

Identity, Representation and Agency: Narrative Constructs of Filipino Teachers in Taiwan's Bilingual Nation 2030 Policy

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Abstract

As Taiwan embraces the race towards improving its citizens' English language skills through the Bilingual Nation 2030 policy (NDC, 2021), so does the need for teachers who can teach English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and subjects like Science and Math using English as medium of instruction (EMI). Attracting native speakers of English is a challenge, hence the government opened its doors for teachers with (near) native proficiency from countries where English is spoken as the mother tongue/official language e.g., the Philippines. This article sheds light on the plight of Filipino teachers in Taiwan hired through the Taiwan Foreign English Teachers Program (TFETP). Grounded on theoretical underpinnings of authenticity performance in identity construction on digital platforms and the narrative inquiry approach, data were gathered from selected YouTube videos, that is user-generated content of Filipino teachers in Taiwan. They were transcribed, coded, and analyzed, developing core narratives embedded in the discourse. Findings suggest multitude facets of teacher experiences that range in complexity, particularly what teaching in a migratory context is and what it means to them. Filipino educators must navigate bureaucracies, relocate, adapt, and fight racism and prejudice. Exemplary teaching qualifications and possession of standard English accent and proficiency are their professional armory. However, underneath these narratives are evidence of constant rallying for agency in owning their (non-)native identity and authenticity, establishing credibility as EFL/EMI teachers and contesting representation of Filipino teachers amid Taiwan's changing social and educational landscape.

1. Introduction

“Stories we construct to make sense of our lives are fundamentally about our struggle to reconcile who we imagine we were, are, and might be...” (McAdams, 2008: 242).

The demand for instructors who can teach English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and courses like Science and Math using English as the medium of instruction (EMI) has increased as Taiwan embraces the Bilingual 2030 policy— which literally is a race to improve its citizens' English language skills (NDC, 2021). Because it was and remains difficult to attract native English speakers (Eliassen, 2021), the government opened its doors to teachers with (near) native proficiency from nations where English is spoken as the mother tongue/official language, such as the Philippines (Taipei Times, 2022). Filipino teachers were quick to respond

to the employment opportunity, as of 2022 there was an influx of 5,800 applications submitted (Liao, 2022). A handful of successful applicants who made it shared their job applications journey on social media.

Social media is now established as a public media space for Filipino teachers to share and access stories of other teachers (De Vera, 2020). Platforms like YouTube facilitate wide dissemination of teachers' narratives through self-created video blogs or vlogs, providing ways of communicating to others their experiences with wide-reaching impact (Raun, 2016). Such online narratives warrant further exploration. In this study, user-generated content or vlogs created by Filipino teachers in Taiwan were collected and analyzed using the authenticity performance in identity construction on digital platforms (Riboni, 2020) and narrative inquiry method (Barkhuizen, 2019). This study examines the personal account of Filipino teachers in a migratory context, in completing the Taiwan Foreign English Teachers Program (TFETP) applications, overcoming bureaucracies, settling in Taiwan, withstanding systemic racism and discrimination, and fighting for improved representation in the midst of Taiwan's shifting social and educational environment. This article sheds light on the narrative constructs of the Filipino teachers in Taiwan.

2. Literature review

This section delves into the existing body of research to contextualize and analyze the pertinent literature.

2.1. Filipino teachers in Taiwan

The government's efforts in wanting to boost the country's competitiveness resulted in implementing the Bilingual 2030 policy (NDC, 2021), which aims to improve the English-language proficiency of its students and civil servants. This generated a demand for native English teachers who will be placed in various schools across the island (MOE, 2023). The Taiwan Foreign English Teacher Program (TFETP, 2022) was launched by the Ministry of Education (MOE) to recruit foreign English teachers and teaching assistants to fill in teaching posts nationwide. The recruitment is open and processed regularly as the need arises (TECO, 2023). The initial 81 foreign teachers in 2004 have been increased to 501 placements for the 2022 academic year. The MOE (2023) has opened another 411 posts for 2023. Depending on the teacher's qualifications, one could receive a salary from NT\$65,230 to NT\$100,010 (US\$2,200 to US\$3,340). Additional job perks include airfare allowance, health insurance, performance bonus, housing allowance, etc., while English teaching assistants can earn around NT\$48,000 (US\$1,600) and other benefits (TECO, 2023; TFETP, 2022). However, since the initial preference and quota for hiring native speakers from the top five countries (US, UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) was not successfully met due to low number of applicants, the recruitment was then opened to qualified teachers from countries where English is spoken as an official language. This paved the way for Filipino teachers to tap the opportunity to work in Taiwan. With the assistance of the Philippine representatives at the Manila Economic Cultural Office and the Taiwan Economic Cultural Office, the recruitment of Filipino teachers finally commenced. In August 2022, 17 educators were recruited for placements in public elementary and junior-high schools (TECO, 2022). The total number of Filipino teachers hired through the

TFETP for 2022 was 77 plus 11 teaching assistants out of the 5,800 applications (Liao, 2022), with provisions for more hirings as the official news released by the MOE (2022) states, “Taiwan welcomes more Filipino English teachers to join the program in the future” (para. 1)

In 2019, the issue of hiring Filipino teachers already made the headlines when then Kaohsiung Mayor, Han Kuo-yu, remarked on employing qualified teachers from the Philippines saying that it “would cause a psychological shock for Taiwanese, because [they might wonder]: How come our ‘Maria’ has become a teacher?” (In Wang & Lo, 2019, para. 2). The report states that “[t]he term ‘Maria’ is a slur widely used in Taiwan to refer to migrant workers, especially those working as a (sic) caregivers.” (para. 3). Certainly, this matter incites more controversy as a number of Filipino teachers have already made their way to Taiwan, joining the 158,000 Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW) in manufacturing and domestic jobs (PhilStar, 2023; Yen & Shih, 2023).

The overall contention of hiring foreign teachers to meet the demand was already met with criticisms from the Teachers Union in Taiwan (Lee, 2022). Cody (2021) posits these critiques could bear some truths since “there are already plenty of people in Taiwan who could fill these positions. These include locals and foreigners who may not be native speakers but have sufficient English language proficiency to teach” (para. 2). She adds that “Taiwan already has plenty of teachers who, from a language proficiency perspective, could potentially be English teachers. And yet, they’re ignored in favor of hiring mostly white foreigners.” (para. 3). A few well-known experts have also criticized the policy stating that “[e]ven if Taiwanese were to become more proficient in English, this would not necessarily result in greater international competitiveness... Many Filipinos, from a country where English is widely spoken, still have to go abroad to find work, while Japan, where English is not commonly used, boasts a strong economy, technological prowess and cultural influence” (Taipei Times, 2023).

2.2. Authenticity performance in identity construction in digital spaces

Authenticity performance plays a crucial role in identity construction on digital platforms, as people engage in deliberate acts to present themselves in a manner that aligns with their perceived sense of self or desired identity. Boyd (2008) illustrates how users on social networking sites strategically curate their online personas, selecting and editing content to convey specific facets of their identity while managing impressions. Similarly, Marwick and Boyd (2011) highlight the concept of “identity work” on social media, where users actively shape their online identities through various forms of expression, including status updates, photos, and interactions with others. There have been other studies from various disciplines, including media studies, communication studies, sociology, anthropology, and cultural studies. For instance, Burgess and Green’s (2018) study examines how users perform and negotiate authenticity on YouTube using smartphones and aesthetics. Gurrieri (2012) highlights marketers’ identity struggles, often overlooked compared to brands and consumers. Through a case study of two coolhunting agencies, this study investigates how marketers engage in discursive boundary work to construct their identities. The findings reveal a tension among coolhunters as they draw on discourses of renegadism and professionalism, resulting in a nuanced and adaptable identity construction process akin to chameleon-like behavior. He suggests that the inherent tensions in marketers’ identity construction and boundary setting can be effectively explored through a paradoxical

framework and proposes the metaphor of the nomad to encapsulate the complex identity conflicts experienced by marketers.

In contemporary discourse, the self is depicted as a fluid abstraction, shaped by individuals' interaction with a flexible reality. This ongoing process involves presenting, comparing, adjusting, or defending identities within various contexts, as described by Goffman (1959 in Baker, 2012) as an *information game*. Technology serves as the medium for these interactions, connecting individuals with multiple audiences, notably on online social networks. These platforms, exemplified by Papacharissi's (2013) study, serve as arenas for identity performance and sociability, reflecting contemporary challenges in self-presentation in digital environments. In the exploration of spaces, whether online or offline, people use these platforms as performative realms to articulate, actualize, and represent their sense of self. Papacharissi's (2018) more recent work emphasizes how these spaces serve as platforms for storytelling, where individuals affirm their identities and shape their narratives to become who they aspire to be. This narrative construction occurs within a framework that considers the politics of platforms, the stories individuals share about themselves, and the narratives surrounding their experiences and interactions. Within this context, platforms play a pivotal role in both enabling and constraining the expression of the networked self.

Giorgia Riboni's (2020) work, "Discourses of Authenticity on YouTube: From the Personal to the Professional," investigates authenticity discourse on YouTube, focusing on how popular users construct and portray their identities to appear authentic. It aims to contribute to understanding contemporary identity practices in social media communication. She examines how famous YouTubers shape and maintain an online persona, termed the "edited self," through carefully curated content. She argues that authenticity is a constructed concept and seeks to identify the linguistic and rhetorical strategies used by YouTubers to convey authenticity to their viewers. Using Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis and social media Critical Discourse Studies to investigate digital performances of the self, she looked at how YouTubers portray specific identities and whether there are common characteristics across different user groups i.e., commercial sponsorships. She suggests that authenticity claims can be validated through genuine interactions between creators and their audience, even in the presence of commercial endorsements. Riboni's (ibid) *discourses of authenticity* typically refer to the ways in which authenticity is constructed, communicated, and perceived in various contexts. On YouTube, this could involve analyzing the content creators' strategies, audience reactions, and broader cultural discourses surrounding authenticity.

The studies mentioned above underscore how authenticity performance contributes to the ongoing construction and negotiation of identity within digital spaces, serving as a means for individuals to assert agency and cultivate desired self-presentations. Researchers employ a variety of methods, including qualitative content analysis, interviews, surveys, and ethnographic approaches, to investigate how authenticity is constructed, negotiated, and perceived in digital environments. This exploration not only aligns with the themes explored in the current study but also provides valuable insights into how Filipino teachers in the English teaching context navigate and construct their identities, often striving for a sense of authenticity that may (or may not truly) reflect reality.

2.3. Previous Studies

There are a few studies on Filipino migrant teachers where they similarly shared their experiences of obtaining teaching positions in the host countries. Berg (2019) investigated the lives of four Filipino teachers in Arizona, exploring the challenges they faced as expatriates filling in a teacher shortage in the United States. The findings revealed that the Filipino teachers sought better remuneration and opportunities to repay debts. Kailasanathan (2013) also investigated the lives of highly qualified Filipino immigrant teachers and their stories in Canada. She claimed that despite the teachers' successful negotiation and validation of their earned positions in the institutions, improving integration of teachers into the country's educational framework is much needed. Stewart's (2020) book on language teacher recognition was also based on the narratives of Filipino English teachers in Japan. She argues that the Filipino teachers' identity is constantly challenged due to the social and economic circumstances of their home country i.e., poor and under-developed and their English is classified as outer circle (Kachru, 1990), hence being non-native is deemed unpopular among EFL circles (Yeh, 2019). Stewart (ibid) posits that language teacher identity is akin to identity politics as the teachers are in an endless pursuit of recognition. As Choe (2022) noted the influx of Filipino teachers in countries like China, Japan, and Thailand where there is a huge demand for EFL/ESL teachers boils down to the fact they are "paid less than 'native' English-speaking teachers" (pp 147-149). Balgoa's (2019) small qualitative study based on interviews delved into the perception of Filipino teachers in Japan on their non-nativeness and its effect on their teaching and learning of English. She found that they went through a "reconfiguration of their identity" trying to "sound native" to "counteract perceived forms of discrimination" (p. 256). She further states that "This 'nonnativeness' is a repudiation of their skills and qualifications as English teachers..." (p. 256), and "fosters discrimination and to a certain extent unfair work practices" (p. 262). A similar investigation conducted by Flores (2022) with comparable results showed that nativeness is a huge factor in reconstructing Filipino teachers' language identities. She purports that their "exposure to and interaction with other English speakers influence how they view themselves as language speakers, and their language-related experiences continue to [re]shape their language identities" (p. 123). She claims that the Philippine Higher Education institutions "produce globally competitive and locally responsive English teachers" (p. 124), however four out of the five respondents admitted that they consider themselves as non-native English speakers based on their lack of fluency and proficiency and that English is only their second language; thus seeing themselves as not equal to their Western counterparts. While the one who identified as a native speaker of English also claimed that the Philippines is an English-speaking country, which makes English as a primary language. Flores' findings thus raise the issue of duality among Filipino English teachers' language identities.

This study seeks to address the gap in research and provides new insights into the state of Filipino migrant teachers in Taiwan, focusing on the representations of their first-person digital narratives on YouTube. The following are the research questions that guided this study:

1. What are the underlying themes in the collected YouTube videos of/by Filipino teachers in Taiwan?
2. How do they navigate and negotiate their (non-)native identities in the context of teaching (EFL or EMI) in Taiwan?
3. How do they contest the representation of Filipino teachers in the changing educational landscape of Taiwan, and what forms of agency do they employ to challenge racial prejudice and stereotypes?

3. Method

In contrast to the predominant focus within critical discourse studies, this research aims to center its investigation on grassroots linguistic behaviors exhibited by “everyday participants” – specifically, the user-generated content found across various digital participatory platforms. The selected YouTube videos and the commentaries are intentionally selected to solicit public opinions and contributions. Consequently, the study presupposes that the user-generated data primarily represents input from “ordinary” individuals, rather than political or institutional figures. The narratives are collected from individuals, small groups or members of a community. The process opens opportunities for the researcher to understand the identities of these people (Creswell, Hanson, Clark, & Morales, 2007). This approach was chosen as it provides access to learn more about Filipino teachers’ identity and personality and their experiences in the Taiwanese school system. The purposeful sampling strategy was applied to ensure Filipino teachers in Taiwan were included in the sample, with a minimum sample size of 5, following Patton’s (2002) suggestion to determine a minimum sample size and increase the number until reaching redundancy. The number of Filipino teachers (FT) with their own YouTube Channel is 15. This study was guided by the method framework of Arksey and O’Mally (2005) and their recommendations for searching and screening YouTube videos: Identify the research question, identify relevant videos, select videos, chart the data, collate, summarize, and report the results.

3.1. Video eligibility criteria

Videos were included if the individual in the video featured a Filipino teacher who had experienced applying for a teaching job in Taiwan, who went through the process from document preparation to submission, who got hired, who is now/has lived in Taiwan while on the job. The video primarily focused on the Filipino teacher’s own experience or story. In addition, the video channel was the teacher’s personal account, academic institution, or public news media. The video duration must be at least 3 minutes short to 10-30 minutes long, language used must be in English and/or Filipino. Videos were excluded if they were teaching advertisements, promotional materials for a product or service, and leisure travels.

3.2. Identifying relevant videos and selection

The YouTube search was completed on April 12, 2023 in Taiwan using keywords: Filipino, teachers, teaching, experiences, stories, getting hired, and Taiwan (Filipino teaching in Taiwan). Videos included were selected and collected from a pool of YouTube videos based on the search results using keywords, title, and metadata. The videos were also grouped based on the Filipino teachers’ YouTube personal accounts, of which a total of 15 out of 18 accounts were noted, the other 3 channels were owned by media outlets (2 from the Philippines and 1 from Taiwan). The Filipino teachers have self-professed their vlogger identity i.e., they create and post their self-created videos for public viewing (cf. Wood, 2019). The number of videos they post vary from 15 to more than 250. A handful of these teachers have gained subscribers, which range from 5 to 7.8K YouTube followers. Out of the 250 videos viewed, 120 were related to their lives in Taiwan. This number was further narrowed down to 45 as these videos fit the

video selection criteria and based on the quality and relevance of the content (narrative); videos about food and shopping after teaching hours or other visits to touristy places in Taiwan were excluded. The entire selected videos accounted for 7.88 hours of viewing time.

3.3. Verification and Consensus

Each video that was included was viewed and screened independently and was shared to another Filipino colleague to ensure that the inclusion criteria remained consistent. Differences of opinions and discrepancies were noted, issues were then later resolved and consensus on the inclusion was made.

3.4. Chartering the Data

Metadata provided by YouTube were chartered using Google Sheets (similar to Excel spreadsheets) e.g., title of video, Teacher's YouTube account name, URL or link to the video, video ID, date uploaded, length of video, number of views, number of comments, content description, etc. The videos were transcribed using Google Docs. Filipino language used in the videos were translated to English and proofread and vetted by a language expert in both languages for accurate interpretation of the text. They were transcribed into a text file (n= 28,035 words), which was cleaned, coded, and categorized. This study also ensured the anonymity of the teacher(s) featured in the videos; they were given pseudonyms, and their YouTube channels and videos were given assigned numbers to protect their identities (e.g. FT + number).

3.5. Collating, Summarizing, and Reporting the Results

The video contents were analyzed using a narrative inquiry approach. The initial content analysis framework was developed based on the topic and themes of the stories shared. Quotes were identified which were then used to form the key concepts and thematic categories (codes) relevant to the research questions.

3.6. Ethical Considerations

Institutional ethics approval and informed consent were not considered necessary as all the collected information were from publicly available videos. Nonetheless, this study adhered to the ethical principles recommended for internet-mediated research (British Psychological Society, 2021).

3.7. Analytical Framework

This study utilized the Narrative Inquiry approach to delve into the multifaceted dynamics of identity construction and presentation in online networked environments. Narrative inquiry is a type of qualitative research whereby the stories collected serve as the raw data (O'Toole, 2018). This method has been used to study culture, identity, communication, and experiences among others (Barkhuizen, 2019). It involves gathering and analyzing the stories; these narrative data generated from interviews, (auto)biographies, and self-published video blogs highlight the human experience– in many ways, their shared lived stories (Clandinin,

2019). The narrative inquiry approach allows the understanding of the experience/story holistically, recognizing and considering the context, and understanding meaning. It is situated within a constructivist paradigm which involves reflexivity, representation, and interpretivism (Coniam & Falvey, 2022). Thus, using it means valuing and embracing the subjectivity of researchers. I also turned to Czarniawska's (2004) pioneering research in narrative inquiry and identity work that has profoundly influenced the fields of management and organization studies; she has demonstrated how narratives (storytelling) serve as powerful tools for constructing (sensemaking) and negotiating (or shaping) identities within organizations. She examined how identity is performed and enacted through language, discourse, and narrative practices. developed innovative narrative methods for studying organizational phenomena. She has written extensively on how to collect, analyze, and interpret narratives in research, emphasizing the importance of reflexivity and context in understanding the stories people tell. In the context of education, narrative inquiry is seen as a form of professional development by teachers for teachers, which facilitates their own research in teaching and learning (Barkhuizen, 2019). Xue's (2021) study allowed her to construct an impression of teacher's resilience, which was her form of self-inquiry. Meihami (2021) used biographical narratives to explore the challenges of using CALL in teacher education, taking ownership of their experiences and identifying solutions. Such findings also resonate with Laili et al's (2022) study on how it aids teacher agency in the development of their professional identities. Bense (2012) found that new cultural dimensions of teaching practices play a major role in cross-cultural classroom situations as migrant teachers in Australia face linguistic and pedagogical challenges such as teaching approaches, discipline, and credibility specially for those who do not feel confident and fluent in English. They expressed the lack of support from the school management and felt "alone" and "incompetent" and resulted in leaving the post (p. 9). In such situations, ending their employment could also signify teacher agency or resilience (Dunn, 2018). Immigrant teachers tend to reflect on their experiences of relocating to a foreign country to seek employment and that their circumstances often facilitated their own professional ambitions and growth (Deters, 2006).

A commonly referenced framework for narrative inquiry is provided by Clandinin and Connelly (2004) in their book "Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research" which outlines a comprehensive approach to conducting narrative inquiry, including steps for gathering, analyzing, and interpreting narrative data, as well as strategies for developing core narratives and overarching themes. This typically includes the following key components:

1. Contextualization: understanding the context in which the narratives are situated, including the social, cultural, and historical factors that shape participants' experiences. In this case, the context is situated in the field of English teaching in Taiwan.
2. Narrative Data Collection: methods may include interviews, observations, journaling, or document analysis. The goal is to gather rich, detailed accounts of participants' stories and experiences. The collected data were Filipino teachers' stories and experiences shared on their YouTube video, which were transcribed and translated into English.
3. Narrative Analysis: systematically analyzing the narrative data to identify patterns, themes, and structures within the stories. This may involve coding, categorizing, and interpreting the narrative elements (segments) to uncover underlying meanings and

insights. In this study, I used Python's Natural Language Toolkit (NLTK) to preprocess the narrative text by tokenizing words, removing stop words, stemming or lemmatizing, and performing other text normalization tasks (cf. Bird, Klein & Loper, 2009; Parde, 2023). Once the text was preprocessed, I analyzed the data to identify patterns, themes, and other insights. This involved tasks such as text classification and clustering to identify patterns or predict outcomes based on narrative text (see Findings). Python can augment and streamline the analysis process, but the author still needed to critically engage with the data to derive meaningful interpretations. Thus, the interpretation and contextualization of narrative data still required human judgment and expertise.

4. Interpretation: making sense of the narrative data in relation to the research questions and broader theoretical frameworks. I drew connections between themes, identified implications for theory or practice, and generated new understandings based on the narrative analysis.
5. Representation: presenting the findings of the narrative inquiry in a meaningful and engaging way. For this study, I first wrote narrative summaries, and excerpts from the text were then carefully chosen and presented in a contextualized manner.
6. Reflexivity: reflecting on the researcher's role in the narrative inquiry process and acknowledging their influence on the interpretation and representation of the data. This involved considering the researcher's biases, assumptions, and positionality in relation to the research context and participants' stories.

By following these components of the framework, the author was able to conduct a rigorous and systematic narrative inquiry that provides insights into participants' experiences and perspectives.

4. Findings

The Filipino teachers in the migratory context use personal stories to share with others who wish to work in Taiwan. Their vlogs mainly focused on their role as English teachers and their own teaching journey i.e., going through the tedious job application process to finally getting hired and moving to Taiwan as OFWs certified by both the Taiwan Economic Cultural Office (TECO) and Manila Economic and Cultural Office (MECO). Using the narrative inquiry approach, data were gathered from selected YouTube videos i.e., user-generated content of Filipino teachers in Taiwan and Filipino news networks. They were transcribed and analyzed, developing core narratives embedded in the discourse. The coding was based on the themes and subthemes found in the data. Below are some examples of excerpts that were categorized, which led to laying down the key themes and subthemes:

Coding:

1. Migration Experience

- Subtheme: Decision to Migrate

“I came to Taiwan pre-pandemic so that's before covid 19.”

- Subtheme: Family Sacrifice

“It was a difficult decision to leave my family behind, but I knew that I needed to find better opportunities for myself and for them.”

2. Perceptions about Teaching in Taiwan

- Subtheme: Push factor to teach in Taiwan

“I know that a lot of Filipino English teachers want to teach in Taiwan; want to teach abroad in general because for (*sic*) a lot of reasons and one of them is of course the benefits, the salary, right? if you compare the salary with the salary in the Philippines and in other countries the difference is really huge.”

3. Challenges and Struggles

- Subtheme: Culture Shock and Adjustment

“When I first arrived, I struggled to adjust to the culture shock and the demands of my new job. One advantage of Filipinos is we know (*sic*) how to adjust.”

- Subtheme: Discrimination at Work

“I faced discrimination at work because of my accent and ethnicity, which made me feel isolated (*sic*) and undervalued.”

“And they question my vocabulary skills... sometimes I could not answer because I’m not familiar with other foreign (American) expressions, because we don’t use them a lot in the Philippines.”

“I’m Filipino, and they have many expectations. They ask a lot of questions. They want to know if you can teach.”

4. Resilience and Growth

- Subtheme: Perseverance

“Despite these challenges, I persevered and worked hard to prove myself.”

“I just adjust. I’m talking about anything related to relationships, culture, travel and I’ll also be sharing with you my experiences...”

5. Identity

- Being Filipino, being a teacher, or being a domestic helper

“I was a former English teacher in the Philippines and in Taiwan.”

“They have a certain Filipino image and other Asians; they work as domestic helpers.”

Figure 1 also shows a visual pattern of the themes that came out from the dataset after text categorization. This reflects the challenges and adjustments that Filipino English teachers faced in Taiwan, including cultural differences, language proficiency expectations, and the pressure to excel professionally. The teachers discussed their struggles with adapting to the

new environment, handling stress, and facing questions they may not immediately have answers to. They also emphasized the importance of professionalism, resilience, and the ability to adjust in such situations. Additionally, they provided insights into the application process for teaching in Taiwan, highlighting the necessary documents, steps, and agencies involved. They also detailed the salary and benefits, including the basic salary, attendance bonus, and housing allowance.

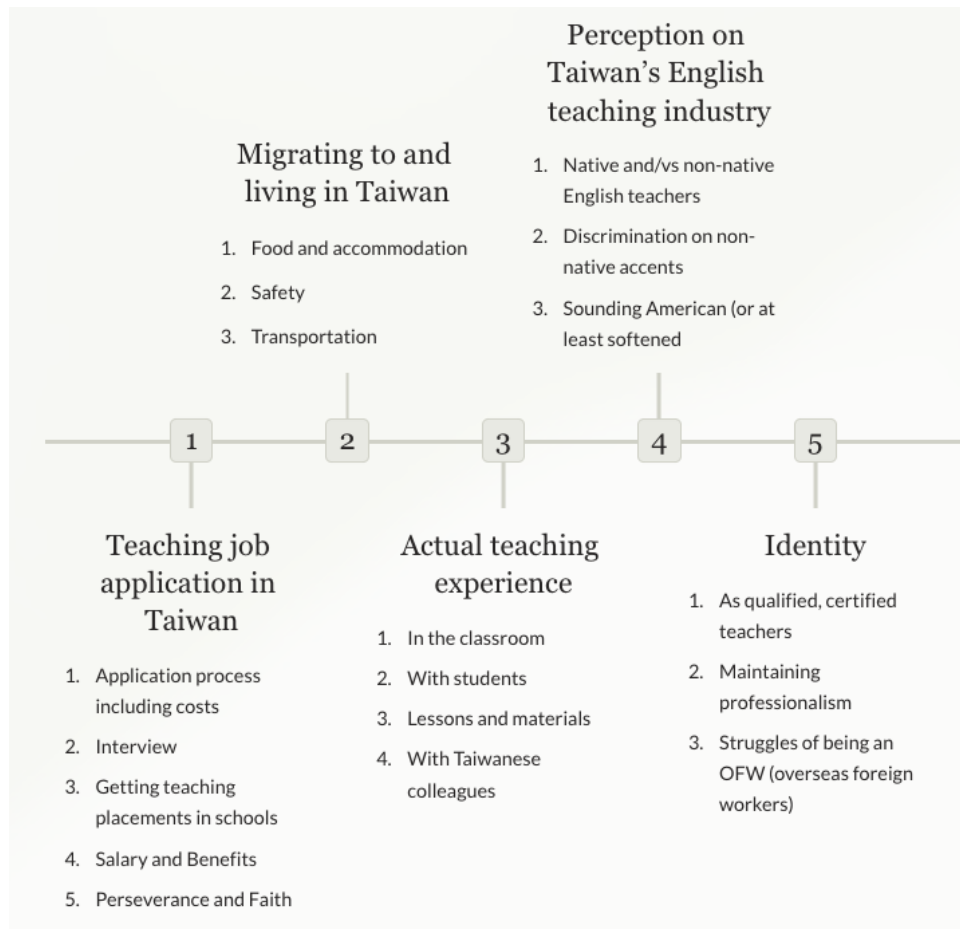


Figure 1: Themes from Dataset

The key themes and answers to the research questions are discussed below.

4.1. Teaching job application in Taiwan

All the teachers shared videos of their job application process. They shared their stories on where and how they got the information for job openings. Majority have gone through the Taiwan government-recognized agencies and the MOE sponsored-program– the TFETP. Recounting the steps they went through in the application process: how to apply, documents to prepare, what needs to be certified, authenticated, apostilled and mailed to the agency. Many of their grievances were on the processing of the required documents such as their diploma, teaching certificates, transcript of records, and securing a work permit. The long and tedious process for document authentication from various Philippine government agencies such as the Commission on Higher Education (CHED), professional regulation commission (PRC), National Bureau of Investigation (to ensure applicants do not have any criminal

records), Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) for passport applications, MECO and TECO – all involved a lot of time and money. OFWs have long complained about the length of the process in obtaining an overseas employment certificate or exit clearance. Hence, the Department of Migrant Workers promised that they will make it easier (Moaje, 2022).

It took me a month before I got my work permit because of the long process! (FT10)

I will now share with you the shorter quicker version to process your papers for TFETP so even before hiring starts you can have your document authentication at CHED, DFA and TECO. (FT2)

Not knowing the importance of submitting the required documents may cause them more delays in getting a job interview, as one Filipino teacher expressed her dismay after receiving an email from TFETP that her application was marked ‘incomplete’ which resulted in more delays.

so, I contacted DFA and scheduled an appointment. I didn't know that there was a 'walk'in' process- if I had known, I would've done it. It could've saved me more time. (FT3)

Majority of the teachers have expressed their concerns about the laborious process, but these Filipino teachers seem to have learned how to be proactive, tenacious and resourceful.

If you are discouraged to apply because of the amount (sic) of documents to be processed, so am I, because I come from the province, and the documents needed to be processed in Manila... I looked for an agent on FB (Facebook), because I couldn't go back and forth... (FT5)

The costs they spent in document processing and travel expenses to traveling to Taiwan vary but many suggest preparing at least 130,000 pesos or more. The amount seems steep especially as the minimum wage in the Philippines is 350-460 pesos per day (cf. DOLE, 2023).

the total cost I spent to come here (Taiwan) was worth two months of my salary; sobrang malaki (it was a lot of money) but I was able to get it back. (FT11)

All teaching-related job applications require a teaching demo which is basically a video recording (approximately 5-7 minutes) of their mock teaching. Many of these videos were uploaded on YouTube. In these videos, they showcased their use of teaching paraphernalia like flash cards, posters, etc., and how they carry out a lesson from beginning to end. There are a lot of animated movements, singing, and dancing- approaches that are appropriate for elementary school EFL students. These videos convey a plethora of semiotic elements such personal and professional characteristics and mannerisms and visual effects (Richmond, Juzwik, & Steele, 2011). Teachers are assessed based on their qualifications and the soft skills they exhibited in these videos (TFETP, 2023). Because they will be hired as English teachers, factors like their pronunciation, accents, lexical choices, use of grammar, etc., are very important in the hiring process specially for non-native teachers (Aneja, 2016). As one teacher puts it,

I speak with an American English accent, but I was educated in the Philippines ... Many Taiwanese parents still have the preconceived notion that Philippine English has a distinct Southeast Asian accent. (FT9)

Perseverance and faith are two distinct characteristics of Filipinos that these teachers possess. Words of encouragement and having faith were always expressed, particularly when encountering difficult moments such as uncertainty, fear of rejection, delays, etc. Part of the application process is the wait time. After submitting the necessary paperwork, they move on to the 'waiting' phase i.e., waiting for an email from TFETP about the scheduled job interview. They emphasized the importance of persistence and tenacity. The following are excerpts from the transcript that demonstrate the importance of seizing the moment when it presents itself:

Try applying, you'll never know, you might be the next one to be given that chance to come here. (FT12)

I hope this vlog was helpful and motivate you to apply and pursue your dreams. (FT14)

The Filipino teachers frequently used the phrase "Just do it" to entice others (fellow Filipino teachers) to submit their application materials. This teachers' resilience resonates with Xue's (2021) and Meihami's (2021) studies on perseverance and beating challenges as forms of agency i.e., impacting change and creating better lives for themselves and loved ones. The good news that many applicants were hoping for was receiving teaching assignments in schools. Others are urged to persevere because of the high compensation and benefits they will receive if recruited, which contrast with the pay in the Philippines (Crawford & Pugatch, 2022). All the teachers who created the 'how to apply' videos claim that Filipino teacher applicants would be able to quickly recoup their travel-related expenses because of Taiwan's competitive financial remuneration for foreign teachers.

And if they didn't get it the first time, try again. As some of the teachers have experienced after so many tries, they finally got a call and a placement. (FT4)

Don't be sad. Look at me, I wasn't confident in speaking English, I had fears and insecurities, but now I am more confident in speaking in it. What I am just trying to say here is, work on yourself and DO NOT GIVE UP. (FT5)

Another interesting fact about these Filipino teachers is their reverence and faith in God. Many have included prayers of thanks in their vlogs, as seen in the examples below. Such manifestation of faith and their firm belief is an integral part of every OFW's religiosity (Fuentes, 2021).

I prayed because I wouldn't have arrived here if I hadn't. It won't be like this anymore. Thank you, God, and everyone who has provided for me financially and in other ways. (FT10)

I will always be grateful to God since my trip would not have been possible without His heavenly direction. (FT3)

4.2. Migrating to and living in Taiwan

The Filipino teachers also shared plenty of personal insights about Taiwan including food and their accommodation. Below are a few comments about how they adapted the Taiwanese food and culture, and how much living in the country costs as compared to living in the Philippines.

Number two reason is the cost of living here in Taiwan compared to other countries Singapore, Korea, Japan, and China is relatively cheap... food is only 150 to 200 Ntd if we convert it to Philippine peso it's only 250 to 350 pesos. (FT8)

The number of convenience stores here in Taiwan will blow your mind because in every corner of your town you will find 7-Eleven, OK Mart or Family Mart. (FT11)

Let's say for a month I spent 7500 ntd for my accommodation, plus electricity and water bill, so only eight thousand ntd per month or 13, 800 pesos. (FT9)

The cost comparison is almost always included in the vlogs. This was very helpful information for those who aspire to come to Taiwan. Many have also reiterated the call to demand for the stipulated wage rate by the MOE as cram schools and other private institutions who recruit their own teaching staff would offer a much lesser pay scale. This also pertains to Choe's (2022) study where she pointed out the low wages given to Filipino teachers simply because their services are considered less expensive; this blatant racialization and discrimination is becoming so common (Yeh, 2019) that these Filipino teachers are trying to speak up and demand for what is due them as stipulated by the Taiwan government.

The provisions for Direct-Hire of Filipinos require foreign employers to sponsor visas, provide food and accommodation, 8 hours a day of work for 5 days, and that the Filipinos enjoy the same benefits as all other foreigners working in the same profession in the country of destination including, but not limited to, the minimum wage. (FT15)

Safety in living and working in Taiwan was also pointed out. Many attest to the safe environment and conditions in Taiwan.

- safe environment, yes Taiwan is one of the most safest (sic) places to live in the world so the neighbors in Taiwan here are very friendly there are a lot of cctv police around so you feel actually safe here. (FT6)

And the public services and infrastructures including transportation are also being compared with that of the Philippines. Many have emphasized the ease of public commute and the easy flow of traffic in comparison to Manila's heavily congested streets and highways.

I always tell my friends that the transportation here in Taiwan is really easy. You can go around everywhere without having cash with you. You just need to load your travel card... transportation is foreigner friendly because they have apps where you can track your bus and it's easy to navigate your current location. (FT10)

4.3. Actual teaching experience

The Filipino teachers also vlogged about their teaching experiences, how it was like for them in the first few weeks of teaching in Taiwan. Unfamiliarity with the educational culture was noted by the majority of these teachers, which relates to Bense's (2012) findings on classroom culture and management. Some expressed that the classroom environment was completely distinct from Filipino classrooms. For example, one teacher observed that in Taiwan, a typical class session lasts for about 50 minutes and students get a 10-minute break before the next class.

but today is my first day that I have taught, as in actual. It feels different. 100% different from my country. (FT3)

My time started earlier at 8:20, okay in the morning and finished at 11 am, even though I only had three sessions today; tomorrow, I have four lessons. Speaking of the length of time in Taiwan's classrooms, it is simple because there are only a few subjects. (FT1)

Since these Filipino teachers were hired as foreign teachers, they were assigned a local teacher assistant (TA) who would help liaise with students and other Taiwanese colleagues. The TA would occasionally translate difficult concepts in local vernacular to help learners with comprehension. This co-teaching style of instruction "allows for greater flexibility and a higher level of engagement compared to classrooms managed by only one teacher" (Fullbright, n.d., para. 2). Much of the discussion with local teachers were on the lessons and teaching materials. If one strategy did not work the first time, changes would be made; this was done to ensure an effective class delivery and management of learning tasks. The Filipino teachers commented on how 'welcoming' and 'friendly' the local teachers were to them, which made their teaching experience more pleasant.

I have certain things that don't fully work in the Taiwanese system, so we need to redefine that one. (FT2)

I also teach an international course where I am permitted to teach the culture, language, or Filipino language. All I have to do is introduce our country (Philippines), some of the simplest words or sentences in Filipino, and then some well-known meals or foods. (FT4)

With Taiwanese colleagues

Because in Taiwan, local and foreign instructors will have a discussion immediately following a lesson. (FT1)

and you shouldn't worry about it because you have a local teacher with you to help you or translate some of the challenging concepts that the students cannot understand in English into their language, so that the students can understand the topic of what the foreign teacher is saying. (FT7)

4.4. Their perception on Taiwan's English teaching industry: On (non)nativeness and discrimination

The Filipino teachers' perceptions on the massive Bilingual 2030 program were mixed feelings of trepidation and passion. The motivation to venture into teaching in a foreign country is eminently rooted in their desire to earn more so they could provide for their families back home; the financial remuneration Taiwan offers is lucrative enough to lure them to the country and endure the separation from their loved ones, similar to Berg's (2019) findings that Filipinos venture abroad for better opportunities. Their vlogs highlight the salaries the foreign teachers receive, and as foreigners in Taiwan they claim to have the same rights and privileges as those teachers hailing from America and other countries where English is spoken as a native and official language.

Standard rate for Foreign Teachers is at least 60,000 NTD for a full-time position or 650 hourly rate for part-time. Filipinos are paid the foreign teacher salary scale. (FT6)

When I got the job, my life took a lucky turn, and this was the start of my amazing trip. I battled homesickness and discrimination as a non-native English speaker because I have hopes of giving my family in the Philippines financial stability—something my country could not fully provide. (FT1)

Even though we are not native speakers, we know how to teach, our accent is still there, our English is still different from Americans or British or Canadians. (FT12)

Nonetheless, many of these Filipinos were somewhat uncomfortable when asserting their (non)nativeness. While a few of the Filipino teacher-vloggers say outright that they are non-native English speakers, others confidently 'own' their nativeness of Philippine English claiming that it is indeed a widely known and recognized variety of English (Yeh, 2019).

Its (vlog) purpose is to give information to aspirant Filipino teachers who want to teach in Taiwan and to encourage and motivate them to apply and take this rare opportunity as non-native English speakers. (FT8)

The dichotomy only causes more internal paradox that these teachers face as they brave discrimination, justifying their non-native accents. Nonetheless, this stresses what Bense (2012) refers to as the feeling of uncertainty as a result of the teachers' insufficient language proficiency.

We are actually somewhat at a disadvantage with westerners because of this perception, despite the fact that by law they are protected in salary and are receiving the minimum amount of money for salary increases. However, if and for as long as it takes, and we can

demonstrate that we are good teachers, professionals, and diligent in comparison, eventually our perception will also change. We just need a little patience and let's fight for our well-being here. (FT1)

Even though certain institutions have very discriminatory hiring policies, such as wanting to exclusively recruit Big Seven native speakers, they acknowledge and respect Filipinos as competent teachers, therefore being diligent is essential. (FT3)

When I first came here, I even encountered a cab driver saying, "I thought Filipinos are for factories/caregiving jobs?" Some would even say "really? You are a teacher? But you're a Filipino!" I just said, "well many Filipinos seem to work in factories or caregiving jobs, but I bet their English is better than yours!" so he shut his mouth! (FT5)

but to be honest, it is difficult to give this kind of job to Filipinos like me because most of the English cram schools here in Taiwan do not consider us as native English speakers. (FT8)

While all the Filipino teacher-vloggers agree that the public school system is less discriminatory than the cram schools, many admit that they still need to sound 'American' or at least speak with a *softened Philippine-English accent*.

We, as Filipinos, must also improve our accent. It's not enough that we all have skills in teaching. I'm not saying that other nationalities have perfect accents, just saying that it's our responsibility to improve ourselves, even our accent. (FT14)

You need to prepare your classes, even if you say that they are only kindergarten, the expectations of the parents here are high, because they pay a lot, just to learn English.

I am far from having an "American" accent but I gained confidence in speaking in English. Now, I am working in a private bilingual school. Don't lose hope. (FT6)

4.5. Professional identity and Representation

Filipino teachers had to go through the same process as all OFWs, from getting the appropriate government documentation, certifications and getting them apostilled, NBI clearance and DFA documents (TFC, 2023). These qualified and certified educators represent educated Filipino professionals in Taiwan, and yet are labeled as foreign workers, the same as those who work in manufacturing companies and domestic helpers. This duality of their professional identity is one of the reasons why many face discrimination. They came to Taiwan as OFWs to teach in public schools; they were hired because of their qualifications, pedagogical skills, and knowledge and proficiency in English. The duality of being elite workers and OFWs at the same time— is a paradox that the Philippine government puts them through.

There are/were a lot of OFWs working as caretaker/caregiver/factory workers working here and they thought Filipinos just needed to stick to that status quo. (FT4)

And it's really true... Some are working here as foreign workers or caregivers but some of them are university graduates, some are even teachers and engineers. If you go to big cities you would mostly experience this (discrimination). (FT7)

So we need to demand, same respect and the same pay, if we don't, they will continue to look down on us. (FT13)

that's why I joined the English teachers training, I paid for this training in order to have a certificate that might help me in my job search. (FT2)

Based on the data collected, the Filipino teachers' professional identity includes the following features: being qualified and certified, professional, and OFWs (Figure 2). The teaching qualifications and experiences gained are good enough reasons for them to be proud as educators. Much more so if they received their teacher training from the top universities in the Philippines and other countries. Staying professional and continuously enhancing their competence help them gain respectability (Balgoa, 2019). The Taiwanese responsible for hiring teaching staff could see (and hear) proof of professionalism, thus recruiting and giving them teaching placements are a manifestation of the Filipinos talents and skills. However, the OFW label continues to drag them down and position them together with the other blue-collar Filipino workers (Ortiga, 2017), while English teachers from other nations are classified as expatriates (expats), or as transient individuals who work and reside temporarily in a foreign country (Nault, 2022). It is simply a matter of semantics where words can be used interchangeably (Nash, 2017), and yet the social stigma of the application of which lexical item one chooses carries a much deeper connotation than what the word truly means.

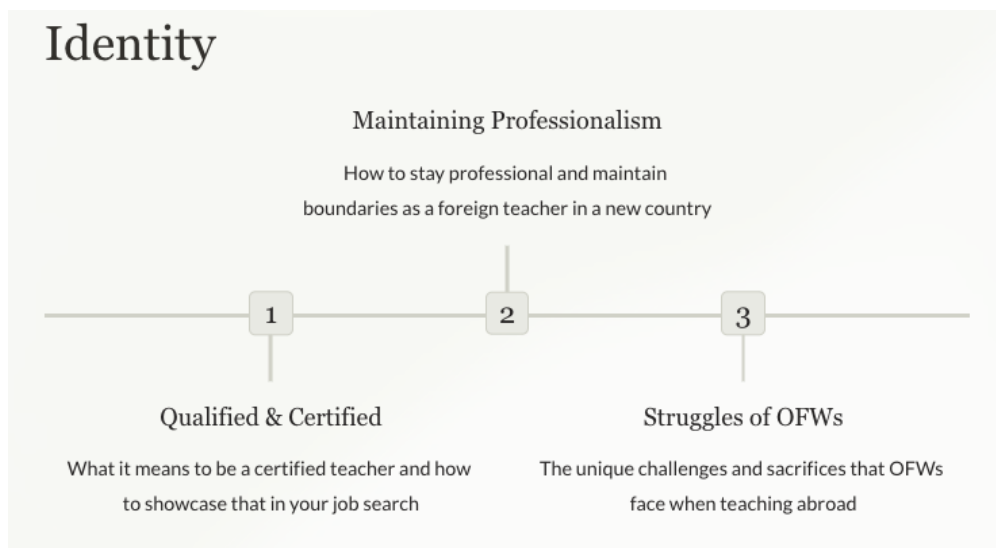


Figure 2: Filipino Teachers' Professional Identity

The dilemma is oftentimes internalized by the teachers; as it is a sensitive topic to many, admitting it requires courage and self-reflection. For Filipino teachers who are biracial or with mixed ethnic background and speak with an American accent, they could easily pass as 'foreign' (Koh & Sin, 2022; Reyes, 2020). And when their livelihood is at stake, some would hide or keep their Filipino identity to themselves (Ignacio, 2004).

And first I say that I'm from the Philippines, then I feel like that's a disadvantage, sometimes the employers, when they find out that you're from the Philippines, you won't be hired. (FT13)

The struggles of being an OFW can only be felt by these Filipino teachers. Since many of them send their hard-earned money to their families in the Philippines, they are in many ways considered to be as foreign migrant workers in Taiwan. This relates to the stories in Stewart's (2020) study of Filipino English instructors working in Japan. She contends that the social and economic conditions in the Philippines provide ongoing challenges to the Filipino instructors' identities as English teachers; And as seen below, their stories resonate with so many.

Now I know why "OFWs" are regarded as today's heroes...we can have a significant impact on the lives of our loved ones back home. (FT1)

I am an OFW. Here's my life as a foreign English teacher living in Taiwan. (FT5)

I decided to teach here in Taiwan, so I was able to earn and save money to provide for my family since i am the breadwinner provider family like many OFWs. (FT3)

The word Maria is used as a derogatory statement about OFWs in Taiwan, most of whom are caretakers or domestic helpers, therefore the statement of Mayor Han Guo-yi was discriminatory and it was condemned by many. (FT11)

The findings presented in this section resonate with the studies conducted by Flores (2022) and Balgoa (2019) on language identities of Filipino teachers worldwide. Claiming one's nativeness in English reflects the person's view of his/her linguistic fluency and proficiency. Their own admission of their inability to express themselves in English fluently or not possessing a neutral accent to make them sound like a native speaker reflects their positioning as inferior, secondary to their native-speaker colleagues. While there are those who clearly identify as a native speaker of English, also highly view themselves as professional English language teachers—competent and articulate English speakers; those who also *own* English as their primary language *in addition to* their mother tongue also recognize that English is the official language of the Philippines and that it is an English-speaking country. It is interesting to note the indexical positioning of the words—*primary, secondary, equal, and official*. They carry a visual representation of being a speaker of which language comes first, second, or one with equal status; this linguistic hierarchy also has implications on their perceived identity which mirrors their sense of agency in navigating their professional journey as English teachers.

5. Discussion

This study provides a glimpse into the complex nature of identity formation and professional challenges faced by Filipino teachers participating in Taiwan's English language education initiatives. Through the lens of narrative inquiry, the article highlights the multifaceted experiences of these educators, drawing from sources such as YouTube videos to illuminate their narratives. The findings underscore the dynamics at play, where teachers grapple with bureaucratic hurdles, cultural adaptation, and the pervasive presence of racism and prejudice.

While possessing exemplary teaching qualifications and proficiency in English is crucial, these teachers also engage in a continuous struggle to assert their agency and challenge prevailing stereotypes about their identity and capabilities. Moreover, as participants in Taiwan's evolving educational landscape, they confront the need to negotiate their representation amidst shifting social and educational paradigms. Overall, this shows how identity and professional practice(s) are influenced by sociocultural factors within the context of English language education in Taiwan, emphasizing the resilience and agency of Filipino teachers amidst adversities.

Incorporating a framework on narratives (Czarniawska, 2004; Clandinin & Connelly, 2004) into the analysis of the plight of Filipino teachers in Taiwan offers a deeper understanding of the methodology employed in the study. By utilizing narrative inquiry, the researcher delved into the subjective experiences of these teachers, capturing the intricacies of their lived realities. Czarniawska (ibid) emphasizes the importance of narratives in uncovering the intricate webs of meaning that shape social phenomena, and in this study, the narratives of Filipino teachers served as valuable sources of insight into the challenges they faced and the strategies they employed to navigate their professional and personal identities.

Authenticity (Riboni, 2020) within the context of Filipino teachers in Taiwan can be understood as a discursive construction. Rubini's theory posits that authenticity is not an inherent trait but rather a socially constructed concept shaped by discourse and context. In this case, authenticity is constructed through narratives and interactions that Filipino teachers engage in within the Taiwanese educational system. Moreover, integrating Riboni's (2020) work on authenticity in online discourses adds a layer of validity to the analysis. Her exploration of authenticity as a discursive construction resonates with the findings of this study, particularly in how Filipino teachers in Taiwan negotiate their identities in the face of societal expectations and prejudices. The reference to Riboni's work prompts a critical reflection on the notion of authenticity within the context of identity performance. While these teachers may strive to present themselves authentically, their identities are inevitably shaped by the discursive norms and expectations within their social and professional environments. Thus, by acknowledging the performative aspect of identity construction, this study shows how Filipino teachers navigate the complexities of authenticity and representation in their professional endeavors.

Identity work, as outlined in this study, involves the ongoing process of constructing and negotiating one's identity within a particular context. For the Filipino teachers in Taiwan, identity work revolves around performing their roles as English as a Foreign Language (EFL) or English Medium Instruction (EMI) teachers while navigating challenges such as bureaucracy, relocation, adaptation, and combating racism. One aspect of authenticity as a discursive construction is the portrayal of the Filipino teachers' proficiency in English. The emphasis on possessing a standard English accent and proficiency reflects the societal norms and expectations within the Taiwanese educational system. Filipino teachers engage in identity work by demonstrating their linguistic competence to establish credibility and authenticity as EFL/EMI teachers.

Additionally, authenticity is constructed through the narratives and representations of Filipino teachers within Taiwan's changing social and educational landscape. The challenges faced by Filipino teachers, as depicted in the narratives gathered from YouTube videos contribute to the discursive construction of their identities. These narratives highlight their plight in a migratory context and the diverse experiences of Filipino educators.

Furthermore, authenticity is intertwined with issues of representation and agency. Filipino teachers must assert their agency in owning their (non-)native identity and contesting misrepresentations amid Taiwan's evolving educational policies and societal attitudes. They engaged in identity work to shape the discursive construction of authenticity and challenge dominant narratives about their professional roles and contributions in Taiwanese education.

In summary, authenticity is a discursive construction shaped by narratives, interactions, and representations within the Taiwanese educational system. Filipino teachers engaged in identity work to navigate challenges, assert agency, and (re)shape their identities as EFL/EMI teachers in Taiwan. In essence, applying Czarniawska's and Riboni's insights into the analysis enriches the author's understanding of the narratives of Filipino teachers in Taiwan, highlighting the methodological and theoretical underpinnings that inform the study's approach to exploring identity, agency, and authenticity within the context of English language education. Both Papacharissi's (2018) study and this investigation into the experiences of Filipino teachers in Taiwan highlight the significance of storytelling and identity construction within specific contexts. While Papacharissi examines how online platforms serve as spaces for individuals to perform and negotiate their identities, this study illustrates how narratives shape the experiences and perceptions of teachers in migratory contexts. Just as individuals on social media platforms craft narratives to affirm their identities, Filipino teachers in Taiwan navigate complex narratives embedded in their experiences of teaching English as a Foreign Language and subjects like Science and Math using English as a medium of instruction. Both studies underscore the diverse nature of identity construction and the agency the teachers exercise in shaping their narratives amidst Taiwan's social and institutional challenges.

6. Conclusion

Filipino teachers who migrate abroad face a variety of challenges, including managing bureaucracy and overcoming institutionalized racism and discrimination. Their professional armory is their teaching qualifications and English proficiency, but they also struggle to embrace their (non)native speaker identities and build credibility as EFL/EMI instructors. Their narratives offer invaluable glimpses into the process of acclimatization to a new environment, echoing Papacharissi's (2018) insights on the performative nature of identity construction on online platforms. Through the Filipino teachers' vlogs, they not only provide an access to understanding their intricate disposition in Taiwan but a realization of shared successful strategies, job hunting experiences, and cultural adaptation challenges, thus aligning with Riboni's (2020) assertion on authenticity as a discursive construction. Mirroring Czarniawska's observations on narratives in social science research, these narratives showcase the teachers' capacity for introspection and reflection, offering life lessons and perspective views into their professional journey. These also allowed them to share their experiences as to how they got the job, teaching and surviving in the new 'host' culture, and engaged in interaction with others about the various teaching arrangements given to foreign teachers in Taiwan. Similar to Coniam & Falvey's (2022) suppositions, the Filipino teachers' own narratives reveal their ability to process and reflect on their experiences. The life lessons and word of advice also show how they interpreted and framed personal accounts of their professional journey. While the findings draw attention to the representation of highly skilled and qualified Filipino teachers, it is the unrelenting desire to be acknowledged and validated

the same way as other native English teachers that stood out. It was how they navigated and negotiated their (non-)native identities in Taiwan's EFL/EMI context, which was/is clearly distinct from the OFWs in factories and domestic households. And yet, the action they have taken to land a teaching job proves their sense of agency, the same agency they need to control their actions and their consequences, and how they tell their own narrative about their teaching experiences. In retrospect, their stories are perhaps not so different from the blue collar OFWs after all. Despite their qualifications, the relentless pursuit of recognition on par with native English teachers underscores their struggle against entrenched biases, illustrating the intersection of racism and identity negotiation in Taiwan's EFL/EMI landscape. Navigating their (non-)native identities within this context reveals their agency in controlling their narrative and actions, as they contest representation and seek validation in a constantly challenging environment.

One of the limitations of this study is the number of collected YouTube videos; more videos could be included to have a larger pool of narrative data. Nonetheless, this study was able to provide new insights and knowledge into the field of English language studies, particularly as it underscores Filipino teachers' self-perceived triumphs and hurdles in teaching in Taiwan. As long as they remain working in a migratory context, their stories continue.

Keywords

narrative inquiry, Filipino teachers, Bilingual 2030, representation, agency

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