

Table 6.6 Summary overview of responses to Question 5

<i>Responses to question 5</i>	<i>Number of respondents (N=43)</i>	<i>Notes of responses</i>
Strongly agree	1	A junior high English teacher strongly agreed with the statement because in Taiwan other foreign languages are regarded as useless.
Agree	24	All three elementary English teachers, all three elementary non-English teachers, all three non-English secondary teachers and all three non-English university lectures or professors agreed with the statement. The result indicated that non-English teachers of all three levels of the education system agree with the statement. Among all four parents, only one (a parent of elementary students) agreed with the statement.
Neutral	3	A university English lecturer, a MA student in ELT and an executive of an electronic company expressed neutral on the statement.
Disagree	15	3 out of 4 student parents (two parents of high school students and one parent of elementary students) disagreed with the statement.
Strongly disagree	0	

More than half of the respondents (25 out of 43) agreed or strongly agreed that there was a marginalization of learning or teaching other foreign languages because of the dominant status of English in the state education system or employment. Fifteen respondents disagreed that other languages were marginalized while three respondents were neutral or uncertain regarding this question.

English as the first foreign language and the only foreign language in compulsory education

Many respondents agreed that English had decreased or had marginalized the learning and teaching of other foreign languages by pointing out the dominant status of English in Taiwan's education system. For example, a governmental official indicated that English was a compulsory subject in the state education system and occupied much of the students' time and effort. Therefore other foreign languages were simply not prioritized.

[Q 5-(1)]

I think it does marginalize other foreign languages because...usually people choose...Two points, the first is because English exam is included in the governmental policy. If English is an exam subject, of course everybody will learn English first. And if now everybody has no pressure to take such kind of exam, if he/she can freely choose his/her first foreign language, English will not be the definite choice. But because it has been included in exam subjects, if you are still interested in other foreign languages, that becomes your second foreign language, and relatively it will cost you more physical and mental efforts. And if you don't have strong motivation or you don't have the demand, you will not learn a second foreign language... Its marginalization is related to policy. This is because it is compulsorily regulated that you have to learn English...

(G2, female, 35, government official in CIP, MT: Minnanyu)

A junior high school English teacher clearly stated that the current situation in Taiwan had made it profitable to improve one's English proficiency and that the utility of learning other foreign languages had diminished.

[Q 5-(2)]

In Taiwan most information from abroad is related to English speaking countries, or more precisely, is from an American point of view. Secondly, English as a subject is the only foreign language in Taiwan's compulsory education. So, in general, having English ability is profitable. Comparatively, learning other foreign languages is 'useless' and why bother to learn them?

(ETH1, female, 34, junior high school English teacher, MT: Minnanyu)

For these respondents, as the only foreign language in compulsory education and the main language for understanding international information, English is prioritized in their personal education agenda. This fact appears to decrease the motivation and time available for learning other languages.

Functional, practical and politico-economic factors

For some respondents, the practical and politico-economic function of English is why it is given priority and the large population of English learners is due to the practical function of English in employment. For example, an assistant professor agreed with the statement and stressed the usefulness of English in employment.

[Q 5-(3)]

Yes. Basically English is the most important. Most people spend most of their time on English. Because English is still...the most functional international language. So most

people will still learn the most functional language, then...In terms of employment instrument, English is the most useful. Of course other languages have gradually risen. I think there are multiple developments in language learning in Taiwan. But in the short term, the status of English is difficult to be changed...

(TU1, male, 35, assistant professor of international culture and intercultural studies,
MT: Minnanyu)

He argued that English is popular because it is the most functional international language. And other foreign languages are not studied so much because they are considered less functional.

An English university lecturer also commented on the practical function of English and was of the opinion that the decision to learn certain foreign languages actually depends on individuals' age and occupation. She agreed that there was a marginalization of other foreign languages for youngsters in the state education system but thought that for older people, the choice of learning a foreign language would depend on personal interest.

[Q 5-(4)]

I think it's uncertain. It depends, depends on the situation, including age and occupations. That's because, if children, that is, younger kids, of course parents want them to learn English as the first language. But if at elder age, around 20s, then he/she might learn other languages including Japanese, French and German because of the demand in work. Or because he/she is quite capable in English, then he/she is able to learn another foreign language. So as to marginalization, it is possible for elementary students. Marginalization does exist in those youngsters. But it is not applicable to those who are older. Because according to my experiences teaching in Wenzao, of course among all classes, er, there are more GEPT (General English Proficiency Test) classes. But I found that there are also a quite good amount of Japanese, or even French, German classes. At least, Japanese is kind of a second advantaged language...

(ETU1, female, 30, English lecturer in university, MT: Minnanyu)

The respondent referred to her teaching experience in a college-owned language center. Although English was the most popular foreign language, other languages such as Japanese, German and French also had a significant numbers of learners. After leaving school, personal needs may be the main factor determining the learning of certain foreign languages.

Multiple developments of foreign language learning

Some respondents disagreed that there was a decrease in the learning and teaching of other foreign languages and considered that the learning of other foreign languages was still popular in Taiwan. For example, a salesperson maintained that there were still people learning other foreign languages, and the mastery of other foreign languages was considered as advantage.

[Q 5-(5)]

I think it has not. There are still people learning. And I think people mastering foreign languages other than English will have more advantage. Because, actually, there is not that much difference in people's English ability. But if you can master or understand French or German, that kind of people will have more advantage. Because less people, can master this kind of thing... because English is too popular and it turns out that if you can master another language, it will be better...

(PP5, male, 34, salesperson, MT: Minnanyu)

According to the respondent, when English is learned by everyone and becomes a common language for all, high English proficiency will no longer be an advantage and one's competitiveness of language ability will rely on their mastery of other foreign languages. His opinion corresponds to Graddol's (2006) account in *English Next* that the economic advantage of English will diminish when it becomes a basic skill for everyone. However, in Taiwan, the acquisition of English is actually a form of capital only held by some members of the society, and to a large extent it still determines one's economic competitiveness.

A law clerk also disagreed with the statement and argued that, apart from English, the learning of other foreign languages has in fact increased.

[Q 5-(6)]

I don't think it is marginalization. English is the first foreign language because we have to choose a language as the main foreign language and English is more popular in international communication. But people are still happy to learn Japanese, French etc. as a second foreign language. So of course, the first choice is English. And when everybody wants to learn the second foreign language, they are happy to learn Japanese, French. So ...There are more and more people learning other foreign languages. It is because we can see movies from different countries and drama series from countries like Japan... the population of learning other foreign languages actually increases compared to population long time ago...

(SE2, Female, 33, law clerk, MT: Minnanyu)

An English university lecturer emphasized that although English is the tool for common communication, the market for learning and teaching other foreign languages would gradually expand because of the rapid transmission of information nowadays.

[Q 5-(7)]

If I were asked ten years ago, I would have agreed. But now I don't agree, because now information really is...transmitted too fast, and just Britain and America can not take all the markets, right? So gradually there are people starting to explore European market or markets of other languages. Then the easiest all the time is Japanese, Korean. Now Korean market has been gradually explored. So actually English is still a tool for common communication, but other languages gradually have their own markets...

(ETU3, female, 28, English lecturer in university, MT: Mandarin)

Information technology and the transmission of mass media are regarded as key factors that increase the motivation and number of people learning other foreign languages. Although English is still the most popular language in the market of language learning, there is a possibility that other foreign languages will appeal to more learners due to their personal interests or needs.

Commentary

With limited time, resources and energy, individuals tend to learn the most useful language in order to have better rewards in their later life and careers. While English is the only foreign language in Taiwan's compulsory education, and is regarded as the global language for the foreseeable future, relations between English and other foreign languages are not on an equal basis. However, the dominance of English resulting from language-in-education policies, as well as international communication and globalization does not necessarily lead to the marginalization of other foreign languages.

The Interviewees' responses to Question 5 are significant. All respondents, to some degree, approved the priority given to the learning of English. However, they responded to the relationship between English and other foreign language in various ways. There was a tendency in that the more open an individual was to foreign languages and cultures or the more practical they tended to be; and the more likely an individual would disagree with the question.

The responses were also determined by the interviewees' attitudes towards the role of English and other foreign languages. When English is given a separate status from other foreign languages, and English education is regarded as requisite for everyone, learning English and learning other foreign languages were considered as two different subjects. There was thus no competition or conflict between English and other foreign languages. When English was considered as one of those foreign languages, the dominance of English in language education was considered as a marginalizing factor to the disadvantage of other foreign languages.

Overall, the responses to this question were related to how individuals perceived the role of English in relation to other foreign languages, and to the informants' value judgments regarding the prevalence of English in Taiwan. For some, English as the most dominant foreign language in Taiwan was accepted as a neutral fact of life. But, for some others, the power relation between English and other foreign languages was much more evident.

6.3.2 English Education and English Learning

The second part of the interview explores respondents' perceptions of English education and English learning. By focusing on the issue of extending English education at elementary level in Taiwan, the first question investigates respondents' perceptions as to the appropriate timing to start English instruction in the state education system. Secondly, respondents were also asked to comment on their expectations of learning English by answering the question about whether mastering English is important. While almost every Taiwanese under fifty years old has learned English in compulsory education, the aim of English education and rewards of English learning can be varied and reflect individuals' experiences and perceptions of the English language. Therefore, the final question of this part focuses on respondents' personal gain from learning English in general and in terms of career, interest and entertainment.

Starting point of English education

The introduction of English education in elementary curriculum (to the fifth and sixth grade in 2001 and to the third and fourth grade in 2005) has given rise to

widespread discussion and debate (see Chapter 4 for a discussion on the development of English education in Taiwan). Question 6 analyzes the interviewees' perception of the optimal timing to start English instruction in the state education system. Following is a summary overview of responses to this question.

Question 6: When should English be introduced in school? (a) 1st or 2nd year in elementary school (b) 3rd or 4th year in elementary school (c) 5th or 6th year in elementary school (d) junior high school (e) other choice _____ . Why?

Table 6.7 Summary overview of responses to Question 6

<i>Responses to question 6</i>	<i>Number of respondents (N=43)</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1st or 2nd year in elementary school	12	10 out of 12 respondents who considered grade 1 or 2 as the optimal timing approved 'the younger the better' hypothesis. 3 out of 4 student parents (one parent of elementary students and two parents of high schools students) considered that English education should be started in grade 1. Two elementary English teachers and one secondary English teacher suggested that English should be introduced in grade 1.
3rd or 4th year in elementary school	15	One elementary English teacher, one secondary English teacher and one English lecturer in university approved that grade 3 or 4 is the appropriate timing. All three non-English secondary teachers and two non-English elementary teachers suggested English education should be introduced in grade 3 or 4.
5th or 6th year in elementary school	8	One secondary English teacher and one English lecturer in university expressed that the optimal timing to start English education was grade 5 or 6.
Junior high school	7	All two high school students expressed that English instruction should be started in junior high education.
Other choice	1	A senior research assistant expressed that she had no idea when was the optimal timing to start English instruction.

Most respondents (35 out of 43) considered that the starting age for English education should be lowered to elementary level. But their opinions on when English education should start at this level varied. The majority of the respondents (33 out of 43) believed that English education should be based on a sufficient ability of mother language and Mandarin, though they had different opinions on when children can develop 'sufficient mother language and Mandarin ability'. Less than one fourth of respondents (10 out of 43) agreed with the hypothesis that the younger English is learned, the better the result would be.

The younger the better

Several respondents believed that the younger English is learned, the better the results. For example, an English teacher of junior high school argued that the level of English proficiency gained is greatly influenced by the age factor.

[Q 6-(1)]

ETH3: If you focus on language learning, there are many countries in the world that their second language...It's like learning English, taking Singapore as an example, they learn it very early. So in terms of my personal feeling, I think the first grade of elementary education is an optimal timing because I have a friend from Singapore who started learning at around that age, then her/his fluency and intuition while using English is better than our starting learning from junior high school...

I: So the earlier the better?

ETH3: The earlier the better! If family has enough money, learning could be started since children are born (laughs) I think, if it is possible, start learning since one's birth, yes, to hire an English help (laughs)...

(ETH3, Female, 34, junior high school English teacher, MT: Mandarin)

She mentioned a Singaporean friend as an example to approve 'the younger the better' hypothesis and suggested that the starting point of learning English could be advanced to as early as an infant's.

An elementary English teacher claimed that the two major advantages of learning English at an earlier age were interest and pronunciation.

[Q 6-(2)]

I think the strong points of learning English earlier are pronunciation and interest. Of course, interest could become better or worse. It depends on your interference in their learning, if it becomes pressure, then it will be ended earlier. I think if possible, of course the earlier the better. Because the state education starts from elementary schools, that's why I said it should start from the first grade. There are many reasons approving the earlier the better model. Because schoolwork and assignments are few when they are little, there will be more time for learning English. In addition, pronunciation...many sounds can be definitely pronounced. The older you grow, the more socialized you are. So in terms of this part, such as my second child, because I have three, that's like comparison group, I think the earlier, the better the pronunciation is. Listening ability will also be better...

(ETE1, female, 42, elementary English teacher, MT: Minnanyu)

Another strong point is that at an earlier stage of elementary education, i.e. the first grade, children are under less pressure from schoolwork, and more time can be given to English learning. This point is also approved by some parents. For example,

a parent of a high school student maintained that, by familiarizing oneself with the English language from a very young age, children could learn English without pressure and establish a better foundation for studying English later

[Q 6-(3)]

Because as to children, I think, don't do it intentionally, just at school, start from elementary education. Because they have less pressure from schoolwork in elementary schools. Then their ability of absorption is very strong. Their ability of absorbing language is...very strong. Then that is, that's...English can be instructed in schoolwork. Instructing simple English. And he/she can be asked to memorize vocabulary. From childhood...because he/she doesn't have pressure and can memorize quickly in childhood. Especially little children, they can memorize quickly. Then after having memorized, later, for example, when he/she has to study them, it will be just like a review of them...

(PH2, Female, 40, employee, MT: Minnanyu)

From the above quotes, respondents agreeing with 'the younger the better' hypothesis all expected that English ability of the next generation could be improved by introducing English at the earlier possible age. For example, an executive of an electronic company believed that the national standard of proficiency in English could be increased by introducing English education at an earlier age.

[Q 6-(4)]

I think English education should be taught as much as mother language education. Starting from elementary schools, one should gradually be in touch with English, gradually be used to English. English education should start with mother language education. In the future all people's absorption of English and English ability shall be better...

(SE5, male, 60, executive of an electronic company, MT: Minnanyu)

Overall, ten respondents (including English teachers at elementary and secondary level, university students, student parents, social elite and people in private sectors) maintained that English learning should be introduced at the earliest possible age in order to obtain a higher level of language proficiency. However, although many studies have been conducted on the effect of the age factor on foreign language acquisition, 'the younger the better' hypothesis is still controversial in the field of Applied Linguistics. To date, there is little evidence to prove if it is actually correct (see Scovel, 2000; Singleton, 2001; Nikolov and Mihaljevic Djigunovic, 2006).

The importance of the foundation of Mandarin and the mother language

Most respondents agreed that English education should be based on a solid foundation of mother tongue competence and Mandarin ability. However, the degree of proficiency in these languages varies. Few believed that the first grade students of elementary schools had developed sufficient competence in mother language and Mandarin. Some were of the opinion that third or fourth grade students were capable of coping with another new language. Others considered that the age in the fifth or sixth grades was optimal for English learning in terms of cognitive and linguistic ability.

Many respondents (15 out of 43) believed that the middle grades (Grade 3 and 4 of elementary education) are the most suitable age to introduce English education: this opinion corresponds with actual governmental policy. English education was officially introduced into the third and fourth grade of elementary curriculum in 2005, though most elementary schools have advanced the starting point of English education to the first grade (see Chapter 4).

Several respondents considered that English should not be learned before the mother tongue and Mandarin have been well established. For example, an elementary English teacher thought that grade 4 was a suitable point to introduce English education at elementary level because students of middle grades not only have basic foundation of Mandarin ability but they are also more open and happier when learning and speaking English.

[Q 6-(5)]

That should be started from middle and upper grades. Around grade 4. Because I think students of grade 1 and 2 just enter elementary schools and are too young. Because they cannot even understand the basic words or Chinese Mandarin phonetic symbols. It should start after at least the third grade. But now though it starts from grade 1 and 2, they change them into games, it is not bad, yes. Because mostly after middle grades, middle grades can learn, I think the situation is, middle grades are the happiest when learning English. Upper grades are afraid of speaking. There might be some limitation. So English can probably be taught through playing games in grade 3 and 4. Don't focus too much on exams or tests...

(ETE3, female, 33, elementary English teacher, MT: Minnanyu)

A junior high school Chinese teacher further pointed out that English should not be introduced earlier than the third grade due to the need to learn Chinese Mandarin

phonetic symbols and to establish a foundation of Mandarin ability. She also argued that parents' pressure for English might result in children giving priority to English learning.

[Q 6-(6)]

In the past, we started to learn English in junior high schools. And now I think it can be advanced to the third grade of elementary schools. I think it could be kind of right timing...It is possible that Chinese Mandarin phonetic symbols are not well learned in grade one of elementary schools and they are made to learn ABCD. Yes. Then plus that now all parents, I think, suffer a kind of collective English..English fever (laughs) ...ya, if parents all have this kind of attitude, children are allowed to choose between Chinese phonetic symbols and English alphabets, or maybe parents think that Chinese phonetic symbols are also important, but children keep being brainwashed everyday, English ability must be good, English ability must be good, actually it is unavoidable that Chinese phonetic symbols will be ignored. So I think grade one of elementary schools is too early...I think they must have some language ability, right, mother language ability, then learn English...

(TH1, female, 29, junior high school Chinese teacher, MT: Minnanyu)

An elementary teacher also indicated some practical reasons why English education should be started in the middle grades.

[Q 6-(7)]

I think comparatively middle grades are the exact right timing. I think the age will be more suitable. Because if you were in grade 5 and 6, your schoolwork of other subjects would be heavier...And, for example, we have computer instruction, right? Computer classes will be arranged in middle grades. If they are not able to recognize ABC, how can you have computer classes? Or you want to operate the computer or things like that...

(TE1, female, 38, elementary teacher, MT: Hakka)

The middle grades are considered as the best time to introduce English because of students' heavier load of schoolwork in the upper grades and the necessity of basic English ability for computer classes.

Some respondents suggested that English education should be started in the upper grades of elementary level due to the following reasons: children should establish sufficient mother language and Mandarin ability before starting to learn English; learning English at early age might result in identity problems; English use is not necessary for everyone. For example, apart from the concern about Mandarin

and mother language ability, a junior high school English teacher stated that learning English too early might result in problems to do with cultural identity.

[Q 6-(8)]

I think English should be learned after at least grade 5. Because at this stage children's Chinese ability theoretically has reached a certain level. Then learn English. It can decrease interferences. Secondly, language learning is a kind of cultural learning. Learning too early can result in identity problems toward one's own culture. A famous education scholar in Taiwan, Chang Shiang-Jiun, wrote a book 'My Child Cannot Speak Chinese' in her personal experiences. It points out that her child can speak excellent English but poor Chinese and identifies with American culture and estranges his/her own culture. This is probably a better situation. The most frightening situation is that neither Chinese nor English is good!...

(ETH1, female, 34, junior high school English teacher, MT: Minnanyu)

For the respondent, language learning is regarded as form of cultural experience and there is a possibility that language interference might occur if English is learned at an early age.

The majority of respondents (23 out of 43) suggested that English should be introduced in at a later stage of elementary education. In this way it would be possible to establish a better foundation of Mandarin and mother tongue ability; avoid the confusion of cultural identity; and also save time and resources.

In response to effectiveness and pressure: Junior high school as the starting point of English education

Three interviewees, including two high school students and an assistant professor, noted that English education at an early age tend not to be very effective. Two respondents of senior high school students both expressed similar opinions that there was no need to start English learning in elementary schools due to the questionable effect of learning English at elementary level. For example, one senior high school student explained that his experiences of learning English at elementary level did not really give him an advantage later in junior or senior high school.

[Q 6-(9)]

Should it be in junior high schools? I think it is actually useless to learn in childhood. Because I started learning when I was little, that is, around the first grade of elementary schools. Then I continue learning until now in senior high schools. My English is not very good. Yeah. And I think in elementary schools many just play and

have fun, it seems that English is not seriously learned. Yeah. So I feel that increasing the number of years of learning is a kind of wasting time...

(SH1, male, 17, senior high school student, MT: Minnanyu)

According to the informant, playing games and 'having fun' when learning English in the classroom was regarded as a waste of time. Instead of introducing English education at elementary level, the student suggested that English education should start from junior high school.

Several respondents remarked that English education should remain to start from junior high education because of the pressure that students have to endure from their parents. A law clerk disapproved of having English education at the elementary level because parents may want to advance the learning of English to an even earlier stage.

[Q 6-(10)]

If I must choose, I think it could be started at junior high level. Because I think one way or another, as long as the learning is advanced, no matter what age you decide to start, parents will advance learning even more. So if you start from grade 1, children will be sent to bilingual kindergartens. Then I think it is meaningless to do this kind of thing. I think that, I found that children in bilingual kindergartens are those...speaking poor Mandarin, then still having to learn English. The result is that they are poor in everything. So actually I think we should pay more attention on the basic, that is, our official language should be well learned first. That is, there is no need to start that early, the earlier it starts, the earlier parents pressure their children...

(SE2, female, 33, law clerk, MT: Minnanyu)

Parents' expectation causes the pressure on both students and schools. As a salesperson in a company of elementary teaching materials indicated, elementary schools were under pressure to provide earlier or longer English education.

[Q 6-(11)]

I think junior high schools. In elementary schools, students have to learn their mother language, the base of mother language. Now English is taught in grade 1 of elementary schools; some even in kindergartens. [...] Actually, nowadays why elementary schools have English classes and why they keep shifting down the learning age, it's because there is competition between schools. School headteachers would think that they cannot lose to other schools. And now parents will inquire about if this school starts English education since grade 1. [...] Actually it becomes a problem of enrolling new students. Because elementary schools now have a problem of recruiting students, though they are public schools, they are still under pressure of recruiting new students. So most schools shift down the age of learning, it could only be earlier...

Here we have a chain reaction. The global spread of English has resulted in a change of language-in-education policy, i.e. the extension of English education to elementary level, which reinforces both the role of English in the state education system and parents' concerns about children's English ability. Therefore the pressures are not only exerted upon students who have to learn an additional subject in schools, or even in cram schools, but there is also pressure on elementary schools which have to provide longer or better English education in order to attract new students.

A governmental official in CIP maintained that English as a communicative tool should not be learned at elementary level. But he still admitted that he would enroll his children in English classes at earlier stage if necessary.

[Q 6-(12)]

G3: I still think junior high schools. I think actually English for us only has the function of communication. The thing for communicative function doesn't have to be learned too early. For it is only a tool of communication. There is no need to learn it early. Besides communicative function, aboriginal languages have a function of forming cultural personality, and have a cultural function. Then you, of course, have to use it since childhood. [...] my point is that languages of communicative function don't have to be learned that early. It can be learned after in junior high schools...

I: If you had children, when would you let them start to learn English?

G3: I think it doesn't have to be that early. But it still depends on the situation. That is, I rationally think it doesn't have to be that early, but children might have to follow, in other words, maybe his/her classmates are learning, then I wouldn't oppose him/her learning, then I wouldn't discourage him/her. That is, if the classmates all are learning, he/she would follow also and study the language. Just not let him/her feel he/she is lonely or isolated...

(G3, Male, 39, government official in CIP, MT: Amis)

His response reflects the dilemma many parents in Taiwan face. Parents might not want to exert too much pressure on their children, or might think that Mandarin or mother tongue education should be given priority, but they usually have no choice but enroll their children in English classes because of strong peer-group pressure to learn English with other students.

Overall, the extension of English education into lower levels of elementary schools is approved by most of the respondents. The majority of interviewees pointed out that students have to achieve certain level of Mandarin and mother tongue proficiency before starting to learn English in order to establish a basic cognitive ability and cultural identity. Since English is only a tool for international communication, for ordinary people, the cultivation of Mandarin and mother tongue ability is more important and fundamental. However, for those considering that achieving native-like English ability is the ultimate aim of English education, such as student parents (PE1, PE2, PH1, PH2) and elementary English teachers (ETE1, ETE2), the starting point of English education should be brought forward to at an earlier age as possible.

The responses to this question are to some degree associated with respondents' perceptions on how important the acquisition of English actually is, and their perspectives on efficiency of learning English from a young age. However, as mentioned earlier, '*the younger, the better*' hypothesis is not strongly supported by research evidence (see. Marinova-Todd *et al.*, 2000; and Nikolov and Mihaljevic Djigunovic, 2006). Taiwan, as well as most Asian countries have lowered the age of learning English as a part of national policy to improve general English ability. Apart from the age factor, there are, however, various factors involved which could affect the success of such initiatives, such as the language proficiency of teachers, and adequate exposure to and interaction in English (Nunan, 2003). Therefore, if English is a necessity, and the ultimate goal of English education is to acquire mastery of the language, more attention should be paid to other aspects of English education than just the starting age of English instruction.

Importance of mastering English and personal gain from English

Questions 7 and 8 focus on the interviewees' personal experiences of learning English. Question 7 aims to investigate respondents' perceptions on the importance of mastering English. 'Mastering English' rather than 'learning English' is used because this question focuses on the importance of gaining a high proficiency in English. It would seem obvious that most people would agree that learning English

or having a good command of English is important. However, the question is whether it is that important for everyone to acquire a mastery of English? To a certain extent, responses to this question reflected interviewees' perceptions on the function and utility of English in their lives. Question 8 further explores respondents' perception of what they have gained from learning English in terms of career, interest and entertainment and in a general sense. A summary overview of the responses to Question 7 is presented in the table below.

Question 7: Is mastering English important? Why or why not?

*Question 8: What have you gained personally from learning English?
in career? in interest? in entertainment? in general?*

Table 6.8 Summary overview of responses to Question 7

<i>Responses to question 7</i>	<i>Number of respondents (N=43)</i>	<i>Notes of responses</i>
Yes, very important	22	The majority of respondents considered that mastery of English was very important because English ability is regarded as personal or national competitiveness and English is the language linking to the world.
It depends.	14	The importance of mastering English depends on occupational need and personal interest.
Not really. It's important to have English communicative ability rather than to master English.	7	Respondents include a junior high school English teacher, a university English lecturer, a non-English major university students, two informants in the group of social elites and two informants in the group of other private sector.

Around half of the respondents (22 out of 43) indicated that the mastery of English is very important due to a variety of reasons. For example, it was assumed that English would enhance personal competitiveness and the English is the language that links the world. The second most frequent response (14 out of 43) to this question was that the importance of mastering English also depended on occupations, interests and other demands. A few respondents (7 out of 43) thought that basic English ability was more important than mastery of the language.

For many respondents, the importance of mastering English and personal gains from English are related to its functions in international domains, as well as the social values attached to it. English is a medium for obtaining new information, to communicate with people, to know the world. It is thus a means to enhance competitiveness. Several respondents considered that the mastery of English was very important because it was imperative for competitiveness and success. For

example, an elementary English teacher, who also believed that English should be introduced as earlier as possible in the education system, argued that the mastery of English would provide the individual with a competitive advantage in the labor market.

[Q 7-(1)]

I think at the moment it is a kind of competitive ability. Because if you and others are almost about the same when finding a job, people will think your English is qualified then you are prior to be recruited. So it is now a kind of ability. As I often say, actually it will be only an instrument when everybody improves their ability...

(ETE1, female, 42, elementary English teacher, MT: Minnanyu)

A high level of English is regarded as an advantage that can enhance one's competitiveness in employment. A parent of an elementary student, who studied for an MBA in the US and was a partner of a trading company, remarked on the importance of learning English in her life.

[Q 8-(1)]

I: What have you gained personally from learning English?

PE2: I think a lot...

I: in career?

PE2: I think it's not only in career, because I think it's the issue of social status. That is to say how people treat you, know you and regard who you are. It's very important for the judgment...it should be put in this way, it's very important for social and economic status...

I: how about interest and entertainment?

PE2: Not that helpful. Unless you want to visit foreign countries, I think that is just a very small part of your life. So some people say that they learn English for traveling, I really think it's not that necessary. Just ask a tour guide to lead you, that's enough...

I: in general? Any influence?

PE2: My whole life has been changed by it...

(PE1, female, 44, international trader, MT: Mandarin)

Achieving higher social and economic status is considered an important gain from learning English. From her point of view, learning English has changed her life and helps her gain a higher social status. Mastery of English can also help win respect. The association between mastering English and individual's success in society is further highlighted by an assistant professor.

[Q 7-(2)]

Very important. English is a symbol of power and the requisite of success. Mastering English in Taiwan is very advantaged. Just put on a business suit and speak English, it should be very easy to deceive and earn a living in Taiwan...

(TU3, male, 36, assistant professor, MT: Minnanyu)

The assistant professor speaking in a very ironic tone actually disapproved of the current situation and implied that without professional capability, or occupational skills, a person can still make a living and be regarded as successful in Taiwan if he/she exhibits a high proficiency in English. The correlation between English ability, success and social status is therefore a significant factor for some when responding to these questions.

For some others, the importance of mastering English depends on one's profession and interest. For example, as an English-major postgraduate student pointed out, English as the medium for global communication is important for people in the field of the business and academia.

[Q 7-(3)]

It depends on which angle I'd take to...discuss the importance of the mastery of English. I would say those with the academic or the business needs might be affected more, if their English proficiency is not satisfactory. Especially in this era of information explosion, even with the convenience brought by technology, it cannot be denied that English has become the medium for global communication...

(ESU1, female, 30, English-major postgraduate, MT: Minnanyu)

And for those whose career is related to the use of English such as English teachers and businesspersons and those who have to use or study English such as students, the personal gain from learning English is often considerable and significant.

However, for people who do not have to use English in works or daily life, mastery of English is regarded as unnecessary. As a university student argued, not everyone in Taiwan needs to use English.

[Q 7-(4)]

Mastering English...I think it depends on what kind of job you take. Because some people, he/she is not.. Unless Taiwan develops a complete industry of tourism. But it seems that we're not there yet. I think there are still people who are not engaged in jobs related to English use. So I think it depends on jobs...

(SU2, female, 20, university student, MT: Minnanyu)

For respondents who do not have many opportunities to use English in their work or daily life such as nurses and technicians, learning English can be useful, but the personal gain from learning English can be of less consequence.

Commentary

Interviewees' responses to Question 7 further reflected their perceptions of the role of English which is associated with international communication. Mastery of English is generally regarded as an advantage for personal competitiveness in employment as well as an index of higher social status and personal success. The function of English in international domains, such as business, politics and academia, and the social values attached to people with high English proficiency have made the mastery of English important for individuals who are involved in related fields. However, for some others who considered English an instrument in employment and international communication, mastery of English is less important and more related to personal interest.

In terms of interest and entertainment, most respondents considered that learning English was beneficial for international communication and interaction, for example, traveling to other countries, speaking to foreigners and understanding English in the media. For some respondents, English was beneficial for their work and career. The occupational and educational backgrounds of respondents were the two main factors determining their responses. The more the respondent's career was related to English use or international affairs, the more significant the learning English. Respondents with higher English proficiency or of higher education background were more likely to attach more values to English learning. As a medium to obtain knowledge and information, and an instrument to gain higher social status or a sense of superiority, the function and utility of English in Taiwan was mostly career-oriented.

6.3.3 Use and Functions of English in Taiwan

Within Taiwan, English is not an important instrument for daily communication. However, through English language policies and the global spread of English, the

use of English is expanding in the mass media¹ and daily communication, for example, as seen in the increase of English TV channels and English programs. Therefore, Question 9 aims to investigate respondents' perceptions of English use in terms of daily communication or interaction with others in Taiwan, while the aim of Question 10 is to explore interviewees' perceptions of the role and function of English in the mass media in Taiwan. A summary overview of responses to Question 9 and 10 are presented in the tables below.

Question 9: Is English important for communication or interaction with people in Taiwan? With which people? In which situation?

Table 6.9 Summary overview of responses to Question 9

<i>Responses to question 9</i>	<i>Number of respondents (N=43)</i>	<i>Notes of responses</i>
Yes	3	An English-major college student, a nurse and an employer in the manufacturing industry agreed that English was important for communication with people in Taiwan.
No	34	The majority of respondents disagreed that English is an important tool for communication in Taiwan.
It depends	6	2 non-English university professors, an English university lecturer, a government official in MOE, a parent of an elementary student and an executive of an electronic company considered that the importance of English for communication depended on one's professional needs.

Question 10: Is English an important language in the mass media in Taiwan? Why or why not?

Table 6.10 Summary overview of responses to Question 10

<i>Responses to question 10</i>	<i>Number of respondents (N=43)</i>	<i>Notes of responses</i>
Yes	20	Around half of the respondents agreed that English was an important language in Taiwan's mass media, including 2 elementary English teacher, 2 secondary English teachers and 2 university English lecturers.
No	20	Around half of the respondents disagreed with this question, including an elementary English teacher, a university English lecturer and 5 respondents of the group of social elites.
Not sure/ it depends	3	A parent of a secondary student, an engineering consultant and a junior high school English teacher were uncertain about this question.

¹ There are three local English newspapers, i.e. The Taipei Times, The China Post and The Taiwan Times and one all English radio station, ICRT (International Community Radio Taipei) in Taiwan. Among five major wireless TV channels, including *Public TV*, *Formosa TV*, *China TV*, *Taiwan TV* and *Chinese TV*, two TV systems (i.e. *Formosa TV* and *Chinese TV*) broadcast thirty-minute daily English news. There are also many English cable TV channels in Taiwan, such as *CNN*, *Discovery*, *National Geographic* and *HBO* and apart from *CNN*, most programs of these channels are presented with subtitles in Chinese translation. Major international, American or British newspapers and magazines such as *New York Times*, *Times*, *Newsweek* and *the Economist* are available and easy to purchase in Taiwan.

As expected, the majority of respondents (34 out of 43) disagreed with the proposition that English is important for communication or interaction with people in Taiwan. Only three respondents considered English to be important for communication within Taiwan while six respondents thought that the importance of English for communication depended on one's profession.

When asked whether English was an important language in Taiwan's mass media, the responses of interviewees were polarized. Besides three respondents who were uncertain about this issue, around half of the respondents (20 out of 43) approved that English was an important language in the mass media while twenty respondents disapproved. Interviewees' responses to this question derived from their experiences and observations and reflected their perceptions of the role of English in the mass media.

Only three respondents agreed that English was important for communication in Taiwan by stressing the increasing use of English in daily life. For example, a nurse who worked in a hospital in Taipei County explained that English was an important tool for communication in work.

[Q 9-(1)]

I: Is English an important tool for communication or interaction with people in Taiwan?

PP4: Still..yes, because now in Taiwan there are more and more foreigners, there are more opportunities of speaking English...

I: With what kind of people?

PP4: foreigners meeting in work...

I: In which kind of occasion or situation?

PP4: in work...

(PP4, female, 29, nurse, MT: Minnanyu)

She argued that there was an increasing number of foreigners working in Taiwan, especially in her working environment such as attendants or maids from Philippine or Thailand. Such trends made English an important tool for communication. The response was based on her experiences and observations in the working place.

However, the majority of respondents disagreed. As a junior high school teacher commented, English is seldom used between Taiwanese people.

[Q 9-(2)]

In Taiwan, English is not an important tool for communicating with others, except few people who need it in work, such as business. Most people do not use English in daily life, apart from learning English at school. In the past, people could speak English to missionaries. Nowadays even missionaries do not speak English. So if one wants to speak English, they can only spend money to do it in cram schools...

(ETH1, female, 34, junior high school English teacher, MT: Minnanyu)

In fact, a few respondents suggested that using English in public was a form of showing off.

English was also regarded as an important tool for communication in certain areas, such as the high-tech industry and academia. For example, an assistant professor in the department of international affairs pointed out the importance of English for communication in academia.

[Q 9-(3)]

TU1: It is in academia. It is in the working environment of our school. But in daily life...daily life it is actually not so widespread...I really don't think it is that important. Because you only add one or two sentences of English sometimes. But you don't use it as a communicative...tool completely...

I: In Taiwan's academia, English is an important tool for communication?

TU1: Yes. But, that is, academia refers to our department. It still depends on departments. If...if it's the department of Chinese, if it's other departments, it's hard to say. Other schools or departments of science or engineering...

I: What do you mean by communication?

TU1: Apart from publication and presentation, including meetings...departmental meetings, then, or chatting with colleagues. Because if in the department of English literature, many of them hold meetings in English, because there are many foreign teachers. So it will be definitely used in this area...

(TU1, male, 35, assistant professor of international history and intercultural studies,
MT: Minnanyu)

Although English is not the language for communication in some fields, in English-related fields or fields with international academic communities, the use of English is commonly accepted.

Turning to the mass media, several informants, especially those involved in the field of English education, observed that English is becoming increasingly used in TV programs. For example, a junior high school English teacher commented on the changing role of English in the mass media.

[Q 10-(1)]

I think it is a new mainstream. Like many newspapers, there were few English newspapers in the past. Now we can see that there are two or three English newspapers in terms of media. Some are forced to learn like English Weekly, first-class schools and our school all use it...It is a new, that is, a definite mainstream la...it's in the making...

(ETH3, female, 34, Junior high school English teacher, MT: Mandarin)

The interviewee argued that the proportion of English in the mass media was increasing and that was a definite trend in the making.

The reasons for the increased media use of English are not only because English is the medium of the first-hand information from foreign countries but also due to the social values attached to English. As a junior high school geography teacher argued, although English is useful, too much emphasis is placed on it.

[Q 10-(2)]

Because I think, it's possible that gradually there are more and more people wanting to read things in English. Because having English ability is more and more common. It seems like everybody almost...and I think it is possible that recently there is an emphasis on linking the world. Right, I think English is overemphasized... so it feels like you have to speak English then you are somebody, probably a high-class person. This kind of concept seems..seems to be reinforced. Then everybody seems.. Because you have to, so painstakingly present oneself, so speak English...

(TH2, female, 30, Junior high school geography teacher, MT: Mandarin and Minnanyu)

An assistant professor further claimed that English channels and programs in the mass media were associated with the interests of the ELT industry.

[Q 10-(3)]

Yes. There are at least more than ten English channels broadcasting in Taiwan. And it is related to the vast benefit of supplement education [cram schools]. The media has to emphasize the importance of English. English channels include news channels such as CNN, BBC, science and education channels such as Discovery, Animal Planet and National Geographic, Movie channels such as HBO, and Music Channels such as MTV. There will be even more if plus English drama series and teaching programs in Chinese channels...

(TU3, male, 36, assistant professor, MT: Minnanyu)

From his point of view, the importance of English is promoted by those who would most likely benefit from them.

Some respondents answered Question 10 by considering the function of English

in the mass media. Only two English teachers (an elementary English teacher and a university lecturer) believed that English is not yet an important language in Taiwan's mass media. For example, as the university English lecturer indicated, the role of English in the mass media was mainly restricted to English teaching and learning content.

[Q 10-(4)]

ET3: I think it cannot be considered as an important language. It can only be a supplementary language. It's kind of important among supplementary languages...

I: An important supplementary language, how?

ET3: For instance, foreign news. [...] in terms of printed media, [...] like China Post and Taipei Times, basically their mainly target readers are still students. To assist them in learning English. So I think.. many people rely on that to learn English because they want to know how to use English to tell foreigners what happen in Taiwan...

I: So they have a role in English teaching?

ETU3: The conventional China Post is more like that. Because many teachers would ask students to read them. Because they know that if students have no experiences of living in American or British cultures, they will not be able to read Times or New York Times, they will not understand...

I: Does the majority of the English media aim to assist English learning?

ETU3: Many programs emphasize this point. Even the English News Report on Formosa TV, it also emphasizes English learning (laughs)..learning English by watching news...

(ETU3, female, 28, English lecturer in university, MT: Mandarin)

An interesting phenomenon is that none of the respondents in the social elite (group 5) agreed that English was an important language in Taiwan's mass media (except an engineering consultant who felt uncertain about this issue. The rest of the respondents in this group disapproved of the importance of English in the mass media). Although most of them acknowledged the importance of English in their career, they considered that the use of English in the mass media had little function. For example, a medical doctor remarked that though English is used occasionally, Chinese Mandarin is the language commonly used by people in Taiwan.

[Q 10-(5)]

Not really...because the target of the mass media is the masses. Don't the masses of Taiwan speak Chinese Mandarin? In some working occasions, English is massively used, but most of the time when people get together, they all speak Chinese Mandarin...

(SE3, female, 35, medical doctor, MT: Mandarin)

And several respondents also pointed out that while English did appear, it was often accompanied by Mandarin subtitles and that people still rather chose to read, watch and listen to the Chinese language media.

A junior high school English teacher's opinion to some degree can explain why interviewees' responses to Question 10 were polarized.

[Q 10-(6)]

There are as many as a hundred cable TV channels in Taiwan for audiences to choose from. There are also many English channels. In terms of quantity, it cannot be regarded as unimportant. But I believe most people still watch subtitle translations. What is presented in English is not so important...

(ETH1, female, 34, Junior high school English teacher, MT: Minnanyu)

Although the media use of English has increased in Taiwan, it is the Mandarin subtitles (i.e. Chinese translations) rather than English that is the actual medium.

Commentary

Apart from certain areas or professions such as academia, English is not an important tool for communication or interaction with people within Taiwan. At the moment, English does not play a major role in daily communication, and only some terms and words of English are used in daily conversation. Therefore, the spread of English in Taiwan can be regarded as more the use of English for specific purposes. On the other hand, respondents' perceptions of the media use of English tend to reflect their occupational and educational background. For English teachers and those who need to use English in their work or daily life, the increased use of English in the mass media is considerable. But for those who do not have to use English in their daily life, the media use of English is less significant because it is mainly accompanied with subtitles in Chinese translation. However, the increased media use of English was noticed by most of the respondents. This development actually reflects the dominant influence of some English global media, such as CNN, BBC and HBO, and to some degree it promotes, as well as facilitates English learning and teaching in Taiwan.

6.3.4 Impact of English: The Individual, Socio-cultural and Politico-economic Levels

The final part of the interview focuses on the impact of English at the individual, socio-cultural and politico-economic levels. It explores individuals' perceptions of the role of English in their personal life and examines the association between English and their personal careers; English and social status; English and national development; and the relation between English and local cultures. Finally, interviewees' responses to the overall impact of English in Taiwan will be investigated.

English for a better career and higher social status

Question 11 investigates respondents' perceptions of the role of English in their personal life. Question 12 as an attitude-scale question further explores respondents' attitudes toward the association between learning English and pursuing a better career or lifestyle. Question 13 is another attitude scale question which explores respondents' attitude towards the association between good English proficiency and high social prestige or status. A summary overview of responses to question 12 and 13 is presented in the tables below.

Question 11: For you, what does English represent? A tool, a school subject, knowledge, investment, commodity, global infrastructure or something else? If so, why?

Question 12: Do you agree that learning English is beneficial for you to pursue a better career or a better life? (a) strongly agree (b) agree (c) neutral (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree. If so, why? Please comment.

Table 6.11 Summary overview of responses to Question 12

Responses to question 12	Number of respondents (N=43)	Notes of responses
Strongly agree	8	A majority of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement.
Agree	31	
Neutral	1	A government official in CIP was uncertain about the statement.
Disagree	3	2 non-English elementary teachers and a salesperson disagreed with the statement.
Strongly disagree	0	

Question 13: Do you agree that good English proficiency or ability is regarded as a requisite for better prestige or status in Taiwan? (a) strongly agree (b) agree (c) neutral (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree. If so, Why?

Please comment.

Table 6.12 Summary overview of responses to Question 13

<i>Responses to question 13</i>	<i>Number of respondents (N=43)</i>	<i>Notes of responses</i>
Strongly agree	3	A non-English secondary teacher, an assistant professor and an English-major college student strongly agreed with the statement.
Agree	30	A majority of respondents agreed with the statement, including 3 secondary English teachers, 2 non-English secondary teachers, 2 elementary English teachers, 3 non-English elementary teachers, 2 non-English university teachers and 2 English university lecturers.
Neutral	3	An executive of an electronic company, a government official in MOE and an English lecturer in University were uncertain about the statement.
Disagree	7	A variety of respondents disagreed with the statement, including a government official in CIP, an elementary English teacher, a secondary student, a non-English major university student, a law clerk, a medical doctor and a maintenance technician.
Strongly disagree	0	

English represents different things to different people in Taiwan. From English as an instrumental tool to English as a medium to achieve certain status, interviewees' responses to Question 11 not only corresponded to the functional and social role of English in their life but also reflected their living or working circumstances.

In response to Question 12, thirty-one (out of 43) respondents agreed and eight respondents strongly agreed with the statement that learning English was beneficial for them to pursue a better career or a better life. Only three respondents disagreed while one respondent was uncertain about this statement. The comments and reasons provided by the three respondents (including two elementary teachers and a salesperson) who disagreed corresponded to their responses to Question 11. Learning English was not beneficial for them at the moment because it was not useful in their career or life. The elementary teacher, for example, thought that English was nothing more than a school subject.

[Q 12-(1)]

Personally, there is no difference for me. It's not for my career. Better life, might be possible. In terms of life, maybe we can visit other countries. After retirement, we travel in foreign countries in the future. Have this ability. It might be possible. At the moment it is not. At the moment there is no chance. Because at the moment my career is stable, this job. Actually not everyone in Taiwan should have to use English. English is over-emphasized. Not everyone would die without English. It's not that important...

(TE2, female, 37, elementary teacher, MT: Minnanyu)

The interviewee argued that the function and importance of English was over-emphasized and that without English, people still can survive in Taiwan and have a good career.

However, most respondents considered that English was a tool to achieve certain aims. For example, a medical doctor remarked that English could be regarded as a kind of bridge which linked people of different cultures or countries.

[Q 11-(1)]

SE3: It should be a bridge. Bridge is actually similar to tool. And also similar to the just mentioned infrastructure...

I: Why?

SE3: m....If there is a common language, actually people can understand others, right. Then understanding others means that you can approach approach others. Then for Chinese people, actually we Chinese can only approach Chinese culture, Chinese stuff. Then if today you are able to use English, you can speak to Norwegian, you can..er..speak to Malaysian, you probably can speak to Korean, then through this you can have an idea of people's living experiences, various things. A very good tool to expand one's outlook. That is also a bridge to others' environment and say, oh, I understand your environment. You will not be restricted in the place you are living in....Besides this, it is also a very big and very good tool in my work...

(SE3, female, 35, medical doctor, MT: Mandarin)

English is also regarded as instrumental in learning and acquiring professional knowledge, and is thus a form of investment. As a government official in CIP stated, English is an investment to improve one's competitiveness in one's future career.

[Q 11-(2)]

It can be regarded as an investment... That is, you will use it latter. That is, you'll be more competitive. Because it is possible that it will be in the future environment...taking the future development of Taiwan into concern, English will become an element to evaluate the ability of competition.

(G3, Male, 39, government official in CIP, MT: Amis)

For some respondents, especially those in the English-related fields or professions, English was associated with opportunities and achievement. For example, a junior high school English teacher pointed out that as the most powerful communicative tool in the world English represented several significant things in her life.

[Q 11-(3)]

ETH3: All are true...

I: It is a tool?

ETH3: It is a tool to make money, then for students, it is a tool for further study. Of course it is a school subject. No need to say that it is a kind of knowledge...

I: It is knowledge?

ETH3: Of course it's knowledge. Because the making of language is a kind of source of knowledge. Right. In terms of investment, it is, too. Because we learn this language, it's an investment for students, business persons or people of different occupations. Commodity, yes. Because there are many commodities which are generated because of English. Global infrastructure, yes. Because like the Emperor of Chin who unified the track of vehicle wheels and the writing system of Chinese. Then we the whole world need one one most powerful communicative tool, that's English...

(ETH3, female, 34, junior high school English teacher, Mt: Mandarin)

As an assistant professor claimed, English is crucial for presentations and publications in academia.

[Q 12-(2)]

If one can use English to write papers and all papers are published and presented in English, one can definitely gain benefits. Maybe the content is empty, but it doesn't matter. Those written in English definitely will be more respected and gain higher evaluation...

(TU3, male, 36, assistant professor, MT: Minnanyu)

Some respondents also indicated that learning English was more beneficial for pursuing a better career or life because people with high English proficiency usually have more opportunities to be promoted to a higher position, or to find jobs with higher pay. For example, a university English lecturer argued that people with high English proficiency tended to be given a higher salary.

[Q 12-(3)]

Definitely 'yes'. Because in Taiwan there is tendency that people with high English speaking ability or writing ability will be given a higher salary, for instance, the salary scale of general foreign companies is better than local companies, right...

(ETU3, female, 28, English lecturer in university, MT: Mandarin)

Although without adequate English ability one still can find a job in Taiwan, high English proficiency is indispensable for finding a higher-paying job and having a better career.

English is not only an instrument for higher-paying jobs but it is also associated with higher social status. A majority of respondents (30 out of 43) agreed and three

respondents strongly agreed with the statement that a good English proficiency is regarded as a requisite for better prestige or status in Taiwan. Three respondents were uncertain while seven respondents disagreed with the statement.

Seven respondents disagreed with the statement and thought that it was other factors, rather than English proficiency, that determined one's status. For example, an aboriginal government official stated that one's prestige and status was not determined by English proficiency, but by one's economic and political status.

[Q 13-(1)]

The social status of a person is not determined by their English ability...but his/her economic status..economic and political status. Philippine labors have good English ability but don't have high status (laughs)...

(G3, Male, 39, government official in CIP, MT: Amis)

The informant uses Philippine workers as an example to show that good English ability does not necessarily lead to higher status. A medical doctor also disagreed with the statement and compared the difference of English ability between generations by using Wang Yong-Ching as an example. (Wang Yong-Ching, the founder of Formosa Plastics Cooperation, is one of the most famous and wealthy entrepreneurs in Taiwan.)

[Q 13-(2)]

SE3: These are not equivalent. Not very equivalent. I don't completely agree.

I: Why not?

SE3: Because now if young people have certain social status, most of them are back from foreign countries. Most of them have had education in foreign countries. Because only those wealthy people can go aboard in a very young age. So that means their parents give them very good environment to contact..then since they have that kind of environment, of course they have good English ability. But will they do well after coming back? It's not necessarily so. This is one condition. Another problem is that old generation, our old generation, for example, to take Wang Yong Ching as an example, his English is not that good but at least he has a basic ability. But he gains his social status not because of this, but because of his hard work or his enterprise. So actually most entrepreneurs, entrepreneurs of the old generation, actually they haven't had English education, but they achieved their social status not because of having learned English...

(SE3, female, 35, medical doctor, MT: Mandarin)

From her point of view, in terms of the younger generation, high English proficiency is not the requisite for achieving better status or prestige but the

consequence of wealthy background or high social status. In terms of the older generation, their high social status is not due to their English ability but their hard work. An elementary English teacher also questioned the causal relationship between high English proficiency and better status or prestige.

[Q 13-(3)]

ETE3: ..But high social status. Some people of high social status do not necessarily have good English ability..The link between these two is not one hundred percent.. Because I think in terms of social status..it's not one hundred percent. Because there are some other things to judge social status...because social status should be based on one's career achievement, reputation..

I: High English proficiency doesn't necessarily lead to high social status?

ETE3: Some people with good English ability are salespersons, who like speaking. Some others because they need it in work.. But, I think, on the contrary, people will use this to enhance one's social status..That is, use it as a tool to enhance one's social status or one's level...It is a tool, but having this ability doesn't mean that he/she has high social status...

(ETE3, female, 34, elementary English teacher, MT: Minnanyu)

The informant argued that having high English proficiency might not equal to high social status but English is used as a tool to enhance one's social status or prestige.

No matter whether it is high English proficiency resulting in better social status or prestige, or high social status leading to high English proficiency, high English proficiency is frequently observed in people at the upper level of the society. As an elementary teacher indicated, those having better English are more likely to have a wealthy family background and better social prestige.

[Q 13-(4)]

Possible, I think it is possible. Because at the moment apart from cram schools, being able to use English mostly...m...For instance, those having better English ability are people who need it, like medical doctors, mainly medical doctors, then ...those of more wealthy families, professors. Wealthy families are more capable of providing..er..children money to learn English. Or those have studied overseas. They have the opportunity to study overseas because of their wealthy background. People from less wealthy families seldom have the chance to study aboard, right...If there are two persons, if one has better English ability, one doesn't have English ability, people would have better viewpoint on the former, would think he/she is awesome...

(TE1, female, 38, elementary teacher, MT: Hakka)

However, for many respondents, an association between high English proficiency and better social prestige or status exists due to common perceptions,

social values or even a myth of English. For example, a junior high school Chinese teacher argued that high English proficiency was almost unconsciously associated with high social status or wealthy background.

[Q 13-(5)]

TH1: Yes. Because students would think that English teachers are more awesome...

I: Why?

TH1: They have been given to believe that one has to learn English in order to have a good career in the future. Then because it's not mastered by everyone, when you have high English proficiency, it symbolizes that you have high socio-economic status and you have better capability, it involves these kinds of subconscious thoughts. So ordinary people would think one might have high social status or be wealthy then he/she can study aboard and speak fluent English or he/she has high grades at school. So high English proficiency is related to many areas...

(TH1, female, 29, junior high school Chinese teacher, MT: Minnanyu)

An engineering consultant further explained why having high English proficiency can lead to high social status and identified English as a form of capital held only by some members of the society.

[Q 13-(6)]

SE1: That is, in terms of general social value, everyday you watch news reports, it is transmitting that English is very important, then elementary students should be able to speak fluent English, they want to blah blah blah...things like that... influence of the mass media...

I: Then why do people consider that good English proficiency can lead to high social status?

SE2: Because you have it and I don't or I have it and you don't. That kind of feeling, right... For instance, but this is a bit different, for instance, Hakka, speaking Hakka. Everybody doesn't think it's awesome. But in terms of English, because generally speaking, this is a foreign stuff. Then foreigners, Americans, awesome...

(SE1, male, 28, engineering consultant, MT: Hakka)

The respondent argued that the social values attached to English proficiency were promoted and reinforced by the mass media and high English proficiency was a kind of advanced skill.

Among the majority of respondents who agreed that high English proficiency was a requisite for better social status, an interesting phenomenon was that some respondents would claim that personally, they did not identify with the statement but found it true at the societal level. For example, an English university lecturer

argued that people admired those who spoke good English because most people in Taiwan have problems in mastering English.

[Q 13-(7)]

I don't think so. I don't think a language will influence my opinion on a person. I don't know other people, but for me there is no difference...but I agree that for other people in Taiwan there is this kind of situation. Because most people cannot learn it well (laughs), thus people who learn English well are respected...And in the past Taiwan was supported by the US. Being able to communicate with the American army you could always gain more money (laughs) ...And ordinary people, you see, who have learned English for a long time still cannot speak English well. So people kind of specially adore those who can speak good English. And many parents cannot quite understand English but feel proud when their children speak some sentences similar to English. What are they proud for? You cannot even speak Chinese Mandarin clearly...

(ETU3, female, 28, English lecturer in university, MT: Mandarin)

Two significant points were mentioned by the English university lecturer: high English proficiency as a form of capital was held only by some people of the society, and the historical influence of the US. These two points were frequently raised by other respondents.

For some other respondents, the association between English proficiency and social status was due to Taiwanese people's admiration of people or things from foreign countries, mainly the US. For example, as a trader who was also a parent of an elementary student indicated, people with high English proficiency might be regarded as people of better educational or social background because of a general admiration of foreign things.

[Q 13-(8)]

PE1: It's a kind of the admiration of foreign things. I think it's like that. Because people might think you have good educational background or might feel you have enough social experiences. So give you a more...in their mind give you a better evaluation...

I: For those ABC who speak fluent English, do ordinary people consider them as having better social status?

PE1: Yes, I think it is about the first impressions. Because now what we are talking about is to find a job or the first impression. They do have greater advantages. But when we focus on work or communication, actually it is just for the beginning. Then, but there will be more factors that will influence the latter evaluation after real interactions. But in the very beginning they definitely have the advantage...

(PE1, female, 44, international trader, MT: Mandarin)

She argued that high English proficiency was linked to certain social values including good education background and better social experience and therefore could easily lead to a first impression of better social status or prestige.

Commentary

To sum up, for most respondents, English is useful for achieving certain practical aims, for example, communicating with foreigners, finding a good job and achieving higher social status. In short, English is a form of economic capital for many individuals. The responses to Question 12 further indicated that for most respondents learning English is beneficial for pursuing a better career or better life in some way. English is regarded as an instrument to acquire professional knowledge, to communicate with people, to publish and present papers and to have better opportunities and achievement. Interviewees' responses to Question 11 and 12 not only reflected the respondents' personal experiences and observations, but also their expectations of the rewards of learning English.

On the other hand, interviewees' responses to Question 13 showed a range of perceptions regarding the relation between English proficiency and social status. The answers manifested a strong association between high English proficiency and better social status (33 out of respondents agreed or strongly agreed) for a variety of reasons. The main reasons included social values or perceptions of English; the admiration of foreign things; the historical influence of the US; English as a form of capital only held by some people in society; and the promotion of the government, the mass media and elites. Although high English proficiency was only identified in some people of higher social levels, many respondents accepted that there was a causal relationship between high English ability and better social status in Taiwan.

National English ability and Taiwan's global competitiveness

Worries about the general level of English in Taiwan have been prevalent in Taiwan's mass media (e.g. Chou, 2001; Min Sheng Daily, 5 Jul. 2005). In addition, enhancing people's English proficiency is also stated as a major goal in 'Cultivate Talent for the E-Generation' project of *Taiwan's Six Year National Plan*. The aim is to create an internationalized living environment and to enhance national competitiveness. Therefore Question 14 investigates interviewees' responses to the

issue of the importance of improving English ability in Taiwanese society. Question 15 further explores interviewees' views on the association between national English ability and national competitiveness. A summary overview of responses to question 14 and 15 is presented in the tables below.

Question 14: Is the improvement of English ability important for the Taiwanese society? Why or why not?

Table 6.13 Summary overview of responses to Question 14

<i>Responses to question 14</i>	<i>Number of respondents (N=43)</i>	<i>Notes of responses</i>
Yes	36	The majority of respondents agreed that the improvement of English ability was important for the Taiwanese society because of the dominant status of English in international domains.
Not really, it depends.	7	A variety of respondents (i.e. a government official in CIP, an assistant professor, an English-major postgraduate, a non-English major university student, an engineering consultant, a senior assistant researcher and a nurse) thought that the importance of improving English ability depended on different conditions and overemphasis on English is unnecessary.

Question 15: Can better national English ability enhance Taiwan's global competitiveness? Why or why not?

Table 6.14 Summary overview of responses to Question 15

<i>Responses to question 15</i>	<i>Number of respondents (N=43)</i>	<i>Notes of responses</i>
Yes	29	A majority of respondents agreed that better national English ability could enhance Taiwan's global competitiveness because of the dominant status of English in international domains.
No or others	14	A variety of respondents considered that it was not national English ability but other factors, such as technology, economic policy and the industrial development, that were essential for enhancing national competitiveness.

A majority of the respondents (36 out of 43) argued that it was important for the Taiwanese society to improve its English ability. However, seven respondents indicated that improving English ability was not necessarily important as it depended on different conditions. When asked about the association between national English ability and national competitiveness, more than half of the respondents (29 out of 43) agreed quite strongly that better English ability could enhance Taiwan's global competitiveness while other respondents (14 out of 43) either disagreed or considered that English ability was not the main determinant of national competitiveness.

Interestingly, seven interviewees believed that the improvement of English ability was not necessarily important. For example, a government official in CIP

thought that the improvement of language ability was important, but questioned the necessity of English for everyone in Taiwan and for enhancing national competitiveness.

[Q 14-(1)]

G2: I think it is a good thing to improve language ability. But does it have to be English? It's just that English is the mainstream, so of course English is important...

I: Is it important to improve English ability?

G2: I still think basic ability is enough. It's not necessary, not everyone has to do diplomatic jobs, not everyone has to work overseas, it doesn't have to involve everyone.. I think you spend so much effort and resources to seek for something that you really don't need, and then have some tests blah blah , but actually the result will be left aside after the tests.. I think there is no definite correlation but there might be relative factors. Because I think.. once you.. because the way you explain is according to where you stand. If today I were engaged in the ELT industry, of course I would happily say that it is very important. And if today it is announced in the mass media that this is very important and reported that our English ability has fallen behind blah blah blah, then people will get anxious, governmental officials will get anxious, he/she will also think that we cannot lose to the so-called four Asian dragons, cannot become the last of the four. That might be the face problem. I think more or less there will be this kind of very superficial, very vainglorious things. But still, there is no need that everyone should achieve that kind of level, to pass a high or high-intermediate level of test to prove one's ability. Will national competitiveness be enhanced if you pass it? Will national competitiveness be enhanced if everyone passes proficiency test? (laughs)...

(G2, female, 36, government official in CIP, MT: Minnanyu)

The informant believed that the importance of English was exaggerated by the mass media, the ELT industry and the government for superficial reasons and rejected any definite correlation between national English proficiency and national competitiveness. As a university English lecturer further argued, it is important to have our own cultural characteristics and English is a medium to promote them in international domains.

[Q 14-(2)]

I think it is more important to develop culture with our own characteristics...then use..er..have to use English to promote, whether in English or Chinese, to promote our own cultural characteristics. English can be a tool of promotion. Let others know what Taiwan is, right, not like when mentioning Taiwan, they regard it as Thailand...

(ETU3, female, 28, English lecturer in university, MT: Mandarin)

For most respondents, the improvement in English was considered important for

Taiwanese society because of the dominant status of English in international domains. English is the language that links the world, and as several respondents pointed out, the improvement of English ability could enhance societal and personal competitiveness. For example, a postgraduate student in engineering remarked that given global trends, English ability was a kind of assistance for enhancing competitiveness of individuals as well as the society.

[Q 14-(3)]

It's kind of the trend...That is, we need it because of the trend. Everybody would think, though doesn't want to admit, but still think that it is more helpful to the society or the company if you can speak English. So it might be important...in other words, two persons with similar condition, one can speak English and one cannot. When recruiting new members, the company will choose one that will help the company. So, similarly, in terms of Taiwanese society, if people with good English ability are the majority, it will be easier for this society to enhance its competitiveness...but the prerequisite is that the trend continues..

(SU3, male, 26, postgraduate in engineering, MT: Minnanyu)

And as an assistant professor stated, English is a must for overcoming the difficult political situation of Taiwan in the world.

[Q 14-(4)]

TU1: At the moment, it is important..

I: Why is it important?

TU1: The reason it is important is that Taiwan has to go outward...Because Taiwan is unable to do so, so that's why we need to go outward. Because Taiwan our circumstances are too difficult. That is, political circumstances are too difficult. And Taiwan is not recognized by others. Then we have been trying to establish outward relationships, we focus on economic development. We want economic development but we don't want to go to the direction of Mainland China. Then you have to interact with other foreign enterprises. Then you cannot restrict yourself on the island, so you have to link to the world, to interact with foreign countries. English is a must...

(TU1, male, 35, assistant professor of international culture and intercultural studies, MT: Minnanyu)

The respondent argued that should the political status of Taiwan become undermined by Mainland China, economic development could become the only hope to establish outward relationships and claim the existence of Taiwan. English is thus given a special place not only for economic reasons but for also political necessity. This makes Taiwan a different case among other East Asian countries. Although Taiwan has implemented similar policy for improving national English

ability, Taiwanese society tends to place more emphasis on English and regards English as a key factor in overcoming Taiwan's complicated politico-economic situation.

In terms of the association between national English ability and Taiwan's global competitiveness, many interviewees believed that higher levels of English could enhance national competitiveness. For example, a junior high school English teacher thought that it was certain that an enhanced English ability would improve national competitiveness because English is the language for direct international communication and international promotion.

[Q 15-(1)]

ETH3: This is certain.

I: Certain?

ETH3: Of course. A good country (laughs)... This sentence I cannot think of anything to pick fault in it... (laughs)

I: Why better English ability can enhance global competitiveness?

ETH3: Because at the moment English is the most dominant language in the world, in many areas it will show its strength. So if we improve Taiwan's English ability, our global competitiveness will increase. For example, my relative runs a factory. He cannot use English. His products can sell to European countries and America. He has the technology. But he doesn't have the language. He has to sell his products through an agent. Comparatively, if he has the language ability and he sets up a website to contact foreign customers directly, there will not be exploitation of interest in the process. This is the simplest example...

(ETH3, female, 34, junior high school English teacher, MT: Mandarin)

Some respondents agreed with an association between an improved level of English and greater national competitiveness because they recognized the success of some other countries in Asia. For example, an English major postgraduate thought that Singapore and Hong Kong were successful cases proving the strong link between English ability and national competitiveness.

[Q 15-(2)]

This might be positive. Because if we look at the examples of Singapore and Hong Kong, their economy has been prospering partially due to the fact that most of their citizens could have some basic command of English...

(ESU1, female, 30, English-major postgraduate, MT: Minnanyu)

However, several respondents were of the opinion that not all English-speaking or ESL countries had better national economic competitiveness. An aboriginal

government official disapproved of having a national English program as a crucial factor for enhancing national economic competitiveness. An ESL country is used as a counter example to the association between enhanced national English proficiency and higher national competitiveness.

[Q 15-(3)]

G3: ...No, even many English speaking countries don't have strong competitive capability. Many countries use English as their official language but they don't have strong ability of international competition. India has been colonized by Britain and has a high English ability, but do they have strong competitiveness?...

I: Then competitiveness relies on?

G3: It relies on a country's technology..development of its technology and industry...

(G3, Male, 39, government official in CIP, MT: Amis)

He made the point that national competitiveness can rely on technology and the development of industry. By using Japan as an example of a successful economy without a high national English ability, a university English lecturer also pointed out that the determinant of national competitiveness is not the use of the English language but industrial structure and policy.

[Q 15-(4)]

ETU3: I think English ability is not that related to competitiveness..

I: Not that related, why?

ETU3: Because it depends on the issue of industrial structure, not just on the issue of language. It should be the issue of the whole industry and policy.

I: It's the issue of industrial policy?

ETU3: Yeah, because one country, taking Japan as an example, in Japan there are people speaking English or not speaking English, but as to their economy, their English ability is at the bottom among Asian countries, but does it effect their economy? Actually the range of effect is not that much. So I think it still relies on their own industry and their policy...

(ETU3, female, 28, English lecturer in university, MT: Mandarin)

Her opinion, to a certain degree, reflects the reality. Actually, language ability is only one of the factors that determine national economic competitiveness. Other factors such as productivity, technology and national environment of investment were also proposed by some other respondents.

As several respondents indicated, English is a helpful tool rather than crucial means to enhance national competitiveness. Better national English ability is not equivalent to higher national competitiveness, but it is one of the factors that can

enhance national competitiveness. For example, an assistant professor stressed the secondary role of English in terms of national competitiveness.

[Q 15-(5)]

Better management, creativity and research and development, or even confidence are more important than English. Of course English can enhance Taiwan's international competitiveness, but the degree of its importance is not that high...

(TU3, male, 36, assistant professor, MT: Minnanyu)

For these respondents, the foundation of national competitiveness was more related to elements in regard to domestic industries such as quality, research and development and management. Improving English ability can only be a secondary factor when the foundation and development of a country's industries rise above a certain level.

Commentary

To sum up, a majority of respondents considered that the improvement of English ability was important for Taiwanese society, while a minority of respondents believed that English ability was not necessarily important for everyone in Taiwan. Some argued that not everyone in Taiwan had to use English and the high priority bestowed on English was questionable. However, according to the responses of the majority of the interviewees, the improvement of English ability was considered important because English is the language that links the world. Taiwan needs links to the world and therefore Taiwan requires English. For many respondents, because Taiwan has very limited natural resources and lacks political recognition, English is considered particularly important for gaining access to world market and for promoting international status. The importance of English ability is reinforced by the comparison and competition between individuals inside or outside the island and between countries.

Therefore, a correlation between national English ability and Taiwan's global competitiveness was accepted by more than half of the respondents. However, some respondents also thought that though English was useful for enhancing Taiwan's global competitiveness, it was also over-emphasized because national competitiveness relies on other elements, such as the industrial structure and economic policy. Thus English ability is not the key factor but merely a helpful tool. An interesting phenomenon was that ESL or English-speaking Asian countries were

frequently used as examples to prove or disprove the link between better English ability and higher national competitiveness. Overall, interviewees' responses to Question 15 reflected their perceptions of the key elements of national competitiveness and the role of English in the globalized world. When English is related to the communication to the wider world and the medium of knowledge, consolidating international relationships is regarded as Taiwan's lifeline, a higher national English ability is inevitably considered as essential for enhancing Taiwan's global competitiveness.

Negative effect of English on local cultures?

Because language is culture-bound, the global spread of English is therefore not only a matter of instrumental acquisition but also a process of cultural diffusion. Language classrooms might be the place where cultural interactions occur. To some degree, certain aspects of American or Western cultures are transmitted through teaching materials and activities in the process of English learning. Therefore, the spread of English inevitably involves various effects on local cultures. Question 16 explores interviewees' perceptions of the impact of English on Taiwan's local cultures. By using an attitude scale question, interviewees were asked to what extent they agree that the spread of English has negative effect on local cultures in Taiwan. Following is a summary overview of responses to question 16.

Question 16: Do you agree that the spread of English worldwide has bad/negative effects on local cultures in Taiwan? (a) strongly agree (b) agree (c) neutral (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree. Why? Please comment.

Table 6.15 Summary overview of responses to question 16

Responses to question 16	Number of respondents (N=43)	Notes of responses
Strongly agree	0	
Agree	14	A number of respondents agreed with the statement and considered that the spread of English might cause a neglect or marginalization of local cultures or languages.
Neutral	8	Several respondents were uncertain about the statement and considered that the effect of the popularization of English was difficult to detect.
Disagree	21	A majority of respondents disagreed with the statement and considered the prevalence of English as neutral or positive trend.
Strongly disagree	0	

Twenty-one respondents disagreed with the statement while fourteen respondents agreed with it and eight respondents were uncertain about it. Some

respondents considered that the effect of English on local cultures was at present difficult to detect. For example, as an engineering consultant indicated, English learning or English education might occupy much time and thus marginalize other kinds of learning or activities.

[Q 16-(1)]

There are influences. But it's difficult to tell whether these influences are positive or negative at the moment...Because you have to learn English and that will occupy your time to learn some other things, or your time for sports, or your time to participate in some activities. So there are influences but there is no standard to decide whether it's good or not good...

(SE1, male, 28, engineering consultant, MT: Hakka)

For around half of the respondents, the effect of English on local cultures is not negative but rather neutral. For example, a trader who is also a parent of an elementary student thought that the spread of English was a natural and positive trend though it might marginalize opportunities for learning about local cultures.

[Q 16-(2)]

PE1: Yes, there is marginalization.

I: Marginalization?

PE1: Yes, but it's not negative. I think this is a trend. I think it will not be more negative. Like one only has twenty-four hours a day. You use it to learn English then naturally you will learn less about local things. It seems a very natural phenomenon..

I: So there is marginalization but it's not negative?

PE1: Yeah, this kind of thing, it's difficult to tell whether learning local things or learning English will be better for you. For me, I would say that learning English can make me better. But learning local things can only help me to know more about them, but I think my life won't be changed because of it...

(PE1, female, 44, international trader, MT: Mandarin)

A university English lecturer further explained that the global and the local were separate systems and thus there is no competition between English users and users of local languages.

[Q 16-(3)]

ETU3: Because English is still English. Globalization is globalization. But local things still exist. And most people still stay in the local. After all not everyone would go overseas.. I think they are two different areas...

I: These are two different areas?

ETU3: Because local cultures, for instance, whether it's Chinese Mandarin or Minnanyu, it has its own system. And people who use these languages compete with

each other. People who use English, such as jobs related to international trade, also compete with each other. How can he/she compete with local salespersons? So I think they should be different...

(ETU3, female, 28, English lecturer in university, MT: Mandarin)

For some others, English was regarded as a tool of communication and therefore could be used as a medium to promote our local cultures. For example, a government official in MOE claimed that negative effects would not happen if local cultures were given enough attention. Moreover, promoting English does not necessarily lead to a situation unfavorable to local cultures.

[Q 16-(4)]

I think local culture, like I just said, if in the beginning you pay attention to yours, you just use English as a tool for better communication with others. For better communication then you are not necessarily...you should be proud of your own traditional culture, so you don't have to be concerned that it will affect my culture. It shouldn't be so. Rather, it should be that I would be more willing to show my stuff, to share my, the knowledge I have or many traditional things of mine. It can be shared, that's what I think...

(G1, female, 42, government official in MOE, MT: Minnanyu)

An elementary English teacher further explained that there was a tendency in Taiwan and in academia to pay more attention to the local.

[Q 16-(5)]

I think I don't agree. Because it is a trend now that under the trend of globalization, many academics or others have paid more attention to local experiences and localization. It has become.. now mostly as I've seen many examples about.. about... Localization with global view. Now Taiwan has paid much attention to local cultures because of the new DPP government. Plus the development of internationalization, I think there is no conflict between these two. There is no marginalization or conflict. Because when I studied in school, there were much research or experiences which all focus on...community. Because there is a tendency to focus on community. That is, to adopt and learn from local experiences and successful examples, then promote them to the world. Actually many are started from small places. So I think that's the current trend. It seems that there won't be negative effects...

(ETE3, female, 33, elementary English teacher, MT: Minnanyu)

By stressing the strength of Chinese in the face of the prevalence of English, a university English lecturer further argued that English is not the only language having an influence on Taiwan.

[Q 16-(6)]

I don't agree that the spread of English has negative effects. This is a situation of globalization. There are more or less influences. But apart from English, Taiwan is also influenced by Japanese, Korean or even Thai. The population of language users reflects the depth of the influence. In the East, the population of Chinese users is still the majority and it is unlikely to such an extent that the culture of mother language is overwhelmed because of the popularization of English...

(ETU3, female, 31, English lecturer in college, MT: Minnanyu)

A government official in CIP even considered that it is not the popularization of English but the confrontation and competition between the dominant language and other local languages or cultures that produces negative effects on local cultures.

[Q 16-(7)]

G2: Personally I don't think there is an obviously negative effect. But I do think it's the competition between local languages that invade or influence local cultures...why I think it's effect on local cultures is not obvious is because I can't feel it. What I feel is, we speaking Minnanyu are marginalized by those speaking Mandarin, and mother languages of aboriginal people are also marginalized by Mandarin. When there is a national language policy, it will definitely marginalize other mother languages...

I: It's the competition between domestic languages and cultures?

G2: English might have impact but its degree and nearness are definitely lower and less obvious than the pressure from the inside. There might be influence but I don't really feel it...

(G2, female, 36, government official in CIP, MT: Minnanyu)

Her viewpoints corresponded to some extent with a proposition that English is not that harmful to local languages or cultures when it has less function and contact with the local society. In a sense, the popularization of English is considered an independent global phenomenon separate from the local linguistic and cultural situation.

However, an assistant professor in international history and intercultural studies recognized the influence but illustrated the difficulty of detecting whether the effect was positive or negative by referring to the new development of the traditional Puppet Theater in Taiwan as an example.

[Q 16-(8)]

TU1: Well.. I don't think there is an negative effect..

I: Why?

TU1: Well, there is an effect but I don't really know whether it's good or not. At the moment it is hard to tell whether it's good or bad. For example, in terms of more

positive effect, why today the traditional Puppet Theater in Taiwan still can exist in a form of programs on TV, it's because the influence of Western value and cultures. For instance, you start to see vampires in the Puppet Theater (laughs), then the appearance of special light and sound effects, it is influenced by Western technology and cultures. And that make you feel it's new, make you feel that it's up-to-date, make you feel that the Puppet Theater links up the tradition and the modern. So this is a.. Some people think it damages local Puppet Theater culture, but some people think this is why modern Puppet Theater can still be accepted by audiences. Otherwise, basically now, Taiwanese Opera is not broadcasted on TV, right? And neither is Peking Opera. But Puppet Theater can. What does it mean then? There are many people watching it. This is a very good example, right? Very important case study for cultural studies...

I: So there are positive and negative effects on traditional cultures?

TU1: Positive and negative..

I: Negative effect?

TU: Negative effect is that some people think about the same Puppet Theater is nondescript. They think that traditional Puppet Theater is supposed to be simple without those special light and sound effects. It is supposed to show the delicate posture and performance of puppets and the skillful manipulation of puppets, rather than showing those special effects. So they think it damages traditional opera. So there are both positive and negative effects...

(TU1, male, 35, assistant professor of international culture and intercultural studies,
MT: Minnanyu)

The same effect might be regarded as positive or negative depending on one's perspective. The above example might not be a direct confrontation between English and local cultures, but implies that local cultures have been influenced or even transformed by English and global media such as the Internet, movies and TV broadcasting which can transmit Western values and cultures.

For some other respondents, the influence of English was obvious and negative. As a junior high English teacher commented, the spread of English was a combination of language, culture and mass media. It is not the language itself that is harmful but the underlying cultures and values transmitted by English.

[Q 16-(9)]

Because of the problem of cultural differences. For instance, previously on TV there was a cartoon show called the Simpsons. It uses very indecent language. And the South Park which uses that kind of bloody images and then, again very improper words or languages. They are bad examples for teenagers...Because that's what would happen when contacting other cultures.. Children might pay less attention to local cultures because he/she lives in the environment full of this kind of American and European cultures. Then after a long time he/she will think those are ours and internalize them... This is a kind of colonization of dominant foreign culture. You will take it for granted...

When English is a vehicle of dominant culture and values, it is difficult for English to escape the responsibility for marginalizing local cultures. As a medical doctor remarked, the spread of English is a kind of cultural invasion.

[Q 16-(10)]

I: Is there a cultural level in the popularization of English?

SE3: Invasion, I think it is invasion.

I: Invasion? Why?

SE3: Because now the young generation actually is totally different from the old generation, if don't take my generation into account. Why? It's because of the constant flow-in of foreign cultures. So children accept foreign cultures before they totally identify with their own culture. They would think that foreign cultures are their culture. So then your own culture will disappear. Isn't that invasion?..

I: Does English take the initiative in the so-called invasion? Or we actively embrace it? Is this process irresistible?

SE3: I think in the end if everybody can more and more fluently communicate with each other, actually cultures will be blended together. But in the process there must be some cultures disappearing and some cultures growing in strength. But if you are dominant. If under the circumstances that you are a native speaker of a dominant language, actually if I have to use your language all the time, I have to think in your way in order to help you understand what I mean, right? But after a long time, I will learn your way to use my language, so that's why I said it's invasion... [...] We.. We don't want to actively embrace it but have no choice...or put it in this way, we're unable to resist...

(SE3, female, 35, medical doctor, MT: Mandarin)

The respondent argued that the dominant status of English had made it an irresistible medium for learning, using or even thinking, and that this produced a marginalization of local languages and cultures. The negative effect on local cultures is not directly caused by the English language but through a complex power struggle between languages and cultures in the global world and in Taiwan. It is not due to obvious signs of harm but because of tendencies towards neglect or marginalization. As a university student explained, learning English is time and money-consuming and will result in the undue admiration of people and things of foreign countries.

[Q 16-(11)]

SU1: I think there must be negative effects. Like I just said, learning English has occupied us too much time. Because sometimes I would think, why it is not that people

learn our Chinese. Yeah, and you see, you have to spend time and money, right? And it is not guaranteed that you will really use this language if you learn it. It can only provide a technique and an opportunity...

I: So do you agree that it has a negative effect on Taiwan's local cultures?

SU1: I think negative effects are more than this. Actually many concepts will cause...it's possible in Taiwan, constant admiration of things and people of foreign countries. We Taiwanese really have this kind of character. That is, they feel that anything overseas must be better. It's the real situation. But I think good, I think it's not necessary to preserve tradition, but the good part has to be preserved. The negative aspect can be ignored. Like I don't think it's necessary to develop mother languages, because if there is no practical need for their existence, why preserve them deliberately? Just follow the changing flow of time...

(SU1, female, 20, university student, MT: Mandarin and Minnanyu)

There appears to be an interesting change of stance when speaking about the preservation of minority local languages. The respondent believed that the spread of English may lead to overvaluing things related to foreign countries. But as regards the value of local cultures, she considered that only those with practical needs in Taiwan were worth preserving. In a sense, a hierarchy of languages and cultures can be identified here, where other local languages or minority languages are positioned at the bottom of the hierarchy. These languages are usually neglected or powerless in the face of the pressure from the dominant language in the locale. In this case, it is Mandarin coupled with English.

Commentary

Only a few respondents took the most pessimistic view of the influence of English on local languages and cultures. From their point of view, the future of local cultures is uncertain in the face of the irresistible trend of global English. For some other interviewees, the effect of English prevalence on local cultures was still too early to detect. However, for a great proportion of respondents, language and culture are to some degree two separate concepts, and the global and the local are not necessarily in conflict. English was regarded as an instrument for external communication and to express the local. Although learning English might be given priority in education and would occupy much time and resources, its effects are not entirely negative. They consider that local cultures have their own strengths and advantages and will not seriously suffer from the spread of English.

The effect of English on local cultures in Taiwan is a complex one. The

interviewees' responses reflected their attitudes toward local cultures, i.e. whether they were worried or confident about local cultures, and English, i.e. whether English is considered as a dominant carrier of alien culture or a tool for external communication. Overall, English combined with the global media does have considerable effects on Taiwan's local cultures, in the sense that the local is capable of appropriating the cultures and values transmitted by English and the global media. However, in terms of educational resources and policy attention, much emphasis has been placed on English language policy and practices often at the expense of local languages and cultures. To some degree, there has been a gradual marginalization of local languages and cultures as a result of the dominance of English.

Overall impact of English on Taiwan

The final question explores respondents' perceptions of the impact of English in Taiwan as a whole, since many facets of the role of English in relation to individuals and Taiwanese society have been discussed in the previous questions. It can be regarded as the conclusive question of the whole interview. Following is a summary overview of interviewees' responses.

Question 17: The overall impact of English as a global language in Taiwan is (a) positive (b) negative (b) neutral. Please comment.

Table 6.16 Summary overview of responses to Question 17

<i>Responses to question 17</i>	<i>Number of respondents (N=43)</i>	<i>Notes of responses</i>
Positive	12	A number of respondents thought the overall impact of English as positive because English is beneficial for Taiwan's economic development and internationalization.
Negative	0	
Both positive and negative	25	A majority of respondents considered that the overall impact of English was both positive and negative. The positive impacts included enhancing Taiwan's competitiveness and economic development, increasing international opportunities and improving international communication while the negative impacts involved culture invasion, a marginalization of local cultures and languages and issues on English education.
Neutral	6	Several respondents were uncertain about this issue and few thought that it took longer to evaluate the impact of English in Taiwan.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, more than half of the respondents (25 of 43) believed that the overall impact of English in Taiwan was both positive and negative. Twelve respondents reckoned that the overall impact of English was positive while six

respondents were of the opinion that the overall impact of English was neutral or still hard to determine.

Benefits, opportunities and national competitiveness

For respondents who considered English as a tool, the general impact of English as a global language in Taiwan was more positive than negative because English was thought to be beneficial for international communication and external development. For example, a vice-professor in industrial education remarked that though there were some disadvantages, the overall impact of English was positive in terms of Taiwan's external relations.

[Q 17-(1)]

In terms of internationalization, it is positive. You have no choice but need it if you want to go aboard... I think we should be more open to it, even it will marginalize part of local cultures. I think if the cultures are very good ones, they should be able to sustain the trial. But still we should be open to it, we should not... manipulate. That kind of close-door attitude is not good, either. I think we should follow the rule of free competition...

(TU2, female, 40, vice professor in industrial education, MT: Minnanyu)

The respondent believed that English as a global language had made Taiwan more open to the world. English is regarded as a tool for international communication and to explore international market. By pointing out the benefits English can provide, an executive of a Japanese electronic company emphasized the necessity of overcoming international communication problems for Taiwan.

[Q 17-(2)]

SE5: Should be positive.. I think in the next 50 years, 60 years or one hundred years, English should be.. it will take a long time to decline. So I think now we should start form the education. If you don't start now, Taiwan's competitiveness will be suppressed...

I: What kind of positive impact can English make to Taiwan?

SE5: Like what I said, everybody is able to use English, is able to speak, to write naturally, then Taiwan can connect to the world in terms of its international status, economic activities, social activities or cultural activities. You don't have to communicate through translation which wastes a lot of human labor and money. Isn't it great if you can absorb directly?

I: Connect to the world?

SE5: [...] Because we are not able to lead others, then we have to learn from them... You are not able to catch up with others. So called confrontingly catch up, you have to absorb others' then you can catch up with them directly...

(SE5, male, 60, executive of an electronic company, MT: Minnanyu)

In this context, English is regarded as an efficient instrument for connecting with the world and catching up with other advanced countries.

A trend with neutral or complex impacts?

For some respondents, however, it was difficult to tell whether the overall impact of English was positive or negative. For example, a trader, who was also a parent of an elementary student, thought the spread of English just had to be accepted as a neutral trend.

[Q 17-(3)]

PE1: I don't have any thoughts about the positive or negative, because I think it is just a trend, isn't it?

I: A trend, with no positive or negative impact?

PE1: No, it's just that you have to do it. There is nothing good or bad. It's like a tool for a living. This is a kind of, it's similar to the situation in the past that we have to study. So there is nothing good or bad. This is a trend and you just accept it...

(PE1, female, 44, international trader, MT: Mandarin)

And as an English-major postgraduate argued, it would need much more time for the overall impact of English to become clear.

[Q 17-(4)]

I chose (c) neutral because I think it takes longer to really evaluate the overall effects of English on Taiwanese society. And of course some impacts might be subtle so that quantitative measures might not be easy to grasp these subtleties...

(ESU1, female, 30, English-major postgraduate, MT: Minnanyu)

Cultural identity, international linkage and economic development

For some, English is beneficial for establishing international communication and enhancing economic development but it may also have negative effects on local cultures and languages. A postgraduate in engineering remarked that the impact of English was helpful in enhancing Taiwan's capability but harmful to cultural identity and local cultures.

[Q 17-(5)]

SU3: Both positive and negative.

I: What kind of positive impact?

SU3: It will make us more capable to obtain better...for instance, enhance international status, then it's easier to obtain knowledge, then further more it will be more convenient for us to develop our economy or to advance our international diplomacy. It can facilitate and then results in more substantial reward. It's kind of like that...

I: Then, the negative impact?

SU3: Negative, It's probably more about the influence at psychological level. For example, not identify with our own culture, or some subtle influences on children, and the absorption of improper concepts from foreign cultures and things like that...

(SU3, male, 26, postgraduate in engineering, MT: Minnanyu)

Though agreeing that the impact of English was positive on economy, a government official in Council of Indigenous Peoples offered an aboriginal view point on this question.

[Q 17-(6)]

G3: [...] Because I think Taiwan relies on its economy to exist. And our economy relies on exports. It needs English to export. If we cannot speak English then we will not be able to communicate. Then Taiwan's economy will decline, people's lives will be hard. So I think if looking at the question from this angle, English is very important. [...]

[...]

I: But how about other areas such as culture?

G3: Culture and general.. Actually in terms of culture, it results in tense tense.. relation of competition. [...]

I: What kind of impact does the tense relation of competition between cultures have on Taiwan?

G3: It should be put in this way. If we divide Taiwanese society into three levels, upper, middle and bottom. Actually the impact of English is only in the upper level of the society. But everyone wants to climb upward. And because everyone wants to climb upward, then this is your ticket to the upper level. If you don't want to move upward, it actually doesn't have any impact. Because only those two percent at the upper level might frequently use it. If you don't want to move up, actually it doesn't matter. [...] Actually I think, long-term speaking, actually global English might enhance competitiveness, but it will also increase the instability...

(G3, Male, 39, government official in CIP, MT: Amis)

Here, we can detect ambivalent attitudes to English. In terms of Taiwan's development and economy, English may have a positive impact. But in terms of social development, English is becoming a kind of 'ticket' for entering the upper level of society. To a certain degree, the informant's opinion reflects the current

situation in Taiwan. Although the goal of Taiwan's English language policy is to improve general national English ability, the effectiveness of English education in the state education system is still questionable and some measurements, such as a certain level of English proficiency as a requirement for graduation, have made English take on the role of a gatekeeper in society. Therefore, as English is needed for Taiwan's economic development and mastery of English cannot be easily acquired by everyone in Taiwan, English inevitably becomes the gatekeeper to access to a higher social class.

Issues on the extension of English education

For some other respondents, the negative impact of English was related to the extension of English education in Taiwan. The impact of English might be positive if people are interested in learning it. However, for those who are not interested in English or are forced to learn it, English might become a burden and thus result in negative attitudes. For example, a government official in CIP stated that although English is useful for international communication, compulsory English education in Taiwan might restrict other choices for some students.

[Q 17-(7)]

I think.. there should be both positive and negative impacts. Because in terms of positive, at least we have learned one more language, right? Then the disadvantage is, in Taiwan we have made it a policy, because... because in the past we started to learn English in junior high schools, now we start to learn it in elementary schools. Then for some children their learning interests are suppressed. So I think.. I don't know how to describe it. A knife has two sides, there is a good side and a bad side.. learning one more language can enhance international communication, but on the other side, you make it a regulation that English must be learned. This this, for students, if he/she can have choice, they don't have to choose English as the medium for outward communication...I think it changes the opportunity that the society can have more multiple developments...

(G2, female, 36, government official in CIP, MT: Minnanyu)

A university English lecturer approved of the positive impact of English regarding the international promotion of Taiwan but pointed out that introducing English education at an early age could lead to poor performance in both English and Mandarin.

[Q 17-(8)]

Its impact on Taiwan. Taiwanese people always want to improve their English... Its impact...I think, is both positive and negative. Because in terms of positive impact, active learning, then there will be more new, for instance...new international promotion or some so called the creation of self image, to promote your image. This is more positive, because compared to the past, more people who are able to use English are working on this. But on the negative side, I think, is that if English is learned too early, that could result in a situation that both Mandarin and English ability are poor...

(ETU3, female, 28, English lecturer in university, MT: Mandarin)

A parent of a high school student also expressed her concerns about the unbalanced power relation between those who have the resources to acquire English and those who do not.

[Q 17-(9)]

Actually both positive and negative. Positive impact is that it makes people think that you have no choice but learn it, everybody has to learn. That is, motivate people to learn the language. Then, the negative impact is that those who are not able to learn it have no competitive capability. It turns out that they lose one competitive capability. Even though I really have great ability, without the language, I still cannot compete with others. Very pitiful...Now because of the unbalanced distribution of wealth, wealthier people have more opportunities to enhance their capability and poorer people have less chance and money to invest in it. Because the government doesn't pay attention to take care of those disadvantaged groups. Actually they really have the talent and the ability but they have no choice...

(PH2, female, 40, employee, MT: Minnanyu)

She maintained that English proficiency had become a necessary ability for everyone in Taiwan but it also increased the gap between the rich and the poor. Her point of view is indicative of one of the major issues concerning the global spread of English (see Phillipson, 1992; Tollefson, 2000). As mentioned earlier, for Taiwanese society, English is seen as a gatekeeper to a better job or higher social class and learning English is time and money-consuming. Thus, those who have more resources and can invest more in learning English are inevitably advantaged. Although English has been a compulsory subject in the state education system, mastery of English cannot be easily acquired by most people in Taiwan, and many consider supplementary English education as necessary. English thus becomes a skill that needs extra cultivation and investment, but this makes those who cannot afford it more disadvantaged.

However, in Taiwan, as well as in other East Asian countries, the focus is more

on the gap between the urban and rural sectors in English teaching and learning (CECA, 2003; Lin Jun-jie, 2004; Ho, 2003) than on the gap between the rich and the poor. It is because inequality in the society is mainly increased by other factors such as economic status. To some degree, the level of English proficiency in Taiwan is more a consequence than a cause of socio-economic inequality. And if the necessity of English is assumed, equal access to English provision is an important way to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor, and between the urban and rural areas.

English as necessary evil

Although most respondents consider that the overall impact of English in Taiwan is not all positive, some respondents admit that it is necessary for Taiwan to embrace English. For example, as a medical doctor admitted that although the spread of English in Taiwan might result in a certain degree of cultural invasion, Taiwanese society has no choice but to learn the language for reasons of international communication and technological development.

[Q 17-(10)]

SE3: It depends. Actually there are both positive and negative impacts. But generally speaking, in fact since internationalization is stressed, the impact of English on us actually should be positive...If we take local cultures into concern and look at the differences between you and foreigners, it will result in cultural invasion...

I: So comparatively, the impact is positive?

SE3: Yes, generally speaking I think it is necessary to learn English. But if I focus on cultural development, I think it should not be over-emphasized. But if you concern about technological development or conditions of advanced biotechnology and things like that, I think you still have to learn, because we have no choice but to do it...

(SE3, female, 35, medical doctor, MT: Mandarin)

From the viewpoint of academia and cultural studies, an assistant professor's opinion was that English was necessary for Taiwan to connect with the world and argued that the negative impact of English could be overcome if Taiwanese society identified with its own culture.

[Q 17-(11)]

I: How about negative impacts?

TU1: Negative..er.. Relatively it marginalizes many others things we have to learn, then..er.. negative, there is negative impact, but because I think it's a small evil... I

think, I think if the subjectivity[identity] of Taiwan is strong enough, the impact of English is more positive than negative. The negative influence of English can be overcome...

I: Subjectivity.. Then how do Taiwan and other Asian countries respond to the global spread of English? How to maintain their subjectivity[identity]?

TU1: It is a fact that English has become more and more popular. It's the same in these countries. In China, Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan and South Korea, most of them cannot escape the consequence. But the popularization of English doesn't result in the homogenization of cultures. That is, basically these are two different theses. So.. English has gradually become a global tool. Through English, many Western values are brought in, but through the existence of different values, it also results in the intensification of local subjectivity[identity]. So this is a two-sided thing...

I: So the spread of English will cause people to feel alarmed?

TU1: Yes, actually when you see difference, see others' characteristics, you usually reflect on your own characteristics. That is, there is a contrast. The clearer the 'others' are, the more the 'subject' emerges...

(TU1, male, 35, Assistant professor of international culture and intercultural studies,
MT: Minnanyu)

The respondent explained that the dominance of English did not necessarily lead to marginalization of local languages and cultures. Although through English the influence of western values and cultures increase, by contrasting the local (the subject) with the West (the other), local characteristics were more likely to be recognized and local identity is therefore intensified. And rather than being a carrier of Western values, English can be a neutral medium to present different cultures and values. In the expression above, the respondent seemed to attempt to separate English from its native cultures. However, whether English can be a neutral medium is a controversial issue in sociolinguistics (e.g. Adolphs, 2005; Jenkins, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2001, 2004). This is especially the case when a considerable number of learners of English still regard native speakers as a model to emulate to some degree (Timmis, 2002).

Commentary

Responses to the question on the overall impact of English revealed ambivalent views regarding English in Taiwan. English was generally considered to be beneficial in its impact on technological development, international communication and national economic competitiveness. This view recognized that English was indispensable for Taiwan's relations with the world.

On the other hand, the negative impact of English on local cultures and education was acknowledged. Problems about cultural identity and cultural invasion were raised by several respondents. English as a carrier of Western cultures and values was regarded as a threat to local cultures. To a certain extent, it is inevitable that English transmits the cultures and values of its native users, but as Graddol (2006) suggests, the emergence of English in its new global form is increasing the influence of non-English speakers. By acknowledging new forms of global English and raising cultural awareness, it may be possible for Taiwanese society to enhance English ability without damaging its cultural identity.

Another negative influence of English frequently mentioned was its effect on education. When English is promoted through education and language policy, a competition of resources between languages and between individuals is inescapable. Research in English in Taiwan has suggested (e.g. CECA, 2003; Lin Jun-jie, 2004) that the curricular dominance of English can reduce the time and resources invested in local languages (see Section 4.4.2). It can also produce unbalanced power relations between the haves and the have-nots. As long as English proficiency levels remain restricted in Taiwan, the advantage of English will not decline and English will remain the privilege of the wealthy classes.

Generally speaking, English is viewed both positively and negatively. That said, the positive impact of English on increased economic competitiveness may exceed its negative effects on local languages and cultures. English is regarded as a necessary evil which can be beneficial and rewarding for both the individual and Taiwan's future development.

6.4 Conclusion

6.4.1 Determinants of Attitudes to English

The age of the interviewees did not seem to be the key factor that influenced their responses to English. Rather, interviewees' responses were influenced by their education, working experiences or in some cases ethno-linguistic background. The respondents especially approving the promotion of English in Taiwan, such as PE1, ETH3, SE5 and SU1, do not necessarily belong to a certain social class or position. Their approval of English seems to be based on realistic and utilitarian reasons,

such as English being considered the dominant language in the world.

Education can be identified as one of the influences on respondents' attitudes toward English. Respondents with a higher education background or in the academic professions, such as having experiences of studying abroad (e.g. PE1), working in university or academia (e.g. TU1, TU2 and TU3) and postgraduates (e.g. SU3 and ESU1), tended to emphasize the importance of English not only in their life but also in regard to the future development of Taiwanese society. A possible reason is that English is the dominant language in most academic domains and English might play an important role in their professional and academic life.

In addition, compared to other respondents, English teachers generally had a more positive attitude toward the important role of English in Taiwan. Although the nine respondents who taught English at different levels (ETE1, ETE2, ETE3, ETH1, ETH2, ETH3, ETU1, ETU2, ETU3) took different positions on issues such as the starting point of English education; impact of English on local cultures; and the association between national English ability and national competitiveness, they generally agreed that learning English was beneficial. In addition, they concurred that it was necessary to give more attention to the effectiveness of English education in Taiwan.

Finally, ethno-linguistic background seems to influence respondents' opinions in some cases. For example, when asked whether English education or mother language education should be given priority, those whose mother language was the official language, Mandarin (e.g. PE1, SU1), emphasized the importance of English and ignored other local languages. And some respondents whose mother language was Minnanyu, Hakka and aboriginal languages (e.g. TU3, G3) tended to stress the importance of local languages and cultures. G3 (male, 39, a government official in CIP and an Amis) was the only aboriginal respondent in this research. His responses indicated a different attitude to issues regarding language and culture. For example, he insisted on the association between language and culture and his concern about the preservation of minority languages and cultures. His perceptions may be representative of those of minority groups because his aboriginal background and his official position may help him gain more knowledge of all of the aboriginal population.

Other factors such as the respondent's gender and region of residence may influence their perceptions in some way, but the sample is not large enough to confirm any influence on respondents' attitudes.

6.4.2 Summary of Interview Findings

Interview findings of this research are summarized as follows:

(1) *Mother tongue education should be given priority over English education.* The majority of respondents considered that the mother tongue is an important element of culture and necessary for everyone. But for a few respondents, English education and education of local languages are not necessarily contradictory and English education should be prioritized because of its functions in international communication.

(2) *Elementary education is regarded as the appropriate time to start English instruction.* The majority of respondents suggested that English education should be started at elementary level in order to achieve better results. However, instead of agreeing with '*the younger the better*' hypothesis, a large number of respondents believed that learning English at an early age might marginalize local language learning. Many also thought that English learning should be based on initial development of mother tongue skills.

(3) *English will continue to be the language that links Taiwan to the world.* Although some respondents considered that Chinese and other languages might challenge the *status quo* of English as the global language, the likelihood that English will maintain its dominant status in the next fifty years was accepted.

(4) *There is an unbalanced power relation between English and other foreign languages.* A large number of respondents (25 out of 43) agreed that English as a global language has reduced the learning of other foreign languages in some way while some respondents (15 out of 43) argued that learning English did not necessarily lead to a marginalization of other foreign languages.

(5) *The use and function of English in Taiwan has increased.* Although English is not regarded as a language for daily communication in Taiwan, many accept that the media use of English and the function of English in daily life have gradually

increased.

(6) *Mastery of English is considered important for accumulating personal capital and English is regarded as a socio-cultural instrument.* For most respondents, the benefits that learning English can provide are mainly related to communication and achievement in their careers. English is regarded as a tool for communicating with foreigners, to acquire knowledge, to obtain opportunities and to achieve a certain status or accomplishment.

(7) *English is associated with better careers and a higher status.* A high proportion of respondents (39 out of 43) agreed that learning English is beneficial for a better life or career and high English proficiency is regarded (by 33 out of 43 respondents) as a requisite for better prestige or status in Taiwan.

(8) *English is strongly associated with national competitiveness.* A high proportion of respondents agree that the improvement of the national English ability is crucial for enhancing economic competitiveness, and more than half of the respondents (29 out of 43) agreed with the idea that better national English ability could enhance Taiwan's global competitiveness.

(9) *Ambivalent attitudes to the overall impact of English on Taiwan.* There were concerns about cultural identity, cultural invasion and the problems of extending English education in Taiwan. But there was also approval of English as an indispensable means for individual and national development. More than half of the respondents admitted that the impact of English was not all positive, but the benefit and rewards it could provide exceeded its negative effects.

(10) *Anxiety about the consequences of lacking English.* From the interviewees' responses on issues such as English education and the importance of English for the Taiwanese society, there was a kind of worry or anxiety frequently expressed by the respondents. The parents were worried that children would not be able to compete with others in the future if they did not learn English early. Ordinary people in Taiwan, like most of our respondents, were concerned that without English, people would not be competitive enough in employment, and thus Taiwan would not be competitive enough in the world.

6.4.3 *Critical Commentary on Respondents' Views on English in Taiwan*

Generally speaking, perceptions of English in Taiwan presented in this research reflect many different influences, for example: the process of globalization; the political situation of Taiwan; language and education policy; the promotion of English by the mass media and the government; and individuals' experiences and expectations. On the one hand, the prominence of English in Taiwan is associated with the following beliefs: the dominance of English will continue; English is the key to economic competitiveness; and '*the younger the better*' hypothesis. On the other, the emphasis on English in Taiwan's national and educational policy inevitably provokes concerns about local languages and cultures.

Although most respondents agreed that English would sustain its dominance in the next fifty years, a large number of respondents also pointed out that the influence of other languages such as Chinese Mandarin would increase and challenge the *status quo*. Since the spread of language is substantially influenced by the politico-economic power of its speakers, the rise of new economic powers such as China indicates that the use of their languages may spread. As Graddol (2006) proposes, in the future the status of English might be challenged by other languages in terms of economic advantage, size of speaking population and policy changes. However, although other languages such as Chinese and Spanish have risen as strong competitors and transformed the world language system, in the short term the foundation and network of global English is so strong that challenges from other languages will not seriously affect the global status of English. As Crystal (2004:22) points out, it is unlikely that the global role of English will be replaced for the foreseeable future when 'the factors which brought English to its present position are still very large in place.'

In Taiwan, the use of English is increasing and it is still a gatekeeper in certain professions and classes at present, and maybe more so in the future. This could make English one of the mechanisms for structuring socio-economic inequality (Tollefson, 2000). According to the interviewees' responses, English is strongly associated with a better career, higher status or prestige, and better national competitiveness. This is due to the perceived benefits it can provide in education,

employment and international communication. However, according to Graddol's (2006) projections, and as several respondents argue, when English becomes a common language for everyone, the economic advantage of English could diminish. In the long term, this prediction is plausible. But in the case of Taiwan, the economic advantage of English will not ebb away, at least for the next generation. This is because, in Taiwan, English is still very far from a 'near-universal basic skill (ibid. p.15)' and it remains a source of individual advantage.

The dominance of English around the world and in Taiwan, to a large extent, leads to the assumption that English may be the key to national and individual economic competitiveness. The association between English and economic competitiveness, as shown in most interviewees' responses, combined with '*the younger the better*' hypothesis has led to the earlier introduction of English into the school curriculum. Similar policies can be found in several Asian countries (Nunan, 2003). While only a few interviewees literally believe '*the younger the better*' hypothesis, most approve the necessity of extending English instruction in elementary education. However, although several researchers suggest that pronunciation might benefit from learning at an early age, there is little evidence that the level of English proficiency gained is determined by the age factor (e.g. Scovel, 2000; Singleton, 2001; Marinova-Todd *et al.*, 2000; Nikolov and Mihaljevic Djigunovic, 2006). In fact, apart from the length of English instruction and the age factor, the effectiveness of English education to a large extent depends on the context of teaching and learning such as teaching materials, methodology, curriculum design and students' motivation. Therefore, it is uncertain whether the early introduction of English will increase levels of proficiency. If the necessity of English in Taiwan is acknowledged, more attention should be paid to other factors in the context of teaching and learning rather than just the age factor.

Turning to the impact of English on local languages and cultures, English is often given priority in national policy and educational agendas. However, with limited time, resources and money, a linguistic power struggle is evident between Mandarin, English and local languages. According to Chen (2006), English language education policy in Taiwan was more systematically planned and implemented than the Local Language in education policy has been. For central and local governments, schools, teachers and textbook publishers, the low status and

limited function of the local languages reduces incentives to promote these languages (ibid.). The emphasis on English has increased anxieties about the future of local languages and cultures. This fear was expressed by those respondents who considered that mother tongue education should be given priority. That said, interviewees' attitudes to the impact of English in Taiwan are ambivalent. While concerns about the preservation of local languages and cultures were expressed by many respondents, the necessity of English was also recognized by most respondents and strengthened in Taiwan through English language policy and English education. These ambivalent responses indicate that English is not a monolithic phenomenon, and that Taiwanese society is far from a passive receiver in the face of the global spread of English. As Okano (2006) argues, the impact of global forces is not unilateral. Instead, it is the local context (e.g. national policy, concerned organizations and individuals) which decides in what aspects, and to what extent, global English will affect the local society.

Generally speaking, Taiwan represents a complex case in the global spread of English. A feeling of uneasiness is expressed by many respondents because Taiwan lacks a clear-cut political status. In this sense, Taiwan is different from other East Asian countries. Although Taiwan and several East Asian countries have implemented similar national policies to strengthen their national English proficiency, Taiwanese society tends to give more emphasis to English due to the anxiety of losing its economic advantage. Although objections to the over-emphasis on English can be found in interviewees' responses, most respondents indicated the importance of English for Taiwanese society due to the disadvantaged position of Taiwan. In short, Taiwanese people tend to accept and adapt rather than resist the influence of global English. The overall impact of English is thus considered more positive than negative, and English is generally recognized as an important factor in Taiwan's future development.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored how English is perceived in Taiwan and what impact it has on society and culture. The study has drawn on three kinds of data: (i) analysis of policy and documents, (ii) critical discourse analysis of textual data, and (iii) interviews with respondents from different levels of the education system. The aim was to provide a current in-depth study of the role and cultural politics of English in Taiwan. Rather than offering a general and quantitative picture of global English, this research concentrates on qualitative and contextual data. It focuses on issues which arise when English is given an important role in national policy and when English instruction has been introduced into Taiwan's elementary education. The study thus offers a limited but significant investigation into the spread and influence of English in Taiwan.

7.1 Summary of Main Findings

7.1.1 English Language Policy and English Education as the Mechanism of the Spread of English in Taiwan

Although Mandarin, the official language, is still the language of power in Taiwan and other local languages, especially Minnanyu, have been given more attention in the new elementary and junior high school curriculum, English has acquired a powerful status. The recent prominence of English can be attributed to the convergence of global-structural and internal pressures. While the rationale of English language policy and English education is based on the politico-economic

goals of national competitiveness, the impact of English language policy is not only an educational but also socio-cultural phenomenon. It raises issues concerning the effectiveness of English education, as well as problems of cultural identity and the distribution of resources between English, Mandarin and local languages. English might not directly suppress local languages and cultures but, through language and language in education policies, it is one of the main factors that have changed the power relations of languages and cultures in Taiwan. Facing the pressure of global capitalism and the challenge of globalization, English language policy and English education has become one of the mechanisms of the spread of English in Taiwan, as well as an important element in the design of national and education policy for access to power and resources.

7.1.2 The Ideology of English: The Presentation and Construction of Discourses about English

The spread of English in Taiwan is a product not only of policy making and education practices but also of the subtle influence of discourses about English. While discourse plays a critical role in the exercise of power, discourses regarding English are the sites where ideological representations and power struggles take place. The various discourses on English can thus reflect the ideological basis of the promotion of English. Moreover, the process can be regarded as a part of the mechanism of the spread of English in Taiwan. By analyzing six significant texts including governmental and educational documents, advertisement and news reports, I have identified a number of ideological assumptions about English in Taiwan (see Chapter 6) based on trends of globalization, national economic development and personal competitiveness. The dominance of English and the beneficial rewards of acquiring English serve to form the basis of assumptions such as *'English is the language that links the world'*, *'English as a socio-cultural commodity'* and *'English as indispensable instrument for competition nationally and individually'*.

The indispensable role of English also provokes anxiety about the consequence of lacking English ability and about the effectiveness of English education. Therefore the hypothesis that *'the earlier English is learned, the better the result'* is

widely accepted and there are different degree of concerns that '*a lack of English will cause serious problems*'. To an extent, the ideology of English in Taiwan is based on a strong association between English, globalization and economic competitiveness. In essence, the debate appears to reflect the inherent uncertainty and anxiety regarding Taiwanese's politico-economic future.

7.1.3 Perceptions of English and the Impact of English on Taiwan

To some degree, individuals' perceptions did largely correspond to ideological assumptions in discourses concerning English. For most respondents, the dominance of English is a simple matter of fact and the benefits of learning English is base on commonsense. However, relations between language, culture and identity also evoked interesting responses and were controversial in the discussion on the impact of global English. The responses of the interviewees showed that languages were given different evaluations at different levels according to their functions and social values. In general, English is highly approved of in areas related to national and personal economic well-being, while the prevalence of English also leads to concern about local languages and cultures.

A somewhat contradictory picture therefore emerges. On the one hand, English appears to transform the power relations of languages and cultures in Taiwan. In doing so, it inevitably creates unfavorable conditions for the growth and the maintenance of the local languages and cultures. On the other hand, it also empowers Taiwanese society and individuals by offering a global instrument for communication and achievement. In this sense, English as a vehicle of western cultures and values could be perceived as a threat to the local cultures. But as access to resources, knowledge and the world, it can also be seen as a tool to empower the local society, to express local identity, and thus to resist the socio-cultural dominance of English.

This research revealed that the overall impact of English is therefore complex and that originally expected as the effect is, in many ways, contradictory in various levels. It depends on how society and individuals identify themselves, and to what

extent English is adopted and expressed culturally. In other words, the impact of English varies according to the strength of local identity. It also depends on the degree of cultural awareness of the community, and their consequent reactions towards the influence of English.

7.1.4 Taiwan as a Typical and Untypical Case in East Asia

In this section, the summary reviews the spread of English in Taiwan in the context of East Asia and examines the similarities and differences between Taiwan and other non-English East Asian countries (expanding-circle or EFL countries in East Asia).

Taiwan and other East Asian countries have experienced a rapid growth in the ELT industry and changes in education policy for improving national English ability since the 1990s (Ho and Wong, 2003; Nunan, 2003). For these countries, the rationale for promoting English and problems regarding English education are similar in many respects. Similar to the process of modernization in the twentieth century, globalization and internationalization are the predominant themes in the late 20th and the early 21st centuries. This process has also been seen as the so-called 'Englishization' of the world's political, economic and social communications. It is assumed that this trend is necessary in today's globalized world and perceived as instrumental in stimulating economic competition. In the competitive environment existing between countries such as China, Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, it is assumed that national levels of English proficiency can enhance human capital as a resource, and thus make the country more competitive. However, the impact of English has been problematic in these countries. Problems such as the effectiveness of the state English education, the quality of teachers, crises of cultural identity, and the gap between the urban and rural areas have been identified in most of these countries (Ho, 2003).

Similar to other East Asian countries, Taiwan faces the pressures of globalization and economic competition and encounters similar problems with English education. However, the complicated ethno-linguistic situation in Taiwan and the difficult political status of Taiwan (see Section 2.4.2) has resulted in different responses to global English as regards self-identification and the level of anxiety in the society

and individuals. With little confidence in, or identification with, local languages and cultures, English is regarded as the prestigious language of outsiders. Interestingly, however, Taiwan English, as a variety of world 'Englishes,' is seldom promoted by Taiwanese scholars (cf. several accounts in expanding-circle East Asian countries, e.g. Jiang, 2003; Wei Yu and Fei Jia, 2003; Hu, 2004, 2005; Shim, 1999; Matsuda, 2003). The uncertainty of Taiwan's future not only intensifies the pressure of globalization and economic competition but also leads to higher levels of anxiety regarding the lack of English expertise. Consequently, Taiwan can be regarded as a typical case among East Asian countries in terms of the socio-economic and educational impact of English, while the ideological assumptions (see Chapter 5) and perceptions of global English (see Chapter 6) reflect Taiwan's unusual position in the world.

7.2 Policy Recommendations and Implications

7.2.1 Policy Recommendations

In general, the overall impact of English is considered more positive than negative and the necessity of English is assumed by the majority in Taiwanese society. The main concern here is how to adopt global English effectively without damaging local languages and cultures. A number of suggestions regarding language-in-education policy and issues of cultural identification are proposed as follows:

(a) A more balanced curriculum of language-culture education (Mandarin, local languages and English) is needed.

As several informants argued in this research, the over-emphasis on English in terms of public attention and resource distribution has resulted in an unbalanced development of language and culture education in Taiwan. Interviewees' responses exhibited a high degree of anxiety regarding English and they expressed their concerns about local cultures and languages. Therefore an improved curriculum could ensure equal attention to English, Mandarin and the local languages and could provide a solution to the problem. The important point is that socio-cultural implications should be addressed and taken into

account. For example, each language should be given sufficient learning hours and resources in order to achieve its curricular goals. In addition, the cultural base of each language, and their relations with other languages taught in Taiwan's education system, should also be included in the curriculum

(b) Policy and public attention needs to be given to cultural awareness and identification (in education, the mass media and the government).

In Taiwan, the values of English perceived rely on the power of politics and the economy. But English could be a beneficial tool only if the local communities have a strong identification with its own languages and cultures. Therefore, instead of simply following the current trend, Taiwanese society should take a more active role in dealing with the global spread of English. One solution would be to adopt English purely as a tool to serve Taiwan's needs in international domains rather than to be overwhelmed and assimilated by English and its embedded culture. Therefore, it is important to raise cultural awareness in the process of learning English and to consider English as a medium in expressing Taiwan's culture. For example, instead of emphasizing the use of authentic American or British English, the English curriculum and pedagogy should focus on how to establish effective ability for international communication in general and how to express Taiwan's own cultures and local characteristics. Furthermore, culture-bound elements in English curriculum and teaching materials should be identified and reflected, rather than being taught as mere elements of language.

(c) If the necessity of English is assumed, the effectiveness of English education in the state education system should be massively reinforced in order to reduce inequality.

Similar to other East Asian countries (see Ho and Wong, 2003; Hu Guangwei, 2005), English in Taiwan is generally associated with high social status and prestige. People from a wealthy background are more likely to acquire higher levels of English proficiency simply because more attention and resources are invested in learning English. Without effective English instruction in the state education system, supplementary English education (in the form of cram schools) becomes crucial for improving one's English ability. This can result in inequality regarding access to English provision between the poor and the rich,

and between those living in rural and urban areas. Therefore, more effort should be made to enhance the overall quality and quantity of the state English education in Taiwan. The aim should be to reduce educational inequality and to increase the popularity of English in Taiwan.

7.2.2 The Power of English and the Empowerment of the Local

In conclusion, it would be useful to consider the claim of Foucault (1988), that power is everywhere. The power of English can no longer be identified with a center-border dichotomy, i.e. the powerful native English speakers vs. the powerless non-English speakers. In the context of Taiwan, English is not imposed but promoted through global trends, the education system, and the discourses of the mass media and individuals. At the global level, this research argued that the spread of English can be regarded as a continuing manifestation of modernization (or westernization) which started in the late nineteenth century among East Asian countries. It aims to strengthen national politico-economic capability and to compete with Western powers and other countries in East Asia (see Section 2.4.1 for imperialism and nationalism in East Asia). In Taiwan's case, the intention of improving the national level of English is simply to acquire the language, engage and become successful in global economic competition, and share the benefits.

On the other hand, by examining the impact of English at different levels of Taiwanese society, this research suggests that the power of English is multi-directional. The power of English is sustained, transformed and reproduced where English is prevalent, such as language classrooms, news reports and daily communication. Responses from local societies and individuals to the prevalence of English are not only mere responses in the form of adoption and rejection, but also can be regarded as a dynamic part of the mechanism of the global spread of English. The attention paid to global English in national policy, public forums, and personal career reinforce the influence of the English language and intensify the involvement of different parties (e.g. ENL countries and EFL countries at international level; the government and schools at national level; parents and teachers at personal level). Thus through policy making, resource distribution and educational practices, the local communities should not be regarded as passive receivers but more as active

participants. In this sense, while the dominance of English around the world indicates the power of original English users, English in East Asian countries can be a tool to empower the local communities by strengthening their economic competitiveness and expressing their cultural uniqueness.

It is plausible that in the long term English can become a near-universal language in Taiwan, which might express local identity, if appropriate English language policies and language-culture education are implemented. The economic advantage of English might gradually ebb away if English becomes a common language in Taiwan. However, in the short term, English will still be a source of socio-economic advantage in Taiwan. This may result in a greater influence of English on local languages and cultures, and increase the need to deliver more effective English education.

7.3 Limitations of This Thesis

Instead of providing a general and quantitative investigation, this thesis offered qualitative and contextual research on the socio-cultural impact of global English. By using CDA and semi-structured interviewing as research methods, this thesis presented a critical, in-depth but restricted study. First, the data of this research was collected in a limited time period from 2002 to 2005 when English had been officially introduced into Taiwan's elementary education, and English had been promoted through a national plan. Therefore, rather than a state-of-the-art description of the spread of English in Taiwan, this thesis represents an limited but significant analysis of the ideological, socio-cultural and perceptual phenomena of Taiwanese society in the face of the global spread of English. Secondly, apart from governmental and educational documents, texts selected and analyzed in Chapter 5 include only news reports and advertisements from newspapers. Text selection thus limits the representation of the research since discourses in other media such as magazines, the Internet, TV and radio were omitted. Finally, the small sample of interviews represented in Chapter 6 somewhat restricted the generalization of research results.

7.4 Recommendations for Further Research

I examined the ideological construction of discourses concerning English in a limited selection of texts and explored perceptions of English in Taiwan through a limited sample of interviewees from different levels of the state education system, members of the social elite, and people in other private sectors. For a more general representation of perceptions of English in Taiwan, attitudes and perceptions of other social groups could be explored in any future research. Similarly, further analyses of discourses on English in other forms of the mass media could be carried out in order to obtain a more comprehensive picture of the ideological construction of English in Taiwan.

In addition, research on the socio-cultural implications of the introduction of English at the elementary level in Taiwan also needs to be conducted. These could include a critical examination of education practices, and of the cultural and ideological implications of teaching materials. Moreover, there is also a need to further investigate the impact of English and discourses on English in other East Asian countries. Since English language policy is regarded as a vital means of enhancing national competitiveness, advanced studies on the impact of English in economic competition between these countries would be particularly insightful and useful.

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Original Print of the Selected Texts in Chapter 5

1. Text 5.3

2002 Year of English Fever: Your Ability Determines Your Future!

2002 年 英語發燒年: 您的能力將決定您的未來

2. Text 5.5

Fluent English Higher Pay—Manpower industry: English as salary criterion in nearly half enterprises, most commonly in high-tech industry and foreign companies

英文輪轉 薪情更好—人力業: 近半企業列入給薪標準 科技及外商最普遍

3. Text 5.6

Series of Teaching ABC in elementary schools of rural areas (3)

English Early Rooted Better Result— The lack of elementary teachers, distance of cram schools and affordability of supplement education are problems

「山城小學 ABC 教學」系列報導之三／競爭與成效篇

英語愈早扎根 成效愈佳

申請入大學 未口試研議退費

為避免不同校撞期浪費及照顧窮苦學生荷包 教長表示今年來不及實施 考慮明年起退還部分報名費

【本報專訊/臺北訊】多元入學聲浪... 教育部長李登輝昨日在立法院向媒體表示，現行的多元入學...



世界花式滑冰 優雅之舞 關穎珊輕鬆過關

英語向下扎根 打造優質環境

北市小學91學年全面實施 但師資、教材連貫銜接等問題待解決

【本報專訊】教育部於昨日正式宣布，將對中央日報文檢檢核三次正式刊報，針對目前國內學校英語教學...

2002 全民英語博覽會系列報導

青林外語中心 IELTS教學實現留學夢想... IELTS國際英語能力鑑定考試...

知傳數位科技(Knowledge Express Technologies Corp.)... 結合科技、知識、教育為創業宗旨

2002 英語發燒年

您的能力將決定您的未來! 邁向21世紀國際化時代... 加台台加入WTO...

芬特蘭 南新罕布夏大學... 適合長、短期英語培訓... 美國俄亥俄州的The University of Findlay...

藝術村書店... 世界百科全書... 2001年七月出版的《美國新聞世界報》...

伯克徠兒童美語學校... 專為孩子量身訂作美語環境... 「小孩的孩子可以用流利的英文和外語溝通...

麥克 兒童原文書店... 推廣外文童書 社區肯定... 麥克兒童原文書店成立於1995年4月...

小城小學ABC教學系列之三／競爭與成效

英語愈早 扎根愈佳

國小師資不不足 孩子補習習 路與負擔都是問題

「英語」是五、六年級國語的「第二語言」。國語老師在教國語時，常會用英語來解釋，但英語老師在教英語時，卻不會用國語來解釋。這就是「英語愈早，扎根愈佳」的道理。

在國小階段，英語的學習應以「聽、說、讀、寫」為基礎。但由於國小師資不足，許多學生在課外補習英語。這不僅增加了學生的負擔，也增加了家長的經濟壓力。

教育局表示，應加強對英語教學的輔導，並鼓勵學校採用多媒體教學，提高教學效率。同時，也應加強對師資的培訓，提高教師的教學水平。

稻田呈現苑裡字樣 有創意

歡迎遊客認養稻田 農莊景觀觀無不境凡 點綴農莊插播田間 利用紫色秧苗插播田間



苑裡農莊插播田間紫色秧苗，呈現出巨大的「苑裡」字樣，吸引遊客前來參觀。

南庄農特產研發 製成冰品

遊客免費試吃讚不絕口

「南庄農特產研發」中心，最近研發出一系列冰品，包括「紫米冰」、「芋泥冰」等。這些冰品選用上等農產品製成，口感純正，營養豐富，深受遊客喜愛。

中心表示，將繼續研發更多農特產冰品，推廣南庄農特產，提高農民收入。

石門農場 觀光賣點

梨、橘樹到處金蟬脫殼 蔚為奇觀

「石門農場」位於苗栗縣石門鄉，是一個集觀光、休閒、農業於一體的農場。目前正值梨、橘採收季節，果園裡到處可見金蟬脫殼的奇觀，吸引不少遊客前來參觀。

農場負責人表示，將繼續加大投入，提高農場設施，為遊客提供更好的服務。



石門農場梨、橘樹上，金蟬脫殼的奇觀，吸引遊客前來觀賞。

文藝活動

日期	地點	內容
八月二十五日	苗栗縣政府	張瑞權、希望苗栗廿四線綠化
八月二十六日	苗栗縣政府	林裕章、各處巡迴重福環保
八月二十七日	苗栗縣政府	房紹堂、爭取規畫觀光古道

見聞里村

張瑞權 希望苗栗廿四線綠化
張瑞權縣長日前視察廿四線綠化工程，對目前進度表示滿意，並希望縣民能踴躍參加，共同營造美麗家園。

林裕章 各處巡迴重福環保
林裕章局長日前巡迴各鄉鎮，宣揚環保理念，呼籲民眾減少廢棄物，共同保護環境。

房紹堂 爭取規畫觀光古道
房紹堂局長日前視察觀光古道規畫，表示將積極爭取經費，推動古道建設，發展觀光產業。

水溝蓋蓋 近遭遭竊

近來水溝蓋蓋近遭遭竊，警方呼籲民眾加強巡邏，嚴厲打擊犯罪。

突然沒水 住戶困擾

某地區突然斷水，住戶生活受到嚴重影響，有關部門正積極搶修。

結隊少年青春行 明天舉行

結隊少年青春行活動，將於明日舉行，旨在增進青少年友誼，促進身心發展。

會計研習班 費用自理

會計研習班報名中，費用自理，歡迎各界人士踴躍參加。

高鐵包商 山建設 今徵才

高鐵包商山建設公司，現正徵求各類專業人才，待遇優厚。

頭份中山堂 今晚山寶齋

頭份中山堂今晚舉辦山寶齋活動，歡迎信眾踴躍參加。

蕭明宏 解說親切

蕭明宏先生日前在社區活動中，親切解答民眾疑問，獲得好評。

余海青 任重道遠

余海青先生日前在社區活動中，勉勵民眾勇往直前，共創美好未來。

連犯竊車 男子判六年

連犯竊車案，男子被判處六年徒刑，以儆效尤。

連續販賣 女子判八年

連續販賣毒品案，女子被判處八年徒刑，嚴懲不貸。

馬夫賄賂 婦人半年徒刑

馬夫賄賂案，婦人被判處半年徒刑，法律面前人人平等。

停氣 中油公司天然氣

中油公司天然氣停氣，影響市民生活，有關部門正積極搶修。

莫衷一是

村長大會 莫衷一是

村長大會，莫衷一是。會議中，各方意見分歧，未能達成共識。

會議討論了村莊發展規劃、基礎設施建設等問題。由於利益關係複雜，各方意見不一，會議在爭論中結束。

爭取經費 立委不分黨派

爭取經費 立委不分黨派

多位立委紛紛爭取經費，支持地方建設。不分黨派，共同為鄉梓發展出力。

立委們表示，將根據地方實際需要，爭取各類經費，改善民生，促進經濟發展。

全國學生團保 苗縣承辦

全國學生團保 苗縣承辦

苗縣承辦全國學生團保業務，確保學生安全，保障家長權益。

承辦單位表示，將嚴格按照規定辦理，確保手續完備，服務周到。

熱線信箱

熱線信箱

歡迎讀者來信，我們將竭誠為您服務。

信箱地址：苗栗縣政府秘書處

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Appendix 2

Interview Questions

Information of interviewee

年齡 Age :

性別 Gender :

教育程度 Education background :

職業 Occupation :

母語 Mother tongue :

英文程度（自我評定） English proficiency (self-rated) :

1. Attitudes towards the role of local languages, English, individual's mother tongue and other foreign languages

1. What is your mother tongue? What status does it have in Taiwan?

請問您的母語是 _____

您的母語在台灣的社會地位為何？（如強勢，弱勢，是否為官方語言，使用人口等）

2. Which language is the most important or powerful one in Taiwan? (Mandarin, Hakka, Taiwanese or aboriginal languages) Why?

台灣所有的語言中（包括國語、台語、客家話、原住民語）最強勢或最重要的是哪一個語言？ 為什麼？

請閱讀以下新聞 Please read the following news paragraph.

MOE says English important

Education Minister Tu Cheng-sheng (杜正勝) said yesterday that Taiwan's development will be limited if people in the country do not strengthen their English ability. Tu made the remarks at a seminar held in Taipei on ethnic groups and cultural development. As the "new Taiwan citizen movement" is one of the issues being discussed at the seminar, some participants maintained that mother languages of each ethnic group should be given priority over English. They suggested that the government should not promote English education too early for kids. Concerning such suggestions, Tu stressed that English is the channel to the world community, and the essence of Taiwan culture cannot be accepted and understood by the world without it. (Taipei Times, Monday, Oct 18, 2004, Page 3)

教育部長杜正勝昨日參與「族群與文化發展」研討會中指出，如果台灣人民的英語能力不加強的話，台灣的發展將受到限制。會中針對「新台灣人運動」的議題進行討論，許多與會者指出，相較於英語，各族群的母語應該被賦予更高的優先地位，而政府也不應該將英語教育的學齡過分提早。針對這些建議，杜正勝強調英語是和國際社會溝通的管道，少了它，台灣文化的精隨將無法順利的被國際社會接受與了解。

3. Should mother language education of each ethnic group be given priority over English education? Why or why not?

台灣各個族群的母語學習應該優先於英語學習嗎？為什麼？

4. Will English continue to be the global language in the next 50 years? Why or why not?

未來的 50 年內，英語是否會繼續維持其國際語言(全球語言)的地位？為什麼？

5. Do you agree that English as a global language has decreased or marginalized the teaching and learning of other foreign languages e.g. French, Japanese, German etc. in Taiwan? (a) strongly agree (b) agree (c) neutral (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree.

Why? Please comment.

您是否認為，由於英語具備了國際/全球語言的地位，因此英語已經邊緣化了在台灣地區其他外國語言(如：法文、德文、日文等)的教授與學習？

(a) 非常同意 (b) 同意 (c) 中立或無意見 (d) 不同意 (e) 非常不同意。 為什麼？請說明。

II. English education and English learning

6. When should English be introduced in school? (a) 1st or 2nd year in elementary school (b) 3rd or 4th year in elementary school (c) 5th or 6th year in elementary school (d) junior high school (e) other choice _____ . Why?

英語教育應該從何時開始？(a) 小學一二年級 (b) 小學三四年級 (c) 小學五六年級 (d) 國中 (e) 其他 _____ 為什麼？

7. Is mastering English important? Why or why not?

精通英語是否很重要？為什麼？

8. What have you gained personally from learning English
- in career? in interest? in entertainment? in general?

對您個人而言，學英語的收穫為何？包括事業上、興趣上、休閒娛樂上，以及整體而言。

III. Use and functions of English in terms of daily life and the mass media

9. Is English important for communication or interaction with people in Taiwan? With which people? In which situation?

在台灣，英語是否是一個和他人溝通和互動的重要工具？和哪些人互動？在何種場合？

10. Is English an important language in the mass media in Taiwan? Why or why not?

英語是否是台灣大眾傳播媒體上的一個重要語言？為什麼？

IV. Impact or influence (positive or negative) of English at the individual, polio-economic and socio-cultural levels in Taiwan

11. For you, what does English represent? A tool, a school subject, knowledge, investment, commodity, global infrastructure or something else? If so, why?

對您個人而言，英語代表了什麼？一個工具、學校科目、知識、投資、商品、全球的基礎建設，或其他？為什麼？

12. Do you agree that learning English is beneficial for you to pursue a better career or a better life? (a) strongly agree (b) agree (c) neutral (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree. If so, why? Please comment.

您是否同意，學習英文有助於您在事業上更好的發展或追求更好的生活/人生？

(a) 非常同意 (b) 同意 (c) 中立或無意見 (d) 不同意 (e) 非常不同意。 為什麼？請說明。

13. Do you agree that good English proficiency or ability is regarded as a requisite for better prestige or status in Taiwan? (a) strongly agree (b) agree (c) neutral (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree. If so, Why? Please comment.

您是否同意，在台灣，具備良好的英語能力或程度被認為是擁有較高社會地位或聲譽的必要條件？

(a) 非常同意 (b) 同意 (c) 中立或無意見 (d) 不同意 (e) 非常不同意。 為什麼？請說明。

14. Is the improvement of English ability important for Taiwanese society? Why or why not?

對台灣社會而言，英語能力的提升是否很重要？為什麼？

15. Can better national English ability enhance Taiwan's global competitiveness? Why or why not?

更好的國家英語能力，是否能提升台灣在全球的競爭力？為什麼？

16. Do you agree that the spread of English worldwide has bad/negative effects on local cultures in Taiwan? (a) strongly agree (b) agree (c) neutral (d) disagree (e) strongly disagree. Why? Please comment.

您是否同意，英語全球化(英語的流行與普及)對於台灣的地方文化將有不良的影響？(a) 非常同意 (b) 同意 (c) 中立或無意見 (d) 不同意 (e) 非常不同意。為什麼？請說明。

17. The overall impact of English as a global language in Taiwan is (a) positive (b) negative (b) neutral. Please comment..

整體而言，英語這樣一個全球語言對台灣的影響為 (a) 正面的 (b) 負面的 (c) 中立的。為什麼？請說明。

Is there anything else you want to say about this topic, that I haven't asked you?

針對這些相關議題，您還有其他意見嗎？

Thank you very much for your time. That has been most interesting!

非常感謝您願意花時間接受訪談，也謝謝您寶貴的意見!

Original Chinese Transcripts of the Quotations in Chapter 6

Quotes in 6.3.1

Language of power in Taiwan (Question 1, 2)

[Q 1-(1)]

它以前的主體地位就已經奠定了啊，那現在它還是領先其他語言的重要程度一截啊，雖然現在台語比較復興了，但是重要性還是沒有像國語那麼高 [...] 之所以國語還是最重要的，是因為政府包括政策性、對外、對人民宣布都還是用國語，還有它的教育政策、教育體系都還是先以國語為主。

[Q 1-(2)]

官方語言絕對是最重要的，但是如果講他的 powerful，那我會認為 Taiwanese 應該是比較 powerful。

[Q 1-(3)]

人口..而且我覺得最主要是這還有一個政治色彩...那國內情勢的政治色彩是來自於民進黨他本身就是本土化，所以他會比較 focus 在台灣的母語上，他們很強調這一點。

[Q 1-(4)]

國語是官方語言而且它比較中性，我覺得語言照理來講應該是跟民族是扣在一起的，但是這個國語幾乎跟台灣各族群幾乎沒有辦法扣在一起，你在講這個語言的時候，外省當然是另當別論，就是說感覺不出那個氣勢，我講這個跟沒講這個好像沒什麼關係，很中性，但是如果你講族語或是客家，你講這句話的時候，就會顯現你乘載的那個族群的地位，所以國語是中性的語言，論強勢可能還是福佬[台語]。

[Q 1-(5)]

因為其實孩子都不會講了，在家現在變成講台語他們會聽不懂，以前我們的父母是講日語，我們會聽不懂，現在變成講台語他們會聽不懂，講英文他們就聽得懂，因為他們在國外唸過書，然後我本身也重視小孩子的英文，但是為什麼我會說它[台語]不夠強勢是因為，因為我孩子他會覺得講台語的人他的社會地位好像比較低，因為我老大這樣跟我講過，好像講台語會覺得[...]覺得階級比較低，我有跟他講其實不是這樣子。

[Q 1-(6)]

I: 現在阿美族的小朋友，就是下一輩，目前講母語的能力？

G3: 幾乎不會..其實現在 30 歲以下的，大概都不太會講，在阿美族裡面，30 歲以下的大概都不太會講，也許會聽，但幾乎不會講，像我這個四五十歲的，國語能力比母語能力強，那五十歲以上的母語能力比國語能力強...那是因為..就是說我高中以後，就是看你的環境，如果像我高中以後，如果說是離開家鄉，到都會生活的話，那你漸漸的這個國語能力取代了母語能力，所以我現在講族語有時候是透過國語翻譯過去的...接下來小朋友他可能會一些單字，我覺得...我都懷疑他們聽的能力，就是說他可能只聽兩成三成，所以幾乎要講是不會講，單字

可能會一些...

Mother tongues vs. English (Question 3)

[Q 3-(1)]

當然是母語先學，因為他本來就是母語嘛，其實會用到英語部分的人，只是少數一些比較頂尖份子，他要對外的人，本來人的階層就是一個金字塔，不是每一層的人都應該學好英文的 [...] 但是母語是我們大家平常的溝通相處生活人際關係，那是應該都要會的啊，我的看法是這樣子...

[Q 3-(2)]

母語不只是溝通工具更是文化重要元素，先學母語才有文化傳承，如果先學英語將來孩子的思考就完全西化，這是第三世界文化的悲劇。國際化最重要的不是學英語，而是心胸和眼光...

[Q 3-(3)]

語言其實有兩個功能，一個是溝通的功能，另外一個就像好比我們講的，語言是靈魂之窗，其實我怎麼表達我的語言，其實在表達講這個語言的人的文化，跟他人格的形塑，也是一種思維的模式，所以我覺得你如果不講自己的語言，講那個語言的話，等於是放棄了你自己，語言畢竟是兩個功能嘛，如果你只強調那個溝通的功能的話，那你很快就會喪失你的獨特性了。我們現在常常在講說，「全球接軌，在地行動。」那個「在地」常常是被忽視的，我們一味的在強調競爭力，總的來說，其實這就是文化這個東西跟競爭這個東西你怎麼 balance 它。

[Q 3-(4)]

台灣母語學習應該優先於英語學習，母語的學習也帶比著文化的傳承，若是對自己的文化都不認識，就像沒有靈魂的人一樣，尤其台灣一直不重視母語的學習，另一方面，台灣又無法塑造出良好的英文環境，因而造成沒有一個語言說得好的窘境。

[Q 3-(5)]

我覺得母語不用學習，它就是要家裡面去傳承它，我覺得母語如果只是鎖定在溝通跟談話跟使用的話，不用再把它列為一個課程學了，那如果要探討它的文化背景包括研究，那就是像以前我們去修教育學分什麼漢音啊，那種文化背景的探討，那才要列為一個課程 [...] 因為英文我們沒有那個環境，所謂學習，我覺得學習是屬於後天的嘛，我的想法是這樣，學習是後天的...

[Q 3-(6)]

我會覺得英文要優先 因為客家語不一定要學啊 因為你已經有溝通的語言了 國語就是溝通的語言 所以我覺得英文學習是優先於母語啦 ... 客家語用到的機率少很多 像我在台中太平我就幾乎用不到 如果在東勢區的學校 家長可能就用客家語 這時候才需要用到母語

[Q 3-(7)]

PE1: 我覺得母語不需要這麼的被強調。應該是說，我們擁有母語能力應該是還不錯的一件事，但是我們擁有英文能力我們才能夠具有優勢...應該是未來競爭力的問題，所以說英文能力應該再被加強...

I: 那如果針對原住民那種弱勢的母語呢？

PE1: 那我想它為什麼會不見，是因為它不被需要，那不被需要的東西，你再過度去強化它，那樣子的話...我不知道那個有沒有它的成本效益...

[Q 3-(8)]

SU1: 我覺得哪一個優不優先都不是很重要，為什麼不可以兩個一起學習啊？

I: 所以可以同時，不互相影響？

SU1: 對啊，就像說你如果學母語的話，你不見得對自己文化有認同...我覺得文化認不認同跟語言學習沒有非常非常大的關係 [...] 我不覺得學母語就一定會有辦法對自己的文化有認

同...有可能你只會講英語，可是你對台灣這個文化可能是有認同的

I: 那對於比較弱勢的母語像原住民語呢？需要重視嗎？

SU1: 沒有必要耶，其實我覺得語言這個東西的話，最主要是跟人家溝通，那基本上這個東西...就..就沒有人在用啊，就是說其實沒有那個多的必要性去維持，因為與其跟那個比起來，學英文的比較多吧...就功能來講，那你學台語...就...它的用途不會比英文來得多

[Q 3-(9)]

各個族群的母語是不是應該優先英語的學習 我的答案是否定的 爲什麼的理由是 因爲如果一個強勢語言是一個國家中最多人使用的語言 那麼英文...在全世界來講是最多國家使用的語言之一 所以我認爲它是一個強勢的語言 那英文的學習應該要優於母語的學習 那優於並不代表說母語可以不要 只是說它的順序是它先 這樣子...

[Q 3-(10)]

PP1: 以台灣現在...面對...全球化的狀況，你若英文不行就沒有辦法走出去，但是基本上感情上當然是母語優先，那現實上應該是以國際語言英文優先...

I: 那如果是你的孩子或下一代的話 你會讓他先學哪一種？

PP1: 他們先學哪一種啊，我認爲還是英語學習應該優先...你如果是想留在台灣的話 你母語...北京話能夠通的話那就很好了 但是你如果有要走出去的企圖心 英文不會的話 根本就走不出去嘛

The Status of English in the next 50 years? (Question 4)

[Q 4-(1)]

一定會維持，因爲現在電腦太風行，網路的溝通必須藉助英文，而且政治經濟的觀點而言，這些使用英語的強國，必然不會放棄其優勢...

[Q 4-(2)]

50 年內英語會繼續維持國際語言的地位，因爲用的人多嘛，它本來就強勢嘛，自然用的人多，接下來用的人還是會多，那就算它會逐漸不流行，它也會慢慢的不流行，但是我覺得 50 年還不足以讓它從很流行到完全不流行 [...] 就是你已經習慣的東西，幹嘛刻意大家都改成說我們在國際會議上大家都講中文，你讓哪裡人都講中文，我覺得那就是一個要耗費很多成本的東西，而且我覺得不可能這麼快速的時間就變成這樣...

[Q 4-(3)]

SE3: 不是 21 世紀就要換中文了嗎？（笑）...我覺得再 30 年吧，我預期的是我 60 歲以後都可以講中文（笑），所以我講 30 年...

I: 30 年後是中文的時代？

SE3: 對，因爲中國大陸，依照我現在如果出去開會的話，我上次去韓國開會的時候，有一個韓國人追著我，「你來這裡做什麼？你是大陸人嗎？」這樣子，所以其實他們後來導遊在講，事實上在亞洲的國家，他們亞洲國家比較明顯是學中文變成一種趨勢，因爲大家都要去大陸做生意，大陸的市場太大，十幾億的人口大家都覺得這個市場實在太大，所以現在所有的大家的目光都在大陸，只要大陸開放的時間夠久，應該就會，大家會以中文爲導向，因爲這是顧客導向嘛...

[Q 4-(4)]

目前來講主要的語言發展現在是英文，但是現在慢慢的趨勢是會有學中文的趨勢，但是因爲畢竟美國是老大，那中國也算是老大，可是我覺得英文這個東西是很多人在用的語言，所以他不會被取代，可是會說可能會加一個中文的語言，但是英文還是最主要的國際語言，中文一定會起來，但是他不能夠取代英語，英語還是國際語言，大部分國家都還是以英文維溝通的語言...

English and other foreign languages (Question 5)

[Q 5-(1)]

我覺得它有排擠其他外語 因為...通常人家會選...兩個啦 第一個是因為政府的政策就是要考英文嘛 要考英文大家當然都會先學英文啊 那如果說今天大家沒有這個考試的一個壓力在的話 如果他可以自由選擇第一外國語的話 不見的會絕對選英文 可是因為它已經列入考試項目了 如果你再對其他的語文有興趣 那變成你的第二外國語 那相對要花費更大的心力 那如果說你沒有很強的動力的話 或者說你沒有那樣的需求的話 你是不會再去學到第二外國語的... 它的排擠是跟政策有關係的 因為它有強制規定說你一定要學英文...

[Q 5-(2)]

一般台灣人接收到的國外訊息大多與英語系國家有關 更正確的說 是來自美國觀點 二來義務教育階段英語是唯一的外語科目 在一般觀念裡 會英文才能有利可圖 相對而言 學其他語言'沒什麼用' 何必學呢?

[Q 5-(3)]

有啦 基本上英文是最重要 大部分的人花最多的時間在英文 因為英文還是...最實用的一個國際語言 所以大部分人還是會先學功能最強的語言 然後...要拿來當做職業的工具的話 英文還是 也是最好用的 當然其他的語言也慢慢在崛起啦 我想在台灣的學習有多元化的現象 那英文它短期內地位還是很難撼動 ...

[Q 5-(4)]

我覺得不一定耶 要看耶 看狀況 就包括看年齡層還有看職業 那因為呢 如果是小朋友 就是比較小的小朋友 父母親當然會希望他學的第一語言還是英文 那可是如果到了年齡層比較大了 就是大概 20 幾歲了 那他可能有工作的需求 或者是說他本來英文就學得還不錯了 他可能向外去學其他語言 就包括日文 法文 德文 所以排擠喔 可能小學生 小一點的年紀排擠這個是真的是存在 可是如果是大一點的那倒不見得 因為就我在文藻教的經驗來說 當然在文藻開的班級當中 呃 一些英檢班的開班當然是比較多 可是在我發現日文甚至法文德文其實開班的狀況也還不錯 至少日文就是一個還算第二個很強勢的一個語言這樣子...

[Q 5-(5)]

我覺得不會耶 還是有人在學啊 而且我覺得反而能夠精通其他英文以外的語言的人 會比較吃香 因為英文實在是大家程度上 等於說可以說差異上不會那麼大 但是如果說你自己再精通再會懂法語或是德語的話 那樣的人會比較吃香 因為比較少人 因為比較少人精通這方面的東西...因為英文已經太普遍了 那變成說如果說你再會其他的語言的話 會更好...

[Q 5-(6)]

我覺得不能講邊緣化 因為我們本來就會選一個主要的外國語言學習 反正我們選了英文當主要外國語言學習 因為他本來就是國際上比較常用的語言 所以我覺得 那個第一個選擇我們就理所當然的選英文 那第二個選擇 大家要學第二外語的時候 不會啊 大家還是很開心得去學日文 學法文 所以...我覺得越來越多人學第二外國語啊 因為現在可以看到世界各國的電影 然後還有像日本的偶像劇...我覺得學第二外國語的人口有增加

[Q 5-(7)]

如果是十年前問我 我會同意 但現在我不同意 因為現在資訊實在是...傳輸太快了 而且呢光英跟美國市場並不能吃下所有的 對不對 所以慢慢有人去開拓歐洲或是其他語言的市場 那第一個最容易開拓的話 就是從以前到現在 你看日語 韓語 現在慢慢有在開發韓國市場 所以其實英語還是一個共同溝通的工具 但其他語言慢慢也會有市場...

Quotes in 6.3.2

Starting point of English education (Question 6)

[Q 6-(1)]

ETH3: 如果你要就語言學習來說的話，世界上有很多國家他們的第二個語言...就是說像說英文的學習，以新加坡為例的話，他們是很早就學習，所以就我個人個感覺，我覺得小一是一個不錯是因為我個人有一個新加坡的朋友，他大概就是那個時候開始學的，然後他在使用英文的流利跟這種直覺方面，比像我們這種從國中開始學的來的好...

I: 所以越早越好？

ETH3: 更早就更好啊！如果家裡有錢的話，從出生就可以開始學習（笑），我認為啊，如果可以的話，從出生開始學，對啊，請一個那個英傭在旁邊（笑）...

[Q 6-(2)]

我覺得越早越好的優點是發音跟他的興趣，當然這興趣有包括變的更好或變得不好，看你介入他到底是變得更有壓力，那它就提早結束。我覺得如果可以當然越早越好，因為正規教育從國小開始，所以我就說從小一開始。越早越好的原因很多，因為小時候的課業很少，所以學英文的時間會很多，再來就是發音是絕對是很多音都發得出來，你越長大的話就越有社會化，所以這部分喔，像我老二，因為我有三個，就對照組，我有三個小孩，我覺得越早學發音會越好，聽力也會越強...

[Q 6-(3)]

因為小朋友我是覺得，不要說刻意啦，就是在學校的時候，就是小學開始，因為小學他們比較沒有課業壓力，然後他們吸收能力很強，他們吸收語言的能力啊，非常的強，然後就是說喔，就是...在課業上可以講一些英文，講簡單的英文，也可以讓他背單字，就是從小，因為小沒有壓力他背很快，尤其小朋友背很快，然後等你背進去以後，以後等他譬如說要讀的話，他們就等於是複習...

[Q 6-(4)]

我認為英語教育應該和母語一樣的一個程度的施教 從小學開始的話就應該慢慢給他接觸 慢慢習慣這個英文的感覺 正規英語教育應該和母語一起 將來所有人民對英文的吸收的話和將來的能力的話 應該會比較好一點...

[Q 6-(5)]

那個應該是從中高年級以後，大概四年級以後，因為那個剛進小學現在一二年級我覺得太小了，因為他連最基本的那個什麼字啊 ㄅ ㄆ ㄇ ㄏ，都還不行，至少過了三年級以後再來，啊但是呢現在雖然一二，但是他們有一點把它們遊戲化，就還好，對，因為大部分從中年級以後，中年級是學，我看它的狀況是，中年級學英文是最快樂的，你到高年級學會不敢講，會有一點限制，所以大概可以三四年級開始像遊戲化的教學，不要太重視那個考試或者是測驗...

[Q 6-(6)]

我們以前那個年代是國中，那我現在是覺得可以提早到國小三年級，我覺得可以啦，算剛好...小學一年級可能連基礎的ㄅ ㄆ ㄇ ㄏ都還學不好，就讓他去學 ABCD，對，然後又加上現在家長我覺得都患了一種集體的那種英文..英文瘋（笑）...對，如果家長都這種心態，然後小孩子他同時讓他選那種注音符號跟那種英文字母，或許家長他也覺得注音符號很重要，可是小孩子每天不斷的被洗腦，英文一定要好，英文一定要好，其實難免會忽略了注音符號，所以我覺得小學一年級太早了...我覺得要有一定的語文能力，對，母語的能力，再學英文...

[Q 6-(7)]

我覺得中年級學比較剛好，我是覺得那個年齡上會比較剛好啦，因為你現在五六年級的話，可能你其他課業也比較重啊...而且我們有電腦教學對不對，到中年級就有排電腦課，啊 ABC 都看不懂的話，你怎麼上電腦課？或者說你要操作電腦或者什麼之類的...

[Q 6-(8)]

我認為至少小五之後再學英文較適當，因為這時孩子的中文理論上已有一定的程度，再學習英文，比較能減少干擾狀況，二者語言的學習也是一種文化的學習，過早學習，容易對自己的文化產生認同問題。國內知名英語教育學者張湘君以自己親身經歷寫下一本書「我的孩子

不會講中文」，就指出她的孩子英文說得很道地，中文卻不行，認同美國文化對自己文化產生疏離，這還是較好的狀況，最怕的是，中文不好，英文也不好！...

[Q 6-(9)]

應該是國中吧，我覺得小時候學其實沒什麼用耶，因為我就是從小時候開始學，就是好像國小一年級吧，然後學到最後現在高中嘛，英文也沒有很強啊，對啊，而且小學我覺得很多人都是在玩啊，就感覺沒有認真在學英語吧，對啊，就覺得提早學有點浪費時間...

[Q 6-(10)]

一定要我選的話，我覺得國中就可以了，因為我覺得反正只要現在是早學的話，不管你放在什麼樣的年紀學，家長都會把它，就是我覺得現在的家長都會更提早，所以你把它放在小學一年級，那個小孩幼稚園就會被送去雙語幼稚園啦，然後我覺得做那種事情也蠻沒有意義的，我覺得就是，雙語幼稚園的小孩我發現就是...就那種國語都講得很爛的，然後還要學英語，結果什麼都很爛這樣，所以其實我覺得我們應該更重視那個基本的，就是我們官方語言應該先教好，就是不用那麼早啦，越早學家長給小朋友的壓力會更早...

[Q 6-(11)]

我覺得國中，國小的話還是先學自己的母語，基礎的母語部分，現在英語已經到小一，有些幼稚園就收你了 [...] 其實像現在他們小學為什麼會有英文，為什麼會一直往下，因為學校跟學校之間也會做比較，校長就覺得說不可以輸別人，而且像現在家長他也會去問啊，這間學校是不是自一年級就開始上 [...] 其實就變成招生的問題，因為小學現在也有招生的問題，雖然是公立但是也有招生的壓力，所以現在大部分的學校都會往下，只會更早...

[Q 6-(12)]

G3: 我還是覺得國中，我覺得其實英語對我們來講，其實只是具有溝通的功能而已，溝通的功能的東西不必這麼早學，對我來講只是一個溝通的工具，沒有必要那麼早去學它，那族語除了溝通的功能，還有一種文化人格形塑的功能，文化功能，那你當然是從小就必須要去用它 [...] 所以我的看法還是覺得，溝通功能的這種語言喔，其實不必這麼早學，國中以後再學都可以...

I: 那如果你的小孩呢？你要讓他哪時候開始學？

G3: 我覺得不必那麼早學，但是那個要看情形，就是說，我理性上是覺得不必那麼早學，但是小孩子也許會跟著，就是說也許他國小他同學都在學，他也跟著學我也不反對啊，那我不會不鼓勵他，就是說同學都在學，那你跟著學，不至於讓他孤獨...

Importance of mastering English and personal gain from English

(Question 7 & 8)

[Q 7-(1)]

我認為目前是一種競爭的能力，因為如果找工作，你其他都跟人家差不多的時候，人家就會想說你英文可以，OK 就優先率取，所以它現在是一種能力，那我也常說他其實等到大家能力都提升的時候，它其實只是一個工具而已...

[Q 8-(1)]

I: 對你個人而言 學英文得收穫為何

PE2: 我覺得非常大...

I: 在工作上?

PE2: 我覺得不只在工作上，因為我覺得是社會地位的問題，就是說人家對你的，認識你，人家認為你是什麼樣子的人，在判斷上很重要...應該講社經地位都很重要...

I: 那興趣休閒或其他方面呢？

PE2: 沒什麼幫助，除非真的你講出國玩啦，我覺得那個佔你生活太小一個部分，所以人家說

去旅遊所以學英文，我都認為實在不必要，就叫導遊帶你去就好了...

I: 那整體而言呢?

PE2: 就整個生活都因此而有改變...

[Q 7-(2)]

很重要，英語是權力的象徵及成功的必備條件，精通英語在台灣很吃香，只要穿上西裝，口吐英文，應該很容易在台灣騙吃騙喝...

[Q 7-(3)]

要看我用哪個角度去...討論精通英語的重要性，我會說那些在學術和商業界的人如果英語能力不夠令人滿意的話，可能比較會受到影響，尤其是在資訊爆炸的時代，再加上科技帶來的便利，實在不能否認英語已經變成全球溝通的工具...

[Q 7-(4)]

精通英文...我覺得看是從事什麼工作吧 因為有的人 他不是.. 除非台灣就是發展成很完全的觀光事業 可是應該好像也還沒 我覺得還是會有人就是沒有從事有關英文的這方面的工作啊 所以我覺得是看工作啦...

Quotes in 6.3.3

Uses and functions of English in Taiwan (Question 9&10)

[Q 9-(1)]

I: 在台灣，英語是一個和他人溝通的重要工具嗎?

PP4: 還是..是啊，因為現在台灣越來越多外籍人士，所以要講英文的機會變多...

I: 和哪些人需要用英文溝通?

PP4: 就是在工作上的外國人啊...

I: 是怎麼樣的場合呢?

PP4: 也是工作上...

[Q 9-(2)]

在台灣英文並不是和人互動的重要工具，除了少數人的工作需要如商業需求，大多數人除了在學校學英文，日常生活不會使用到英文，以前還可以找傳教士說英文，現在傳教士也不說英文了，所以要說英文只能花錢去補習班了...

[Q 9-(3)]

TU1: 在學術界是啦 在我們學校工作環境是的 但是在日常生活...日常生活其實也沒有那麼普遍耶 ...我到不覺得它有那麼重要 因為你只會說 偶爾夾一兩句英文啦 但是你不是以它為溝通的...完整的一個工具...

I: 在台灣學術界英文是一個重要的溝通工具?

TU1: 對 但是 就是說學術界是我們這個系啦 還是要看科系 如果是..你如果是中文系 你如果是其他的系 很難講啊 其他的學校或者是理工的科系...

I: 你所指的溝通是?

TU1: 包括開會...系務會議 然後 或者跟同事的一些聊天 因為如果是英文系他們很多都會用英文來開會 因為有很多的外籍老師 所以這方面是一定會用的到的...

[Q 10-(1)]

我覺得它是一個新的主流 像很多報紙 以前都沒有什麼英文報啊 我們現在可以看到媒體上面有兩三份英文報 有的是被迫學習像那個英語雙週刊 一流的學校還有我們學校都會用啊... 它是一個新的 就是說一個必然的主流啦..在形成當中...

[Q 10-(2)]

因為我想 可能想看的人也慢慢越來越多了 因為現在英文的能力好像已經越來越普遍了 好像大家幾乎都...而且我覺得可能是最近 有強調那種說要跟國際接軌 對 我覺得英語太過被強調了 ...所以感覺好像說你要講英文才是一個什麼 可能是有水準的人 這樣的觀念好像..好像被強化了 然後就大家都好像說.. 因為要 所以刻意表現自己 所以就講英文...

[Q 10-(3)]

是啊 至少有十個以上的英語頻道在台灣播出 且涉及廣大的補教利益 媒體一定要非常強調英語的重要 英語頻道有新聞的 CNN BBC 社科普教的 Discovery 動物星球 國家地理 電影的 HBO 音樂 MTV 等 若再加上中文頻道的英文影集教學 更不得了...

[Q 10-(4)]

ETU3: 我覺得它不能算是重要的語言 它只能算是一個輔助的語言 在輔助語言當中算重要的...

I: 重要的輔助語言 怎麼說?

ETU3: 比如說外電新聞 [...] 平面媒體方面 [...] 像 China Post 和 Taipei Times 它基本上所針對的人口 很多還是以學生學習英文的輔助為主 所以我覺得..很多人都是靠那個來學英文的 因為他想知道怎麼樣用英語來跟外國人說 台灣發生什麼事...

I: 所以是英語教學性質的?

ETU3: 如果傳統的 China Post 我覺得比較像 因為很多老師會要求學生說去看那個 因為他們知道學生如果沒有在英美文化生存過的話 你就看 Times 或是看 New York Times 會看不懂 他會不理解啊...

I: 很大部分英文媒體節目是爲了幫助學英文?

ETU3: 很多節目都強調這一點 即使是民視的英語新聞 它也是強調說學英文 (笑)..看新聞學英文 對啊...

[Q 10-(5)]

還好耶...因為大眾傳播對的是大眾嘛 台灣的大眾不是都講中文嗎 現在溝通不是都講中文嗎 在一些工作的場合會用很多的英文 但是大部分的人聚集的時候都還是講中文啊...

[Q 10-(6)]

台灣有線電視有多達上百個頻道可供許選擇 英語頻道爲數也不少 就量而言 不能說不重要 但我相信大多數人看的還是下面的翻譯字幕 說了什麼英語 似乎又不那麼重要了...

Quotes in 6.3.4

English for a better career and higher social status? (Question 11, 12, 13)

[Q 12-(1)]

如果我個人，沒有差，事業上是沒有，更好的生活，也許有可能，生活上的話，也許我們可以出國去玩，退休了，未來我們出國去玩，有這個能力，倒是有可能，目前來講是沒有，目前是沒有機會，因為目前我的事業就是很穩定的這個工作，其實也不是在台灣每一個人都一定 一定要碰英文的，對啊，把英文哄抬的那麼大，不是每一個人沒英文就會死啊，不是那麼重要...

[Q 11-(1)]

SE3: 應該講是一個橋樑啦 橋樑跟工具其實很相近 剛剛講那個基礎也蠻相近的...

I: 爲什麼?

SE3: 嗯...如果有共通的語言 事實上就可以了解別人嘛 對不對 那可以了解別人的意思就是說你可以經由這個東西去接近 接近對方 那就中國人來講事實上 中國人我們只會接觸中國文化嘛 中國的東西 那如果說你今天會了英文 你可能可以跟挪威人講話 你可能可以跟 呢 馬來西亞人講話 你可能可以跟韓國人講話 然後你經由這個你可以知道人家的生活的經驗

人家各式各樣的東西 拓展眼界的一個很好的工具啦 那也是一個橋樑到對方環境去說喔我了解你的環境這樣子 你不會只侷限在你現在這個我所住的這個地方 我所住的這個地方...除了這個 在我工作上 它也是一個很大很好的工具這樣...

[Q 11-(2)]

它可以算是投資..就是說你以後會用得到，就是會比較有競爭力，因為你有可能這個東西會未來的環境 以台灣目前發展的狀況來看，那會是將來..競爭上評比的一個要素...

[Q 11-(3)]

ETH3: 以上皆是 ..

I: 它是一個工具?

ETH3: 它是一個生財的工具 然後對學生而言是升學的工具 學校科目當然是啊 它是一種知識這也無話可說..

ETH3: 它是知識?

I: 當然它是知識啊 因為語言的形成就是知識的一種來源啊 對啊 投資的話 也是啊 因為我們學習這個語言 就學生或就商人或就各行各業的人都是一項投資 商品是的 因為跟隨英文而來的商品很多 全球的基礎建設 是啊 因為像秦始皇一樣 車同軌書同文啊 那我們全世界需要一個 一個溝通的最強力的工具那就是英文...

[Q 12-(2)]

若能用英語來寫論文 所有論文都用英語發表 必能的到利益 也許內容空洞 但沒關係 用英文寫的一定比較受尊重 評價較高...

[Q 12-(3)]

絕對是有 因為台灣還是比較傾向於對這種英文說的好 或是寫作的好的人 他會付與比較高的薪水 比如說像一般外商公司的薪資也是比本土的廠商多啊 對啊...

[Q 13-(1)]

一個人在社會的地位 不會因為英文能力就地位就高..而是他的經濟地位..經濟跟政治的地位 菲傭英文能力好也沒有很高的地位(笑)...

[Q 13-(2)]

SE3: 這不相等吧 不是很相等 我不完全同意啦

I: 為什麼?

SE3: 因為現在喔如果是年輕人社會地位如果說有那個 他大部分是從國外回來的 他們大部分都受過國外的教育 因為只有那些有錢的人 在我們還小的時候才能夠出去嘛 所以這表示他們的上一代給他們很好的環境去接觸.. 那他們有這樣的環境 他當然英文能力好 可是回來他是不是做的比較好 那不一定 這是一個條件 另外一個問題是說 老一輩的 我們老一輩的 比如說 比如說王永慶好了 他也不一定英文那麼強 但至少他基本功他沒有問題 但是他社會地位不是因為這個東西來的 而是因為他的苦幹實幹或是他的企業來的 所以其實大部分的企業家 老一輩的企業家其實他們都不是受過英文教育的人 但是他們的社會地位不是因為學過英文...

[Q 13-(3)]

ETE3:..但是 社會地位高 有的人社會地位高英文不一定好..二者之間的連結 並不是百分之百.. 因為我覺得社會地位的話..就是不是百分之百 因為社會地位的話好像有其他東西來判斷... 因為社會地位應該是看他的事業成就 聲望..

I: 所以英文好不見得社會地位高?

ETE3: 英文好 有的只是業務啊 愛講話而已 有的只是工作上的需要.. 但是喔我覺得反之喔 人家會利用這個來增加自己的社會地位..就是說被利用來提升自己社會地位 或者是自己水準的一個工具...它是個工具 但有這個能力並不代表他社會地位高...

[Q 13-(4)]

有可能，我覺得是有可能，因為目前來講，除了補習班以外，會英文的東西，大部分是說..欸..

比如說英文能力會比較強的都是屬於需要的，醫生，主要是醫生，然後..就是家境比較好的，教授啦，家境比較好的比較能夠提供..呢..金錢讓孩子去學 學 學英文，或是國外留學回來的，要家境好才有機會去啊，你如果說一般家境不好那能去那個國外去學，對...如果說兩個人在一起，如果一個英文能力比較強，一個沒有英文能力，人家會覺得對他的看法會好一點就會覺得說他 好厲害...

[Q 13-(5)]

TH1: 會啊 因為學生會認為英文老師比較厲害啊...

I: 為什麼?

TH1: 他們已經被灌輸很多要學英文以後才有好出路 然後又加上因為他不是每個人都會講當你具備一個流利的英文能力的時候是 象徵你的社經地位本身就比較高 你的能力本身就比較好 這一些潛意識的想法在裡面 所以一般人會覺得說 他可能地位高或它有錢 才有辦法出國留學 說得一口流利漂亮的英文 或者是他成績好之類的 所以英文好都會連結到很多方面...

[Q 13-(6)]

SE1: 這就是社會價值普遍的來講 你看每天新聞都講說 哇 英文很重要啊 然後小學生都應該要講很流利的英文 我以後要怎麼樣怎麼樣...之類的...媒體的影響...

I: 那為什麼大家會覺得具備英文能力就會有較高社會地位?

SE1: 因為你會我不會 或者是我會你不會 那種感覺 對啊 ...例如說一個 可是這也有點不太一樣 例如說客家話 講客家話 大家不覺得他厲害 但是英文的話因為普遍的來講 這是一個國外的東西 然後外國人 美國 好厲害喔...

I: 那若是有一個人很會講法文 你會不會也賦予同樣的價值?

SE1: 對 只要除了國語台語跟客家話 其他 日本話講的很好我也會覺得很厲害.. 對啊 就是你可以把一種別的語言都弄得這麼的厲害 流利 然後表達無礙 都是蠻令人欣賞的...可是這個就像說也許你今天會煮菜 或者是很會講英文 對我來講是一樣的...

[Q 13-(7)]

我不覺得 我不覺得因為一個語言會對一個人 會影響我對他的看法 其他人我不知道 但對我來講沒差...但是我同意在台灣其他人是這樣的狀況 因為大部分人都學不好 (笑) 所以學得好的人就被認為很厲害...還有就是從以前啊 台灣也是接受美援嘛 能夠跟美軍溝通 總是拿到的錢比較多(笑)...而且一般人你看 學了這麼久的英文 還是講不好 所以對那種講得好的 應該特別崇拜吧..而且很多父母自己也聽不大懂英文 可是小孩子只要隨便講幾句像是英文的東西 就很驕傲啊 這有什麼好驕傲的 你中文都講不清楚了 對啊...

[Q 13-(8)]

PE1: 崇洋吧 崇洋媚外 我覺得是這樣子啊 因為會覺得說你教育程度比較高 他會覺得你的呢 可能覺得說你的社會經驗很足夠 那所以說它會給你一個比較 在心目中給你一個比較好的評分標準這樣子

I: 那像國外回來的 ABC 英文很流利 一般人會認為他們社會地位比較高嗎?

PE1: 對 我覺得這是第一印象 因為我們現在講的都是我們再找工作或者第一印象上面 他們的確佔有比較大的優勢 那但是當我們再講工作或是溝通上 其實這只是一個開始嘛 那但是當你相處之後其實就有更多的因素會影響以後的評分這樣子 但剛開始他們絕對佔有優勢...

National English ability and Taiwan's global competitiveness (Question 14&15)

[Q 14-(1)]

G2: 我覺得語言能力提升是蠻好的 但是是不是一定要英文呢 只是現在主流是英文 那當然英文重要啊...

I: 所以提升英文能力重要?

G2: 我還是認為要基礎就好了 不需要到 不是每個人都需要去做外交工作的 不是每一個人
都要去國外工作的啊 不需要全民皆兵吧..我覺得你花那麼多的心思跟資源去追求一些你根本不
需要的東西 然後去 去 去考一些檢定的東西啦 什麼什麼的 但是實際上考了就擺在那邊
了啊.. 我覺得好像沒有絕對的關連 可能是有相對的因素存在啊 因為我覺得說.. 你一旦.. 因
為你站在什麼角度你會去解釋 如果今天我是補教業者 我當然會很高興說 它今天很重要 那
如果今天它也在媒體上面宣導說 這個東西很重要 又報導說我們英文能力又落後於什麼什麼
的 那這時候又緊張了 那官員看了也緊張了 他也覺得說那這樣不行啊 我們這樣輸給什麼亞
洲四小龍 亞洲四小龍裡面最後面一隻啊 那可能面子問題 我覺得多少會有這種很虛浮很虛
榮的東西 但是還是沒有必要每個人都變成那個程度說 一定要去考一個高等或中高 高級的
檢定來證明自己的能力 你考了那個國家競爭力就變強了嗎 是嗎? 每個人考過英檢 國家競
爭力就變強了? (笑)...

[Q 14-(2)]

我覺得應該是先發展自己有特色的文化比較重要.. 然後要用..呢..要用英語把自己的 不管是
英語或是中文 把自己的文化特色推廣出去 英語可以當作一個推廣的工具 讓其他人知道說
喔 台灣是這個樣子 對 不要說一說到台灣他以為是 Thailand...

[Q 14-(3)]

這算趨勢吧 ...就是我們需要因為趨勢的影響嘛 大家就會覺得 雖然不想承認但是還是覺得你
會講英文比你不會講英文 對社會的影響或者是對公司的影響 幫助會比較多這樣 所以可能
會比較重要...就是說同樣兩個人嘛 一個會講跟一個不會講 公司在應徵的時候當然會選對我
公司比較好的人進來幫助我 所以就是 相對的就是如果台灣社會會講英文是多數的話 就是
更容易提升這個社會的競爭力...但前提是要這個趨勢不變啦..

[Q 14-(4)]

TU1: 目前來講是重要的..

I: 重要的原因是什麼?

TU1: 重要的原因是台灣要走出去..因為台灣走不出去啊 所以我們才需要走出去 因為我們台
灣太困難了 就是說政治的處境太艱難 又不被人家承認 然後我們一直要往外走 我們的經濟
要發展 經濟要發展我們又不想走中國大陸那個方向 那你就只好跟其他的外國企業多接觸
然後島內你不可能自己發展 所以你要跟國外接軌 跟國外接觸 英文就一定要...

[Q 15-(1)]

ETH3: 這是必然的

I: 必然的?

ETH3: 當然啊 一個好的國家 (笑)...這句話我實在想不出有什麼可以挑剔的地方...(笑)

I: 為什麼英文能力提升全球競爭力會增加?

ETH3: 因為英文在目前全世界是強勢的語言 所以在很多方面都會顯示它大 所以我們如果說
在台灣英文能力提升 在全球競爭力方面就會增加 舉個例子啦 我的親戚他家裡開工廠 他不
會英文 他的東西可以銷到歐美各國 他有這個技術 可是他沒有這個語言 他必須透過一個仲
介 把他的東西再往外推銷 那跟他自己本身有這個語言 他架設網站他直接跟國外客戶接觸
他中間多了一層利益的剝削 這是最簡單的例子...

[Q 15-(2)]

這可能可以 因為如果我們看新加坡和香港的例子 他們經濟持續繁榮部分是因為他們大部分
的人民都有英語基本本的使用能力...

[Q 15-(3)]

G3: ...不會..就算很多講英文的國家 也不見得有很強的競爭力 ..很多國家英文是官方語言也
不見得有很強的競爭力 印度受英國殖民很會講英文 可是有很強的競爭力嗎?...

I: 那競爭力取決於?

G3: 在你這個國家的科技..科技跟產業的發展...

[Q 15-(4)]

ETU3: 我覺得英語能力跟競爭力沒有那麼大的相關耶..

I: 不太相關 爲什麼?

ETU3: 因爲那是看產業結構的問題 而不在於只是語言的問題 應該是整個產業還有政策的問題...

I: 是產業政策的問題

ETU3: 對 因爲一個國家 以日本來講 日本這個國家有講英文的 也有人不會講英文 可是對他們經濟力 他們英文還是排倒數第一 沒有一個人能拼的過他們的 但是他們經濟力有沒有影響 其實影響範圍沒有那麼的大 所以我覺得還是他們在國家的產業跟自己的政策...

[Q 15-(5)]

更好的管理方式與創意和研發 甚至自信心 都比英語能力重要 不過提升英語能力 當然可以提升台灣的國際競爭力 只是重要性不高...

Negative effect of English on local cultures? (Question 16)

[Q 16-(1)]

會有影響 但是這個影響是好還是不好目前很難斷定...因爲你要去學英文這佔據到你原本學一些別的東西 或者是你運動的時間 或者是你參與一些活動的時間 所以有影響 但是到底是好還是不好 這沒有一個標準...

[Q 16-(2)]

PE1: 會 就是一個排擠嘛..

I: 排擠?

PE1: 對 但是不是負面的 我覺得這是一個趨勢吧 我覺得不會是說比較負面 就像人一天你只有 24 個小時嘛 那你拿來學英文 你自然會比較少學你的本土的東西 那這好像是一個很自然的現象..

I: 所以有排擠效應 但不見得是不好的

PE1: 對啊 這種東西我們很難去辨別說 你真的去學了本土的東西會比較好嗎 那或者說你學了英文 學了英文我還 其實我可以覺得說我可以變得比較好 但是我多學了本土的東西 我只會比較了解他們這樣子 但是我覺得我的人生不會因爲這一點而有所改變...

[Q 16-(3)]

ETU3: 因爲英語還是英語啊 全球化是全球化的東西 但是你在 local 的東西還是一樣 它還是存在的 而且大部分人還是在 local 畢竟出國的人不是每個人出去啊..我覺得那是兩個不同的區塊...

I: 兩者是不同區塊?

ETU3: 因爲本土文化 比如說不管是中文還是台語 他自己一個系統啊 而且用這樣子的語言在競爭的人畢竟就是那些人 用英語在競爭比如說像做國際貿易的 他也是跟那一群人在競爭 他怎可能跑去跟本土的業務競爭 所以我覺得那應該是不一樣吧

[Q 16-(4)]

因爲我覺得,地方文化就像我剛剛講的,一開始如果你自己很重視你的,你只不過是把英文當工具跟人家做更好的溝通,更好的溝通,你不見得會 會 你應該 proud of your own traditional culture,所以你不需要去變成說,喔,因爲有那個,所以會影響我的文化,應該不是,而是說我更樂意去 show 我的東西,去跟你 share 我的那個我擁有的 knowledge 或是我的 traditional 的很多東西,是可以 share 的,我的感覺是這樣...

[Q 16-(5)]

我覺得不同意 因爲現在的一個趨勢啊 都是 就是在全球化趨勢底下 現在有很多學術上或什

麼大家是越來越重視地方經驗 和扎根本土 就是變成是..現在我大部分看到很多就是..就是放眼世界 但是是要扎根 就是自己的本土 那台灣現在因為也是政黨輪替 所以都剛好又都還蠻重視本土的東西要回來 啊配上國際化 我覺得並沒有互相衝突 並不會說到排擠或衝突 啊因為像那個時候在唸書的時候啊 它很多的那個..呃..研究或什麼經驗分享啊 很多都是一定要取法那個..社區 因為有走社區的趨勢嘛 就是從當地經驗 來 來吸取它的經驗 吸取它的經驗和成功的例子 然後在推到全球化 就是其實很多都是要從小地方做起 所以我是覺得目前的趨勢 好像還好呢 好像不會有不良影響...

[Q 16-(6)]

我不同意 這是一個全球化的狀況，影響多少有，但除了英文，台灣也同樣受日文、韓文，甚至泰語的影響。使用人口的多寡反映受影響的深度，而在東方使用中文的人口仍佔多數，倒不至於因英語普及而使母語文化被覆沒的程度...

[Q 16-(7)]

G2: 我個人是感覺不出來說那麼明顯說是不良 可是我真的是覺得說反而真的會去侵犯或影響本土文化的 是自己本土文化裡面的幾個語言在做競爭...我為什麼覺得他對本土文化的影響不是很那個是因為我感受不到 我感受到的是說 我們自己講台語的 他其實是被講國語的排擠的 還有原住民他自己的母語其實也是被國語給排擠的 當一個國家有一個官方語言的政策 他勢必會把其他的母語的東西把他排除掉...

I: 所以是國內內部的語言文化競爭？

G2: 對也許英文會有影響 但是他那個程度跟 那個鄰近性啊 絕對沒有自己內部造成的壓力那麼大 那麼明顯 也需它有但是我這邊是沒有明顯感覺到...

[Q 16-(8)]

TU1: 嗯 我不認為有不良的影響..

I: 為什麼？

TU1: 嗯 有影響但是好不好我真的不知道 目前很難做這樣子的判斷說他到底是好還是不好 我覺得好壞都有 比方說 講比較正面的 台灣今天的布袋戲之所以還可以有 TV 的形式來存活 對不對 它就是一個受到西方的這些價值文化的影響 比方說你會看到布袋戲裡面開始出現吸血鬼 (笑) 然後出現聲光音效啊 是受到西方的影響啊 西方的科技啊 然後西方的 呃 這些文化的影響 那讓你覺得是新奇的 讓你覺得是跟的上時代的 讓你覺得你這個東西傳統跟現代之間是接軌的 啊所以這是一個.. 有些人認為這是對於本土布袋戲文化的 ..的詆毀 可是有些人認為這是現代布袋戲之所以還能夠讓大眾接受的原因 不然基本上 現在歌仔戲現在是上不了電視的 對不對 那個國劇也上不了電視 那布袋戲可以啊 表示什麼 有很多人在看 This is a very good example, right? Very important case study for cultural studies...

I: 所以他對傳統文化有正面影響

TU1: 有正面有負面

I: 那負面是？

TU1: 負面是有人認為他是 同樣的布袋戲 認為他是不倫不類啊 他認為說傳統的布袋戲應該就是簡單的 然後沒有那些聲光音效 他應該是要更 更 更精緻的表現布袋戲本身玩偶的那種 那種婀娜多姿的姿勢啊 然後操控的靈巧性啊 而不是在那種氣功的打出去有那個聲光效果啊 所以他們認為這是一個對傳統戲曲的傷害 所以這是正反面價值都有的...

[Q 16-(9)]

因為文化差異的問題 比如說之前電視上有那個卡通辛普森家庭 它使用非常粗鄙的語言 還有那個南方公園 他用的那種血腥的畫面 然後 也是不好的文字或是語言 那個對青少年是不好的示範...因為文化進來本來就是這樣...小朋友有可能比較不重視本土的文化 因為他生活週遭中都是這種歐美的文化 那他久了就認為說這也是我們家的東西.. 就內化了..這是外國強勢文化的一種殖民 你會覺得說理所當然...

[Q 16-(10)]

I: 英語全球化 也包含了文化的層面？

SE3: 侵略 我覺得是侵略

I: 侵略?怎麼說?

SE3: 因為我們現在年輕的一代 事實上跟我們 比如說 我們這一代不要算好了 比如說跟我們以前的那一代 已經完全的不一樣 為什麼就是因為國外的文化一直在進來嘛 所以小孩子當然他在自己的文化還沒有站穩之前 他就接受外來的文化 他就會覺得那個外來的文化就是他的文化 所以你本來的文化就不見了 那不是侵略嗎...

I: 你所指的侵略是英語主動嗎? 還是我們主動擁抱?這個過程是不可抵抗的嗎?

SE3: 我覺得到最後大家 如果溝通越來越良好 其實大家的文化會融在一起 但是呢 就是在這個過程當中一定會有一些文化消失 一定會有一些文化是壯大嘛 但是你是 dominant 你是有優勢的語言這樣的一個優勢的情況之下 事實上我如果以後通通都得用你的語言 我就用你的方式去思考 然後讓你可以了解我的東西 對不對 但是久而久之我就會學習你那種方法來用我的東西 所以我會說他是侵略...不是我們故意去擁抱它 是因為實在 你講趨勢也是一點 就是說 我如果英語已經全球化 我就必須要用這種方式來思考 那久而久之我就用這種方式思考 因為我都一定要用這種方式啊 比如說我現在 我現在看書 我現在看東西 我會翻成 我如果是在寫 paper 的時候 我會翻成英文 我會用這種方式去思考 那久而久之中文我有時候會忘記 那是一定的道理嘛 對 所以我認為 當然你說 是它主動的侵略嗎 可能也不至於啦 但是目前來講它是一個強勢的東西 所以事實上我們必須要用這種方式思考 我們 我們也不想主動 但是也沒辦法...應該講無力抵抗...

[Q 16-(11)]

SU1: 我覺得不良的影響一定是有的 就像我剛剛說的 學英文這件事情佔了我們太多的時間 因為我有時候會想說 為什麼不是人家來學我們的中文 對啊 而且你看花錢又花時間 對不對 而且你學這個東西 不能保證你將來真的用得到 只是增加一個技能 一個機會...

I: 所以你同意他對台灣地方文化有不良影響?

SU1: 不良影響我覺得不只這些 其實它有很多很多的觀念其實會造成...就像我們台灣可能會就是一直去崇洋媚外 我們台灣很有這種格性 就是覺得說 從外國回來的就一定比較好 真的是這樣子 但是我覺得好的 我覺得傳統不一定就是保留下來 但是好的要留下來啊 不好的就可以去掉不用理他 像我就覺得說沒有必要刻意去發展母語的東西是因為 因為他如果沒有非常實在存在的必要 為什麼一定刻意去那個 就是按照時代的那個 因為時代會改變啊...

Overall impact of English on Taiwan (Question 17)

[Q 17-(1)]

就國際化而言 他是正面的 沒辦法要跨出去就需要他... 我覺得還是 open 一點 even 它會排擠到部分的本土文化 我覺得如果真的是很好的文化的話 應該是禁得起 可以禁得起考驗的啦 可是還是要 open 不要爲了要去.. 不要去操弄啦 好像那種閉關的態度也不是很好 我覺得就讓自由競爭的法則下去運作就可以了...

[Q 17-(2)]

SE5: 應該是正面的..我認為往後這個你說五十年也好六十也好 一百年也好 英文的東西應該是.. 他要衰落還有一段時間 所以我認為說現在的教育應該要開始 假使說你不開始的話 那台灣的競爭力就慢慢被打壓掉...

I: 那英語對台灣有哪些正面的影響?

SE5: 就像我該才講的 大家都會英文 大家都有辦法說 有辦法寫 都很自然的 那這樣的話 台灣在國際的地位或是在國際從事經濟活動或是社會活動 或是人文活動 都有辦法與國際接軌啊 不必經過翻譯啦這些東西的話 這些都浪費人力財力啦 你能夠直接吸收的話不是很好嗎?...

I: 就是跟國際接軌..

SE5: 國際接軌啊 因為你現在一些東西都要靠翻譯來接軌嘛 那些翻譯那接人力財力的話 我

認為是浪費得太多了 你假使說大家都能夠直接吸收的話 那不很好嗎 因為我們沒有辦法領導人家 我們就要學習人家嘛...你沒有辦法趕得上人家 所謂迎頭趕上 也是要吸收人家的東西才能迎頭趕上...

[Q 17-(3)]

PE2: 我沒有什麼正面負面的想法 因為我覺得這就是個趨勢不是嗎

I: 趨勢 沒有好或壞?

PE2: 對 就是你必須要去 沒有什麼好或不好 就很像你一個謀生工具 這是一種 就很像我們以前要讀書一樣嘛 對不對 你就是必須要去做的事情啊 所以沒有什麼好或不好 這就是一個趨勢 你就接受他...

[Q 17-(4)]

我選(c)中立 因為我覺得要真正評估整體而言英語對台灣的影響需要更長的時間 而且當然有些影響可能是很細微的而可能不容易用量化的方法得知...

[Q 17-(5)]

SU3: 正負面都有吧

I: 正面的影響是?

SU3: 就是它會讓我們更有能力去獲得更好的...譬如說 國際地位提高嘛 然後獲得知識容易嘛 然後進而對一些我們譬如說經濟要發展啊 或者是外交要拓展啊 就是更都能夠更便利 然後更 更有實質的受惠 大概是這樣...

I: 那負面呢?

SU3: 負面喔 可能比較屬於那種心理層面的影響嘛 一些比如說對於本國文化的不認同嘛 或者是對小孩子一些潛移默化的影響 然後吸收到一些外來文化的不好的觀念之類的...

[Q 17-(6)]

G3: [...] 因為我覺得台灣如果繼續存在 是靠經濟 我們經濟又是出口 出口的那個口就是英文 如果說我們不會英文跟國際之間沒有辦法講 台灣經濟衰退 人民的生活就沒有辦法 所以我覺得如果從這個角度來看的話 英文是很重要的 [...]

[...]

I: 但是在文化或其他層面?

G3: 文化跟一般的..其實對文化來講其實形成緊張 緊張...競爭關係 [...]

I: 那這個文化的緊張競爭關係 對台灣有怎樣的影響嗎?

G3: 應該這樣講..台灣社會如果分成上中下 上流社會 中產 跟低層 其實英文有影響力只有上層社會 那但是每個人都想往上爬 就是說因為每個人都想往上爬 所以這個就是你的門票 如果你不想往上爬 他實際上其實有沒有什麼關係 因為只有上面的最上面百分之二的可能經常用到他 就是如果你不想往上爬的話 其實沒有那個 你說我沒有什麼關係啊 [...] 其實我覺得 長期來看其實全球英文也許競爭力高了 社會的不穩定也增加了...

[Q 17-(7)]

我覺得呢..應該算正負面都有吧 因為正面就是說 至少我們再去多學了一種語言啊 對不對 那...那壞處就是說 我們自己台灣 把它變成是一種.. 當很多東西變成政策以後 因為..因為以前從國中開始 現在國小就要學了 然後有些小孩反而他的學習興趣是被壓抑的 所以我覺得... 不知道該怎麼說耶 一把刀有兩面 有好有壞啊 ..多了一個語言可以跟國際溝通 可是另外一面就是說 你把它固定成式話說一定要學英文 對 這個 這個 對於學生來說 如果他有選擇性的話 他不見得要選英文當作他對外溝通的管道啊...我覺得他改變了社會的一種可以有可能更多元發展的一個機會啦...

[Q 17-(8)]

對台灣的影響 台灣人一直很想把英文弄好吧...它的影響...我覺得是正負面都有 因為正面的話 積極的學習嘛 然後呢有很多新的比如說...新的可能就是對於國際上的一些..我們講是 promotion 啦 或是一些對自己的一個所謂的 image 方面的塑造 你的形象推銷 這是一個比較

正面的吧 因為有很多會英語的人在做這方面的事 比以前多 但是負面呢我覺得就是太早學英文了 所以造成中文英文都爛...

[Q 17-(9)]

其實都有 正面就是讓人家覺得說 正面就是讓人家不學不行啦 大家都是要學啊 就是刺激人們去學那語言 然後負面就是對一些就是說喔 沒辦法學沒有學的人就是沒有競爭能力啦 會變成這樣 少一個競爭能力啦 即使我真的能力很強 但是我語言不會 那我就是沒有辦法跟人家競爭 很可憐的...現在也是財富不均啦 越好的越好 越差的就越差 因為政府也沒有很用心在照顧那些弱勢團體 其實他們真的有那個天賦有那個能力 但是也沒有辦法...

[Q 17-(10)]

SE3: 看方面啦 其實正負面都有啦 但是你說整體而言 比較來講的話 事實上現在講求是國際化的話 事實上英文對我們應該是正面的影響...如果我們要講求本土文化的話 要講求你這個人跟外國人有什麼不一樣的話 這樣的東西 就有文化的侵略...

I: 所以兩相比較之下 算正面?

SE3: 對 整體來講我認為還是要學英文啦 應該講整體來講 但是說你說如果我著重在文化發展這個角度來講 我就覺得這個東西不應該太被強調 但是如果你說要科技的發展 或是要先進的什麼生化條件什麼之類的話 我認為你還是得學 因為這是不得不做這一件事情這樣...

[Q 17-(11)]

I: 那負面呢?

TU1: 負面呢.. 呃 ..就是它相對就排擠很多很多的其他相對必須要學的東西 然後 呃...負面呢 有負面 但是因為我都覺得他是小惡啦...我覺得 我覺得啦喔 如果 如果台灣本身的主體性夠強的話 正面的意義是大於負面的 負面的意識是可以被克服的...

I: 主體性.. 那台灣和其他亞洲國家在面對英文全球化的潮流時如何因應? 如何保有主體性嗎?

TU1: 英文越來越普遍是一個事實 在這些國家裡面都一樣 不管中國 新加坡 香港 台灣 日本 南韓 幾乎都跑不掉同樣的結果 但是 英語的普遍化 並沒有造成文化的同質化 就是說基本上這是兩個不同的命題 所以.. 英語它越來越成爲一個全球的工具 那透過英語幫你帶進來很多西方的價值 但是透過這些不同的價值的產生 同時也造成在地主體性的強化 所以這是一體兩面的事情...

I: 所以英語這樣的風潮底下的話 其實會造成警覺?

TU1: 對 基本上你看到不一樣的 看到別人的特質的時候 通常你就會反射到自己的特質 就是說你有一個 contrast 當他 那個 others 越清楚 你的 subject 就越呈現...

Appendix 4

Examples of Interview Transcripts

Example of interview transcript (1): G1

Information of respondent:

Age : 42

Gender : Female

Education background : PhD in Education

Occupation : Government Official (Senior Specialist), the Ministry of Education

Mother tongue : Minnanyu/Taiwanese

English proficiency (self-rated) : OK

Interview transcription

I: 您的母語是台語 那您的母語在台灣的社会地位?

G1: 我認爲他還蠻強勢的啊, 目前來講是...

I: 強勢...

G1: 但是非...不是 official language

I: 不是官方語言...

G1: 對 我想 official language 還是 Mandarin

I: 他強勢的原因是?

G1: 因爲用 population 來看 所以他還是很強勢

I: 所以是人口? 您用人口來看?

G1: 對 對 講的人口多所以他是強勢

I: 那台灣所有語言中最強勢或最重要的是哪一個?

G1: 官方語言絕對是最重要的 但是如果講他的 powerful 那我會認爲 Taiwanese 應該是比較 powerful

English translation

I: Your mother language is Minnanyu. Then how about the status of your mother tongue in Taiwan?

G1: I think it is quite powerful, for the moment, it is...

I: Powerful...

G1: But not...not the official language

I: Not the official language...

G1: Yes, I think the official language is still Mandarin.

I: Why it is powerful?

G1: Because, in terms of population, it is still very powerful

I: It's the population? In terms of population?

G1: yeah, yeah, it has larger speaking population, so it is powerful.

I: Then among all languages in Taiwan, which language is the most powerful or important?

G1: The Official language definitely is the most important. But if we are talking about 'powerful', then I would think that Taiwanese should be the more powerful one.

I: 您把重要性和權力分開?
G1: 應該是不一樣
I: 所以權力比較大強勢一點的是台語 但是重要性來講...
G1: 重要性應該是國語
I: 台語強勢是因為人口...
G1: 人口..而且我覺得最主要是這還有一個政治色彩 目前國內的情勢他有政治色彩 那國內情勢的政治色彩是來自於民進黨他本身就是本土化 所以他會比較 focus 在台灣的母語上 他們很強調這一點
I: 所以現在是政治情勢影響了...
G1: 我覺得那個是一部分啦 就是說會更凸顯台灣母語的那個強勢 可是這個政治跟目前官方的這個其實是兩回事 它只是讓它站的位置更強更重要

I: 就是有提升而已?
G1: 對 對 我認為是有提升...
I: 請您看一下以下這段新聞...

I: 那您已經看過這個新聞了 針對杜部長講的母語和國語哪一個應該要優先學習?

G1: 我會認為母語
I: 母語 原因是?
G1: 母語的學習是它會了解你的那個 traditional custom 或是 culture 會讓你更...怎麼講 去了解你的源頭..

I: 就是認同感嗎?
G1: 對 認同感
I: 還是母語應該優先...您有涉及到英語相關的業務嗎?
G1: 有
I: 那未來 50 年內 英文還會維持它的地位嗎?會維持他國際語言或世界語言的地位嗎?

G1: 會 應該會 我覺得應該還是會 因為它還是共同語言嘛
I: 共同語言...
G1: 對 就是它可以變成世界共同溝通的語言

I: 它還會繼續成為世界共同語言的原因是?
G1: 我覺得還是就是因為它夠嘛 它夠

I: You separate the important from the powerful?
G1: They should be different.
I: So Minnanyu is more powerful and has more power, but in terms of importance...
G1: The important should be Mandarin.
I: Minnanyu is powerful because of its population...
G1: Population... and I think the main factor is political...the political influence of domestic situation is that the DPP emphasizes localization. Therefore they will focus more on mother tongues. They emphasize this point very much.

I: So now it's the influence of political climate...
G1: I think that's a part of it. That is, it will emphasize the strength (powerfulness) of mother language in Taiwan. But politics and the current official language are two different matters. It just makes it stand in a more powerful and important position.
I: Just enhance its status?
G1: Yeah, yeah, I think there is enhancement...
I: Please read the following news report...
(*the respondent were reading the news report.*)
I: You have read this news. Focusing on what Minister Tu said, which one should be given priority? Mother languages or Mandarin?
G1: I would say mother language
I: Mother language, why?
G1: To learn mother languages is to learn your traditional custom or culture and it will make you more... how to say it, make you understand your origin.
I: Is that identification?
G1: Yes, identification.
I: Mother languages should be given priority... Do your duties at work related to English?
G1: Yes.
I: Then in the next 50 years, will English sustain its status? Will it sustain its status as an international or global language?
G1: Yes, it will. I think it will sustain, because it is still the common language
I: Common language...
G1: Yes, that is, it can become the language of common communication in the world.
I: Why will it continue to be the common language of the world?
G1: I think it's because it has enough, it has enough

population 嘛 講的人夠多 會講英文的人夠多 比如說我跟日本人 如果他不講中文的話 我們只能用英文溝通 它變成跨國的....一個非英語系國家溝通的語言... 還有就是我覺得大部分的文件還是用英文 document 國際性的各項文件幾乎都是用英文 很少用其他語文來敘寫...

I: 那有任何競爭的語言會出現嗎? 跟英文競爭

G1: 中文囉

I: 中文有可能?

G1: 我覺得中文 因為這個就是 我的立論就是用 population 來看 將來中文會是一個強大的競爭

I: 所以按人口 就是取決於中國大陸那邊的狀況?

G1: 對啊 對啊 包括我們都算同一個語系 全球的 population 的話 我覺得中國人算很多

I: 如果華人夠多 影響力就會漸漸增加

G1: 沒錯 沒錯

I: 對...因為英文具備國際語言的地位 您同不同意英文邊緣化或減少了台灣其他外語的學習?就是有點排擠其他外語

G1: (笑)嗯.....我只能說它排擠到學生學習的時間 你用 marginalize 是不是?

I: 我用 marginalize 邊緣化

G1: marginalize...(思考)

I: 有排擠掉時間

G1: 其實排擠掉時間是一部分 長遠來說它是會排擠喔 長遠...

I: 長遠而言...

G1: 這個 也就為什麼 就是說 我的感覺喔 語文的學習它是一個...自然環境下形成之後你大概就不會忘記了 但是對於外來的... 我們學母語 你大概學了以後 大概幾乎不會忘記了 可是對於外來語文的學習 如果你有很長的一段時間也是這樣學習 你大概也不會忘記 所以那個就會變成那就是一個...這什麼...架構 疊上去的問題...

population. There is enough population of it users. With enough population of English users around the world, for example, if I want to speak to people from Japanese who can not speak Chinese, English will be the language we choose to communicate. It becomes an international... a language for communication between non-English speaking countries... In addition, most international documents are in English. Documents, all kinds of international documents are written in English. Other languages are seldom used...

I: Then, will there be any other competitive language? To compete with English?

G1: Chinese

I: Chinese is possible?

G1: I think Chinese, because this is, my argument is based on population. In the future, Chinese will be a very strong competitor.

I: So it depends on population. Does that mean it depends on the situation of Mainland China?

G1: yeah, yeah, including us, we all belong to one language system. In terms of global population, I think the population of Chinese is very large.

I: If there are enough Chinese people, its influence will gradually increase?

G1: that's right, that's right

I: Right... because English has obtained the status as the international language, do you agree that English has marginalized or decreased the learning of other foreign languages in Taiwan? That is, marginalize other foreign languages.

G1: (laughs) em.....I can only say that it does decrease students' learning time. You use the word 'marginalize', don't you?

I: I use 'marginalize'

G1: Marginalize...(thinking)

I: There is a decrease of time

G1: Actually the decrease of time is only a part of it. In the long term, it will marginalize, long term...

I: In the long term...

G1: This is also why, that is my feeling, language learning is a...you probably will not forget it once it is formed under the natural circumstances. But as to foreign languages... We learn the mother language. After you learn it, you probably will never forget it. But as to learning foreign languages, you probably will not forget it if you have learned it for a very long period of time. So it becomes a kind of...what is it...framework. An issue of piling up...

I: 累積出來的...

G1: 對 可是如果你在學生同一個時段裡面 他要學習很多不同的語言 那就會有這個問題 那就是看你的學習的情況 所以排擠時間是會 可是長時間來說.....你就不會再碰其他的語言 就以英文為主...

I: ...那英語教育應該哪個時候開始? 是 (a) 小學一二年級 (b) 小學三四年級 (c) 小學五六年級 (d) 國中 或是 (e) 其他?

G1: (b) 應該就是小學的中間

I: 中年級的時候

G1: 對 對

I: 為什麼是中年級?

G1: 我沒有教英文的 experiences 但是我的 experience 是來自於我去教我自己的孩子 我有兩個孩子 他們都是差不多小學三年級開始我讓他們學英文 我是有請外籍老師 一開始是外籍老師當家教 可是老師回去之後我還要給他 review 或是告訴他這中間 然後你有提到說要不要早一點學 對不對? 我認為那個是對 mother language 是要早一點學 可是對這個外語我們不談 official language 我們談是英語的話 我認為不需要太早 因為太早它會.. 我認為那是一個障礙 因為我們學習任何語言 雖然 language 是可以互通的 它是一種 ability 是可以互相去 transfer 的 但是它相對的會減少你的對某一個專精的學習 這是我認為的

I: 母語還是基礎?

G1: 基礎 對 這就是我認為英語不需要太早學的原因

I: 現在國小英語已經到中年級了?

G1: 2, 3 年級了 2 或 3 年級了

I: 那有些縣市已經到一年級了 如果說就家長的看法的話 您認為一年級開始呢?

G1: 一年級...我會覺得稍微早了一些

I: 稍微早了一點...

G1: 因為在台灣比較不一樣 就是說 我們除了母

I: it is accumulated...

G1: Yes, but if in the same period of time, students have to learn many different languages, then, there will be this kind of problem. That is, it depends on your situation of learning, so, there will be a decrease of time, but in the long term.....you will not pay attention to other languages and will focus on English...

I: ...then when should English education start? Is it (a) grade 1 and 2 of elementary schools, (b) grade 3 and 4 of elementary schools, (c) grade 5 and 6 of elementary schools, (d) junior high schools or (e) others?

G1: (b) it should start in the middle of elementary education.

I: The middle grades

G1: Yeah, yeah

I: why the middle grades?

G1: I don't have any experience of teaching English, but my experiences are from the experiences that I teach my own children. I have two children. They all started to learn English since the third grade of elementary school. I did hire a foreign teacher. In the beginning the foreign teacher tutored them in English. But I still had to help them review and tell them some other stuff after the teacher left. Then you mentioned that whether English should be learned earlier, right? I think that as to mother tongue it should be learned earlier. But in terms of foreign language, rather than official language, if we talk about English, I don't think it should be too early. Because learning too early will...I think that will be a kind of obstacle. Because when we learn any language, though languages are interflowed, it's a kind of ability that can be mutually transferred. But it will relatively decrease your concentration on a specific study. That's what I think...

I: Mother tongue is still the foundation?

G1: foundation, yes, this is why I think it is not necessary to learn English too early.

I: Now English education has been introduced to the middle grades of elementary schools?

G1: grade 2, 3, grade 2 or grade 3

I: In some cities or counties, it started from the first grade, from a viewpoint of a parent, what's your opinion?

G1: the first grade...I would think it a bit too early...

I: A bit too early...

G1: Because it's different in Taiwan, that is, besides

語之外 還有一個官方語言 那我麼的官方語言正式的教學是從小學一年級開始 那你在這個時候同時要教他英文 我是覺得 我並不認為那是... 是是是重要 所以你可以把它 compare 那個歐洲的國家 其實很少人小學就開始教英文 他們大部分也都是學生稍微大一點才在學英文 所以這個是我的感覺應該是一樣的道理

I: 還是應該在中年級以後 那精通英文對您來講是不是很重要?

G1: 如果是我的業務 我認為很重要 非常重要 因為我有涉及到涉外的業務

I: 所謂涉外的業務是說?

G1: 譬如說 我現在負責一個推動大專校院國際化的相關業務 還有包括 WTO所以...education service 這個行業

I: 大專院校國際化是說跟外面的大學聯繫嗎?

G1: 對 大學 當然 我們 focus 是政策嘛 那就是我們常常要讓人家 show 說 我們的 higher education 是什麼 然後我們有... 這個業務是有到科裡面 他們會去跟國外就是說 我們要招收外國的學生來 讓他們知道...那我現在也在進行編那個高等教育的英文簡介 那我們另外有一個涉外的單位叫國際文教處 它會接待外賓 他們接待外賓 那個 長官會希望我陪他們 因為我常常介紹 比如說來一個哪一個大學的校長或怎樣 他們會傳到一些...因為會來的大部分都是大學..來的都是大學 那這部分都還是要...

I: 對你的業務來講英文很重要

G1: 嗯...

I: 您這個是什麼單位?

G1: 我這裡是高等教育司

I: 高等教育司裡面有分出來嗎?

G1: 我們有四個科 可是我是...科裡面 每一個科有一個那個 section chief 那個 section chief 之後就是有...我的職稱叫 senior specialist 就是在他們...就是做彙整的 大概是類似這樣...

I: 所以他們稱呼您是專門委員

mother language, we still have an official language. And the teaching of our official language officially started from the first grade of elementary schools. Then at the same time you want to teach them English, I think, I don't think that...that's important. So you can compare to those European countries. Actually not many start to teach English at elementary level. For most of them, English is learned when students are older So that's what I think and it's the same...

I: It should start after the middle grades. Then is it important for you to master English?

G1: If in terms of my work, I think it is very important, very important, because it involves foreign affairs.

I: What do you mean by foreign affairs?

G1: For instance, now I am in charge of a project of promoting the internationalization of colleges and affairs about WTO.....so...the industry of education service

I: Does the internationalization of colleges mean the communication and contact with foreign universities?

G1: Yeah, universities, of course, we focus on policy. That is, we often have to show others what our higher education is, then we have... these affairs are included in the duties of the division. They will let other countries know that we want to recruit foreign students... Now I am working on the editing of the English introduction of the higher education. Then, our another unit which is related to foreign affairs is called the Bureau of International Culture and Educational Relations. It will receive foreign guests. When they receive guests, my supervisors would ask me to accompany them. Because I am familiar with the job of introducing us, for example, a university chancellor might visit and they will...because most guests are from universities, then it is necessary to...

I: For your work, English is very important.

G1: mm...

I: Which department are you in?

G1: I am in the Department of Higher Education.

I: Are there divisions in the Department of Higher Education?

G1: We have four divisions. But I am... Every division has a section chief. Then the one above the section chief is...my position is called 'senior specialist'. That is, the one to collect and organize. Sort of like that...

I: So they call you special commissioner.

G1: 他就叫委員

I: 所以名稱是這樣的

G1: 專員 上去就科長 科長再上去就是專門委員 專門委員再上去就是副司長 司長

I: 那學英文的話，到目前為止，妳學英文到現在的話，妳覺得學英文對妳的幫助和收穫是什麼？

G1: 我覺得確實在我業務上有...有提升，對我業務有幫助，因為我剛剛講了，我的業務有一部份是涉外，那比如說我需要跟人家去談我們目前的進展或什麼，確實...我認為因為我的業務的關係對我有幫助

I: 有幫助...那如果是興趣或休閒方面呢？

G1: 喔.休閒有！我覺得休閒很有趣，因為我學到一些我覺得...尤其是娛樂啦...因為我常常看...我蠻喜歡看電影，抄了一些...他們講的俚語...像 red neck (鄉巴佬)，還有 lame duck (沒有連任成功的總統)，然後 lame joke 是冷笑話。因為妳不知道，那妳光這樣聽沒有辦法知道他在講什麼，可是...喔...原來是這個意思，我覺得這樣還蠻有趣的。

I: 就是你可以學到很多俚語相關的...

G1: 對對...

I: 那整體而言呢，學英文對妳的其他各方面有沒有什麼幫助？

G1: 嗯...應該是有吧，因為如果妳常常 reading... 閱讀...像我每天都看那個 CNN 的 website，它有什麼新聞，那我覺得我收到的大部分都很快的資料，然後那我也常收聽 CNN...那個...它 24 小時的...。所以很有意思，這次暑假我帶我小女兒...她小學畢業...我帶她去歐洲玩，然後晚上在 hotel 裡面我就打開 CNN，她就說，啊，媽媽我們台灣也有，這個怎麼會跟台灣一樣的電視台，我說，因為它是全世界的...(laugh)

I: 妳的女兒是跟著妳一起看的嗎？

G1: 對對...她就說，為什麼這個跟台灣的一樣，因為小孩子...所以對她來說，她倒是覺得很 surprise。其實我覺得這實在很有趣的...對孩子也是這樣

I: ...妳的小朋友現在有另外補習嗎？

G1: 我的小朋友有

I: 是大概多大？兩個小朋友

G1: It's called commissioner.

I: That's how it's called.

G1: Administrator, then above administrator is section chief. Above section chief is special commissioner. Then there is the deputy director of the department and the director of the department.

I: Then, in terms of learning English, according to your experiences of learning English, what have you gained from learning English?

G1: I think there is certainly enhancement in my job, it help me to fulfill my duties. Because like what I just said, a part of my job is related to foreign affairs, for instance, if I need to talk with others about our current progress or things like that, certainly... I think it is helpful because of my job.

I: It's helpful... Then in terms of interest or leisure?

G1: Oh, leisure, yes! I think it is very interesting about leisure, because I've learned something, I think... especially entertainment...because I often watch...I quite like seeing movies and write down some...colloquial usages they said... such as red neck meaning, lame duck and lame joke. Because you don't know, then you cannot understand what they are talking about by listening. But...oh...knowing what they really mean. I think this is quite interesting.

I: You can learn many colloquial usages...

G1: yeah, yeah...

I: Then, in general, is learning English helpful for you in other areas?

G1: well...there should be, because if you often read...like I read the CNN website and its news everyday. Then I think what I receive mostly is very up-to-date information. Then I also often listen to CNN...that...its 24-hour broadcast. So, very interesting. This summer vacation, I and my little daughter who just graduated from the elementary school visit Europe. At night in the hotel I turn on CNN, and she said, 'ah, mom we have that too in Taiwan, why is there the same TV channel?'. I said, because it is for the world...(laugh)

I: Your daughter watches CNN with you?

G1: Yeah, yeah...She said why this is the same as Taiwan's. Because kids...for her, she felt very surprised. Actually I think this is really very interesting...and it's the same for kids.

I: ...Do your children enroll in cram schools?

G1: My children do.

I: How old are they, the two children?

G1: 一個是升高二，一個升國中嘛，他們我有讓他們去補習班。他們小學的時候我花了很多時間，然後我也讓他們...他們有到過好多國家，所以妳看我那個大女兒，她...她在小學升國中...我就讓她一個人去美國，但是有人去接她，她就在那裡住了一個暑假...

I: 真的...

G1: 可是今年...我讓她自己一個人去大學的英文先修班上課，然後他自己一個人到紐約去，因為我覺得紐約不安全，本來我找一個朋友接她，結果那個朋友沒接到他，她就自己搭 bus...

I: 自己到要去的地方...

G1: 對對...她住的地方，我覺得很獨立，我的感覺是，其實這種訓練是有幫助的...

I: 她現在才高二？

G1: 升高二，15歲

I: 15歲，那訓練很多囉，比一般的小朋友訓練很多

G1: 對啊，她也去了好幾個國家...

I: 所以她對英文很有興趣？

G1: 沒有...(laugh)...沒有特別興趣

I: 但是英文能力應該是不错吧？

G1: 但是她不會害怕，她可以表達也不會害怕

I: 那他們之前小時候有沒有補習兒童英語或相關課程？

G1: 就是我請外籍老師來家裡家教

I: 就是用家教的...那這樣下來對她們英文能力提升...

G1: 就是說，我只是給她們一個環境，妳不要害怕英文，不要害怕講，我想她們都可以...那有沒有興趣...不一樣，我覺得小的比大的更有興趣。

I: 小朋友不一樣...

G1: 我那個小的比大的更有興趣

I: 那在台灣，英文是不是一個和其他人溝通的重要工具？

R: 不一定耶

G1: One is going to be the second-year senior high school student and another is going to be a junior high school student. I have them enrolled in cram schools. I spent a lot of time when they were in elementary schools, then I also let them...they have been to many countries. So you see, my elder daughter, she...in the summer vacation when she was going to enter junior high school...I let her visit the US by herself, but someone received her and she stay there for the whole summer vacation...

I: Yes...

G1: But this year...I let her attend the pre-session English class in the university by herself, then she traveled to New York by herself. Because I think New York is not safe enough, I ask a friend to collect her, in the end the friend didn't find her, she took the bus by herself...

I: She went to the place by herself...

G1: Yeah, yeah...to the place she stayed. I think she is very independent. My feeling is, actually this kind of training is helpful...

I: She is now the second year of senior high school?

G1: going to the second year, 15 years old.

I: 15 years old, that's a lot of training comparing to other children.

G1: Yeah, she also has been to many countries...

I: So is she interested in English?

G1: No...(laugh)...not especially interested

I: But she has quite good English ability?

G1: But she will not be afraid, she can express and won't be afraid

I: Then did they enroll in cram schools of children's English or relevant classes when they were little?

G1: I hire a foreign teacher to tutor them at home.

I: Tutor at home...Then, its effect on their English ability...

G1: That is, I just give them an environment. Don't be afraid of English, don't be afraid of speaking. I think both of them are capable... Then as to their interest... it's different. I think the younger is more interested than the elder.

I: Children are different...

G1: My little daughter is more interested than my elder daughter...

I: In Taiwan, is English an important tool for communication with others?

G1: It depends...

I: 不一定...所以是怎樣的狀況？

G1: 因為業務上有需要的話就重要...妳知道嗎？台灣的英文環境跟世界各國的英文都不一樣，妳看香港也好，新加坡也好，馬來西亞也好，那個菲律賓，還有一個印度，印度跟香港當然是沒話說，可是剛剛講的菲律賓...馬來西亞...新加坡，她們是很 popular，她們講英文就是很...所以我覺得這是台灣的問題啊，台灣沒有這個環境，所以這幾年為什麼這麼鼓勵，搞不好以後就是...以後就會像這樣子...那個重點是在，以前沒有很強力的在推英文...

I: 這算是教育部內部的既定政策，還是國家政策？

G1: 應該是整體國家...我們挑戰 2008 裡面有一個 E 世代人才培育計畫，就是把提升英文能力列出...

I: 所以那一個報告變一個重要的指標？

G1: 對，那是國家計畫啊，整個國家的計畫...所以教育部也是根據這樣一個報告在做...

I: 這個報告這麼重要？

G1: 對啊

I: 那大眾傳播媒體上，英文是不是一個重要的語言？

G1: 應該是

I: 為什麼說它是個重要的語言？

G1: 喔，因為妳講的是大眾傳播，我們目前有幾個電視台他們都用英文來播報新聞，我覺得那就是一個大眾傳播逐漸啦逐漸已經英語化的傾向了。

I: 對妳個人而言，英語應該算代表了一個什麼樣的東西，是一個工具嗎？還是學校的科目？

G1: 工具吧，應該是一種工具，一種知識吧... 都可以啊 是

I: 妳覺得都是，但對妳個人來講的話呢？

G1: 對我個人來講，我會認為它可能是一個全球的基礎建設吧

I: 怎麼說呢？

G1: 因為它會讓...就是 global 嘛，就是比較能夠全球化

I: 但對妳和你的工作來講

G1: 它其實是工具，就是工作上的...

I: It depends...on what kind of situation?

G1: It is important if needed in work or employment...Do you know, English environment in Taiwan is different from English in other countries in the world. Take a look of Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, Philippine and India. There's not much left to say about India and Hong Kong. But Philippine...Malaysia...Singapore, English are popular there, they speak English, it's very...So I think this is the problem of Taiwan. There is no such environment in Taiwan. So why is it so promoted in recent years? It's possible that...it will be like that...the point is that in the past English is not strongly promoted...

I: Is it the policy that has fixed by Ministry of Education or a national policy?

G1: It is supposed to be the integral nation...in our Challenge 2008, there is a project of cultivating E generation. Improving English ability is listed...

I: So that project is an important index?

G1: yes, that's a national plan, a plan for the whole nation...Policies and implementation of Ministry of Education is based on the project...

I: This plan is so important?

G1: Yes.

I: then, in the mass media, is English an important language?

G1: It should be.

I: Why is it an important language?

G1: Oh, because what you ask is the mass media, we currently have several TV channels which broadcast news reports in English. I think that is a tendency that the mass media has gradually become Englishized.

I: For you, personally, what does English represent? A tool, a school subject, knowledge, investment, commodity, global infrastructure or others?

G1: Tool, it should be a kind of tool, a kind of knowledge... all could be yes.

I: You think all of them, but for you personally?

G1: For me, personally speaking, I would think it could be the global infrastructure.

I: Why?

G1: Because it will let...that is, global, that is, it can help globalization.

I: But for you and your work...

G1: It actually is a tool, that's in work...

I: 那妳同不同意學英文對妳在事業上有沒有更好的發展?

G1: 有! 我覺得有!

I: 英文能力你們工作上會影響...升遷嗎? 或是...

G1: 升遷不見得, 但是我覺得會對我工作會有很大的幫助, 會讓我把工作作得更好, 那我工作作得更好是不是有更好的升遷? 我覺得也許吧

I: 所以會有幫助, 在妳的工作執行上會有幫助...

G1: 對對對...

I: 那台灣的話, 妳同不同意具備良好的英語能力或程度被認為是擁有較高社會地位或聲譽的必要條件?

G1: 我覺得沒有意見耶, 因為不見得耶

I: 不見得...沒有這樣的連結...英文好就比較高級...

G1: 不會, 我不會這樣想

I: 妳個人不會這樣想, 台灣有沒有這樣的想法?

G1: 有些人會, 有些人不會啊, 還是要看情況...

I: 不一定...所以如果有的話, 是怎樣的狀況, 有可能會有?

G1: 就是妳會別人不會嘛, 就是這樣而已啊...有些場合你會講了妳就覺得不錯啊, 妳會獲得更多的 feedback, 一定是這樣啊...像我帶我婆婆出國的時候, 他就很佩服我...(laugh)...開玩笑啦...

I: 對台灣社會來講的話, 提升英文能力很重要嗎?

G1: 我覺得還蠻重要的, 因為將來還是要走世界..那種全球化啦, 全球化...因為你現在跟世界接軌的機會越來越多。

I: 與世界或國際接軌這樣的說法, 政府官方常用這樣的說法, 不知道教育部怎樣看這件事情? 怎麼定義?

G1: 那是一個名詞...(laugh) 其實我們就是盡量走出去, 盡量去 show 台灣是什麼, 其實我們做了很多耶, 妳有沒有看我們那個 study in Taiwan 那個 website, 妳可以去看看

I: Then, do you agree that learning English is beneficial for you to pursue a better career or life?

G1: Yes! I think so!

I: English ability will have influence on your work...promotion? Or...

G1: Not directly about promotion, but I think it is very beneficial for my work and will help me do better in my work. Then if I can do a better job, doesn't it mean that I have better chance to get promoted? I think maybe

I: So it is helpful for the execution of your work...

G1: Yeah, yeah, yeah...

I: In Taiwan, do you agree that good English proficiency or ability is regarded as a requisite for better prestige or status?

G1: I think I am neutral on this, because it's not necessary so

I: No necessary so...there is no such kind of association...good English proficiency is regarded as better status...

G1: No, I don't think so.

I: You personally don't think so. Is there this kind of thinking in Taiwan?

G1: Some people do, some people don't, it still depends on the situation...

I: It depends...So if some people do, in what kind of situation, people have that kind of thinking?

G1: That's because you are capable of something that others are not capable of, that's it...In some occasions, you are able to speak then you feel great, you will have more feedback, it must be like that...like I visited other countries with my mother-in-law, she admired me very much...(laugh)...I'm just kidding...

I: For the Taiwanese society, it is important to improve your English ability?

G1: I think it's quite important, because in the future the trend is to the world..globalization, globalization...because you have more and more opportunities to link the world...

I: Wordings like link to the world or international connection are often used in governmental documents or presentation, how does Ministry of Education look at it? How to define it?

G1: That is a term...(laughs). Actually we just try our best to go out, try our best to show what Taiwan is. Actually we have done many things. Have you seen our website of study in Taiwan, you can go and check

I: Study in Taiwan? 是教育部做的?

G1: 妳可以到教育部的 website 點進去, 在國際文教處

I: 這是在介紹台灣的?

G1: 對對, 就是給國外的人知道, 很多台灣的介紹也..希望外國學生來台灣唸書...

I: 所以妳的業務跟國際文教處有關係?

G1: 有接觸, 常常接觸...

I: 那如果說整個台灣就是國家有更好的英文能力的話, 能不能提升台灣在全球的競爭力?

G1: 當然! (loud)

I: 為什麼?

G1: 我一直覺得英文是個, 我把它認為是個工具嘛, 你英文好你競爭力當然強啊, 你瞭解我意思嗎? 你英文好...你很多東西, 因為如果你要在國際上...全球的競爭力, 你英文不好要跟人家怎麼競爭?

I: 所以是溝通嗎?

G1: 溝通還有 information 的取得, 還有你要跟人家 share experience, 你不瞭解, 怎麼有競爭力...

I: 所以英文算是一個很重要的平台?

G1: 對, 我認為那是一個很重要的工具

I: 你同不同意英語全球化的現象, 包括台灣要推廣的話, 對台灣地方文化或本土文化有不良的影響?

G1: 其實我覺得不會耶 我不同意

I: 為什麼不會?

G1: 因為我覺得, 地方文化就像我剛剛講的, 一開始如果你自己很重視你的, 你只不過是把英文當工具跟人家做更好的溝通, 更好的溝通, 你不見得會 會 你應該 proud of your own traditional culture, 所以不需要去變成說, 喔, 因為有那個, 所以會影響我的文化, 應該不是, 而是說我更樂意去 show 我的東西, 去跟你 share 我的那個我擁有的 knowledge 或是我的 traditional 的很多東西, 是可以 share 的, 我的感覺是這樣...

I: 它可能是一個工具讓你發揚自己的文化?

G1: 對 對 對, 像我小朋友都不要學小提琴都學

it...

I: Study in Taiwan? Made by Ministry of Education?

G1: You can go to the website of MOE and it is under the Bureau of International Culture and Education Relations...

I: It introduces Taiwan?

G1: Yeah yeah, it's for foreigners to know about Taiwan. It introduces Taiwan and...hope foreign students will study in Taiwan...

I: So your job is related to the Bureau of International Cultural and Educational relations?

G1: We frequently have contacts with them...

I: Then, if Taiwan has a better national English ability, can it enhance Taiwan's global competitiveness?

G1: Of course! (loud)

I: Why?

G1: I always think that English is a..., I think it is a tool. When you have good English ability, of course your competitiveness will be stronger. Do you understand what I mean? You have good English ability...Many things, because if you want to compete internationally... global competitiveness, how do you compete with others with poor English ability?

I: So it's for communication?

G1: Communication and obtaining information, and you have to share experiences with others. If you don't understand, how can you have competitiveness?

I: So English is a kind of important platform?

G1: Yes, I think it is a very important tool.

I: Do you agree that the popularization of English worldwide, including the prevalence of English in Taiwan, has bad or negative effects on local cultures in Taiwan?

G1: Actually I don't think so. I don't agree.

I: why not?

G1: I think local culture, like I just said, if in the beginning you pay attention to yours, you just use English as a tool for better communication with others. For better communication then you are not necessarily...you should be proud of your own traditional culture, so you don't have to concern that it will affect my culture because of it. It shouldn't be so. Rather, it should be that I would be more willing to show my stuff, to share my, the knowledge I have or many traditional things of mine. It can be shared, that's what I think...

I: It could be a tool to promote your own culture?

G1: Yeah, yeah, yeah, like my children don't want to

琵琶了...

I: 琵琶?

G1: 真的,我那個大女兒從小就自己去學了琵琶,後來有一陣子三、四年,她上國中後她沒再學了,我最近叫她 pick up,她說好啊

I: 英語這個全球語言對台灣的影響,整體而言是正面的、負面的,還是中立?

G1: 我會覺得是正面的,對台灣是正面的

I: 是哪方面正面的影響?

G1: 就你可以跟人家多...走出去嘛,跟人家多溝通,我會覺得有幫助

I: 有幫助,有沒有負面的影響?

G1: 我目前個人不覺得,我沒有感受到,包括我的小朋友我都覺得很好,她們很小我就讓他們到日本、美國去住在當地人家,我覺得這樣的國際經驗很好...

I: 現在的大學很多系都規定全民英檢的成績,譬如說畢業的門檻,這個是教育部規定還是各個學校自己決定的?

G1: 我們鼓勵學校這麼做,那個是學校的自主權,學校會自己決定要不要

I: 是。我就問到這裡了,謝謝你。針對這些問題,您還有其他意見嗎?

G1: 我想沒有了...

learn violin but choose to learn the pipa (*a Chinese-traditional plucked string instrument with a fretted fingerboard*).

I: Pipa?

G1: Yes. My elder daughter chose to learn the pipa since she was little. She had learned for three, four years. She stopped learning after entering junior high school. Recently I asked her to start again, she said 'yes'.

I: The general impact of English as a global language in Taiwan, generally speaking, is it positive, negative or neutral?

G1: I think it is positive. For Taiwan, it is positive..

I: What kind of positive impact?

G1: You can have more opportunities to ...establish outward relationships, to communicate with others. I think it would help.

I: It would help. Is there any negative impact?

G1: At the moment, personally I don't think so. I don't feel any. Even for my children, I think it's very good. I arranged for them to live in local families in Japan and in America since they were very young. I think these kind of international experiences are very beneficial...

I: Now many departments of universities have regulations about the result of GEPT, for instance, the requirement of passing certain level of GEPT for graduation. Is this kind of regulation decided by the Ministry of Education or universities?

G1: We encourage universities to do so, that is the decision-making power of universities. Universities will decide by themselves whether or not to do it.

I: Yes. That's all my questions. Thank you very much. Is there anything else you want to say about these questions?

G1: None as I think...

Example of interview transcript (2): SH2

Information of respondent:

Age : 15

Gender : male

Education background : first-year student in a senior high school

Occupation : student

Mother tongue : Hakka (father) and Taiwanese (mother)

English proficiency (self-rated) : not good enough (cannot speak fluent English to foreigners)

Interview transcription

I: 你的母語是台語和客家語，那分別來說，台語在台灣的社會地位為何？算是強勢、弱勢？

SH2: 算強勢吧...

I: 強勢，為什麼是強勢？

SH2: 因為陳水扁執政...他強調愛台灣就要說台語

I: 愛台灣就等於說台語？

SH2: 對

I: 那客語呢？

SH2: 還蠻弱勢的吧，只有選舉才會提到而已

I: 那這兩個語言你都會講嗎？

SH2: 客語我不會說耶，我大概聽得懂，比較日常的我還聽得懂

I: 你只聽得懂，聽懂全部嗎？還是...

SH2: 就是部分，小部分

I: 那台語呢？

SH2: 台語大部分都可以，因為這裡的人都講台語

I: 那你父母跟你講話都講什麼？

SH2: 國語

I: 那你也回國語？

SH2: 對

I: 那你台語怎麼會的？

SH2: 台語喔，因為我從小的褓姆就是都會跟我講台語

I: 那台灣所有的語言裡面，哪一個最強勢？包括國語、台語、客語和原住民語

English translation

I: Your mother languages are Minnanyu and Hakka. Separately, what is the social status of Minnanyu in Taiwan? Is it powerful or powerless?

SH2: Kind of powerful.

I: Powerful, why is it powerful?

SH2: Because Chen Shuei-Bian is in power...He emphasizes that to love Taiwan is to speak Taiwanese (Minnanyu).

I: Loving Taiwan equals to speaking Taiwanese?

SH2: Yeah.

I: How about Hakka?

SH2: It's still quite weak and is mentioned only during elections.

I: Do you speak both languages?

SH2: I cannot speak Hakka. I probably can understand. I can understand daily-life conversations.

I: You can understand. Can you understand all? Or...

SH2: Just partly, a little part.

I: How about Taiwanese?

SH2: I can understand most Taiwanese because people here all speak Taiwanese.

I: Then, which language do your parents use when they speak to you?

SH2: Mandarin.

I: Do you reply by Mandarin?

SH2: Yes.

I: Then, how do you learn Taiwanese?

SH2: Taiwanese, because my nanny spoke Taiwanese to me since I was little.

I: Among all the languages in Taiwan, which languages is the most powerful? Including Mandarin, Taiwanese, Hakka and aboriginal languages.

SH2: 國語

I: 那為什麼它是最強勢的語言?

SH2: 因為我最會

I: 你最會?

SH2: 因為大家都說國語...它是官方語言吧

I: 現在麻煩你看一下這段新聞, 然後看你等一等問一下你的意見

.....

I: 看過這段新聞之後, 母語的學習和英語的學習哪一個應該要優先?

SH2: 母語吧

I: 為什麼?

SH2: 因為我覺得那是我們的根吧

I: 母語是根本

SH2: 對

I: 好 未來五十年內, 英文會不會維持它國際語言或世界語言的地位?

SH2: 我覺得可能會被中文取代

I: 為什麼?

SH2: 因為中國大陸真是太強了

I: 取決於中國大陸?

SH2: 對, 大概 25 到 50 年中文會取代英文, 但英文也有它一定的族群, 所以英文還是很重要, 中文和英文都會是世界上重要的語言。

I: 因為現在大家都學英文, 英文是國際語言, 你同不同意它會讓大家就不再去學其他的外語, 像法文、德文、日文等等, 你同不同意學英文會不會造成這種排擠的效果?

SH2: 我覺得不會啊, 我覺得每一種語言都有它的特色...

I: 特色...

SH2: 對, 像我就會想學拉丁文

I: 為什麼?

SH2: 因為它唸起來很浪漫, 很舒服

I: 你們學校有規定在英文之外要學第二外語嗎?

SH2: 沒有, 沒有硬性規定

I: 那學校的英語教育應該要從哪時候開始?

SH2: Mandarin.

I: Why is it the most powerful language?

SH2: Because it's the language that I am the most capable of.

I: You are the most capable of it?

SH2: Because everyone speaks Mandarin...it is the official language.

I: Now, please read this news report, then I'll ask your opinion after you finish reading.

(*the respondent were reading the news report.*)

I: After reading the news, which one should be given priority, the learning of mother languages or the learning of English?

SH2: Mother languages.

I: Why?

SH2: I think mother language is our root.

I: Mother tongue is the root.

SH2: Yes.

I: Right. In the next fifty years, will English continue its status as an international or global language?

SH2: I think it might be replaced by Chinese.

I: Why?

SH2: Because Mainland China is too powerful.

I: It depends on Mainland China?

SH2: Yes. After around twenty-five to fifty years, Chinese will replace English. But English will still have its own speaking community. So English will be still very important. Both Chinese and English will be important languages in the world.

I: Because now everybody learns English. English is the international language. Do you agree that it would make people not learn other foreign languages, such as French, German and Japanese? Do you agree that learning English would result in this kind of marginalization?

SH2: I don't think so. I think every language has its own characteristics...

I: Characteristics...

SH2: Yeah, like me, I would like to learn Latin.

I: Why?

SH2: Because it sounds very romantic and very comfortable.

I: Is there any regulation in your school that requires you to learn a second foreign language?

SH2: No, there is no compulsory regulation about that.

I: Then, when should English education be started?

SH2: 我覺得國中吧

I: 國中? 為什麼?

SH2: 我覺得小學的時候還是先把自己的文化學會比較重要, 英文上國中再培養。我覺得英語對於我們台灣人來說, 應該算是工具, 然後母語是文化

I: 所以你覺得是國中, 那你哪時候是從幾年級開始學英語的?

SH2: 我是從國小三四年級開始學的, 但是那幾乎是, 就是沒有什麼在上課, 就是只是教你什麼 A A Apple, 兒童美語啦, 我覺得沒什麼效, 因為上課都在玩, 雖然有考試, 也都考一百, 但是我覺得那...我小時候就會了, 也不是從那時候開始的...

I: 你之前有學過?

SH2: 因為我媽媽是補習班老師, 就是上課就算不想聽也會聽到...

I: 所以是你從小的環境

SH2: 對

I: 那精通英文重不重要?

SH2: 很重要

I: 很重要, 為什麼?

SH2: 我覺得在就業上...

I: 就業上?

SH2: 因為我想賺錢啊, 可以跟外國人談 case, 就覺得很大, 很厲害。因為在台灣賺不到什麼錢, 所以要出國。

I: 好, 到目前為止, 你學英文幾年了?

SH2: 從小三開始到現在, 大概六、七年了

I: 到目前為止, 學了英文對你個人而言的收穫是什麼? 個人上面有什麼幫助?

SH2: 簡單的溝通, 跟外國人還可以啦

I: 學業上呢, 有沒有幫助?

SH2: 有啊, 一定要考的, 現在最直接的幫助, 還有未來要申請學校

I: 那興趣或休閒上, 有沒有收穫或幫助?

SH2: 看電影, 就是會了英文以後, 你會聽它講什麼, 聽到就會覺得就是這個, 有教過

SH2: I think...m, junior high school.

I: Junior high school? Why?

SH2: I think in elementary schools it is more important to learn one's own culture. I think for us Taiwanese people, English should be a kind of tool, then mother language is culture...

I: So you think it should start in junior high schools. When did you start learning English?

SH2: I started learning English since grade 3 and 4 in elementary schools. But that almost, that is, there was no real class, it only taught you things like 'A for Apple', children's English. I think it's ineffective, because it's full of playing games in classes. Though there were exams and I all got perfect scores. But I think that...I had already known that stuff when I was little, I did not start to learn at that time...

I: You had learned before?

SH2: Because my mom is a cram school teacher, I have no choice but to listen to the classes even if I don't want to...

I: So it's because of the environment when you were little.

SH2: Yeah.

I: Is it important to master English?

SH2: Very important.

I: Very important. Why?

SH2: I think, in terms of employment...

I: In terms of employment?

SH2: Because I want to earn money. I can discuss cases with foreigners. That makes me feel very big, very awesome. Because people cannot make much money in Taiwan, they have to go overseas.

I: Right. Until now, how many years have you learned English?

SH2: From the third grade until now, around six, seven years.

I: Until now, for you, personally, what have you gained from learning English? Any help for you personally?

SH2: Simple communication with foreigners is OK.

I: In terms of your schoolwork, any help?

SH2: Yes. I have to pass the exam. It's the most direct help now and it's helpful for applying for university in the future.

I: In terms of interest or leisure, any gain or help?

SH2: Watching movies. That is, after learning English, you will listen to what is said. When you listen, you'll know what has been taught.

- I: 整體而言呢？學英文的收穫
- SH2: 好像沒有了
- I: 好，在台灣，英語是不是一個和其他人互動溝通的重要工具？
- SH2: 算是吧...
- I: 算是，為什麼？
- SH2 嗯.....在台灣.....
- I: 嗯...在台灣英語是不是一個和其他人溝通的工具、媒介？
- SH2: 啊...不算是
- I: 不算是，為什麼不算是？
- SH2: 在台灣，像我跟我同學幾乎沒有用英文交談過，生活上不需要用到英文
- I: 那台灣的大眾傳播媒體上，像電視或報紙，英文是不是一個重要的語言？
- SH2: 不是...
- I: 為什麼不是？
- SH2: 我們都看中文啊，一般人都看中文，沒有要考試我也不會看英文
- I: 好，對你個人而言，英文代表了什麼？你剛剛說是工具，除了是工具之外，還有沒有其他？像學校科目、知識、投資、商品還是全球化的基礎建設？
- SH2: 都是
- I: 都是？
- SH2: 英文在台灣是個學校科目，我覺得它也是知識，因為有些外國的知識還沒有翻成中文的話，我們一定要用英語才能去瞭解的
- I: 還有嗎？
- SH2:英文代表了... 我覺得應該是商標吧
- I: 商標？
- SH2: 像那個 impossible is nothing 啊，還有 NIKE 那個 Just do it，它就是很全球化的商標...
- I: 所以它是個可以推全球行銷的語言？
- SH2: 對
- I: 那你同不同意，學習英語有助於你在事業上有更好的發展或追求更好的人生？
- SH2: 非常同意
- I: 為什麼？
- SH2: 這太重要了，海外的市場太好撈了，爲了日後賺錢所以很重要
- I: In general? Gain from learning English.
- SH2: There seems to be nothing else.
- I: Right. In Taiwan, is English an important tool to communicate with other people?
- SH2: Kind of yes...
- I: Kind of yes, why?
- SH2: m.....in Taiwan.....
- I: m...is English an important tool to communicate with other people in Taiwan?
- SH2: ah...not really
- I: Not really, why not?
- SH2: In Taiwan, such as I and my classmates, we seldom speak in English. It's not necessary to use English in daily life.
- I: Then, in Taiwan's mass media, such as TV or newspapers, is English an important language?
- SH2: No...
- I: Why not?
- SH2: We all watch Chinese ones. Ordinary people read Chinese. I don't read English unless I have exams to take.
- I: Right. For you, personally, what does English represent? You just mentioned A tool. Apart from A tool, does it represent anything else? Such as school subject, knowledge, investment, commodity or the global infrastructure?
- SH2: All of them
- I: All of them?
- SH2: English in Taiwan is a school subject. I think it is also knowledge. Because some foreign knowledge has to be understood by using English before it is translated...
- I: Anything else?
- SH2:English represents... I think it should be trademark...
- I: Trademark?
- SH2: Like that 'impossible is nothing?', and NIKE's 'Just do it'. They are very globalized trademarks...
- I: So it is a language of global marketing?
- SH2: Yes.
- I: Then, do you agree that learning English is beneficial for you to pursue a better career or better life?
- SH2: Strongly agree.
- I: Why?
- SH2: This is too important. One can easily make money in oversea markets. For earning money in the

I: 你同不同意在台灣英文能力或英文程度很好的人，會被認為擁有較高的社會地位或聲譽？

SH2: 不同意

I: 為什麼？

SH2: 像我上次遇到一個計程車司機，他說他剛從加拿大回來，他是一路都跟我們說英文，但是他社會地位也不是很高，也不是什麼主管級的

I: 所以你遇到一個英語流利的計程車司機？

SH2: 對啊，英語很溜，但是和社會地位沒相關..

I: 英文能力和社會地位是否相關？

SH2: 不是絕對的...

I: 好，對台灣社會而言，英語能力的提升是不是很重要？

SH2: 是

I: 是，為什麼很重要？

SH2: 對台灣社會而言.....我覺得不要太強調本土，一些外國好的東西我們可以去把他吸收過來...

I: 不要太強調本土？

SH2: 對啊，現在是有點太強調了

I: 有點太強調本土...

SH2: 對，要吸收西方好的部分

I: 因為英語全球化，現在英語開始普及流行，那你同不同意這種英語全球化會不會對台灣地方文化有不良的影響？

SH2: 不會

I: 為什麼不會？

SH2: 我覺得你要有良好的制度吧

I: 良好的制度？

SH2 像小時候當然要先把自已的文化弄清楚

I: 然後呢？

SH2: 英語就只是一個工具

I: 英語只是工具

SH2: 對，文化就是我們的文化，英語不會影響很大...

I: 整體而言，英語這樣一個全球語言對台灣的影響，是正面、負面還是都有，或是中立？

future, so, it is very important.

I: Do you agree that in Taiwan people with good English proficiency or high level of English command is regarded as people of better social status or prestige?

SH2: I don't agree.

I: Why not?

SH2: For instance, last time I met a taxi driver. He said he just came back from Canada. He spoke English to us all the way, but his social status is not very high and he is not at the executive level...

I: So you met a taxi driver who can speak fluent English?

SH2: Yeah, very fluent English but it's not correlated to social status.

I: Is English ability correlated to social status?

SH2: Not definitely...

I: Right. For the Taiwanese society, is it important to improve English ability?

SH2: Yes.

I: Yes. Why is it important?

SH2: For the Taiwanese society.....I think we should not overemphasize the local (culture and languages). We can learn and absorb some good things from foreign countries...

I: not to overemphasize the local?

SH2: Yeah, now it's a bit overemphasized.

I: A bit overemphasized...

SH2: Yeah, we should absorb the good aspects of the West.

I: Because of the globalization of English, English starts to prevail and becomes popular. Do you agree that the popularization of English can have negative effects on Taiwan's local cultures?

SH2: No.

I: Why not?

SH2: I think you need to have a good system.

I: A good system?

SH2: Like one of course has to figure out one's own culture in childhood.

I: Then?

SH2: English is just a tool.

I: English is just a tool

SH2: Yes, Culture is our own culture. English will not have great influence on it...

I: Generally speaking, the impact of English on Taiwan, is it positive, negative or neutral?

SH2: 嗯...都有
I: 都有，正負面都有？
SH2: 對
I: 正面有？
SH2: 提升競爭力.....還有溝通能力....吸收新知
I: 還有嗎？正面的
SH2: 差不多了
I: 那負面呢？
SH2: ...像有些人很小從幼稚園就開始讓他學英文，我覺得如果以慢慢在玩的話還算可以，但是如果一開始就要強調英文，很強調的話，我覺得這樣對小孩不會比較好
I: 不會比較好？
SH2: 對，搞不好他連中文都還不太會說，太小學會影響中文的學習
I: 還有沒有其他嗎？負面的
SH2: 有可能受美式文化影響太強的話，就會變得太大...怎麼說...open
I: 美式文化影響太強烈
SH2: 就很西化，很 open
I: 你對台灣目前英語往下延伸到小一甚至幼稚園，有什麼看法？
SH2: 我覺得太誇張
I: 太誇張？
SH2: 沒有必要吧，我覺得訓練一些聽的還好，不要太強調英文這個東西，不要把他當一個課程，就當作是類似社團活動
I: 社團活動？
SH2: 就當作是一種興趣，當作休閒一樣
I: 好，我的問題就到這裡，謝謝你接受我的訪談，針對這些問題，您還有其他意見嗎？
SH2: 沒有了...

SH2: Well...both
I: Both, both positive and negative?
SH2: Yes.
I: Positive impacts?
SH2: Enhancing competitiveness.....and communicative ability...acquiring new knowledge
I: Anything else? Positive impacts?
SH2: It's about that.
I: How about negative impacts?
SH2: ...Like some people start to learn English from a very young age in the kindergarten. I think it is fine if they learn it slowly and have fun. But if English is emphasized in the beginning, and it is emphasized a lot, I think it won't be better for children.
I: It won't be better for children?
SH2: Right. They probably cannot even speak Chinese yet. Learning English too early will influence the learning of Chinese.
I: Anything else? Negative impacts?
SH2: It's possible that because the influence of American culture is too strong, people would become too...how to say this...too open
I: The influence of American culture is too strong.
SH2: People would become very Westernized, very open.
I: What's your opinion on the introduction of English into the first grade of elementary education or even kindergartens?
SH2: I think it is too exaggerated.
I: Too exaggerated?
SH2: There's no need to do it. I think it's OK to practice listening. But don't overemphasize English, don't consider it as a course. Just consider it as a kind of activity of student societies.
I: activity of student societies?
SH2: Just consider it as an interest and as leisure.
I: Right. Here are all my questions. Thank you for taking the interview. Is there anything else you want to say about these questions?
SH2: No...

Appendix 5

Information of Respondents

	Age	Sex	Education background	Occupation	Mother Tongue	English Proficiency (self-rated)
ETE1	42	F	MA (Education, TW)	English teacher (elementary school, Taichung County)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	Not bad (high-intermediate)
ETE2	41	F	MA (Education, TW)	English teacher (elementary school, Taichung County)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	OK
ETE3	33	F	MS (Health and Welfare Policy, TW)	Teacher (elementary school, Taichung County)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	Not bad, intermediate
ETH1	34	F	MA (ELT, UK)	English teacher (Junior high school, Kaohsiung city)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	High-intermediate
ETH2	35	F	BA (Education, TW)	English teacher (Junior high school, Taichung City)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	OK
ETH3	34	F	MA (Education, TW)	English teacher (Junior high, Taichung city)	Mandarin	Good
ETU1	30	F	PhD candidate (English Literature, TW)	English Lecturer (University, Taiana)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	Not bad, better than ordinary people
ETU2	31	F	MA (ELT, UK)	English Lecturer (University, Kaohsiung)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	OK for communication
ETU3	28	F	PhD candidate in Journalism (UK)	Lecturer (English and Journalism, University, Taipei)	Mandarin	OK
TE1	38	F	BA (elementary education, TW)	Teacher (elementary school, Taichung County)	Hakka	Basic
TE2	37	F	BA (elementary education, TW)	Teacher (elementary school, Taichung County)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	Basic
TE3	25	F	BA (Special education, TW)	Teacher (elementary school, Taichung city)	Mandarin	intermediate
TH1	29	F	MA (Education, TW)	Chinese teacher (Junior high school, Taichung city)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	OK for reading, not good at speaking
TH2	30	F	MA (Geography, TW)	Geography teacher (Junior high school, Taichung city)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese and Mandarin	Not good
TH3	26	F	Post-graduate study in Applied Art (TW)	Art teacher (Junior high, Hsinchu city)	Mandarin	Not good. OK for reading but not good at

						speaking
SH1	17	M	Third-year senior high school student (TW)	Senior high student (Taichung county)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	Average in class
SH2	15	M	First-year senior high school student (TW)	Senior high student (Taichung city)	Hakka and Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	Not good enough
SU1	20	F	First-year university student (TW)	University student (Dept. of Accounting)	Mandarin and Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	OK for listening and speaking but not good at reading and writing
SU2	20	F	First-year university student (TW)	University student (Dept. of International trade)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	Not good
SU3	26	M	Post-graduate study (TW)	Post-graduate student (engineer and manufacture technology)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	OK for reading, not good at writing and speaking
ESU1	30	F	PhD student (USA)	PhD Student (Applied Linguistics)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	Fair
ESU2	17	M	Third-year college student (TW)	College student (Dept. of Applied Foreign Languages)	Mandarin	Not good
ESU3	30	F	Postgraduate study (UK)	MA student in ELT	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	OK for communication
TU1	35	M	PhD in Culture study (UK)	Assistant Professor (Dept. of International affairs, Kaohsiung city)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	Good, OK for communicating with native speakers
TU2	40	F	PhD in Technology Education (TW)	Vice Professor (Dept. of Industrial education and technology, Changhwa city)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	OK
TU3	36	M	PhD (TW)	Assistant Professor (Tainan county)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	Intermediate
G1	42	F	PhD in Education (TW)	Education Specialist, Department of Higher Education, Ministry of Education (Taipei city)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	OK for communication
G2	36	F	MA in European Studies (TW)	Government official, Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan (Taipei city)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	OK for communication
G3	39	M	MA in Ethnology (TW)	Government official, Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan (Taipei city)	Amis	OK for reading and writing
SE1	28	M	MS in Civil engineering (TW)	Engineering consultant (Taipei city)	Haka	OK
SE2	32	F	BA in Law (TW)	Law clerk (Taipei city)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	Intermediate
SE3	35	F	BS in Medicine (TW)	Medical doctor (Pulmonologist, Taipei city)	Mandarin	Average
SE4	37	F	MS in Genetics	Senior assistant researcher	Mandarin	Average. OK for

			(TW)	(Taipei city)		reading but not good at listing and speaking
SE5	60	M	BA in Accounting (TW)	Vice-general manager (Taichung city)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	OK for communication but still considers himself incapable
PP1	61	M	Senior vocational school, major in mechanics (TW)	Employee, trade department (Taichung county)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	Seldom use English
PP2	44	F	BA in English (TW)	Employee, sales department (Taichung county)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	OK for communication
PP3	29	M	Senior high school (TW)	Technician of maintenance (Taichung county)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	Not good
PP4	29	F	BA in Nursing (TW)	Nurse (Taipei county)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	Not good
PP5	34	M	BA in Social work (TW)	Employee, sales department (Taichung city)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	Intermediate
PH1	54	F	Senior vocational school of business (TW)	Employee, accounting department (Taichung county)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	Seldom use English
PH2	40	F	Junior college in Business Administration (TW)	Employee, accounting department (Taichung county)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	Not good
PE1	44	F	MBA (USA)	International trader (Taipei city)	Mandarin	OK
PE2	37	F	Junior College in nursing (TW)	Hospital administrator (Taipei city)	Minnanyu/ Taiwanese	OK

• Distribution of sex: Female: 31, Male: 12

• Distribution of age:

Age 10 ~ 20: 5

Age 21 ~ 30: 12

Age 31 ~ 40: 18

Age 41 ~ 50: 5

Age 51 ~ : 3