New Approaches to English Language and Education in Taiwan:
Cultural and Intercultural Perspectives

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Wen-Chuan Lin, Michael Byram

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FOREWORDS

Congratulations on the publication of New Approaches to English Language and Education in Taiwan: Cultural and Intercultural Perspectives, which will bring new insights into the teaching and learning of English in Taiwan.

For decades, teachers of young learners of English have had trouble coping with the challenges of developing English communication skills in their pupils, despite the students having spent long years of learning. Regardless, English is regarded as one of the crucial subjects for academic advancement in schools of all levels. It is also a major tool on which all members of the business community rely for networking with their counterparts worldwide. English language skills are regarded as indispensable in all walks of life.

This widespread consensus is common not only in Taiwan, but also all over the world today. It is for this reason that the cover story of the Nov. 15, 1982 issue of Newsweek was titled "English, English Everywhere", and comments: "Today, like it or curse it, English has become the closest thing to a lingua franca around the globe."

The global influence of English today was the subject of another cover story of Newsweek on March 7, 2005, entitled "Who Owns English?" The essay asserted that "English is the language of business, technology, and increasingly empowerment". In consideration of the role that the English language plays in the contemporary world, the Ministry of Education of Taiwan has been actively promoting quality

English teaching and learning so as to develop talents of all kinds, aiming at enhancing Taiwan's international competitiveness in the long run.

Despite the universal desire to learn English, the efficacy of English language teaching in Taiwan has been an issue. Although students have typically devoted six to ten years to the study of English, their fundamental communication skills are far from acceptable, if we look at the results of standardized tests such as TOEIC, TOEFL iBT, IELTS, and others. So often the policy makers in English language education fail to appreciate the fact that its takes diverse measures to ensure the outcome of teaching and learning, the promotion of which requires activated motivation, interactive communication between teachers and students, and approaches based on achievement-driven and task-based practices. And above all, creative and challenging programs of teacher training for ensuring sound and practical pedagogies are essential.

Against the backdrop of the aforementioned issues, the publication of New Approaches to English Language and Education in Taiwan: Cultural and Intercultural Perspectives has addressed the key problems of English teaching and learning in Taiwan. With papers representing cutting-edge research in the four areas of "language education and identity", "transition and continuity of learning between different levels of schools", "learning and learners", and "teachers and teaching", all the stakeholders of English teaching and learning, namely, policy makers, English language teachers, and students of English, will be able to convert their liabilities into assets.

Echoing Dr. Wen-Chuan Lin's (2016) observation that EFL learning is viewed as one of the keys to success in Taiwan's economic globalization and modernization, the publication of New Approaches to English Language and Education in Taiwan: Cultural and Intercultural Perspectives should be able to empower English language teachers and learners and help them arrive at this goal.

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Recognizing the importance of English in the globalized world, the ROC (Taiwan) government has spared no effort in promoting the teaching and learning of the lingua franca of the 21st century—in order to ensure Taiwan's competitiveness in the world arena. Despite large investments—both public and private—on English education, it is nonetheless evident that over the years, the general public is not totally satisfied with the outcomes of Taiwan's English education. This dissatisfaction is a natural result of a number of interlocking factors: exam-oriented instruction, lack of qualified teachers at the primary level, students with differing proficiency levels in the same classroom, insufficient language input and hours of weekly instruction, low motivation and widening gap of English language proficiency, not to mention those poorly constructed English tests that tend to frustrate rather than promote learning.

In recent years, numerous research projects have been conducted in search for feasible solutions to the foregoing problems. The appearance of New Approaches to English Language and Education in Taiwan: Cultural and Intercultural Perspectives is particularly welcome as it aims to provide its readers with new perspectives on the thorny issue regarding the (in)effectiveness of Taiwan's English Language Teaching (ELT). New Approaches contains 12 chapters, divided into four parts, each focusing on an issue of significance to English language and education in Taiwan. The authors are all experienced English teachers and researchers, and their research deals with a wide variety of topics at different stages of English teaching and learning in Taiwan. This book thus offers its readers a comprehensive view of the status quo of

Taiwan's ELT as well as the challenges that await sound solutions. A further benefit for the readers is the research methodology each author shares at the end of each chapter, which is of great importance as teachers today are encouraged to do action research to grow professionally. Finally, New Approaches is unique in that 8 of its authors were graduates of Durham University, the UK, and their doctoral theses were supervised by Professor Michael Byram, a renowned scholar and researcher on bilingual education, comparative education, and foreign language teaching. New Approaches is thus significant in that it marks an inseparable bond between a distinguished and devoted teacher and his students here in Taiwan!

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INTRODUCTION

Wen-Chuan Lin and Michael Byram

In an age of globalization, English as a foreign language (EFL) is generally assumed to be the pivotal element in global communication. Crystal (2003) described English as a "global language", given its geographical-historical and socio-cultural influences, and people in Taiwan tend to assume that anything involving English must be good. In Taiwan, learning English as an international language has become vital to its economy in terms of providing access to the world community, and is viewed as one of the keys to success in Taiwan's economic globalization and modernization. Being able to speak English carries considerable prestige and it is generally believed that speaking better English fuels upward mobility in terms of occupation and social status. However, official views of economic and international exigency tend to see the overall decline in the national examination results for EFL learning as disappointing (e.g., Chang, 2006) and this gives rise to a growing public concern about young people's capacity for communicating across the world in English.

The authors of this book are EFL teachers and researchers who have years of EFL teaching experiences at various educational levels in Taiwan. They have searched for practical examples of innovation or illustrations of empirical findings from their research work—predominantly from their doctoral studies—dealing with either their analyses of EFL teaching on a mundane daily basis or their understanding of the

contemporary EFL context and its historical origins. The nature of the book therefore is a reflection and reconceptualization of EFL teachers' and researchers' practice through scientific inquiry. The purpose is to provide new insights such as cultural and intercultural approaches to English teaching and learning.

This book is written however not only for Taiwanese readers but also for readers in other Asian regions such as China, Hong Kong, Singapore, Japan and Korea who are concerned with EFL language and education as much as professionals in Taiwan. For the editors and contributors are convinced that the issues raised are common throughout East Asia and that a cooperative approach to analysis and resolution is the best way forward.

EFL Teaching and Learning in Taiwan and Beyond

The history of teaching and learning English as a foreign language in the world has deep economic and political roots. The popularity of EFL learning is growing among many Asian countries, including Taiwan, China, Korea and Japan. Teaching English in China reaches back 150 years to the opening of the first English language school in 1861 in the Qing dynasty. Following its overthrow of the existing regime in 1911, the Republic of China Government (i.e., the Chinese Nationalist Government－KMT) announced in 1912 that English was chosen to be the foreign language in secondary school education throughout China. In 1937, following the Japanese invasion of China, English language reverted to a non-compulsory status in the secondary curriculum, though

when the Chinese Nationalist Government retreated to Taiwan in 1949, English was still its major foreign language.

Since the 1980s, Taiwanese society has been subjected to far-reaching, rapid, economic change. Learning English in Taiwan has become a major economic concern as industries have acknowledged the need to compete within global markets where trade is mostly carried out in English. The growth in demand for and supply of English language education in business, public sectors and school settings is escalating. In recent years, the downward extension of the age at which English becomes a required school subject reflects public recognition of the importance of EFL learning. (Lin, 2008; Lin & Ivinson, 2012)

To further encourage the study of English, the Ministry of Education (MOE) commissioned the Language Training and Testing Centre (LTTC) in 2000 to develop the General English Proficiency Test (GEPT) (*quán-mín yīng-jiǎn*) for English learners at all levels of proficiency. The GEPT, composed of listening, speaking, reading and writing sections, was launched at five levels, Elementary, Intermediate, High Intermediate, Advanced, and Superior. Successful candidates are awarded certificates of achievement which have rapidly become one of the most important basic admission and graduation criteria in both senior secondary and higher education in Taiwan.

In 2001, the extension of EFL to younger ages in the national curriculum was a response to a dramatic sense of socio-political change and awareness of global economic trends. The implementation of the new Grades 1-9 Curriculum (*jiǔ-nián yī-guàn kè-chéng*) provided a framework of unified guidelines regulating curriculum goals, pedagogic methods,

timetable, content and evaluation. Following these MOE guidelines, English is taught with a focus on the skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing, and on developing basic communicative competences and knowledge about culture and social customs. The methodology used at elementary schools is generally "communicative"; it aims to incorporate a variety of oral expression activities such as language games, songs and role plays in seeking to stimulate children's learning motives. At junior high level, the methodology becomes textbook and grammar-based. In general, the approaches here favor heavy reliance on teaching grammar and sentence structure, entailing weighty mechanical drills and tests. As argued by Wen-Chuan Lin and Chin-Pin Chen in this book, school cultures at junior high level tend to devalue oral communication, thus engendering issues of "transition" between elementary and junior high schools. Though the national listening comprehension test was newly introduced in 2015, whether or not this policy will alter the weighty focus on grammar teaching is still unknown.

This is not the place to discuss in similar detail the situation in other East Asian countries, but the similarities are well known and, despite the international calibrations and comparisons of results in tests, the outcomes in terms of communicative competence, cultural understanding and ability to relate to people of other countries—intercultural competence—is much the same.

The School System in Taiwan

To provide a general picture of the school system in Taiwan, we will foreground the levels of compulsory education and senior secondary education, and briefly overview higher education. There are four phases of schooling in Taiwan: three years of "pre-school education"; nine years of "compulsory education" (six years elementary and three years junior high school); three years of "senior secondary education"; and four years of "higher education". Pre-school education is normally termed "kindergarten". Most kindergartens are private while public kindergartens are mostly affiliated with primary schools. Students aged 4-6 are admitted for 1-3 years of schooling. The Elementary and Junior High School Education Curriculum, normally termed the Grades 1-9 national curriculum, was introduced by the MOE in 2001, legitimizing English learning as early as Grade 5 elementary level, or even lower. In 2005 English was further added to the Grades 3 and 4 elementary school curriculum, and many schools have extended it even further to Grades 1 and 2 curriculum, in order to meet parental expectation and the pressure to learn this foreign language well.

Historically, mandatory or compulsory education was limited to six years of elementary schooling when the Chinese Nationalist Government first moved from China to Taiwan in 1949. Following elementary school, the fiercely competitive Taiwanese National Examination for Junior High School could be taken before 1968, but this deterred many from continuing with secondary education. To remove such pressure on students aspiring to junior high school and in recognition of the importance of education to national development, nine

years of mandatory education policy was introduced in 1968, and is known as Compulsory Education for Elementary and Junior High School Students (*yì-wù jiào-yù*). Students, aged at least 6, enter elementary school without any assessment, graduating with a diploma after six years and moving, aged at least 12, to junior high schools.

Senior secondary education remains divided between six types of public or private schools, senior high, senior vocational, comprehensive, single-discipline, experimental and combined high schools. In applying for entry to this level, students are required to take the Comprehensive Assessment Program for Junior High School Students (*guó-zhōng jiào-yù huì-kǎo*) as well as meeting other requirements, including those of specific subjects required by individual schools. The most demanding subject standard requested is for English and this is usually formulated in terms of GEPT, usually with elementary level but also intermediate level as the entry requirement for some elite senior high schools.

Various types of schools and institutions make up higher education, including five-year and two-year junior colleges, four-year or two-year institutes of technology/universities, universities and independent colleges and graduate schools. Universities and independent colleges are run either by government or private bodies. High school graduates were until recently selected through a variety of means, including passing entrance examinations, submitting personal applications, and high school recommendation. The recent "open-door policy" for higher education has meant that at least 95 per cent of senior high school graduates each year attend

universities. Those completing course requirements within the designated time are granted bachelors' degrees.

The Grades 1-9 National Curriculum

Apple (1988) contends that "we cannot fully understand the curriculum unless we first investigate the way our educational institutions are situated within a larger configuration of economic, cultural, and political power" (p. 195). This has certainly been the case with respect to curriculum reform in recent years in Taiwan, not least the birth of the "Grades 1-9 Curriculum" for elementary and junior high schools. Before 1998, the elementary and secondary curriculum mainly followed the national "Curriculum Standard" expressed as unified guidelines which regulated curriculum goals, pedagogic methods, timetable, content and evaluation (Mao & Chang, 2005). Responding to a dramatic sense of socio-political and economic change, and conscious of global trends in educational reform, government became seized by the notion that it must engage in educational reform in order to foster national competitiveness and the overall quality of citizens' lives by initiating curricular and instructional reforms in elementary and junior high school education. On this logic, the Grades 1-9 Curriculum was introduced in 2001, with far reaching implications for teaching and learning English.

At the elementary level approximately 1-2 hours weekly are given to learning English. At junior high level, an average of 3-4 weekly hours are allocated, including one Supplementary Slot which is an official, after-school revision class. In reality, given the strongly rising tide of English

learning, most junior high schools are desperate to increase hours further, somewhat compromising subjects deemed "not so important". Some schools, mostly in urban regions, in order to meet their "bilingual vision", have created new class sessions, such as listening to English broadcasts during lunch-time sessions, while others have replaced extracurricular activities with English sessions or even created Saturday classes for high-ability students. By such means, 4-5 weekly hours tend to be devoted by students to learning English in junior high school.

The Hidden Curriculum: Cram Schools and Foreign Teachers

Pressure to develop better English ability is fierce among learners at each school level in Taiwan. At pre-school and kindergarten stages, common slogans, such as "do not fail your children at the starting point in learning English" and "the earlier your children learn English the better they will succeed" have fuelled growth in bilingual or "whole English" kindergartens and "cram schools" (*bǔ-xí bān*). Cram school learning, a form of after-school revision classes in private institutes, has become widespread among Taiwanese students. Because of the importance of English proficiency for senior high school entry, engagement in after-school revision classes in cram schools has become very common among junior high school students. The usefulness of cram schools is for "dealing with the growing complexity and difficulty of English as a subject in junior high school" but attendance "does not guarantee students' academic improvement" (Lin, 2008, p. 93) because of students' reluctance to attend and the passivity of

the pedagogic treatment in cram schools that tends to deter full participation.

The introduction of foreign nationals in English language teaching in elementary and junior high schools in Taiwan since 2004 became an important milestone highlighting growing awareness of the importance of English. These foreign English teachers were deployed primarily to elementary schools in remote areas, attempting to tackle an already well-marked "urban-rural disparity" (*chéng-xiāng chā-jù*) or "English divide" (*yīng-yǔ luò-chā*). The first cohort of five Canadian English language teachers was introduced to Taiwan on 24th October, 2004, followed by another 14 (12 Canadian and 2 British) on 14th February in the following year. In later years, the MOE signed Cooperation Memos with governments in America and Australia to facilitate educational and cultural exchange, especially the introduction of English teachers to elementary and junior high schools in Taiwan.

Doing Research in Language Teaching and Learning

It is evident from this brief overview that changes in language teaching in Taiwan have been substantial at least in terms of the institutional reforms, the introduction of structural and curriculum change and the use of teachers from English-speaking countries. For change to be deep and long-lasting however, there is a need to analyze and understand the fundamental processes of schooling which happen in classrooms. At the same time it is important that teachers themselves should be engaged with and committed to change, for otherwise the top-down influences remain superficial. The need for research is clear as is the need for

teachers themselves to engage in research as a means of improving their own teaching. The significance of the teacher as researcher is now well recognized if not yet fully implemented. One of the purposes of this book is to present the results of research-based analysis of classroom processes—learning, teaching and assessment—but there is an equally important second purpose: to offer teacher readers insight into how research is done and how they might themselves become researchers.

In the spirit of the first of our purposes, the editors suggested to authors that they should "tell their story" with a minimum of reference to the methods by which the materials for their story were collected. We know that teachers search for practical examples of innovation or concrete illustrations of findings from research which might affect their work, whether in terms of their daily practices or in terms of enhancing their understanding of the contemporary context and its historical origins.

However, the authors, though they all began as teachers, became researchers attracted by the excitement of doing their own investigations and making a contribution to that body of knowledge which underpins teachers' work. Furthermore, as researchers, they became aware that the "story" is never complete; they can tell one episode but others need exploring. Research reveals the need for more research. Not least important in this perspective is the fact that these researchers were all working as individuals, and in most of the cases reported here they were venturing on their first journey of original research through the pursuit of doctoral studies. They have thus contributed in a small way as individuals to a better

understanding of language teaching and learning in Taiwan, but would be the first to recognize that more needs to be done.

It is in the spirit of the second purpose of the book - to encourage teachers to become involved in doing more research - that the editors also wanted the authors to give a full account of their research methodology. All the contributors share with the reader the details of their research to a degree which is not often found in research reports, and this means that readers can imagine how the research was done and replicate it. Replication is a much under-valued aspect of research work. It provides confirmation or refinement of previous work and therefore makes previous work all the more valuable and valid. Secondly, replication is a sound basis for novice researchers to develop their own skills which they might subsequently use in other projects with other purposes. Readers will therefore find at the end of each chapter a separate section which describes the research methods used in sufficient detail for them to begin their own research.

In short, it is possible to read this book as a series of reports, of "stories told" about language teaching and learning in Taiwan, without reference to the methodology sections of each chapter. It is however also possible to use the book as a practical guide to doing research in the Taiwanese or any similar situation. Readers will find detailed accounts of how research is done by real people in real circumstances, and this goes beyond the abstract discussions of research found in research methodology books. They will, for example, find accounts of how teachers changed their methods and carried out research to evaluate, in a systematic and evidence-based way, the degree of their success. They will also find examples

of investigations, through interviews and document analysis, of the development of language attitudes in Taiwan. They will find examples of evaluations of learners' transition from one part of the education system to another or of the professional development of teachers, carried out with research techniques derived from ethnographic methods. It is therefore possible for readers to compare and contrast the final sections of each chapter to see the range of research techniques open to them in their own attempts to carry out research and contribute to the body of knowledge of language teaching in Taiwan which will be of interest also to readers elsewhere.

CONTENTS OF THE BOOK

Of the following twelve chapters, eight are based on doctoral dissertations, supervised by Professor Michael Byram at Durham University in England, and the other four are invited chapters by scholars from Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages in Taiwan, who also base their contributions on their doctoral research. The editors hope to show in this way the relevance of doctoral research and the importance of making it widely known.

The book is divided into four parts. In the first part there are two chapters which contextualize language teaching by historical analysis of the significance of languages in Taiwan. In Chapter 1, (*Towards an intercultural citizenship community: monoculturalism or interculturalism?*), Mei-Lan Huang presents a historical analysis of the evolution of language education and monoculturalism in Taiwan after 1945. Her

chapter analyzes the relationship between the ideology of Chinese monoculturalism and its language education on the one hand, and on the other hand the development of imagined Taiwanese monoculturalism and its efforts in building the concept of a Taiwanese nation through reviving Taiwanese local native languages in present and future language education. It is based on document analysis and interviews with key figures in Taiwan recalling their childhood experience of education

In Chapter 2, (*Identity, education, and language: a case study in Taiwan*), Grace Lee analyzes how language attitudes in Taiwan play out in people's lives, some traces of which are also present in Chapter 1. Here, however, the objective was to look, in a detailed and chronological analysis, at the life history of one Taiwanese woman who lived through three educational systems in Taiwan. Her life story, collected through multiple interviews, is examined for moments and experiences which depict her views on her identity, and analyzed with particular attention to the relationship between identity, language and education.

The second group of chapters brings the focus onto the experiences of learners in the education system today at the crucial moments of transition from one level to the next. In Chapter 3, (*Challenging the pedagogical discontinuity in EFL between elementary and junior high schools in Taiwan*), Wen-Chuan Lin addresses the need to solve problems of elementary-junior high school transition and ensure continuity in pedagogical practice between the two social settings. His study explores differences in students' access to EFL learning in four Taiwanese junior high schools and challenges the myth

of "the earlier the better in learning foreign languages" when there is no consideration of issues of transition between elementary and junior high. Implications pertaining to elementary-junior high progression in pedagogical practice are discussed which may inform practitioners and policy makers who are concerned with the gap in EFL learning and teaching.

In Chapter 4, (*Cultures of learning in English language classrooms in Taiwan during the transition year from elementary to junior high school*), Chin-Pin Chen develops further the issue of elementary-junior high school transition with an analysis of discursive patterns which influence and inform the transitional year. This chapter addresses the question of "whole-class teaching, individual testing" and its implications for the transitional process. Despite the apparent similarities in terms of teachers' design of whole-class teaching activities and conducting of individual tests before and after transition, the meanings of tests are probably different, indicating possible discontinuity of cultures of learning between the two educational phases. Since teachers from both educational phases hardly have opportunity to meet each other, a certain degree of mistrust can arise, and none of this is to the benefit of students moving from one educational phase to the other.

The next group of chapters concentrates even more on learners and learning processes. In Chapter 5, (*EFL learners developing critical intercultural awareness through process drama*), Wen-ling Irene Chen challenges the role of foreign languages teaching and learning in the reproductive purpose of education systems. Her study addresses the significance and urgency of developing "critical intercultural awareness" (CIA)

in Taiwan students' language learning experience, by describing an action research project that explores how and why CIA can be developed in process drama praxis in the context of Advanced English Learners' Programs for junior high school students in Taiwan.

In Chapter 6, (*A cooperative task-based learning approach to motivating low achieving readers of English in a Taiwanese university*), Tsu-Chia Julia Hsu analyzes the problem of some first-year university students in Taiwan who had low English scores in their university entrance examinations, and who did not necessarily perform at their full potential in English language. Her study seeks an effective approach to the teaching of reading, one that will help these students to enhance their confidence and motivation. The approach includes cooperative learning and Task-Based Language Teaching, which encourages frequent interactions and positive involvements that are crucial for reinforcing motivation. A new pedagogy integrating these two methods was thus developed and applied.

In Chapter 7, (*A study of translation teaching in a university of science and technology in Taiwan*), Hsiu-Tzu Charlene Shen argues that translation studies is seen as a significant facilitator in the nation's competitiveness in a globalized economy, and has developed as a discipline in the past two decades to answer the call from government for a response to globalization. Given the limited literature about Translation Studies curriculum development in Taiwan and taking into account the students' interests in a technological university context, her study investigates whether students will

learn effectively or perform better when taught with a curriculum which is derived from their needs.

Finally, in this section, Chapter 8, (*Promoting the cultural dimension in EFL teaching: a turning point for English education in Taiwan*), Yau Tsai argues that the promotion of the cultural dimension in EFL teaching is the key factor which can help students to develop the intercultural communicative competence needed in a global society. Her study explains the characteristics of intercultural communicative competence and the reasons why promoting the cultural dimension in EFL teaching leads to the development of this competence. Through the analysis of group interviews with students, relevant problems impeding the promotion of the cultural dimension in EFL teaching are identified and then suggestions are made for both the Ministry of Education and English teachers in Taiwan.

In the fourth and final group of chapters the focus is on teachers, on their classroom activities and on their professional development. In Chapter 9, (*Analyzing EFL team-teaching in Taiwanese elementary English education: an intercultural perspective*), Shu-Hsin Chen analyzes "team teaching", a phenomenon often seen in elementary and/or secondary EFL classrooms in some East Asian countries, including Taiwan, where the fact that cultural differences between local teachers and foreign teachers affect team teaching effectiveness, is receiving increasing attention. Aiming at understanding how teachers of EFL conceptualize their team teaching experience, this ethnographic study elicited interview data from local and foreign teachers of EFL in Taiwan. The *intercultural team teaching capacity* (ITTC) model provides a useful source for

future research and training programme development in the areas of TESOL, ELT, intercultural education, intercultural communication, and multicultural team management.

In Chapter 10, (*The journey of sixty adventurers to becoming English language teachers in Taiwan*) Wei-Yan Miguel Li evaluates the success of ELT initial teacher education in Taiwan. The effectiveness and practicality of the training contents and the outcomes of different training programmes are investigated. One central concept needs clarifying: what is expected in an able ELT? It is only with a clear idea of an answer to this question that the evaluation of training programs is possible, to establish if they are providing training in accordance with what the trainees need for their future teaching profession. A framework of required professional competencies (FRPC) is developed which characterizes a competent language teacher and is a basis for evaluation of courses.

In Chapter 11, (*An online teacher professional development framework for Taiwanese English teachers in supplementary schools: undoing self-marginalization*), Pai-Hsien Aiden Yeh argues that Taiwanese English teachers in supplementary schools are often marginalized. This is partially caused by widespread discrimination in Taiwan where people hold a strong misconception that only those with native-speaker-like features can be considered as "true native English speaker teachers". Her study shows that to become an effective EFL teacher, one must be motivated to gain improvements in professional skills, stay committed to the profession, and keep the passion for teaching and learning burning. Perhaps more importantly, it shows that engaging in

continuous teacher professional development can be a form of self-empowerment; improving themselves professionally can boost teachers' sense of identity as language teachers.

In Chapter 12, (*Towards a global citizenship: the intercultural competence development of Taiwanese university teachers through short-term study abroad*), I-Jane Janet Weng is concerned with the promotion of intercultural citizenship which favors multiculturalism and equality in preparing students in a global community. Her study seeks to expand the focus of research to report the learning experience of seven Taiwanese university teachers who participated in a short-term overseas tour. She found that an authentic and rich intercultural short study abroad program can serve as an effective way in fostering the intercultural competence of university teachers. The intercultural experience helps them transform personally and professionally to teach with new approaches to promote intercultural citizenship.

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Towards an Intercultural Citizenship Community: Monoculturalism or Interculturalism?

PMei-Lan Huang

INTRODUCTION

Like many colonies in Asia, Taiwan experienced decolonization in the 20th century. It started with the end of Japanese occupation when Taiwan was returned to the Chinese Nationalist government (Kuomintang, KMT) in 1945, based on the Cairo Declaration of December 1943. Japan transferred the island to China's ownership on 25th October 1945 and Taiwan officially became a part of the Republic of China (Cheng, 1991, p. 218-9; Gate, 1981; Gold, 1986, p. 49-50).

Thus, at that time, there existed in Taiwan a ruling class of Mainlanders, most of whom could speak some form of Mandarin and a lower class of people comprising Southern Min, Hakka and Austro-Polynesian speakers, and there was no way for these groups to communicate with each other except through translation. Hence, the sociolinguistic situation of the island at that time can be characterized as "diglossia without societal bilingualism" (Fishman, 1967; Tsao, 1999). The diglossia of the Japanese period when the ruling powers spoke only Japanese, was replaced by a new kind of diglossia and the new administration had a great challenge, because the pluri-ethnic and pluri-linguistic society of Taiwan was

extremely delicate and needed to be handled with care (Gold, 1986, p. 49-50).

The population of Taiwan is made up of four main ethnic groups, each of which has its own language (Huang, 1995, p. 21). At the time of decolonization, Hakka speakers were about 15% of the total population of approximately 23,483,793 (as of November, 2015), speakers of the aboriginal languages were about 2.28%, Mandarin speakers, "the Mainlanders", about 13%, and speakers of Southern-Min, the majority language, about 70 % (retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/demographics of Taiwan Population).

The four-part division by languages was parallel to a two-part division in the population and its origins between the majority "native Taiwanese" or the "non-Mainlanders", and the minority "Chinese" or the "Mainlanders". And the clash between the so-called "Chinese consciousness (a Chinese mono-cultural identity)" and the "Taiwanese consciousness (a Taiwanese mono-cultural identity)" will play a primary role in this study.

Within this context, it was not surprising that the national education system was subjected to tight KMT government control (Tsao, 1999), because language and education have always been regarded as the important pillar in group identity maintenance, and Young and his colleagues (1992) point out that the national language played an instrumental role in unifying the peoples of Taiwan, especially KMT's Mandarin-only language movement.

Therefore, in addition to the main theme of this study—the ideology of mono-cultural identity—there is a sub-theme concerning the tension in linguistic identity in education between these two above-mentioned major ethnic groups in Taiwan: the majority "native Taiwanese" or "non-Mainlanders", and the minority "Chinese" or "Mainlanders". For it is still today an ongoing phenomenon and remains a complex issue. Furthermore, in facing a more globalized and internationalized world, a pluri-lingual and pluri-ethnic community like Taiwan needs to accept the diversity and change and shift from the dominant monolingual paradigm to "an intercultural citizenship one in which the focus is on the appreciation of multiple heritage and cultures" (Byram, 2008).

Constructing the Ideology of Chinese Monocultural Identity after 1945

For the KMT government, language education was a highly political agenda after it took over Taiwan from Japan, and the promotion of a Mandarin-only movement was crucial to a project of re-socialization, i.e., a deliberate attempt to change identifications and allegiances after the end of colonization. There were many regulations and approaches to the promotion of Mandarin by the Taiwan Provincial Government and the Provincial Department of Education throughout the period 1945-1969. The following account is based on an analysis of documents and interviews with a group of people who had grown up at the time of the changes; for more details of methods, see below.

De-Japanization and Sanitization

As mentioned earlier, prior to 1945, the official (national) and "high" language in Taiwan had been Japanese, while the majority "low" languages used in native Taiwanese society were the "Taiwanese" dialects (Southern-Min) and the Austronesian aboriginal languages. In contrast, the national language of China from 1911 had been Mandarin, a language akin to the Beijing dialect that most Taiwanese people did not speak. Therefore, the issue of sinicizing the native Taiwanese by the introduction of Mandarin became a major priority for the KMT ruling government who realized that they had to rely heavily on institutional forces, if they wanted to control and to achieve the desired result. Institutions such as mass education and mass media were central to such a social engineering project, and language education and the intended creation of monolingualism was central in the KMT government's cultural sanitization. Table 1 reveals how step-by-step regulations to promote a dominant ideology were announced to achieve the goal of linguistic unity.

Table 1: Extracts from Regulations for the promotion of the national language in school education from 1945 to 1969 (emphasis added)

	Events	**Date**	**Source**
1	"Taiwan Provincial Committee for the Promotion and Propagation of the National Language is **formally established** and national language education promotion	April 2, 1946	Education Department of the Provisional Provincial Government

Events	Date	Source
of CPPNL must be enacted effectively."		
2 "A special program **must be adopted to spread Mandarin** among the aboriginal people of the mountain tribes,… school teachers **have to be established to coordinate** the work of Mandarin promotion. Small libraries of books written in the phonetic alphabet **must be begun in each primary school**"	1956	Taiwan Provincial Government Press, 1957, Spring Volume 50
3 "All communication in the schools should use Mandarin as much as possible, and avoid dialect speaking. If students do break the regulation, they **must be punished in various degrees**"	May 30, 1956	Taiwan Provincial Government Press, 1966, Summer Volume 2
4 "All teacher training schools and colleges in Taiwan **must initiate periodic Mandarin proficiency testing** for all their students and add a required examination in Mandarin, which **must be passed prior to graduation**"	Be-ginning in 1958	Taiwan Provincial Department of Education

	Events	Date	Source
5	"All official institution and schools **must use Mandarin during the offices/school time**"	Sept. 12, 1964	The Taiwan Provincial Government

Here there is a repeated use of "have to" or "must" in the messages of these regulations and their purpose is salient: to deliberately prepare the Taiwanese people to buy into the need to support the new KMT government and to work towards the goal of language unity and a thriving new nation-state, i.e., one nation, one language and one linguistic identity.

One of the people interviewed, informant IP1 (a male, Southern-Min, policy maker, academic and cultural counselor) expressed his opinion as follows:

> Also, for the KMT government, school education played a decisive role in the construction, legitimacy, and imposition of an official language in the modern state.

His words show how aware he is of the cultural politics of national identity and the ideology of language education, an ideology which Grillo (1989) describes in theoretical terms where the use of an official language forms the essential tenet of the nation-state model of language planning(see also Kedourie, 1961/1993; Tollefson, 1995).

Concerning the issue of punishment for using dialect (mother tongue) in the third regulation of Table 1, informants IW2 (a male, Southern-Min, a famous Taiwanese nationalist, linguist, professor and local language activist) and IM5 (a male, Southern-Min, litterateur, historian, professor and

literary critic) and IS6 (a male, Aborigine, policy maker, ethnic language revivalist and professor) all have a common memory of such experiences and similar opinions:

> Dialect used in my elementary school was strongly prohibited and was punished with a fine of one penny paid to the teacher. But for me, Southern-Min is a language that my ancestor left to me…. (IW2)

> I had the humiliating experience of hanging a "dog card" (small board) around my neck for not speaking Mandarin…. (IM5)

> We were not allowed to speak Puyuma at school or we had to be punished by having to clean the toilets, be beaten, or have the national language "card" hung on us…. We just accepted it, but I do worry about the loss of aboriginal language from generation to generation. (IS6)

Seen in this light, this is a colonialist-colored language ideology because of its not allowing non-Mainlander students their human right to develop their dialects (or native languages) to full native mastery, to be proud of them, to be able to use their mother tongue for all purposes, both unofficial and official, and to have their identification accepted by others. Woodard and his colleagues (1994) argue similarly that in colonial linguistic ideology, "language has always been the companion of empire" which entails control of speakers and their vernaculars and Bourdieu's (1991) assertion that in the modern state, the educational system plays a decisive role in the construction, legitimacy, and imposition of an official language is well illustrated by what happened in Taiwan.

Mandarin-only Language Movement and Complete Chinese Monocultural Identity Ideology

From 1970 to 1986**,** the period of complete Chinese monoculturalism ideology, the KMT's language ideology was realized through several further approaches (The MOE Bulletin; Hung, 1992, p. 48), as summarized in Table 2:

Table 2: Extracts from Regulations of National Language Promotion from 1970 to 1986 (emphasis added)

	Events	Date	Source
1	"Non-Mandarin programmes **should be decreased** and that the southern Min programmes, which included soap operas, puppet shows, traditional Taiwanese operas, and commercials, **should take up less than one hour per day on each channel of the three television companies** (Taiwan TV, China TV, and China Station)."	December 1, 1972	The Bureau of Culture of the Ministry of Education
2	"The ratio of the use of the national language by **radio broadcasts must not be less than 55%; for television, this ratio must not less than 70%. The use of dialects should decrease year by year.** Those surviving traditional Taiwanese operas and puppet shows on television **were forced to use Mandarin in the early 1970s."** (in article 20 of the Law of	January 8, 1976	The Culture Bureau of the MOE, The Executive Yuan.

	Events	Date	Source
	Radio Broadcasting and Television Programming (RBTP Law) which was approved by the Legislative Yuan.)		
3	"To increase linguistic unity and to enhance the country's unity and stability, draft of the Law of Language and orthography **should be established as a national policy and be approved.**"	October 1, 1985	The Ministry of Education

Again, there is intentional use of "should" to naturalize the ideological conviction, i.e., the goal of building Chinese monoculturalism through the national language. The issues presented include the association of the national language with high language/culture; the extension of linguistic unity; and the dominance of state power.

Informants recalled what this meant in practice:

The names of students who spoke dialect would be written down and reported to the teachers…. So, it was natural for me and my classmates that only at home did we have a chance to speak Southern-Min with our family or neighbors. (Informant IP1: a male, Southern-Min, policy maker, academic and cultural counselor).

In addition to the punishment, students of indigenous groups were indoctrinated by the educational system with the idea that mother-tongues were inelegant and that it was a shame to speak such dialects…. (Informant IM5: a male, Southern-Min, litterateur, historian, professor and literary critic).

The KMT government's dominant linguistic attitude, derived from preference and prejudice, was allied with powerful protective sentiments for its own group, and thus a linguistic hierarchy of H/L language was established. Only Mandarin was dignified with the title of "language", all non-Mandarin native languages in Taiwan, including Southern-Min, Hakka, and Austronesian aboriginal languages, were relegated to "dialects", a marker of backwardness in elegance, crudeness, illiteracy, rurality, and low socio-economic status, which were only used at home, and was only spoken in the country-side and with the family and the neighbors. Thus, all non-Mandarin native languages were low languages according to the Ferguson's (1959/1996) and Fishman (1967) theory of diglossia.

In summary, the promotion of Mandarin as the national language by the KMT established a linguistic hierarchy and ideology. The linguistic hierarchy corresponded to the ethnic one in the political arena, i.e., the Mainlander as dominant, and all the native Taiwanese as dominated.

Constructing the Ideology of Taiwanese Monocultural Identity after 1987

In a later but similar development, on the part of the native Taiwanese oppositionists, the second half of the 1980s saw the rapid development of Taiwanese monoculturalism and monolingualism with a distinct Taiwanese ethnic color.

De- Siniczation and Taiwanization in Taiwan

In the process of "de-sinicizing", Taiwanese opposition activists developed the revival of native languages in the early 1980s, and there were many linguistic struggles and some debates about improving the status of native languages. Language educational struggles took place between the KMT government and the cultural intellectuals or opposition activists during the early 1980s (from 1984 to 1986) and it is clear that the intensity of the activity drew attention to the importance of both written and TV media, as summarized in Table 3:

Table 3 : Linguistic struggles and disputes between the KMT government and the oppositionist groups during the early 1980s

	Events/Sources	Presenter	Date	Response from the KMT government
1	Draft of the Law of Language and Orthography, one article of which stated that only the national language could be used in a public meeting, official business and conversation in public domains. (China Times, October 26, 1995)	Ministry of Education (MOE)	October 25,1985	Under the protest from the oppositionists and strong pressure, the Executive Yuan stopped establishing the Law of Language and Orthography on December 19, 1985

	Events/Sources	Presenter	Date	Response from the KMT government
2	The program of news segment in Southern Min on three national TV channels. (*Independent Evening Times,* November 02, 1987)	The DPP legislators	June 19,1986	November 2, 1987, a twenty-minute Southern-Min news segment was added to the-existing short Southern-Min programs broadcast everyday
3	Southern Min, Mandarin, and Hakka should be promoted as national communication languages. (*Taiwan Documentary,* Vol. 46, No 3, September 30, 1995, p. 148)	The Opposition Activists	September 7, 1986	Rejection from the KMT government due to the Mandarin-only language policy

Sources: Adapted from Taiwan Documentary (1995); Huang (1995, 55-73); as well as Taiwan Historical Chronicle, Vol. III (1979-1988), (Li & Xue, 2001).

Informant IT7 (female, Mainlander, writer and literary critic) comments as follows:

> For Taiwanese opposition activists to revive the native languages without using any Mandarin is crucial to the independence of the island. …They often say: "Are students wrong if they speak dialects?" It's natural that Taiwanese people should speak Taiwanese ….But I think : Isn't this a plot to divide the country by creating the tension in the linguistic issue…?

However, despite this kind of liberal attitude, Taiwanese oppositionist intellectuals affirmed their linguistic distinctiveness and refused to use the "orthodox Chinese language" (Mandarin) in order to defend Taiwan's cultural autonomy and efforts to revive native languages have formed a significant part of "Taiwanese monoculturalism". The native language was believed to be essential to the formation of a new nation and the independence of the island. In other words, the belief that having one's own language is crucial for ethnicity was used by the Taiwanese oppositionists, and culture and language were identified with a nation-to-be and a "potential" state. Again, as with the monocultural ideology of the Mainlanders, Grillo's (1989) theory that the nation-state model of language planning becomes an essential tenet of the modern state system throws light on this point. Thus, it is apparent that there is a struggle over a significantly asymmetric "center-periphery" relationship. Many emotional discourses were used, such as "Are students wrong if they speak dialects?" "Taiwanese people should speak Taiwanese" "Taiwanese as Taiwanese, not Chinese Taiwanese" "Speak Southern-Min but

not Mandarin" etc. and this well illustrates Kedourie's (1961/1993) argument that language as the cultural politics of linguistic distinctiveness is a central mechanism in nationalist politics.

Complete Taiwanese Monoculturalism Ideology

In constructing a national language – "Taiwanizing" the ethnic symbol of language as testimony to a Taiwanese nation – in the second half of the 1980s (from 1987 to 1990), many different kinds of activities, movement, conferences, curriculum reforms, and teaching about native language education were promoted. Table 4 summarizes the main facts:

Table 4: Linguistic struggles and disputes between the KMT government and the oppositionist groups in the second half of the 1980s

	Events/Sources	Presenter	Date	Response from the KMT government
1	Hakka & Southern Min programs should be included in national TV channels	Provincial Representatives	March 28, 1987	According to Article 20 of the RBTP Law, this is not allowed by the Government Information Office (hereafter The GIO)
2	Aboriginal programs on TV channels should be established	The Aboriginal Legislators	May 14, 1987	
3	Plurilingual education and the use of Southern Min should be implemented. (*Legislative Yuan Bulletin,* Vol. 76, 1987: 29-30)	Provincial Representatives	June 22, 1987	Rejection from the government on June 25,1987 : "we are a mono-lingual country, and it is inappropriate to implement plurilingual education."

	Events/Sources	Presenter	Date	Response from the KMT government
4	The suppression and time limitation of the use of local native languages on the radio and TV programs in Article 20 of the RBTP Law should be deleted	Provincial Representatives	June 22, 1987	The KMT abolished the censorship of the use of local native languages on Television in May 18, 1990. (*Taiwan Documentary*, Vol. 46, No. 3, September 30, 1995: 149)
5	Elementary and junior high schools should not punish students speaking dialects. (*Taiwan Documentary*, Vol. 46, No 3, September 30, 1995: 148)	Taiwan Provincial government's Department of Education	August 20, 1987	

	Events/Sources	Presenter	Date	Response from the KMT government
6	The First Academic Conference on the Issues of Native Language Education was held in the Academia Sinica, Taipei. (*Taiwan Documentary*, Vol. 46, No. 3, September 30, 1995: 148)	The seven DPP (oppositionist groups) governed counties.	June 23, 1990	The purpose of this conference was to combine the wisdom and efforts of linguists in guiding the compilation of native language curriculum, textbooks instruction.
7	Seven Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) -controlled counties and districts conducted a program of teaching local languages, i.e., plurilingual education in the elementary and junior high schools (*Legislative Yuan Bulletin*, Vol. 80, 1991: 41)	The DPP-controlled counties and districts	At the end of 1990	The KMT-controlled city or county councils usually cut plurilingual education budgets

Sources: Adapted from Hakka Issue (1987, 1990); Taiwan Documentary (1995); Huang (1995); as well as Taiwan Historical Chronicle (Li & Xue, 2001), Vol. III (1979-1988) and Vol. IV (1989-1994).

Again in the brief period from 1987 to 1990 covered by Table 5, it is obvious that the politics of language education in Taiwan is just as complicated as many others in the world. On the one hand, the opposition activist intellectuals struggled for the recognition of Taiwanese local languages as national and official languages equal in status to Mandarin. On the other hand, they refused Mandarin, a language from the Chinese mainland considered by many opposition activists or intellectuals as the language of colonizers (Hsiau, 2000).

The goals of the native language movement were: (1) to revive the use of all native languages; (2) to develop local identity i.e., a Taiwanese monoculturalism ideology; (3) to upgrade the status of all native languages, i.e., to reject the official definition of Chinese local languages (i.e., the Southern-Min and the Hakka and Austronesian aboriginal languages) as a "dialect" ; (4) to promote plurilingual education (Cheng, 1990; Hung, 1992; Lin, 1988). One of the informants (a male, Aborigine, policy maker, ethnic language revivalist and professor) articulated the view of the native-language movement as follows:

> People should recognize that we (the aborigines) are the "authentic" native inhabitants of the island…You know that losing our ethnic group's language is like committing cultural suicide.…. Due to this kind of sense of crisis, I strongly supported the implementation of mother tongue education or even plurilingual education in schools. (Informant IS6)

For IS6, mother tongue is crucial to maintaining identity and it is important for the aborigines to maintain their

language and culture because "losing our ethnic group's language is like committing cultural suicide". Fishman (1967) argued that language is a very powerful ethnic symbol, which retains a sentimental and emotional grip on the group is well illustrated here (see also Edwards, 1994; Baker, 1996).

Concerning the third goal of Taiwanese native language movement, i.e., the status of all native languages, another informant (a major Southern-Min revivalist) spoke as follows:

> If Taiwan decides to change itself into an independent country, the native language revival becomes indispensable… it is wrong that we treat Southern-Min as a dialect, not as a language…. I argue that Southern-Min is a "better" language than Mandarin. (Informant IW2).

IW2 further argues that "Southern-Min, Hakka, the aboriginal languages and Mandarin are not mutually intelligible, they have their own unique cultural system, so, they are different languages", and they can be/should be given the same status as the official language of Mandarin and used for identity. This runs counter to the ideological paradigm case of one language per country and one linguistic identity and the usual promotion of the usage of one official language to homogenize a society and culture (Grillo, 1989). Furthermore, the ideology underlying claims about language embraced by IW2, serves the purpose of demarcating "us" and "them"— "Taiwanese" and "Mainlanders/Chinese"—and of maintaining boundaries through symbolic order (Barth, 1969).

Constructing an Intercultural Citizenship Community: Monoculturalism/Monolingualism or Interculturalism?

Responding to the pressure of internal challenges from the oppositionists, the trend to localization and the growth of the native Taiwanese identity, with one of the goals of the native language movement being to advocate multilingualism, efforts were made during the early 1990s by the KMT to promote native-language education to achieve "Taiwanization" or "localization", as can be seen from Table 5. Several linguistic events elevated the status of native language educational issues during 1990s as also summarized here:

Table 5: Linguistic struggles and disputes between the ruling (KMT) government and the oppositionist groups during the 1990s

	Events/Sources	Presenter	Date	Response from the KMT government
1	On the Chinese Lunar New Year's Eve, President Lee Deng-hui's talk on TV, a routine congratulatory speech to all the people in Taiwan, was presented in Mandarin, Southern Min, and Hakka symbolically. (*Presidential office news,* 1990)	The Presidential office	January 26, 1990	This suggested that Taiwan is a plurilingual and pluri-ethnic society, and President Lee's identification with native (indigenous) languages.
* 2	It was declared that all schools should no longer discriminate against dialects .	The MOE	December 22, 1990	

	Events/Sources	Presenter	Date	Response from the KMT government
3	Agreed that article 20 of the RBTP Law violated the language freedom of TV broadcasting should be deleted (*Television Yearbook of the Republic of China*, hereafter TYB, 1991: 235)	The legislator groups	On June 21, 1991	On July 14, 1993, the Legislative Yuan approved the deletion of time limitation on dialect programs.
4	The Student Society for the Promotion of Taiwanese Language and Literature was established in nine universities. (*Taiwan Documentary*, Vol. 46, No3, September 30, 1995: 149)	Students from the Taiwanese Studies Club of nine universities.	May 3, 1992	The intention of this movement was to enhance the status of native Taiwanese languages. Students even requested the members of the Taiwan Association of University Professors to use Taiwanese languages in their instruction under appropriate situations, so the native languages could make their first autonomous step on campus.

	Events/Sources	Presenter	Date	Response from the KMT government
* 5	A special report, entitled "Native language Education and Homeland Materials" stated native language education materials were compiled and teachers were trained .(*The MOE Bulletin*, Vol. 221, 1993: 39-45)	The new Minister of Education of the MOE	March 31, 1993	But native language education, included in regular teaching, should not obstruct the promotion of Mandarin . ('Mother Tongue Education', 1993, article 1 & 4)
6	The new revised Curriculum Standards were approved. Thus native language education was definitely attached to the curriculum of ''Homeland culture educational activity'' .(*The MOE Bulletin,* Vol. 224, 1993: 33-34)	The MOE	June 29, 1993	Elementary school students in the third through sixth grades would spend one hour a week learning one of the indigenous (native) languages i.e., Southern Min, Hakka or an aboriginal language, and other related teaching activities about the home-land culture.

	Events/Sources	Presenter	Date	Response from the KMT government
*7	Mother-tongue education would be made compulsory in elementary school education from the 2001 academic year responding to the pressure of the trend of localisation and the growing of the native Taiwanese identity. (*The MOE Bulletin*, Vol. 310, 2000: 43 and Vol. 311, 2000; *Central Daily News,* September 22, 2000; *The China Post*, September 22, 2000)	The MOE announced the resolutions of The Educational Re-engineering Promotion Team of the Executive Yuan.	September 21, 2000	In addition to Mandarin, elementary school students in the first through fourth grades would be required to spend one or two hours a week learning one of indigenous (native) languages－Southern Min, Hakka, or an aboriginal language. The fifth-and sixth-grade students would have reduced hours in learning their languages (i.e., native mother tongue) while beginning to study English. As for junior high school level, indigenous language classes would become optional according to the school's discretion.

	Events/Sources	Presenter	Date	Response from the KMT government
* 8	The Proposal of Southern Min as Taiwan's second official language, alongside Mandarin, was presented. (*The Taipei Times*, March 10, 2002)	Legislators of Taiwan Solidarity Union(TSU), i.e., one of the opposition parties in Taiwan established on July 24, 2001.	In early 2002	Since more than 75 percent of the population in Taiwan speak or understand Southern Min, there was no reason why Southern Min could not be treated as an official language.

Sources: Adapted from *Television Yearbook of Republic of China* (1991); *Taiwan Documentary* (1995); *The Central Daily News* (2000) ; *The China Post* (2000); *The MOE Bulletin* (2000); *Taiwan Historical Chronicle ,Vol. IV* (1989-1994), (Li & Xue, 2001); as well as *The Taipei Times* (2002).

Notes: * indicates linguistic events related to native-language educational issues.

The Need for a Further Reform of Language and Ideology

As mentioned earlier, from the early 1980s, the KMT government faced not only the internal challenges, but also external pressure, that is, the pressure of the economic global context and the marketing of language and education, an emerging global culture in the post-modern world. For example, the declining role of the nation-state is commonly one of the indicators of globalization, and "the respect for and understanding of others" is desirable and even essential to "the success as individuals and communities". Thus, in facing the external pressure, "the concept of globalization and inter-dependence" (Harvey, 1989, p. 53) are at the forefront of thinking by Taiwan government.

Further, there was a growing recognition of apparent inadequacies of the national language teaching curricula and the Mandarin-only monolingual movement toward an internationally minded framework, that is, "an international citizenship community" (Byram, 2008) in Taiwan (cf. item 9 of Table 5 for English education). The significance of education was discussed by one informant (a male, Hakka, policy maker, government official and professor) as follows:

> Education has an important role in preparing future citizens to live and work successfully within a globalised world. Language education practices need to catch up and mirror the post-modern world, and not the world of years gone by…. In Taiwan, though Taiwanese native languages have a widely recognized importance as ethnic symbol, they have been seen as the impediment to national unification…and to cope with the new challenges that accompany internationalization and globalization, Taiwanese society needs to recognize the

perspectives of needs-driven and pragmatics-driven language policy, and to support that every citizen has to acquire enough English proficiency to become a qualified citizen in the coming of the global village.
(Informant IF3)

Thus, the hegemony of the Mandarin-only promotion as an instrument to maintain and strengthen the political boundaries of the KMT government and the ideology of the ability to use the national language of Mandarin as a primary criterion of a Chinese monolingual citizenship community have been increasingly challenged.

Multilingualism has been promoted by UNESCO as a response to diversity, because it embodies the ideal of respect for diversity with concerns for societal cohesion (Giordan, 2003, p. 2). While multilingualism and multiculturalism promotes the ideas of cultural groups living side-by-side, interculturalism entails another level of cultural understanding, and it is argued a more valid response to the challenge posed by human diversity, interdependence and communication in a changing world.

In contrast to the ideologies which have succeeded each other in Taiwan, notions of global citizenship extend beyond those former colonial ideals and narrow boundaries reflected in the ideology of national language education. And it has been argued that "one of the core virtues of global citizenship is a commitment to protect and uphold the cultural diversity of the global commonwealth". This necessitates "the rejection of hegemonic or ethnocentric discourse identifying a circumscribed set of values as being universal" (Guilherme, 2007, cited from Rivers, 2013, p. 79). Besides, according to

Byram (2008), to act interculturally is to bring into a relationship two different cultures, and world (global) citizenship education has the positive notion of "action in the world" as one of its fundamental purposes and outcomes (Byram, 2008). Thus, Intercultural Citizenship education would mean that people would be encouraged to act together with others (of other cultures in the same or another country) in the intercultural citizenship community of one country and beyond, in other countries and other languages (Byram, 2008).

Hence, as stated above, in addition to the main theme of the study—tracing the ideology of mono-cultural identity—there is a sub-theme concerning the tension in linguistic identity in education between these two above-mentioned major ethnic groups in Taiwan: the majority "native Taiwanese" or "non-Mainlanders", and the minority "Chinese" or "Mainlanders". For it is still today an ongoing phenomenon and remains a complex issue. But, in facing a more globalized and internationalized world, a pluri-lingual and pluri-ethnic community like Taiwan needs to accept the diversity and change and shift from the dominant monolingual paradigm to "an intercultural citizenship one in which the focus is on the appreciation of multiple heritage and cultures" (Byram, 2008, p. 162).

Seen in this light, could the next goal of Taiwanese native language education movements, be to promote interculturalism under this imaginary of Taiwan as a society of plural ethnic identities?

METHODOLOGY

McCulloch and Richardson (2000) argue that the rise in the growth of qualitative approaches in historical research from the historical and sociological perspectives can provide insight into understanding educational issues, and thus the researcher worked on this historical qualitative approach in order to understand the language educational issues and cultural identities.

Two major sources of data were selected to collect information needed to answer the study purposes. They were analyses of historical documentary primary and secondary sources and the first-hand accounts of seven key informants collected during in-depth interviews. The research interview as a tool for constructing knowledge (Kvale, 1996) implied that the interview is a continuous process of meaning creation.

All interviews were recorded and fully transcribed. After the first occasion the informants were sent "their text" and asked to comment upon and clarify certain issues (respondent validation) The interviews followed a semi-structured interview guide which was based on the concepts and relationships, analysed from the prior literature review. Most of the questions in this semi-structured interview had some prompts to enable the interviewer to clarify topics or questions and probes to enable the interviewer to ask informants to extend, elaborate, add to, provide details for, or clarify or qualify their response, and new questions that emerge in the course of interview can be added to or even replace the pre-established ones.

The researcher analyzed the original data which were mainly spoken in Mandarin language. All the data useful to answer research questions needed to be organized and translated into English when analyzing and writing the results. That is, the researcher did the analysis and then translated into English the parts which are quoted. Ethical questions related to issues such as informed consent, participant anonymity, the safe storage of data were duly considered and all the data are disclosed here by permission.

Concerning the process of data analysis, the researcher tried hard to "make sense" of the data and had a tolerance for tentativeness of interpretation until the entire analysis was completed. That is, the researcher endeavored to get herself involved in rich engagement with the documents, transcripts, and texts that made up her raw data. After getting a sense of a whole interview, the researcher went through the data line by line, underlining and circling parts of the text in order to identify topics, concepts.

For example, the transcripts were read several times to gain a sense of key informants' situations, mental process, beliefs, and actions, and the context they described. Analysis both within and between transcripts led to generation and exploration of relevant topics, concepts, themes by moving from raw data to meaningful understanding. The researcher also reviewed the field note-taking to get key informants' holistic perspectives of their lived experiences and their opinions. Furthermore, the researcher looked to see whether certain words/concepts are associated with a particular range of non-verbal cues or emotive states. She also looked to see if there was a connection between the use of particular

metaphors and non-verbal cues. Additionally, the researcher often returned to the research questions to question how data were connected and which issues were developing. At this point, meaningful understanding and variations began to emerge, and the researcher kept impressions of them, and eventually the major themes emerged and served as the framework for reporting the findings and organizing the reports. Eventually, the researcher could confidently say that the analysis made sense. Although, the process was tedious and time-consuming, it was also a "creative process which the researcher attempts to give readers a feeling of "walking in the informants' shoes" (Patton, 1990, p. 406), and seeing things from their points of view.

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Identity, Education, and Language:
A Case Study in Taiwan

Grace Lee

INTRODUCTION

The question of the relationships between education, language and identity are of importance everywhere but the history of Taiwan has created special conditions as changes in political and social conditions have been rapid so rapid that many people have experienced more than one major change in their lifetime. In order to better understand the relationship between identity, education, and language, this study focuses on the life history of one Taiwanese woman, surnamed Luo, who lived through three educational systems and the implementation of various national languages in Taiwan. Her account of her life was analysed to reveal her experiences of education and her views on her identity with the intent of tracing the relationship between her self-identification process, education, and language. This chapter explains how her experiences played a part in her identity construction.

Setting the Scene

Taiwan is a place that has been occupied by various foreign powers including the Portuguese, Dutch, and Japanese. With each occupation, the language introduced, or at times imposed, changed. During the Japanese occupation of Taiwan

(1885-1945), the people of Taiwan were required to learn Japanese. Upon liberation from Japanese colonial rule, Taiwan was turned "Chinese" when troops from Mainland China settled there and the rule of the Kuomingtang (KMT) began. The language required became Mandarin, otherwise known as Putonghua or Pekinese. Tai-yu, also often referred to as Taiwanese and Minnan, the mother-tongue of the majority of local Taiwanese people, was however never made an official language in Taiwan and was often suppressed or used to distinguish the Taiwanese from others in the community. Indigenous languages of the aboriginals are also important in Taiwan but have their own history and relationships with identity formation which were not addressed in this study.

Over the years, many changes occurred and Tai-yu eventually became acceptable in public as well as in private. Throughout the changes in Taiwan's history, there have been attempts to create a single national identity through the use of a language, but other differences existed in cultural norms and expectations as well, and these seem to have highlighted differences in ethnic identity, as we shall see.

Luo was born during the Japanese occupation in the early 1900s. She was the daughter of a prominent Taiwanese businessman who was a firm believer in education, having been educated in both Japan and the United States herself.

Luo's Identities

Interviews with Luo were conducted between September 2004 and August 2011, and as explained in more detail below and in the analysis of interview transcripts, Luo's national and ethnic identities are prominent. She identifies herself at different

points in the interviews as Japanese, Chinese, and Taiwanese. These identities often co-existed during various periods of time and some identities are explicitly verbalized while others are more implicit. The three identities seem to correlate with the historical context of the time—the Japanese occupation, the KMT rule, the lifting of martial law, and a more current and democratic Taiwan. First we shall look at her Japanese identity, then Chinese, and lastly Taiwanese.

Japanese

Throughout her interviews Luo identified herself as Japanese based on her citizenship, which she associated with the physical possession of a passport. The significance of this passport is that it represents a linkage to a country that she did not originate from. It allows her to be part of what Anderson (1991) refers to as an "imagined community" of "the Japanese" and she identified with this group of people whom she had never met and whose country she had never visited. Although Luo identified herself as Japanese based on possession of a passport, she also saw herself as a "different race". Her awareness of different social groups and differences in treatment based on race contributed to the shaping of her identity and also determined whether and when she associated with any group. This process of awareness, evaluation and affect is aligned with Tajfel's (1981) social identity theory in regards to categorization. Based on ongoing comparisons, Luo continuously separated herself from the Japanese identity and maintained her Taiwanese one.

> At that time [during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan] everyone called him [my father], "*Japanese prince[1]*" because our family held a Japanese passport, were Japanese nationals, and Japanese citizens…many of his friends were high officials in the Japanese government including the governor. In 1920 when my father went to the US for his masters, the second highest Japanese governor approved his application to go abroad. Back then if you did not have the proper papers from the Japanese government, Taiwanese could not go abroad. Just imagine that was more than 80 years ago.

Luo's family, though Taiwanese, shared many privileges given primarily to the Japanese during the Japanese occupation. This excerpt shows that Luo and her family were included in the Japanese society. It is also one example of how Luo refers to her Japanese passport and translates that into having Japanese nationality and citizenship. The significance here of her father being referred to as the "Japanese prince" is that it displays his acceptance by the Japanese as one of them and because he was referred to as such by the Taiwanese, it shows they viewed him as being Japanese as well i.e., he was "ascribed" Japanese identity by others. Her father's acceptance by the Japanese will have influenced Luo in being able to accept herself as Japanese as well. However, in subsequent comments, she often separates herself from the Japanese.

Many of these comments appearing in the transcripts are comparison of similarities and differences between the self

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[1] Italics in quotations represent original words used by interviewee, not translated.

and others and this ongoing comparison continued with her Chinese identification process as well.

Chinese

Luo's Chinese identity began prior to the arrival of the KMT troops in 1945. Luo's Chinese identity was largely influenced by her family, especially in her early years. Just as Berger & Luckmann's (1966) concept of primary socialization suggests, the home is a crucial place for individuals to learn the attitudes and ideas of the family, and to use them to create similar identities to those close to them.

Luo's mother was instrumental in encouraging this Chinese identity. She considers her mother a "modern Chinese woman" because of her mother's desires to receive further education and she respects her mother for learning more about their "roots". Luo refers to her mother as Chinese as opposed to Taiwanese and Japanese, which suggests identification with the Chinese identity. This could be a result of a belief in a common ancestry as implied with the use of the word "roots". Luo's bond with this Chinese identity, however, changes, as do her concepts of what is associated with that identity at different periods of political rule.

Chinese during the Japanese Occupation

In her account of her Chinese identity during the Japanese occupation, Luo has preconceived perceptions of what being Chinese means and identifies with them as her ancestors. This sense of cultural identity is also one of ethnic identity (Hall, 1993) and the association with land, history, language, and culture is what separates one ethnic identity from another. Luo refers to China as the "original country" and also refers to

Mandarin as the "ancestral language" which further suggests her relationship to the ancestors in China and this is prior to any visits to China.

Chinese during KMT Rule

Identities tend to be multiple, fluid and context-dependent. These characteristics are continuously seen in Luo's identity construction process as with the arrival of a new Chinese government.

In her interviews, she recalls initial excitement upon hearing of the arrival of the KMT because she considered them to be the "same race" and therefore "should be nicer to the Taiwanese". Thus, she made a connection with the Chinese coming because she identifies herself as being of the "same race." She also refers to herself at this point as Taiwanese which reveals her multiple identities.

Yet in time her sentiments changed. Her original ideas of "Chinese" stemmed from her exposure to classical Chinese literature and writing as a child, as well as her parents' references to being of Chinese descent. However, when the KMT troops arrived, she realized the reality she was seeing was different from that she had imagined. She began to compare the Chinese to the Japanese:

> When I heard that Chiang Kai-shek was coming, I was very happy. I thought we are the same race so they (KMT) should be nicer to the Taiwanese, but he was arrogant.... The Japanese researched how to rule Taiwan. They had training.... One is one. Two is two. They were trustworthy.... It (Chinese rule) was very corrupt. (2007/10/14)

Identity changes based on social actions as individuals see "commonalities" and "differences" with others (Harrell, 1996, p. 5). Different habits in lifestyle as well as difference in what she imagined and what she saw influenced Luo's disconnecting with the Chinese identity. Based on the differences and similarities, she positioned her "self" in relation to "others", in some ways, "intentionally", which Bucholtz and Hall (2005) suggest is part of the identity construction process, when determining if she was Chinese, Japanese, or Taiwanese.

Another reason for a lack of connection with the Chinese identity despite acknowledging the Chinese as her ancestors was the difference in language.

> After the Kuomintang came, I could not understand the national language (*國語*). I would listen to the people speak and I would guess it's probably this that they mean.

A national language has been considered a glue for creating a common identity (e.g., Hsiau, 1997; Balsera, 2005). It can be used as a means to communicate and also be used to create a cohesive identity (Watson, 1992). The imposing of a new national language with the hope of achieving such unity was not initially successful because it simply highlighted differences between the groups. Not being able to communicate in the language continued to distance the two groups of Chinese, from the Mainland Chinese from the Taiwanese, especially in the first stages of the takeover.

The lack of language abilities and difference in lifestyles probably also contributed to the Chinese and Taiwanese not mingling before and during martial law. Luo mostly kept within her own ethnic group which is evident in comments such as, "Our generation did not have a relationship with them [KMT Chinese].... They had their own circles."

However, after martial law was lifted in 1987, and as Taiwan moved towards to becoming a democratic state, her ideas of being Chinese changed as well which will be shown later.

Taiwanese

Though she referred to herself as Japanese and Chinese, identities which were affected by the political conditions of the time, following historical changes, Luo's Taiwanese identity seems to have been consistent throughout her life, often in the shadows of the overarching national identity of the controlling government.

When sharing her stories about her life during the Japanese occupation, she would refer to herself as both Japanese and Chinese. As her stories progressed into the KMT years, the Japanese identity slowly subsided and the contrast mostly focused on her Chinese and Taiwanese identities. She would use the terms "Taiwanese" and "Chinese" (Mainland) to represent both national and ethnic identities though she never specified if one was national or ethnic at any time or used such terminology.

Her comments referring to more recent times, at a time when Taiwan and China are economically connected, though

still politically separate, show that she now recognizes both identities.

> I was born in Taiwan. I am Taiwanese, but at the same time I am Chinese. Our origin is from China-Fukien of China…. Big China. I like it. It includes Taiwan. This I'm okay with. Large nations have more strength. (2011/08/06)

With this comment, it seems that she has created a Taiwanese identity that is associated with the physical land, but simultaneously ancestry comes into play when discussing her Chinese identity. She is accepting a Chinese identity that is connected to the origin of her ancestors and also one that is tied to more economic allegiances by suggesting that larger "nations have more strength".

However, this was not always the situation. The social conditions on the island appear to have been influential factors in her identity construction process.

Taiwanese and Chinese during the Japanese Occupation

Equality between the Japanese and the Taiwanese was never actually reached during the Japanese occupation and this discrepancy may have contributed to Luo's possession of a strong Taiwanese identity at that time. External forces and social constraints can influence cohesion and division during one's process of identification (Heylan, 2005; Zhu, 2007) since it creates an "insider" and "outsider" mentality (Miller, 2000; Hall, 1993; Gilroy, 1997).

Luo once shared her frustration about the Taiwanese wanting to "protect their land because it was inherited from

their ancestors" and being forced to sell to the Japanese. Luo refers to ancestors, and shows this lineage as a reason why the Taiwanese needed to hold onto this land. This Taiwanese"ness" is thus tied to ancestry and land as ethnic identity tends to be (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998). However, in this case, the ancestry is not that of China, but of Taiwan.

According to Luo, the Japanese felt the Taiwanese were not capable because the properties were "not managed well", and thus implied that the Taiwanese were inferior. Punishment would be a result of disobeying the Japanese. This feeling of inequality resulting from political forces created a distinct "them" and "us" mentality which contributes to identity construction. Luo felt strongly about the divisions between herself and the Japanese, and this feeling reinforced her Taiwanese identity; but she still credits the Japanese for the improvements they made to Taiwan.

Even though she commends the Japanese modernization efforts, we see the influence of family. Luo comments on her father's teachings which reminded her that she was not Japanese. He would often talk to her about politics and she would observe him as he worked on his newspaper and his efforts in trying to gain more rights for the Taiwanese—all the while keeping good relationships with the Japanese.

> They told us, "You are Japanese citizens, why not change to a Japanese surname? You don't love your country?" I said, "I do love the country but I need to think some more and decide later" to delay it. At that time if you said you don't love your country, you'd be damned! …Then you are not Japanese and no one dared admit they were not Japanese. (2010/02/15)

From the viewpoint of the colonized Taiwanese, Luo did not seem to have the will to become Japanese. She was unwilling to take a further step in being recognized as Japanese and continues in her account to distance herself from the Japanese identity despite having commented before that she is Japanese.

Education was definitely one of the benefits that her family enjoyed. However, it can be said, because of their educational experiences and privileges, Luo and her father were more aware of how the Taiwanese were being repressed. This awareness led to a strengthening of their Taiwanese identity and also led to Luo's father desire to advocate for Taiwanese rights. Taiwan was not the only country to experience this. Anderson (1991) notes similar experiences in Indonesia in which those educated to help the colonialist became the ones who started change. This understanding of inequality influenced the detachment from the very (Japanese) national identity promoted by education at the time.

Taiwanese Identity during KMT Rule

Luo's Taiwanese identity continued to evolve during the KMT rule. The KMT tried to create an overarching Chinese identity in preparation for an unification with China. In trying to do so, the Taiwanese and/or Japanese identity needed to be diminished in order for a smooth reunification to take place when the time came. Therefore conditions experienced by the Taiwanese were harsh and once again contributed to the maintenance of the Taiwanese identity.

The crucial event in this respect was February 28, 1947, often referred to as 228, a significant day in Taiwan's history. On this day, uprisings around the city occurred in reaction to an incident between a police officer and Taiwanese which resulted in the death of the Taiwanese (Durdin, 1947b). These protests were followed by the March Massacre (March 2-March 6) which resulted in nearly 10,000 Taiwanese deaths (Durdin, 1947a), predominantly members of Taiwan's elite professionals and educated people. Martial Law was declared in May 1949, and people's rights and freedom restricted.

> Taiwanese people cannot understand 228. I think there was some misunderstanding, but I don't understand either. Chiang Kai Shek just ordered the police to randomly grab people (亂拿人). The Chinese had no rules and law. Just kept saying the Taiwanese are guilty. If the Chinese participated in any activities, they didn't get any punishment, but Taiwanese got captured and killed. They didn't have a reason to catch you, but they could create a reason to sentence you. So many people disappeared or were jailed...they mistreated（欺負）us Taiwanese. (2007/10/14)

Luo's sentiments towards 228 clearly show how unfair it seemed to her when she describes the "randomness" of actions and uses words such as "mistreated us Taiwanese." She associates herself with the Taiwanese and separates herself from the Chinese.

Though she was not personally involved in the 228 incident, she has taken on what Ellemers (2012) refers to as the "group self-identity". The emotions and experiences of the Taiwanese group have been taken on by her to become part of

her experiences and her identity. The experiences of the Taiwanese as a whole separated them from the Chinese by creating an "us" vs. "them" situation. Thus the two identities did not merge.

Taiwanese after Martial Law

As socio-political conditions changed and with martial law being lifted in 1987, the Taiwanese were allowed to voice their opinions more freely, speak Tai-yu[2] more openly and take part in more governmental roles. Luo's identities and thoughts about each identity also changed as she recounted the events and experiences of this period.

At a friend's gatherings, during my period of fieldwork in December 2007, with many of her long-time Taiwanese friends, she recalled how a discussion of politics came about. The eight women were commenting on the then president, Chen Shui-Bien, the first ethnic Taiwanese president. They had supported him when he ran for Taipei city mayor because he was Taiwanese and they believed he would have represented them well, but they had been disappointed. What is seen here is a voting pattern that is based on identity. Chen was considered "Taiwanese" and Luo also considered herself "Taiwanese" therefore she voted for him.

At another friend's gathering, with a mixture of Chinese and Taiwanese friends, in April 2008, the discussion about presidential elections arose again. Her attitudes towards choosing candidates based on ethnicity changed. Luo commented it was better to choose the person rather than the party during these elections. She said that she had supported

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[2] Taiwanese dialect.

James Soong and Lien Chan during the 2004 elections even though most Taiwanese had continued to support the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)'s Taiwanese candidates. She said, Lien was also Taiwanese and she felt that his Taiwanese ancestors shared the same experiences as her, even though he was KMT. As for Soong (previous governor general of Taiwan) who was Chinese, she said he had visited enough of Taiwan to understand the voices of the Taiwanese. In fact, he had given speeches completely in Tai-yu.

Here, she comments on the backgrounds of the candidates, noting differences, but is able to accept Soong. His appeal to her seems to be his claims to understand the people of Taiwan and even his attempts to make himself appear as one of them by using Tai-yu for certain speeches. This shows that over time, Luo is easing into a more Taiwanese-Chinese identity in contrast to the past where she firmly believed Taiwanese needed to stand by Taiwanese because that's the only way they could and should be represented.

Her perceptions gradually transformed over the years as the social conditions changed. As differences between the two groups and the treatment they received narrowed, Luo's identities started to interconnect. For example, rather than seeing Chinese as "others", she is now able to see the similarities, and consider them or herself as a part of the group/identity and vice versa. This transformation is also depicted in her last interview on August 6, 2011 when she made this comment:

> Many Taiwanese don't understand that Taiwan has to be part of China now… We are economically dependent on China.

She is willing to be associated with China, whereas before she was very particular when identifying herself as Chinese.

Economic reasons, as suggested by her saying "economically dependent, without them we cannot survive" and "Large nations have more strength" in an earlier extract cited above, may be more significant than her actually identifying with the culture and beliefs of the Chinese. What it means now to be Chinese has changed in her mind. The Chinese are no longer aggressors on the island. The gap between those that came with the KMT troops and the Taiwanese has slowly closed, in areas such as language and education, and one group no longer prominently dominates another group. The cultural differences have diminished over time as a result of being together in a shared space.

Education as a Source of Identities

Education influences identity construction and is a common tool used by governments to promote their ideologies and goals (e.g., Cornell & Hartmann, 1998; McCarthy, 1998). Educational experiences played a significant role in Luo's identity construction. Both the Japanese and the KMT governments used education and educational institutions as a means for creating a unified identity. However, the actual educational experiences sometimes impeded their intentions.

Japanese Education

Japanese education compelled pupils to identify with being Japanese and loving Japan. However, circumstances faced by the Taiwanese made them aware that they were not really part of the so-called Japanese identity. The constant differences allowed for comparison, which then resulted in different identities being established.

Language was important in education. It has often been used in hope of creating national identity as described by Law (2002) and Balsera (2005) amongst other researchers. Luo specifically points to the Japanese language as an expectation of education. In addition, school curricula were very much geared towards the goals of the Japanese government, in that it was hopefully going to transform the younger generations into becoming Japanese citizens:

> At school we studied Japanese history. We were Japanese nationals. We didn't learn anything about Chinese history. They taught us to love our country, but my mind was clear. I can make Japanese friends but you can't love the Japanese government. (2010/02/15)

The curriculum was centred around the national identity and loyalty to Japan as Luo suggests. She refers to herself as a "Japanese national" (*日本籍*) and uses "our country" to refer to Japan in this passage, which suggests she has taken on this identity. However, by noting the lack of Chinese history and suggesting that one "can't love the Japanese government" she is still holding onto a non-Japanese identity despite the efforts of schooling.

The following passage, however, shows that educational influences were effective to some extent. Luo celebrated as a "Japanese", with the Japanese. She also identifies expectations to be "loyal to Japan" because she was Japanese. It should be noted, she was actually in Japan during this celebration:

> We received Japanese education. We learned that we are supposed to be loyal to Japan because we are Japanese. When the Japanese emperor was born, I was 15. That year, I even happily held a flag and joined the celebration parade in Tokyo. The royal family had more girls and so when a prince was born, the entire Japanese nation from top to bottom was happy. (2010/02/15)

Despite her resistance, which is alluded to in her other stories, Luo identified here with the Japanese and thus celebrated as they did. However, her father's influences and the intense and continuous inequality she perceived in Taiwan kept her from fully converting, especially when she lived in Taiwan.

Education and language acquisition is something that Luo values. She had finished her education by the time the KMT arrived. Her children were educated under this new leadership in a new language. Therefore, she could not help her children with their schoolwork, because her own abilities in this language were limited and her children went through a similar experience to hers, having parents who could not readily assist with language and schooling.

Again, the intentions of the government were to create a cohesive national identity through education. Yet, the circumstances surrounding education made it difficult for this to be achieved. The differences between the identities, Japanese, Chinese and Taiwanese, were prominent and thus the complete relinquishment of a Taiwanese identity difficult. Language also factored in.

Education as a Source of Language

Using Luo's own words, "Language is part of education. Education includes language, but it is not the only thing. It's not like a specialty like law." (2007/10/28) For her, language was a large part of education, because it was a fundamental reason for going to school. Language was an indicator of identity and historically acquired through schooling.

> Taiwanese spoke Tai-yu and Japanese spoke Japanese, but at school, we were forced to learn and speak Japanese. So sure, we learned Japanese in school, but we did not speak it at home. Subsequently our language skills were not as good as the Japanese, but if we didn't learn, then we could not survive. (2009/12/22)

Since the national language was not one spoken at home, schools were very important in acquiring it and Luo saw it as absolutely necessary to learn. It was a means to "survive" in the community and also integral in belonging to the Japanese society. She recognized her language skills to be second-rate to the Japanese, distinguishing herself from them once again. The maintenance of Tai-yu at home is also important. Her

family did not give up the language and it continued to be something that tied them to their Taiwanese identity as well.

When referring to her own children, who were educated during the KMT martial law period, language again was an important part of education. She carefully selected a school for her two eldest children based on the Mandarin level, and they attended schools with a larger Chinese population than Taiwanese because she felt the Mandarin would be of a "higher level". By the time her younger children were ready for school, she sent them to a neighbourhood school because by then, she felt the Mandarin level in schools was similar.

This emphasis by Luo on schools with "higher level" standards for her children, reflects Ager's (1992, p. 150) comments that "The dominance of one language over another implies a prestige difference and hence a widespread attitude, within the society, of superiority/inferiority, towards/from each of the languages and language groups." This perception of a "superior" language, probably contributed to Luo's choices, especially at the initial onset of the new language because the language differences would have been more apparent then. As for her younger children, they were able to attend neighbourhood schools because the Mandarin levels had "improved" and were therefore similar to that of schools attended by Chinese students.

Her awareness of language levels could also have been a result of her own experiences with the Japanese language, where hers was never the same as that of native speakers. It seems language standards are a dividing force rather than an unifying one because of the discrepancies in ability.

Language as a Source of Identities

Language policies are used to create new identities and to attempt to suppress unwanted ones. However, enforcing a new language where it did not previously exist, may have the opposite to the desired effect (Watson, 1992). As we have seen, the national languages of Taiwan changed over the course of Luo's life and though she could speak each language, her abilities differed. Being able to speak these languages allowed Luo access into different possible cultural circles. These languages, including Tai-yu, which was never a national language, were also a source of identity.

Japanese Occupation

The Japanese language policy of only speaking the national language was strictly enforced. Tai-yu, with which Luo associated her Taiwanese identity, was forbidden.

> … because we are Taiwanese, it was very natural for us to speak Tai-yu but it was not allowed. One time, I bumped into my friend when walking between our desks and I said, *"xi le"*(excuse me in Tai-yu) and the teacher heard so I had to stand facing the wall (罰站). The words just came out of my mouth. I didn't mean to speak Tai-yu, but it's who we are. (2011/08/06)

Though she recognized the need to speak Japanese, Luo still used Tai-yu because it was a natural language for her. In this quote she also relates language to her identity when she says, "I didn't mean to speak Tai-yu, but it's who we are." Prohibiting the language may have actually strengthened the cohesion amongst the Taiwanese.

KMT Rule

When the KMT came into power, the new national language became Mandarin. The KMT goal was reunification with China, which they expected would happen in three years, and Tai-yu would not have been necessary. Concurrently, China, with its many dialects, was also implementing a national language of Mandarin around this time though they referred to it as Putonghua (普通話) which when directly translated means "common language". This common language in China, just as in Taiwan, was to create a unified community (Wei, 2008; Heylan, 2005).

Again, the Taiwanese were discouraged from speaking Tai-yu suggesting it had a linkage to an identity the Chinese did not want.

> We always spoke Tai-yu at home and with family members. When we were outside or at the YWCA, I would speak the national language (Mandarin) but for the words I didn't know, sometimes I would add a few English words. (2011/08/06)

The adding of English words can be due to the fact that Luo was an English major in college. She preferred to replace unknown Mandarin words with English rather than Tai-yu perhaps because it is more of a pragmatic language than one that carries an identity for her. So she could complement her Mandarin with another language rather than risk revealing her Tai-yu identity. In public, this language was tucked away with the identity.

After the lifting of Martial Law

Twenty years after the initial lifting of martial law, Luo's attitudes towards Tai-yu and Taiwanese identity changes and pragmatic purposes are important:

> The world is so small. We need to know languages that will be widely used. Let me tell you, Tai-yu and Japanese, to be able to understand is enough; no need to study. Focus on what is necessary. Tai-yu? Tai-yu - very few people speak it. Chinese language (Mandarin) and English are languages one must know. (2011/08/06)

The connection between language and identity is no longer a focus for her. To be able to compete in current times has come to the forefront of her thoughts. Globalization and readily available information probably have transformed the strong feelings that language is a factor in nationality as well as ethnicity. The need for language is more concerned with economics as opposed to political dominance.

CONCLUSION

Luo's stories are consistent with historical conditions. It is evident that Luo continued throughout her life with the categorizing of self and others, comparing herself to cultural, national, and ethnic groups. Political changes affected her identity construction by creating the conditions for emphasizing similarities and differences between herself and "others." Perceptions of prejudice and discrimination strongly influenced her identification process. This social process,

which includes comparison and validation (e.g., Oaks, Haslam & Turner 1994; Worchel & Coutant, 2004), is necessary and how Luo came to identify herself as Japanese, Chinese, and/or Taiwanese.

Language plays a key role in possessing an identity, but not necessarily in the way it was intended. It was at different times by different political entities intended to unite people and assist in the creation of one identity, yet the circumstances often led it to separate people. Language was used to maintain existing identities, although in more recent times, it has come to play a more practical role.

Education and language education policy was powerful in identity creation, whether it was through curricula or through the strict enforcement of a national language. In this study, it seems that education, language, and identity are intertwined. Social experiences, including familial influences, associated with education and language, influenced Luo's construction of identity. It is probably safe to say, an individual's experiences ultimately determine their identity, an identity that is fluid, context-dependent and not constrained to being singular.

METHODOLOGY

By design, this research is a case study (e.g., Stake, 1994, 1995; Yin, 1989), and draws upon the approaches and beliefs of historical research (e.g., McCulloch & Richardson, 2000) as well as ethnography (e.g., Agar, 1980; Hammersley, 1998; Goetz, & LeCompte, 1984; Spradley, 1979; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) to complete the study.

The underlying assumption is that there are multiple realities but the focus of this research was the views of Luo. Interviews for this research were a combination of unstructured and semi-structured interviews (e.g., Kvale, 1996; Patton, 2002; Merriam, 2001). A total of nine interviews were conducted over the span of approximately five years. Four additional interviews with two of Luo's peers, who lived through the same times and shared similar education, were also conducted but not included here.

Interview questions were open-ended in order to solicit narratives from the respondents. At times, explicit questions asked for stories and clarifications of words and thoughts. This seemed to work well throughout the research. A list of possible questions was compiled prior to the first interview to assist in maintaining focus. As for rapport with the subject, it had already been established prior to meetings, therefore the interviews focused on obtaining the stories.

Observations of Luo in her daily life, as she interacted with friends and family, in both formal and informal settings were carried out. Even though my role is that of a researcher, I am also naturally a part of the Luo's social and cultural settings because of my relationship with her; she is a family member. Therefore, being "obtrusive" was not a main concern. On the other hand, being open to ideas and trying to perceive what was happening around me from an outsider's perspective was important; from being a "participant" in family life I had to become a "participant observer" (e.g., Trochim, 2006; Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Berg, 2007).

A researcher is also accountable for protecting the rights of those participating in the research. Though this research

was conducted with family members and family friends, formal consent forms were signed and participants fully informed of the research purpose. Because of my position, some participants during observations most likely did not see me as a researcher despite what I had told them. Therefore, for ethical reasons, immediately after the observations, participants were reminded and permission granted to use information collected.

Field notes (e.g., Berg, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Janesick, 2010; Spradley, 1979) were kept throughout the research record observations and thoughts. Notes were jotted down during the observations as well as immediately afterwards. The field notes included summaries of what occurred, questions that arose, changes in the informant's responses and actions depending on the situation similar to Glaser's (1978) concept of memoing (note-taking after the interaction). These notes tried to be detailed and nonjudgmental of what was observed and often led to further questions for clarification or information in interviews. By keeping a record of thoughts, a researcher is made more aware of "personal biases and feelings, to understand their influence on the research" (Spradley, 1979, p. 76). In addition, journals help document the process of research (Janesick, 2010).

In order to increase accuracy, transcripts of the interviews reviewed by another researcher for accuracy and, after the translation of selected excerpts for use in the thesis and now in this article, a third party once again reviewed the translations to ensure they were appropriate. Every measure was taken to increase the accurate presentation of the findings and eliminate possible bias.

Analysis and Presentation of Data

Data analysis is "working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is learned, and deciding what you will tell others" (Bogdan & Biklen 1982, p. 145). When this is done, critical themes will emerge from the data (Patton, 2002).

In this research, data analysis (e.g., Atkinson & Coffey, 1996; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Mishler, 1995) was completed by conducting continuous and numerous readings of the interview transcripts. Stories related to language, education, and identity were extracted and three major identities – Taiwanese, Japanese, and Chinese, that emerged and were then presented in a chronological manner, as had been recounted by Luo.

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Challenging the Pedagogical Discontinuity in EFL between Elementary and Junior High Schools in Taiwan[1]

Wen-Chuan Lin

INTRODUCTION

EFL learning is viewed as one of the keys to success in Taiwan's economic globalization and modernization. Learning English is a value-laden practice whose difficulties are exacerbated by heightened political pressure to ensure Taiwan's place in the global economy (Lin, 2008). The extension downwards of the provision for learning English from the junior high level to Grade 5 at the elementary level in 2001, and even further to Grade 3 in 2005 highlighted the economic and political significance of learning English within Taiwanese society. However, it is a matter of concern that national, longitudinal achievement data have consistently demonstrated a substantial gap in achievement in English between candidates aged 13 living in different locales (Chang, 2002; Lee, 2002; Lin, 2008). Official endeavors tend to focus on "macro" aspects, such as "urban-rural" resource discrepancies (Chang, 2002; Chou, 2003; Tse, 2002) and fail to provide a micro view of the language learning process

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[1] An earlier version of this chapter was published in Lin, W.C. (2015) The early bird catches the worm? Rethinking the primary-junior high school transition in EFL learning. *Asian Journal of Applied Linguistics, 2*(1), 17-27.

which examines the complexity of social and psychological forces affecting EFL learning and teaching within classrooms.

This chapter addresses the need to solve problems of elementary-junior high school transition and ensure continuity in pedagogical practice between the two social settings of elementary and junior high. It aims to challenge the collective myth of "the earlier the better in learning foreign languages" when it is adopted without consideration of issues of transition between elementary and junior high. Implications pertaining to elementary-junior high progression in pedagogical practice are discussed which may inform practitioners and policy makers in Taiwan who are concerned with the weaknesses in learning and teaching English as a foreign language (EFL).

Policy Changes and Their Effects

The extension of EFL to younger ages in the national curriculum in Taiwan was aimed at responding to a dramatic sense of socio-political change and consciousness of global economic trends (Ministry of Education-MOE Taiwan, 2014). However, the extension, though exemplifying the valuing of early EFL learning, is itself problematic. Issues of elementary-junior high school transition that may account for the demotivation of some students have been ignored. For some students the increase in hours, from 1-2 hours weekly in elementary to 4-5 in junior high schools, does not seem to be welcome. The discontinuity in styles of pedagogy from elementary to junior high levels is another serious problem because pedagogy has to be concerned with the relationship between practice and the cultural and historical contexts in which the practice occurs (Wertsch, 1998). Hall and Murphy

(2008) point out that pedagogy involves "an appreciation of the significance of experiences and meditational aspects as key to supporting learning" (p. ix). In a similar vein, Wenger (1998) argues that people define who they are by where they have been and where they are heading. Thus, the past and future provide meaning to the present. Individual students' identity development in language learning processes, therefore, has to be conceptualized as socially, culturally and historically constructed as "self in practice" (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998) or "identity in practice" (Wenger, 1998). Students' histories of participation (Holland et al., 1998) or in Rogoff's (1995) sense, "participatory appropriation" of their pedagogic experiences in the elementary classroom may mediate their ways of knowing as well as learning in the processes of ongoing activities in education. The different pedagogic approaches and values in EFL teaching and learning between the two distinct social settings of elementary and junior high may therefore bring about problems that hinder students' active appropriation of classroom learning in junior high schools.

However, although it can be argued on the basis of the literature cited that a problem of transition is probably present in Taiwan schools too, there is as yet no evidence available and this is an issue for future research. In this chapter, we shall focus in detail on one of the origins and causes of transition, i.e., the myth that the earlier the start, the better.

Problematizing the Myth

Drawing on a Vygotsky-inspired socio-cultural study of EFL learning in Taiwan (Lin, 2008; Vygotsky, 1978), this

chapter revisits some of the issues pertaining to the need to overcome the discontinuity of elementary-junior high transition by problematizing the collective myth of "the earlier the better in learning foreign languages" without consideration of the issues of value asymmetry in pedagogical practice between the two consecutive social organizations. This aspect of foreign language learning may help to deepen our understanding of students' identity formation in their active "appropriation" (Rogoff, 1995) of classroom pedagogy and culture in the Taiwanese school context.

The analysis explores differences in students' access to EFL learning in four Taiwanese junior high schools. Of the four schools, two urban ones are large by Taiwan standards with students around 2500 and the other two rural schools are smaller in scale with students between 500 to 1000. Classroom observations were conducted in two classrooms in each school and semi-structured interviews were carried out with students and teachers. Relevant findings are presented and the disconnected progression in pedagogy between elementary and junior high schools which it reveals is examined.

THE PROBLEMS OF TRANSITION

This section uses an extract from the classroom observational data to exemplify the pedagogy students experience, provides evidence from students' accounts of the tensions caused by the change from elementary to junior high school settings. It discusses the pedagogical discontinuity and

then problematizes the underlying issue of the "early/better" myth.

Overall Grammar-oriented Pedagogy in Junior High Schools

Classroom observation sessions revealed predominantly "grammar-oriented" classroom pedagogy and its consequent heightened classroom control across all classrooms in the study. This is in contrast to the communicative-based classroom learning in elementary schools attested in participant students' interview accounts. The following extract from Ms. Sun's class was typical of observed lessons in the four schools, where high scores were valued in language examinations. Although the target language (English) was used by Ms. Sun for reading vocabulary and dialogue from the textbook, Mandarin became the instructional language used to ensure that students comprehended the meanings of the learning tasks. In her class, Ms. Sun was teaching phrasal items involving words such as "right" and "best" while students were jotting down what had been written on the blackboard. Most of her grammatical delineation and explanation was done in Mandarin (denoted by *italics* in the extract). A microphone was used routinely by Ms. Sun as is often the case in Taiwan schools.

Extract 1:
(Note: italics denotes the use of Mandarin)

1	T:	*Besides being a noun meaning "right hand side",*
2		*"right" can be an adjective meaning "correct".* […] *or*
3		*an adverb meaning "right there".*

| 4 | | (Writing on board) Right here/ right there. |

(Ms. Sun was teaching what had been written on the board while some students were still taking notes silently.)

[…]

(The next few lines were followed by Ms. Sun lecturing about the word "best".)

5	T:	*It's an adverb meaning "tzuei". Write it down!*
6		*It's an adjective meaning "tzuei-hao-de"* (最好的).
7		Like "the best students" or "the best class".
8		So, "best" *has two properties.*

(Teacher turns to the board, writing and talking without a microphone)

9		*The first kind- adjective: best means "tzuei-hao-de" .*
10		*But be aware that…"the" has to be attached to "best".*
11		*What does it mean by* "the best"?

(Some students reply with unintelligible voices. Some other students are still taking notes.)

12	T:	I am the best … "the" *must be added to* best.
13		*Moreover, "best" is an adverb in the text which means*
14		*something is someone's favourite.*

(Ms. Sun turns to the board writing and talking simultaneously with ascending voice.)

15	T:	I like baseball best. I like basketball best.
16		(Waiting for note-taking) *Have you all done?*
17		He is the best one …the best *can be added to a noun.*

The teacher was intent on explicitly instructing the class on points of grammar and illustrating them by writing patterns and examples on the board. As can be seen in lines 1 and 2 of Extract 1, the grammatical properties of the new word "*right*" were elaborated and written on the board for students. The class then moved on to another new word "*best*". Besides

points of grammar regarding the new word "*best*", as shown in lines 4, and 5, the phrase "*the best*" was also underlined with illustrative sentences (line 10). Ms. Sun then elaborated further by stating a "noun" could be added (line 15). The entire teaching process was carried out by the teacher providing explicit instruction about grammatical rules, using grammatical terminology, along with students' note-taking. This can be viewed as a form of rote learning, aimed no doubt, at gaining better scores in exams. The grammatical explanation was primarily given in Mandarin and was usually accompanied by the teacher writing on the board and students taking notes quietly. Very little listening or oral practice was observed in the classroom pedagogic process. The extract from Ms. Sun's class was typical of the grammar-oriented pedagogy observed in the four schools whose goal was to achieve satisfactory scores in tests because of the exigencies of sitting the national Basic Competence Test for Junior High School Students [2] in Grade 9 where grammatical competence is evaluated. This grammar-based pedagogy, which differs greatly from students' past pedagogic experiences in elementary classrooms, may diminish their motivation in EFL learning. The following students' accounts reveal the tensions evident in their contrastive learning histories.

Emerging Tensions in Students' Learning Histories

Interview data revealed that individual students' access to English followed complex trajectories of identity formation that often reflected tensions between their elementary school

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[2] Since 2014, the examination has been transformed and termed The Comprehensive Assessment Program for Junior High School Students.

learning histories and their subsequent experiences in junior high schools. Among the 17 student interviewees, two lower (Mark and John) and one higher achieving student (Helen), best exemplified psychological conflict in the process of EFL learning which reveals such tensions.

Mark - the Trapped Learner

As a low achieving student learning English in a rural school, Mark was one of the many "trapped" students who were willing but failing to learn English well. The following interview extract highlights Mark's dismay and portrays his learning identity as a trapped learner, still trying to find a way out. The interview took place when Mark was in Grade 8, the second year of junior-high and like other interviews was in Mandarin, translated here for convenience.

Extract 2:

1	Interviewer:	Could you describe how you learned English?
2	Mark:	I started learning English in Grade 6 […]
3		We were all playing most of the time […]
4		so I could not follow the lesson when I
5		attended Grade 7 in junior high school.
6	Interviewer:	Which part did you fail to understand?
7	Mark:	I could listen […] but failed to write it out.
8	Interviewer:	Did you learn anything like alphabetic letters?
9	Mark:	Yes, only English letters.
	[…]	
9	Interviewer:	So you did not follow when in Grade 7!
10	Mark:	Yeah […] I went to a cram school, but still
11		"did not comprehend".

12	I do not understand grammar and all other
13	stuff […] even after I have asked questions
14	from former English teachers. I still "do not
15	Understand" (*ting-bu-dong* 聽不懂).

Mark's learning experiences seemed to point to a fundamental imbalance of pedagogical practice between elementary and junior high school level. As he says, "*We were all playing most of the time* […] *so I could not follow the lesson when I attended Grade 7 in junior high school*" (lines 3 to 5). Consistent with the national Grade 1-9 curriculum in Taiwan, "*playing*" that engenders learning is highly valued in elementary schools. However, this is not the case in junior high. As Mark pointed out, he could "*listen*" but "*failed to write it out*" (line 7), representing his feeling that the "play" and communicative-based English practice of his elementary years were being denied by junior high school teachers and school culture. Despite attending cram schools for about 2 hours weekly, Mark still failed to understand English because the lessons there too are predominantly grammar-based. As he reported; "*I went to cram school, but still did not comprehend*" (lines 10 to 11) and consequently withdrew after six months. Moreover, the declaration "*I do not understand grammar and all other stuff* […] *even after I have asked questions from former English teachers*" (lines 12 to 15) mirrored his troubled situation arising from grammar-based learning.

John - the Disillusioned Learner

John, a low achieving participant in another rural school was one of the many indigenous[3] students who demonstrated initial interest in learning English, displaying a rather more "open-minded" and "curious" attitude than many urban peers. According to Lin's (2008) socio-cultural study of Taiwanese indigenous students' EFL learning, some 30% of the indigenous people believe in Western religions, e.g., Christianity, besides their traditional belief in ancestral spirits. He argues that Western religions, in contrast to local Buddhism or Daoism practiced by urban Taiwanese people, may explain why indigenous students stay more interested in Western culture and the English language than their urban peers. Because of John's lack of cultural resources in terms of cram school attendance and everyday English practice at home, due to living in a remote rural locality, he appeared to encounter difficulties in comprehending grammar in Grade 7. The following interview provides an insight into why he became a low EFL achiever.

Extract 3:

1	Interviewer:	Could you describe how you learned English?
2	John:	I started in Grade 5 in elementary school....
3	Interviewer:	How did you feel about your learning then?
4	John:	Very happy!
5	Interviewer:	Could you describe what you were learning?
6	John:	I cannot remember […] it was a long time ago.

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[3] There are fourteen indigenous tribes distributed around the central and eastern regions of Taiwan, and now officially make up roughly two per cent of Taiwan's population.

7 Interviewer:	It's fine. Did you play some games or any
8	interactive teaching and learning?
9 John:	Yes, we did.
10 Interviewer:	Did you like such learning at that time?
11 John:	Yeah.
12 Interviewer:	Was there any difference between when you
13	first started learning and now?
14 John:	I started to dislike it when I got to Grade 7.
15 Interviewer:	Why is that?
16 John:	[…] because I did not understand…what is a
17	"verb" (*dong-ci* 動詞)…
18 Interviewer:	You mean grammar and sentence patterns?
19 John:	Yes.
20 Interviewer:	Do you know any grammar such as "verbs"?
21 John:	Yes, but they are more "difficult to recite"
22	(*bu-hao-ji* 不好記) […]
23	I recited it but would forget the next day…
[…]	
24 Interviewer:	Did you have any opportunities to practice
25	English at home?
26 John:	A little writing…just a few days before the
27	school exam…
28	I'd write and "recite hard" (*meng-bai* 猛背)!
29 Interviewer:	Recited vocabulary, sentences and grammar?
30 John:	More or less […] predominantly vocabulary…

As shown in Extract 3 John appeared to have a "*very happy*" (line 4) time learning English in his elementary school years and enjoyed learning (lines 10 and 11). The asymmetrical relationship between elementary and junior high school practices became clear when he attended the latter; "*I started to dislike it when I got to Grade 7*" (line 14) due to

more grammar-based learning (lines 16 and 17). John appeared to feel chained to, but failed to learn, vocabulary and grammar by memorization, feeling that English grammar is "*more difficult to recite (bu-hao-ji)*" (lines 21 and 22). His only English practice at home was to recite "*vocabulary*" (line 30) a few days before the school exam by writing and "*recite hard*" (line 28) as a basic effort to secure minimum scores on the vocabulary test.

Helen- the Early Bird

Another participant, Helen, a high achieving student in English, experienced similar tension imbued with value conflict at junior high school. Helen was from an urban school whose vision is to provide students with a bilingual campus for learning English (e.g., English signs on campus and lunch-time English broadcast). Helen encountered English in her kindergarten year, known as a "nursery English class", an affiliate class in kindergarten where children interact with foreign teachers through language games for a few hours per week. Such arrangements are gaining popularity among urban, Taiwanese parents, who accept the adage that "learning English, the earlier the better". Helen became an early bird in learning English, though she did not seem to recall much of what she learned at this stage. Her formal English learning started at an American language institute in Grade 4 of elementary school and built on her initial interest. She recounted an episode of providing help with English to others for the first time in Grade 5, describing her excitement as follows:

> I had two English teachers; one is a Taiwanese and the
> other is an Australian [...] I had an opportunity to
> translate something for that Australian teacher in English
> […] Her understanding of what I said really impressed
> me and incited my interest in English.

This early out-of-school English learning with foreign
teachers had both engendered her growing interest in learning
English and foreshadowed her value conflict with it that
emerged soon after she began at junior high school. While her
school's bilingual vision aimed to provide students with a
strong environment for learning English, it deterred Helen who
felt that English was no longer "real" and "fun" because there
were no foreign teachers and no real-life English
conversations in class. What was taught was predominantly
grammar-oriented at school.

Helen expressed her dissatisfaction as follows:

> I feel that, though we have English signs […], it is not an
> authentic ''whole English'' environment […]. In general
> the school bilingual environment is looking good from an
> outsider's point of view. In comparison with other
> schools, we do have more English materials […] and
> school newsletters which are at least half English.

In contrast to Mark's learning trajectory, Helen appeared
to have rich cultural resources in her locality, including
parental engagement and a school whose official vision was
the promotion of bilingualism. However, she was deterred by
the English practices at school where she felt that English was
not as real and as much fun as in the past because there were

no foreign teachers and no real-life English conversations in class. Helen's experience of real-life English learning with a foreign teacher in her early elementary school years left her caught in tensions between her past learning history and present school discourse. Though she understood the limitations of school bilingual practice, discontinuity with her personal, foreign teacher experience appeared to be at the heart of her conflict. Her experience and understanding of authentic English was linked to her desire for more active participation whereby, as she put it, "*We have English signs but they do not talk*". This revealed her longing for an active English spoken environment which is, indeed, not available in most junior high schools in Taiwan.

Pedagogical Discontinuity as Value Asymmetry

Davies (1994) argues that "pedagogy involves a vision (theory, set of beliefs) about society, human nature, knowledge and production, in relation to educational ends, with terms and rules inserted as to the practical and mundane means of their realization" (p. 26). Thus, in the everyday, situated practice of EFL classroom learning and teaching, attention must be paid to pedagogic practice which means the specific ways that teachers instruct students. Moreover, broader levels of political issues that regulate pedagogic practice have also to be considered. For instance, the educational objectives that school visions privilege, national curriculum requirements and the outworking of notions of economic, social and cultural driving forces embedded in notions of national interest. Vygotsky also provides an emergent, sociological account of pedagogy underlining not only its importance as socially meaningful, but

also pointing out its value-laden nature. He points out that "pedagogics is never and was never politically indifferent,…it has always adopted a particular social pattern, political line, in accordance with the dominant social class that has guided its interests" (Vygotsky, 1997, cited in Daniels, 2001, p. 5).

Given these situated notions of classroom pedagogic practice and value inherent in pedagogic instruction, it is not surprising to find the prevailing grammar-oriented pedagogy across the four case junior high schools. For pedagogic approaches in Taiwan's junior high settings tend to favor heavy reliance on grammar, entailing weighty mechanical drills and assessments in order to improve students' linguistic knowledge. However, what is more intriguing is the emerging pedagogical discontinuity between two educational sectors that may account for some students' demotivation in EFL learning. In Chen's (2008) study, an English teacher pointed out that "in terms of English language education, elementary school teachers should play the role of transmitting the joy of learning English and help students to enhance their interest in learning it rather than make students feel scared of English and of learning the language" (p. 141). This suggests that EFL learning and teaching in elementary schools are interactively oriented, focusing on oral expression and incorporating lively activities such as language games, songs and role play in seeking students' interest. This certainly seems to be supported by what the interviewees above said, and contrasts with the textbook and grammar-based learning of the junior high level, as they also pointed out.

As a result, school cultures at junior high level tend to devalue oral communication, while over-valuing recitation and

grammatical rules, making students feel that the process is tedious and learning English more difficult than at elementary level. In Mark's words, at elementary school "*We were all playing most of the time*"; playing while learning English, aiming to engender interest in learning is highly valued in elementary schooling. However, such lively practices seem to be devalued by both classroom teachers and students in junior high schools where written English (e.g., grammar-translation methods and written examinations), is distinctly privileged. As illustrated in Extract 1, "grammar rules" involving discrete linguistic patterns are chiefly taught and highly valued in junior high classrooms. Given little time for oral practice, junior high students engaged in learning English primarily by memorization and were constantly evaluated in order to test their linguistic knowledge but not their communicative competence.

The following account exemplifies the inferior status of oral English. Dismayed by her students' reluctance, one of the participant English teachers in Mark's school complained that:

> I am often provided with free sample GEPT [General English Proficiency Test] magazines with CDs from publishers which I like to give out to students as gifts […] I told them not to feel under pressure […] Some students will try it for fun but some will not because they fear the difficulties.

Even though the teacher perceived the importance of both audio-lingual and written English practice and had tried to bridge the gap between them she revealed that; "*I tried very hard indeed*", even stating their market value, "*They cost two*

hundred dollars [*…*] *take them if you are willing to try*". Students' passive response and hesitation usually disappointed her, inducing her to speculate that maybe English was viewed by students as synonymous with written tests, leading to their rejection of free audio-lingual English materials. Although the MOE has launched the first English listening exam within the national Comprehensive Assessment Program for Junior High School Students in 2014[4] (MOE Taiwan, 2015), whether or not this initiative will change the low status of audio-lingual practice in junior high schools is still unknown and deserves further investigation.

Given the students' EFL learning experiences, it can be argued that if junior high students encounter difficulties in EFL learning, even to the extent of rejection, it may not be because they do not know about the importance of their present learning but because their previous experiences of learning are positioned as low status in the junior high classroom pedagogical process. As Mehan (1996) argued, "meaning" is bound to be negotiated in everyday discourse. Pedagogical methods in junior high classrooms define a form of meaning that may or may not provide students' with opportunities to negotiate and share meaning during classroom interactions. Accordingly, the emerging pedagogical discontinuity in the present study may account for students' loss of motivation in learning English whereby the general belief that "early is better" is itself problematic.

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[4] The English listening exam within the Comprehensive Assessment Program for Junior High School Students will not be counted as part of formal scores in 2014, however it will count in the following year 2015.

Problematizing "The Early Bird Catches the Worm"

The implementation of the new Grade 1-9 Curriculum in Taiwan was in response to a sense of economic change and consciousness of global trends, and intended to foster national competitiveness in the world community. However, the official decision to implement a elementary school "Early EFL Learning" policy in the national curriculum was based, as Chou (2002) and Lin (2008) argued, on the common sense belief that "the earlier the better" in learning foreign languages. Such "early bird" assumptions were neither debated nor discussed but merely taken for granted without considering the continuity between educational levels

There is evidence in the research literature of the emerging deficiencies resulting from the discontinuity between elementary and junior high school in Taiwan (Chang, 2006; Chen, 2008; Cheng, 2006; Chou, 2002; Hwang, 2005). Chou (2002) identified many problems and a growing debate in education following the implementation of the Grade 1-9 Curriculum in 2001 in elementary schools, in particular, "issues regarding elementary-junior high school transition" (p. 6). These problems are captured in Hwang's (2005) study, in which he argued that there is a lack of: consistency as to when language learning should start; officially sanctioned versions of textbooks; a theoretical basis for downward extension to third-grade and insufficient heed to the warnings of linguistic experts; well-rounded planning of teaching hours, teachers' qualification and pedagogic materials; establishment of teachers' training, accreditation and evaluation; and qualified English teachers. Chen's (2008) investigation of how cultures of EFL learning in classrooms are constructed through

classroom discourse in the transitional process from elementary to junior high school in Taiwan, also found a significant dominance of teachers' talk and the overall drilling practice and the I-R-F (initiation-response-feedback) discourse pattern, especially in junior high schools, and our study reinforces this. She argued, further, that there is a lack of proper liaison between schools and teachers in elementary and junior high education. Consequently, teachers tend to ignore the importance of the transitional process in helping students deal with change between those educational levels.

In the present study, Mark, John and Helen's learning trajectories, irrespective of their being low or high achievers, demonstrated a fundamental imbalance of pedagogical practice between two social organizations. The highly-valued communicative-based approaches at elementary schools seem eventually to be denied by junior high classroom teachers in favor of a broader Taiwanese school culture where discrete, cognitive competence is exceedingly valued (e.g., Chen, 2008; Lin, 2008). Each learner reported a tension between past learning histories and present junior high schooling which appeared to be at the heart of their inner conflict. Such conflict may even exacerbate students' poor EFL learning particularly when they (e.g., Mark and John) fail to have access to certain "cultural tools" (Wertsch, 1998) or cultural resources, such as appropriate family resources or the dedication of urban schools to achieve bilingual aims both of which Helen experienced.

IMPLEMENTATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

This chapter problematizes the taken-for-granted "early/better" assumption and the gap in students' EFL learning between elementary and junior high schools by looking at four junior high schools in Taiwan. Findings reveal that learning English in elementary schools was remembered by students as predominantly through a playful and communicative approach which was motivating whereas in junior high schools it was predominantly grammar-based, with a loss of motivation. EFL learning was found to be a value-laden practice (e.g., Davies, 1994) whose difficulties were exacerbated by the degree of disconnected progression, in particular, the value asymmetry in pedagogical practice between two educational sectors in Taiwan. The gap between the two social organizations caused elementary school "early birds" to encounter difficulties within the contrasting junior high classroom learning culture. Practitioners and policy makers should be aware that although early EFL learning may expect to be privileged in the national curriculum with an extension of its starting point from junior high to successively earlier points in elementary schools, its position is often embroiled in tensions about what to learn, when to start and, most importantly, which pedagogical approaches to use.

Given the notion of mutual construction of learning or appropriation (Rogoff, 1995) of classroom pedagogy, this study suggests that teachers in the junior high sector should be aware that overtly didactic approaches, placing grammar teaching and testing predominantly at center stage, may lead to devaluing of other important language skills (e.g., listening

and speaking) by either teachers or students and a loss of motivation. Therefore, a balanced everyday practice of all four language skills is needed because it helps to achieve mutual structuring of meanings between teachers and students. In contrast, classroom teachers in the elementary sector should be aware of the inevitability of a more didactic approach in junior high schooling as students' capacity for comprehending linguistic structure matures and because of the requirements of sitting the Comprehensive Assessment Program for Junior High School Students in Grade 9 where grammatical competence is assessed. Given the relative flexibility in elementary curriculum content, time and pacing, an early introduction of EFL grammar and writing, such as in Grade 6, may also help to achieve mutual structuring of meanings between teachers and students in future junior high school classrooms.

METHODOLOGY

As an integral part of the larger Socio-cultural study (Lin, 2008), this study employed a research design based on socio-cultural theoretical approaches to learning in order to explore students' complex trajectories in the process of EFL learning, with the focus on examining the discontinuity in EFL pedagogical practice between elementary and junior high schools in Taiwan. Socio-cultural theory requires a shift from "the individual human mind" as the sole unit of analysis for understanding human thought to recognizing socio-culturally constituted practice where human thinking and behavior

develop (Scribner, 1997). Informed by this Vygotsky-inspired formulation, the present study placed emphasis on exploring EFL learners' socio-cultural contexts to identify emerging issues concerning value and language learning identities during the process of teacher-student interaction and individual student learner histories. To this end, multiple methods of data collection, including classroom observations and semi-structured interviews with students and teachers, were employed.

Participants were students and teachers from four junior high schools (two urban and two rural) in southern Taiwan. In gaining field access, Delamont (2002) argued that "the general procedure, down the hierarchy to the pupils, is reasonably typical." (p. 105) Student participants were therefore approached with the support of school principals and classroom teachers respectively as an effective way of gaining access. Classroom observations were conducted in two classes in each school thus involving 8 teachers. In total, 28 one-hour sessions were observed and audio-recorded. As shown in Table1 below, a classroom observation schedule was developed as a guide in identifying key features of teacher-student interaction, involving teachers' modes of questioning and response across regulative and instructional categories. It was derived from Bernstein's (1990) notions of pedagogic discourse and Mercer's (1995) concepts of "guided construction of knowledge". In particular, Bernstein's notions of pedagogic discourse were viewed as a means of clarifying relations between power and morality played out in classrooms, displayed in different categories of teacher's "regulative" and "instructional" discourse. For example,

instructional question types comprised IRE (initiation-response-evaluation), direct elicitation and "cued elicitation" in which teachers apply "scaffolding" (Wood, Bruner & Ross, 1976) strategies to help students reach higher levels of knowledge acquisition and gradually shift more responsibility over the learning process to students. Response types also included both regulative and instructional types. Transcription conventions (Silverman, 2006) were used to identify pauses, gaps, explanatory asides and untranscribable words in helping to present raw data.

Table 1. Categories for Classroom Observations

Teachers' Questioning Type	
Regulative	Instructional
Housekeeping	IRE
(e.g., T: Did you bring your books?)	Direct elicitation
Rhetorical (No answer expected)	Cued elicitation (scaffolding)
Teachers' Response Type	
Ignoring	Confirmation (e.g., T: Very good)
Rejection	Repetition
	Elaboration

Note: This observation schedule was derived from Lin's (2008) socio-cultural inquiry into Taiwanese students' English learning experiences.

In order to explore students' learning histories and uncover their identity development in EFL learning process,

semi-structured interviews were carried out with 17 students, including lower and higher achievers based on their English performances in school assessments. A general, funnel structure was employed in interviews, using prompts in response to interviewees' answers that appeared significant to the study. For example, the first question for student participants was to probe their English learning histories in terms of when, how and where they started learn English. These descriptive questions were used to encourage participants to talk more about their personal cultural scenes. Subsequent questions included family and school resources, classroom interaction, foreign teacher and cultural experiences, each with appropriate, further prompts. All interviews were carried out in Mandarin, with 14 questions asked in a period of 50 minutes. Thematic analysis drawing on questions already foreshadowed in the research literature was employed as a gradual process of developing interpretation through the "hermeneutic circle" (Boyatzis, 1998). Ethical issues such as confidentiality, anonymity and power relations in the field were taken into account in an attempt to protect participants' identities. All participants' names in this paper are pseudonyms.

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Cultures of Learning in English Language Classrooms in Taiwan during Transition from Elementary to Junior High School

Chin-Pin Chen

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a part of the research findings in a larger study concerning English language education in Taiwan during the transition year (Grades 6 to 7) from elementary to junior high school. The research has been done to understand the similar or/and different cultures of learning across the transitional process as well as their implications for current English language education in Taiwan. Patterns of classroom activities were identified from the elementary and junior high school classrooms so that the cultures of learning in these two educational phases could be constructed and compared to address the issue of transitional process. This chapter will focus on one of the patterns – whole-class teaching and individual testing – and discuss its implications for the transition year as well as current English language teaching in Taiwan.

Cultures of Learning and Language Uses in the Transition Year

In most educational systems, pupils are required to change from one school to another at least once during their

period of compulsory schooling (Galton, 2000). The process of moving from one educational stage to another, involving a change of schools is referred to as "transition" (Summer & Bradley, 1977), and the transitional process catches researchers' attention because some pupils fail to make progress immediately after transition (Fabian, 2002).

Difficulties in transition can result from the differences or discontinuities between the two phases. As Fabian (2002) points out, changing from one school to another involves not only coping with physical but also social and philosophical differences. Pupils become engaged in a process of "acculturation", meaning that they are expected to adjust their behaviour to fit a new school culture. In this perspective, the concept of the "culture of learning" may provide a useful basis for analysis.

Since 1968, young people in Taiwan have been offered compulsory education at elementary schools from the age of six and, after they have graduated from elementary schools, at junior high schools from the age of twelve. In Taiwan, the transition between elementary and junior high schools seems to be considered less problematic and thus receives less attention than the transition between other educational phases and stages. This is mainly because students who leave elementary schools and enter junior high schools are not required to take an examination since each of these two phases is part of their compulsory education. However, it can be argued that because the transition between these two educational phases also involves changes of schools and, most importantly, the interruption of students' lives and learning, transitions which take place within compulsory education

should be paid as much attention as those between other educational phases, which involve examinations.

Moreover, before the educational reform which began in the mid-1990s, the curricula of elementary and junior high schools were designed separately, and considerable discrepancies may have existed between the two educational phases. Thus, a new curriculum for elementary and junior high schools, named the Grades 1-9 Curriculum, was promulgated by the Ministry of Education in 1998 and has been implemented in elementary and junior high schools since 2000, with the purpose of seeing compulsory education as a whole and providing a more comprehensive and thorough curriculum for it. At the same time, the teaching of English was started at Grade 5 in elementary school, two years earlier than it used to be under the previous curriculum (The Ministry of Education, Taiwan, 2004). A few years later, English language education was further extended to start at Grade 3.

The implementation of the Grades 1-9 Curriculum, which was meant to unify compulsory education, to reduce the considerable discrepancies between elementary and junior high school curricula and to extend English language education, aroused my interest in understanding English language education in the transition between these two educational phases. In fact, discussions and debates have ensued since the implementation of the Grades 1-9 Curriculum in Taiwan, but current studies and research still seem to focus on one or the other of the two phases in the educational setting. There are not many discussions on the differences or similarities between these two phases and very few studies on the issues raised by the process of transition. One exception is

Lin's (2015) recent discussions over the differences in pedagogy between these two educational settings and its impact on students' EFL learning identity (see Chapter 3 in this book). In addition, even in the literature on the transition year in other countries, discussion about language use in the classroom still seems limited. This apparent lack of current studies, the extension of English language education and the specific nature of English language classrooms, i.e., language not only as the subject but also for the communication have made me very interested in investigating the issue of language use, classroom interaction and the culture of learning and the way in which these issues could influence the transitional process between elementary and junior high school.

As Mercer (2002, p. 170) points out, schools are "special kinds of places, social institutions with particular purposes, conventions and traditions", and hence, they are a "place of culture" in Tishman *et al.*'s phrase (1995, p. 1). These writers go on to argue that not only schools but every classroom has its own particular culture of teaching and learning. The culture in the classroom can be evident in the way in which students and teachers interact, their common way of talking, their expectations and their shared understanding of what is acceptable, what is interesting or what is valuable.

Cortazzi and Jin (2013) also identify factors such as teachers' and students' frameworks of expectations, attitudes, values and beliefs about what constitutes good learning, how to teach or learn, whether and how to ask questions and what textbooks are for. They further argue that any particular culture of learning has its origins in the educational and cultural traditions of the community or society in which it is

located and this is a determining factor in what happens in classrooms. They also point out that in many classrooms both teachers and students are nevertheless unaware of the influence of the culture of learning on the process of teaching and learning. As a result, when there is more than one culture of learning influencing participants, there may be some unnoticed gaps between the expectations of the teachers and of the students, or between those of different students.

As their work is concerned with English language teaching and learning in China, Cortazzi and Jin illustrate the term "culture of learning" in a way which is more associated with national cultures, i.e., of the English and the Chinese. However, I would like to extend this concept to include the culture of learning in the first year junior high classrooms and the diverse elementary classrooms where the pupils come from. In the transitional period, pupils from different elementary schools and classrooms with similar or different cultures of learning make contact with each other and with the new teachers in the junior high classrooms. One possible result is the creation of a new culture of learning. Another is a tension between cultures and a power struggle.

As Kramsch (1998, p. 26) states, in attempting to understand what is going on in a group of people, it is necessary not only to understand "why they said what they said and how they said it to whom in a specific context of situation", but also "to link their words, beliefs and mindsets to a larger context of culture". Moreover, according to Barker and Galasiński (2001), culture is centrally concerned with shared meanings. However, these shared meanings of culture are not out there waiting for people to seize them, but rather

they are the product of language and the use of language among people. This indicates the importance of analysing both the culture and the language of a group of people if one wants to understand them.

Furthermore, according to Mercer (2002), classrooms also generate some typical and specific patterns of language use which reflect the nature of teaching and learning as a social, communicative process occurring in the distinctive settings of school. The similar or different expectations held by students and teachers are thus reflected in their language use, and Mercer (2002) also suggests that even students who have their native or first language as their classroom language may need to acquire the conventions of the language used in their classrooms and in the school. In this study, the culture of learning in both elementary and junior high school classrooms is of interest, in order to learn more about the transitional process between these two educational phases. Therefore, it seems useful to scrutinize the language use in these classrooms.

Participants in the Research

Given the issues raised above and the particular interest in the teaching of English, three research questions were formulated to guide the research:

1. How are the cultures of learning discursively constructed in English language teachers' classrooms in elementary and junior high schools?

2. Are there discursive differences and/or similarities in the teaching approaches between the two phases on either side of the transition?

3. If they exist, how do these discursive similarities and differences and the cultures of learning which they create affect the transitional process?

In this study, participants were selected with three criteria. First, the participants had to be teachers and students who were teaching or taking English language classes in elementary or junior high schools in Taiwan. The second criterion was that the selected schools should be located in the same neighbourhood, where the pupils in the two elementary schools generally move into the chosen high school. Third, the availability and accessibility of the participants were considered as important criteria throughout the conduct of the fieldwork, where informed consent could be obtained at both school and class level.

Eventually, one junior high school (JH) and its two feeder elementary schools (E1 and E2) were selected. Two teacher participants were from the junior high school (Teacher Wang and Teacher Lee) and one from each elementary school – Teacher Lo from E1 and Teacher Chan from E2. All teachers' names are pseudonymous. Table 1 shows some of the details about the schools, teachers and students.

Table 1: Numbers of Pupils in the Classes

Schools	E1		E2		JH	
Teachers	Lo		Chan		Wang	Lee
Classes	E1C1	E1C2	E2C1	E2C1	JHC1	JHC2
Number of pupils	37	35	36	35	37	36
Number of girls	16	12	15	15	17	17
Number of boys	21	23	21	20	20	19

FINGDINGS

In the original research, four patterns were identified as important issues in response to the research aims and questions mentioned above, which are: (1) whole class teaching, individual testing; (2) English as the Outer and/or Inner language; (3) teaching and learning occurring through drilling practice and I-R-F patterns; and (4) teachers' (un)willingness to allow students' self-selected utterances. Here, I intend to present the discursive pattern that is most largely and commonly observed in both educational phases and in turn discuss the implications of this pattern for the transitional process.

Whole-class Teaching: A Shared Understanding

In their classrooms, English language teachers in both educational phases who participated in this research all designed and conducted various teaching and learning

activities to introduce the curriculum content and to assess the students' learning. There were some similar activities conducted by the teachers in elementary and junior high schools, such as the introduction of vocabulary, delivery of main sentences and dialogues and the writing of workbook exercises in each unit. However, activities such as playing games and singing songs were observed only in elementary teacher Lo's classrooms.

In her classroom, after introducing the content in a unit such as vocabulary or main dialogue, teacher Lo would often conduct a game which involved the entire class. Teacher Lo pointed out in an interview that "*in terms of English language education, elementary school teachers should play the role of transmitting the joy of learning English and help students to enhance their interest in learning it rather than make students feel scared of English and of learning the language*" (*teacher Lo*). Thus, she designed and conducted various games after introducing the new content of each unit and sang the songs included in the unit together with the students. As for the students, they "*appeared to be excited with the activity of playing games because they were eager to take part in competing with other groups of students in a game and also often asked to play a game*" (*Field note – Class E1C1 & E1C2*).

Meanwhile, although the drilling practice, in which the students in chorus repeatedly followed the teacher in reading aloud the curriculum content, was common in all teachers' classrooms, it was referred to by Elementary teacher Chan as a "reading-and-following" activity (Excerpt 1), and recorded

much more frequently in teacher Chan's classes than in those of the other teachers.

Excerpt 1: *Class E2C2, Teacher Chan, School E2*

01	Chan:	來，二十五頁(*Come on, page twenty-five*)。來，跟我喔！(*Come on, follow me!*) Does Jenny have a red coat?
02	Ss :	Does Jenny have a red coat?
03	Chan:	No, she doesn't.
04	Ss :	No, she doesn't.
05	Chan:	She has a green one.
06	Ss :	She has a green one.
07	Chan:	Sherry has a red coat.
08	Ss :	Sherry has a red coat.
09	Chan:	Let me see!
10	Ss :	Let me see!
11	Chan:	Yes, it's Sherry's coat.
12	Ss :	Yes, it's Sherry's coat.

Excerpt 1 was recorded at the beginning of a session in class E2C2 when teacher Chan led students in the reading from the main dialogue in Unit 4 in their textbook. To guide this activity, teacher Chan gave an instruction ("follow me") and read a sentence ("Does Jenny have a red coat?") in turn 01. In turn 02, the entire class of students then responded to the teacher by following him in reading the same sentence "*loudly and all together*" (*Field note ― Class E2C2*). The "reading-and-following" exercise, which was composed of two turns, then presented the sort of drilling practice in which words or phrases are substituted within a frame and practised repeatedly (Cook, 2001). It appeared that teacher Chan and his

students had reached some shared understanding of rules of interaction in this "reading-and-following" activity and teacher-student communication.

The similar pattern of whole-class activity was not only observed in elementary schools but also in junior high classrooms. Excerpt 2 recorded a whole-class drilling practice in teacher Wang's class while Excerpt 3 showed a whole-class I-R-F (Initiation-Response-Feedback) pattern in which the teacher normally addressed the questions to the whole class instead of a particular student.

Excerpt 2: *Class JHC1, Teacher Wang, School JH*

01	Wang:	翻開三十四頁(*Turn to page thirty-four*),全部同學翻開三十四頁(*all classmates turn to page thirty-four*),我們把框框裡面的文法再唸一次 (*Let's read through the sentences in grammar column again*)。Where are you from?
02	Ss :	Where are you from?
03	Wang:	I'm from Taiwan.
04	Ss :	I'm from Taiwan.
05	Wang:	Where is he from?
06	Ss :	Where is he from?
07	Wang:	He is from Canada.
08	Ss :	He is from Canada.
09	Wang:	Where is she from?
10	Ss :	Where is she from?
11	Wang:	She is from Japan.
12	Ss :	She is from Japan.
13	Wang:	Where are you from?
14	Ss :	Where are you from?
15	Wang:	We are from Germany.
16	Ss :	We are from Germany.

17	Wang:	Where are they from?
18	Ss :	Where are they from?
19	Wang:	They are from Panama.
20	Ss :	They are from Panama.

Excerpt 3: *Class JHC2, Teacher Lee, School JH*

01	Lee:	好(*OK*)，那是我的醫生(*that is my doctor*)，然後什麼 (*and then what*) name is Mary。瑪莉是男的還是女的阿(*Is Mary a man or a woman*)？
02	Ss :	女的(*a woman*)。
03	Lee:	女的(*a woman*)！那就要用哪一個格(*so which one should be used*)？
04	Ss :	Her
05	Lee:	Her，her，所以這一題答案是 C (*so the answer for this question is "C"*)。

On the other hand, despite some variety in the teaching and learning activities of the kind noted above, it was found that almost all the activities conducted either in elementary or in junior high schools were whole-class activities. In other words, in the classrooms in both educational phases, when the teachers gave instructions, asked questions or simply talked in class, their talk was usually intended to address the class as a whole, unless they nominated particular students – but the latter was less evident in all teachers' classrooms.

This may signify a shared understanding reached by all of the teachers and their students that when the teachers talked in class, all the students were normally included. It could be observed in successful cases of drilling and I-R-F (Initiation-Response-Feedback) patterns of communication

that when the teachers read a particular piece of curriculum content or initiated a question, all the students usually responded in chorus even though the teachers might not have explicitly instructed them to do so. Furthermore, it was often recorded that teachers in both educational phases gave the body of students the name "Class E2C2" (*teacher Chan*) or "Class JHC1" (*teacher Wang*) when discussing their achievements or behaviour in the classroom. To a certain extent, addressing the students in such a manner also reinforced the shared understanding that the entire class of students was included when teachers spoke without nominating anyone in particular.

As most of the teaching and learning activities conducted in elementary and junior high schools were whole-class activities, the implication may be that this shared understanding was a common feature in the learning culture across the two educational phases. It was likely that this "shared understanding" previously developed in elementary school could be carried forward by the students and be maintained in their experiences in the junior high school classroom. Therefore, it would be easier for them to reach a similar shared understanding with junior high school teachers and reduce the possibility of discontinuity resulting from having to respond in a different way to the teacher's initiation. This may then perhaps be the reason why students in both the junior high school teachers' classrooms appeared to realise relatively quickly that they were expected to respond as one to the teacher' initiation and instructions; consequently successful drilling and I-R-F patterns could still be observed at the beginning of the new semester.

Individual Testing: Tests with Asymmetrical Meanings

Another common feature in the classroom culture of learning across the elementary and junior high school phases was that students' learning was usually assessed individually. For example, teacher Lo in elementary school E1 gave quizzes on vocabulary and asked students to complete their workbook in a test setting in class. Furthermore, in elementary school E2, teacher Chan gave students individual oral tests on vocabulary and sentences "*in order to determine how much each of the students had actually learnt and to decide whether to review the same part of curriculum content or to move on to the next part*" (*teacher Chan*). Therefore, in the classroom, it was often observed that students were queuing at the front of the class in order to take their tests individually.

In both of the classes taught by teachers Wang and Lee in junior high school JH, students were asked to stay quiet during the tests and to finish their test papers by themselves. To a certain extent, for students moving from elementary to junior high schools, having to take tests individually may have been a rule of learning and therefore students appeared not to encounter many difficulties in developing the shared understanding with the teachers that in junior high school classrooms each student must complete the test paper without help. Perhaps the fact that the students in junior high school no longer shared a double desk with a classmate as they had done in elementary school might also subtly reinforce the applicability of this underlying rule of learning to new students.

However, even though students might realize relatively quickly the rule of learning and would be assessed individually

in junior high school as they had been in elementary school, it might take them some time to understand the different underlying meaning of the tests across the transitional process. Although teachers in elementary and junior high schools could give students different forms of test (e.g., oral or written), their purpose was generally to find out how well the students were managing the curriculum content in their teaching. Nonetheless, it seemed that tests in elementary school were negotiable. For example, in teacher Lo's classes, "*the students always tried to negotiate with the teacher and hoped that she would not keep her word when she announced the information about upcoming tests*" (*Field note – Class E1C1 & E1C2*). The students would say to the teacher "in a tone of entreaty" "老師不要考啦 (*Teacher, please do not give a test*)！" or "老師下次再考啦 (*Teacher, let's do the test next time*)！" (*Class E1C1, Teacher Lo, School E1*) (*Field note – Class E1C1*). Although teacher Lo rarely changed her mind concerning her intention to give tests, sometimes she would postpone the test to the next session. This usually made the students satisfied with the outcome of the negotiation and they subsequently "*cheered up*" (*Field note – Class E1C1*). Thus, students in teacher Lo's classes might learn from such experiences that tests could be negotiable.

At the same time, in teacher Chan's classes, there seemed to be no regular agenda for the tests. Teacher Chan often announced the test at the beginning of the session when he planned to give it. He would conduct a so-called "reading-and-following" activity before he asked students to come to the front of the classroom to take individual oral tests. Usually, the students who were prepared for a test would go

first and the others would either queue at the front of the classroom or stay in their seats preparing for the test until they were ready. However, due to the limited time for each single session, it was often observed that some students did not take the test at all. Teacher Chan often did not ask them to take the test in the next session, either. Hence, students in teacher Chan's classes could possibly believe that tests were avoidable and not necessary for students.

In contrast, in junior high school, the tests and examinations played a central role in English language education. Students in both junior high school teachers' classes were given written tests in almost every session during my observational period, which ended in the final session before their first mid-term examination. Sometimes, particularly in the sessions close to the date of the mid-term examination, students could even be given two types of paper test in a single session. This indicated the possibility that students might encounter a much tighter and more regular agenda of tests in class when they moved from elementary to junior high school.

In teacher Lee's class, it was observed a couple of times that some boy students attempted to suggest that the teacher should not give a test which had in fact been put on the class agenda. However, the students in junior high school generally did not try to negotiate with the teacher about tests as much as some of them might have done in teacher Lo's classes. In such cases the students' words were mostly ignored by the teacher Wang and Lee and they still had to take the test. Therefore, students must have gradually realized from the high frequency of the tests in class and the teachers' words the different

purpose and meaning of their learning of English language in junior high school, and must have seen that the tests and examinations were no longer negotiable and avoidable.

Moreover, they might also experience different meanings for the tests and examinations. For example, teacher Wang pointed out in the interview that "*in junior high school, the ultimate goal of learning English is to obtain a high score in the national examination for senior high schools*" (*teacher Wang*). Also, she considered the tests and examinations as a means of "*students giving feedback on the teacher's teaching*"; and they were therefore "*necessary and important*" (*teacher Wang*). Meanwhile, teacher Lee ordered an extra reference book for the students of JHC2 to do various types of practice tasks so that "*they would not be panic, particularly in their first mid-term examination*" (*teacher Lee*). These implied that tests and examinations in junior high schools might not only be a means of assessing students' learning, as they were in elementary schools, but instead the primary goal of learning.

In addition, the term "mid-term examination" was frequently referred to by both junior high school teachers in pursuing various teaching and learning activities. In a sense, the teacher's words, such as "這個考試一定會考出來 (*this will definitely appear in the mid-term examination*)" (*Class JHC1, Teacher Wang, School JH*) sent a message to the students that learning English was not only closely related to but also done for the examinations. This also suggested that such words might guide students before they had altogether learnt how to filter the clues and information from the teacher's talk which could be important for their tests and examinations.

To a certain extent, the junior high schools' perspective associated with the significance of tests and examinations and the amount of learning necessary to do well in them could relate to the fact that students would have to take a national examination for the next phase of education. In Taiwan, the period of compulsory education lasts 9 years, 6 years for the elementary phase and 3 years for the junior high phase. Thus, while students on leaving the elementary school will automatically be assigned to the junior high school in the same neighbourhood, students graduating from junior high school have to take an examination to qualify for upper secondary education. In the Taiwanese context where students are generally encouraged or even pushed to pursue higher education, students' capacity to score well in the national examination and enter the senior high schools with the highest reputation can often be a crucial factor in judging them to be "good students" or judging the school to be a "good school". Therefore, it may not be difficult to understand the junior high school teachers' emphasis in their teaching approach on tests and examinations. Thus, the different meanings for elementary and junior high school teachers of tests and examinations, can be anticipated from their discourse.

CONCLUSION

The Causes of Transitional Problems

By comparing the patterns of classroom language uses, some similarities in terms of whole-class teaching and individual testing between the two educational phases have

been identified. To a certain extent, the continuity of these patterns of classroom communication may help students in moving from one educational phase to the next because it might be easier for students to understand and follow the underlying rules in these patterns. Nonetheless, some differences in meanings underlying the apparent similar patterns of classroom communication can also be revealed, e.g., the different meanings of tests and examinations to language education. These discontinuities may in turn result in difficulties for students in adapting to a new learning context, not only because it might take longer and require more experience to negotiate and to realize the desirable ways of speaking with teachers but also because they might be blamed before they had learnt to do so.

However, while the continuity in some patterns of classroom discourse could help students to adapt to the new phase of learning, some discontinuities in the classroom culture of learning in junior high school might not in fact be obstacles to learning. According to Nicholls and Gardner (1999), some discontinuities inherent in the transitional process may indicate to the students their physical and social "growing up" from childhood to adolescence, which in turn signifies the expectation of changes from one stage of life to another. Thus, while still taking into account the continuity of curriculum content provided by the national curriculum, some secondary teachers may adopt a strategy called "fresh-start" in order to provide a different form of learning (Galton, 2000). Such discontinuity in the teaching approach can also be beneficial for the transitional process, as long as it is carefully planned.

On the other hand, the junior high school teachers participating in this research may have missed the opportunity to become formally aware of the continuities and discontinuities in their teaching approaches between the two educational phases and to utilize them in helping students adapt sooner in this new phase of their lives. A crucial factor contributing to this possibility was the fact that there seemed to be no proper liaison between the elementary and junior high school teachers.

In the interview, three of the four participating teachers revealed that they did not have any contact at all with teachers in the other educational phase. Elementary teacher Lo stated that:

> I do not have contact with junior high school teachers. All I know about English language education in junior high school is from my own experience. And some students when they came back to visit me complained about being punished in junior high school for getting low scores in class test. They were not punished in elementary schools for such a reason. (teacher Lo)

In junior high school JH, one English language teacher stated:

> Basically, I do not know any elementary school teachers. We do not have students' records about their learning in elementary schools, either. All we have is their personal details. (teacher Lee)

What these teachers said in the interview not only reveals that they have no contact with teachers from the other

educational phases but also implies a sense of misunderstanding and mistrust of teachers or English language education across the two educational phases. As what is evident from above, elementary teacher Lo directly referred to students being punished for unsatisfactory achievement in junior high schools in order to contrast this – with implicit disapproval – with practices in elementary school. Meanwhile, junior high school teacher Wang tended to deny the possible usefulness of records about students' previous learning processes and outcomes, probably because that, in her eyes, could not be the results of "real" learning:

> We do not have records about students' achievement in elementary schools. I think it is completely unnecessary to refer to what students have learned or their records from elementary schools anyway because these two phases are different from each other in many ways, including the system, the teaching materials and teaching approaches. (teacher Wang)

The misunderstanding and mistrust between English language teachers in the two educational phases could also be identified in what elementary teacher Chan said in his interview; he was the only participating teacher who had contact with teachers from the other phase. In the interview, he revealed that:

> I meet some junior high school teachers during meetings held for English language teachers in compulsory education. We can share our ideas about teaching English there. However, junior high school teachers often complain that they still have to teach students from the

beginning, due to the wide-ranging ability of students. Frankly, I feel that they do not trust what students have learnt from us. (teacher Chan)

In a sense, attending such meetings could possibly be seen as liaison because it provided teachers from the two educational phases with the opportunity to share their ideas or to negotiate their needs in terms of English language teaching. In other words, even though teachers might express their mistrust, they at least had the opportunity to be aware of this and might be able to analyze where the mistrust originated and therefore how to diminish it.

However, as teacher Chan revealed later, referring to the specific school which received students from his school, he "*never met teachers from junior high school JH*" (*teacher Chan*), and it was found that, apart from teacher Chan, the other three teachers engaged in this research had no idea that the general meetings for English teachers existed. This signified not only a lack of contact but also a lack of proper liaison between English language teachers in elementary school E1 and E2 and teachers in junior high school JH, although these schools were located in the same neighbourhood and students moved from the two elementary schools to the junior high school. The lack of proper liaison then may not only become one of the reasons for teachers' misunderstanding and mistrust, but also implies that junior high school teachers would need longer time to negotiate with students to construct their own culture of learning without proper reference to elementary school learning culture.

In short, lacking the opportunity to directly share their ideas, teachers in elementary school E1 and E2 and junior high school JH may be missing the chance of discovering the discursive similarities and differences in their teaching approaches and of taking advantage of the continuity and discontinuity in the culture of learning constructed by the classroom discourse in order to help students' learning and lives in the transitional process.

METHODOLOGY

In seeking the answers to the research questions stated earlier, data are required about teachers' and students' discursive practices and their interaction in the classroom, together with their perspectives on these practices. This research then adopts an approach of an ethnographically informed case study, to collect qualitative data. The ethnographic approach matched my need to collect detailed descriptions and understand the happenings in the classroom from the point of view of the participants.

In order to collect the necessary data, I investigated four classes in two elementary schools (E1 and E2) and two classes in one junior high school (JH) which are all located in Kaohsiung city in Taiwan. Moreover, I collected data from the final semester in the two elementary schools and the first semester in the junior high school. The two phases of data collection are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: The Phases of Data Collection

Phase One –Two Elementary schools (E1 & E2)	Lo		Chan	
	E1C1	E1C2	E2C1	E2C2
	2 sessions per class per week			
	Approximately 8 weeks			
Phase Two – Junior high school (JH)	Wang		Lee	
	JHC1		JHC2	
	5 sessions per class per week			
	Approximately 4 weeks			

Classroom observation and interviews were the methods adopted to collect the data needed in this research. Digital audio-recording and note-taking were also employed to record the data collected from the classrooms and the words of the participants.

In the first phase of data collection, 8 weeks were spent in the four selected classes in each of the two chosen elementary schools. In other words, in the first phase of data collection I observed 16 sessions for each class, 32 sessions for each English language teacher and 64 sessions in total. In the second phase of data collection, I also observed 16 sessions for each class and each teacher. Thus, I observed 32 sessions in total in the junior high school. All of these were audio-recorded. In addition to classroom observation, interviewing is also an important method in qualitative research and is often used for triangulation (LeCompte &

Preissle, 1993). In this research, semi-structured interviews were mostly used.

In order to analyze the data collected by the methods mentioned above, an ethnographically informed discourse analysis was helpful and employed in this research. According to Phillips and Jørgensen (2002), a general idea of discourse is that language is structured according to different patterns in people's utterances when they are deployed in different domains of social life. This is our way of talking about and understanding the world. Discourse analysis is then about analysing these patterns and ways of speaking. In addition, ethnographic research aims to bring to the surface many of the implicit conventions and understandings applied to language use in order to make communication possible (Christie, 2002).

In analyzing the set of recordings in this research, the audio data were first transcribed and analysed in Mandarin Chinese to avoid distorting the original meaning and then translated into English for presentation in this chapter. During the process of data analysis, in addition to being examined through the transcriptions, the original audio-recording were listened to repeatedly to ensure that the important contextual information was not filtered out by the transcriptions. Moreover, the field notes taken during the classroom observation and interviews can be useful also in ensuring the validity of the data from the audio-recordings and transcriptions since, in the analysis, the different data sets were cross-referenced.

In addition, in dealing with the observation and interviewing data I used the technique of coding. According to Saville-Troike (2003), in order to describe and analyse

communication it is necessary to deal with discrete units which each have communicative activities with recognizable boundaries. The codes then were analysed in relation to the relationship between one code and another and with the whole content.

With regard to the codes of analysis for communication which has occurred in natural settings, this research adopted the three different levels of unit suggested by Hymes (1972): situation, event, and act. As he argues, the communication situation is the context within which the communication occurs. It may remain the same, with a change of location or time and there can be different situations going on in the same location. For example, in the present research, a single session in each teacher's class can be identified as a speech situation in which the participants in the speech (i.e., the teacher, students and me as an observer) remained mainly the same, but with changes of time and/or sometimes location, the situation might vary and therefore each could be considered as a separate unit of analysis.

Another unit in analysing communication suggested by Hymes (1972) is the communication event. According to Cameron (2001), speech events are constituted by language use and involve activities which could not take place except in and through language. In addition, a single communication event is identified as a unified set of components throughout, including generally the same participants, the same general topic, the same variety of language, the same rules of interaction and the same settings. A single event is terminated when one of these components has changed (Hymes, 1972). In this research, the speech events were used to furnish a number

of analytical categories in understanding the culture of learning in each teacher's classes because the idea of speech events signifies the underlying and shared rules of speaking in a speech community, including which topic should be addressed and also who, when and how participants could initiate a topic or switch between topics. Moreover, the way in which a speech event could be interpreted as a unit to shape the culture of learning might depend on the speech acts within it.

According to Saville-Troike (2003), the speech act is generally concerned with a single interactional function, such as greeting, apologizing or questioning. It can be either verbal or nonverbal. According to Cameron (2001), speech acts can often figure in various kinds of event and the importance of the speech act in analysing communication is that the distinctiveness of a particular speech event is partly a question of which speech acts are performed and in what order. For example, it might be found in the classroom that acts of questioning tend to occur in the speech event of "lecturing" or simply in "chatting". Thus, in this research, when speech acts were recognised in a speech event by the researcher, it would mark the nature of the speech event and therefore the shared interactional understanding which underlies the speech event could be interpreted with the participants' perspectives in order to understand more of the culture in their speech community.

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EFL Learners Developing Critical Intercultural Awareness through Process Drama

Wen-Ling Irene Chen

INTRODUCTION

When meeting the challenge of the world and modernization becomes the central claim and focus of education in Taiwan, foreign language (English) education in particular seems to help to advocate the policy of educating future citizens to cope with the demands of global competition. Belief in the magic power of English as a language for global citizens contributes to the nation's striving to enter the international stage for economic profits as well as political positioning. However, while English Language teaching (ELT) in Taiwan has become mandatory in formal education and been extended downward to Grade 1 in elementary education, a significant factor is rarely addressed in foreign language policy: the socio-cultural aspects of foreign language learning.

Language learning is, fundamentally, a cultural practice, and learning a foreign language entails encountering the hidden values of cultures associated with the language being learnt and the learner's own experience (Cortazzi & Jin, 1999; Damen, 1987; Hinkel, 2005; Lessard-Clouston, 1997; Nieto, 2009; Peterson & Coltrane, 2003; Risager, 2007; Stern, 1992). This means that, in the process of communication between people from different cultures, there is often a confrontation of

differing beliefs, views of value and ideology, although there can also be similarities and overlaps. This is the dimension of language teaching which has hitherto been largely neglected in Taiwan, and this chapter begins to redress the balance.

ELT as Intercultural Education

Scholars in the past two decades have proposed an "intercultural" shift of focus in language learning (Byram, 1997; Corbett, 2003; Liddicoat et al., 2003; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013; Lo Bianco, Liddicoat & Crozet, 1999). Overall, there are two main propositions in intercultural language learning: firstly, an intercultural language learning programme should provide the space to "develop students' abilities to think, act, discriminate and experience cultural differences in appropriate ways" and asks learners to "pause, reflect, question, move back and forth between understandings they have in, and of, their various languages" (Moloney & Harbon, 2010, p. 177). Secondly, an intercultural language learning programme should help the learners to develop an "intercultural awareness" in order to "translate" culture in their own context (Guilherme, 2002).

In other words, the language learners should be provided with opportunities to gain insights into the relationship to their own culture by critically engaging in a dialogue between their own culture and a target culture. In doing so, language learners take a reflective stance in the language learning process and become the agent for changes to both their individual lives and to their own community. In this perspective the language learner becomes what Byram defines as an "intercultural

speaker" (1997, p. 91), who has the competence, in Guilherme's interpretation, to:

> negotiate between their own cultural, social and political identifications and representations and those of the other, that is, they must be critical. The critical "intercultural speaker" takes critical advantage of the world opened wide to them by appreciating different narratives available, by reflecting upon host they articulate, how they are positioned and how their positions affect their perspectives. (Guilherme, 2004, p. 298).

This research study is based on Byram's (1997) model of an "intercultural speaker" and argues for an elaborated framework for foreign language learners. Such a framework will call for three perspectives developed on Byram's model of an intercultural speaker, as follows:

Firstly, intercultural language learning should acknowledge the encounter with "otherness" as a positive and necessary stimulus for intercultural understanding. "Otherness" in this context is viewed as a device through which the individual, either approaching or residing in the target community, is able to distance him/herself and sees his/her own culture from a different perspective.

Secondly, in the process of encounter, there is a dialogic mechanism between the myness and the otherness; i.e., a learner' perception and development of intercultural competence comes from a constant examination and re-examination of the interconnectedness between culture, language and identity.

Thirdly, the process of intercultural encounter necessitates a generation of new meaning through interactions. Such interactions involve a cyclical process of problematizing, reflection and action. Furthermore, the newly generated meaning injects dynamics into the cultural encounter and deepens the meaning of the next interaction in this language learning process.

Drawing on these three perspectives, this study argues that an intercultural speaker *per se* needs to develop a more critical lens in the language learning journey. Critical cultural awareness, the core of intercultural competence, needs to be re-defined as *critical intercultural awareness*, which will address the more dialogic nature of intercultural encounters in foreign languages learning.

Educational Drama and its Use in EFL Classroom

To explore the development of *critical intercultural awareness* in foreign language education, this study draws on a framework of educational drama theories as the praxis. Educational drama has been widely used in foreign language learning mainly as means to encourage the development of language skills. The popularity in using drama activities to enhance language development derives from several factors. First of all, these activities provide ample variety for classroom teaching pedagogies and thus contribute to motivating students to learn. Secondly, drama activities create situational contexts in which the foreign language learners practice the use of the target language. Most importantly, drama performance using the target language is always

considered an opportunity for the teachers to demonstrate the learner's learning outcome.

However, while drama does provide a situational context for the practice and display of the target language, getting in contact with the target culture implies far more than learning how native speakers "order food at McDonalds" or "dress and play in Halloween." As FitzGibbon (1993) indicates, in educational drama "the constructs…are more complex and the wide range of semiotic potential can effectively convey elements of culture, civilization and simple human living as well as linguistic practice" (p. 270). The drama site may be regarded as a space for reflective action to take place, and the drama workshop a collective experience of reflection, in which the participants are made able to problematize the current situation, to see things from different and distanced perspectives, and develop understanding in every moment of encounter with others, while constructing their own meanings and understanding together through dialogue and critical reflections. How, then, can a process drama syllabus help EFL learners develop such critical intercultural awareness?

Language as Performance

Primarily, the use of language *is* a performative act. There are two perspectives in the use of language that are performative. The first one refers to the structural employment of grammar and syntax, and the other perspective refers to the ways people use language to express, interact, and construct meanings. From these two perspectives, the act of using language is performative in that it employs culturally and

socially acceptable rules, and in this way is expressive of the user's identity/identities.

However, the use of language as a performative act means more than just to interact or to perform. In the process of interaction, we also interpret and reflect on the performative acts of others. In other words, we are audience to others' performance and thus provide response to their performance. The chain of perception, interpreting, responding, and interplay of interactions in a performative act is socially situated and also forms a dynamic and fluid chain of communication.

Education Drama as a De-centring Process for EFL Learners

A primary approach in educational drama is to enable its participant to step away from an ethnocentric stand. In drama, all experience occurs in a fictional world. As the participant steps into this world, in Heathcote's view, we can look at ourselves and our world from a fresh perspective (Heathcote & Bolton, 1998) — and it is at this point a discovery and re-discovery of the self/others relationship begins.

Foreign language learners are thus endowed with a "distanced" perspective at the very moment they use the target language to express themselves and communicate with others. In practicing a foreign language, a learner could be very much aware of the fact that *he/she is putting on an act of using another language*. He/She needs to be conscious at all times about what to say and how to say it: tenses, sentence structure, word choice, parts of speech, syntax, etc., are all constructs that a language learner needs to be very careful with in using

the target language. He/She even needs to be very alert to the use of manners and rhetoric appropriate in the target culture. In other words, a learner needs to be "looking" at himself /herself applying all these linguistic rules – in this way, the participant is actually engaging in a meta-cognitive process of *performativity* and *performative consciousness*.

In Heathcote's approach, devices such as aliens visiting the earth and asking questions could also help to trigger a decentring process. In this way the participants of a drama are given the opportunity to look at familiar situations and behaviors from a complete stranger's view, and a process of de-familiarization begins and so does a higher cultural awareness (Fleming, 1998).

Constructing a drama praxis: Drama as a Process

Process drama is a form of educational drama in which the structure is developed and co-constructed by participants. Kao and O'Neill say that " (Process drama) refers to drama activities that aim to go beyond short-term, teacher-dominated exercises. Instead, the drama is extended over time and is built up from the ideas, negotiations, and responses of all participants in order to foster social, intellectual, and linguistic development" (1998, p. x). As it is a co-constructed structure, its process necessarily demands negotiation and conflict resolution. Kao and O'Neill (1998, p. 15) construct a plan for process drama as follows:

1. Its purpose is to generate a dramatic "elsewhere,"
   a fictional world, which will be inhabited for the
   experiences, insights, interpretations and the
   understandings it may yield.

2. It does not proceed from a pre-written script or scenario, but rather from a theme, situation or pre-text that interests and challenges the participants.

3. It is built up from a series of episodes, which may be improvised or composed and rehearsed.

4. It takes place over a time span that allows this kind of elaboration.

5. It involves the whole group in the same enterprise.

6. There is no external audience to the event, but participants are audience to their own acts.

Drawing on these guidelines, they further propose a developmental model for process drama, which would include the following elements:

1. A starting point (*pre-text*), e.g., picture, image, situation, myth, dilemma, etc., that intrigues and involves participants;

2. A *context* that includes serious and realistic situations;

3. *Roles* (created for individual and for the group) that bring students further into the drama;

4. *Dramatic devices* are to be employed to develop the structure and to engage the participants;

5. A *drama* developed through process of questioning, negotiating, and reflection.

Specifically, in order to engage the participants, Kao and O'Neill also propose various activities in drama classroom, ranging from non-verbal to verbal, from closed-from (controlled) to open communication. When the *non-verbal drama activities* are used as the initial steps, the objective goes

far beyond mere entertainment. Quoting Lewicki (1996), they say:

> (T)hese activities are used as the very first joy of physical movement, of the first communication voluntarily sent by the child in order to signify his/her presence or to enter in the relationship with somebody else or something outside… (and) the spontaneous speech sound (language flow)—stimulated by various external and internal factors—develops toward improvisation into communicative speech skills. (Kao & O'Neill, 1998, p. 44).

Furthermore, when *role-play* is used, a more advanced dramatic element is added, and an in-depth dialogue provoked. Bolton observes that role-play "stimulates a high degree of focused attention at the imaginative and intellectual level necessary for most good subject-learning". In Bolton's view, this role-playing is the skill basic to acting, which requires "an ability to engage with something outside oneself, using an "as if" mental set to activate, sustain or intensify that engagement" (quoted in Davis & Lawrence, 1986, p. 156).

The act of *engagement* is perhaps the most significant mental state that is required of a participant when immersed in such a process of enquiry. Bolton stresses that "the dramatic 'as if' mode implies a release from contingencies of the present into the logical rules of a hypothetical present. These two characteristics combined suggest a mental activity that is both dynamic and rational" (quoted in Davis & Lawrence, 1986, p. 156).

The data presented below will show how drama created a milieu for the participants to engage, to negotiate, and

co-construct meanings with SELF and OTHER from critical perspectives. The foreign language learning experience thus serves as a contact zone in which the SELF is deconstructed and reconstructed through a constant interplay and negotiation of meaning with the OTHER. The drama syllabus and the methods used furthered this inter-space experience, deepened the impact of encountering the OTHER, and thus enabled the process of recognizing and re-strengthening of one's own cultural identity. This demonstrates that EFL learners are able to develop *critical intercultural awareness* through language learning experiences, and a model for the development of such intercultural education is then constructed through this study, and the author thus argues for a critical pedagogy approach in the foreign language classroom.

The Project: Setting the Scene

The research was conducted in an EFL context as part of a winter vacation workshop for an English-only program at MEHS (pseudonym), a high school in central Taiwan. MEHS is a comprehensive high school which comprises a junior high school division, a senior high school division, and a vocational school division, with a total of nearly 10,000 students. In recent years, driven by an awareness of the market and global trends, MEHS has begun to redefine its objectives with intercultural education as part of its global citizen education project. Various innovations have been brought into the curriculum and received recognition through governmental awards.

For years the school has implemented an experimental approach in which A-level[1] students stayed in regular classes for every subject except English, but were "pulled out" from their classes to learn English with other A-level students. These "pulled-out" students, categorized under the term AEL (Advanced English Learners), thus learned other disciplines in Chinese, but studied English with other "A-levels". At the time, there were 120 7th grade AEL students whose language learning experiences were quite different from the 760 "regular" students (see Table 1).

Table 1: A comparison of the structure of weekly EFL classes between AEL students and students in regular classes in the 7th grade of MEHS.

A-levels students (in the pulled-out AEL classes)		Students in regular classes	
MOE EFL curriculum	2 hours	MOE EFL curriculum	4 hours
Advanced Conversation classes	2 hours	Beginning level Conversation classes	2 hours
Advanced EFL classes	2 hours	X	X
Saturday supplementary classes	3 hours	X	X
Total hours/week	9 hours	X	6 hours

[1] Upon entering MEHS, all students take an English proficiency test. A-level students refer to the highest scorers from this proficiency test and usually comprise the top 15-20% of the whole cohort.

The Ministry of Education (MOE) in Taiwan prescribes the number of hours per week and national guidelines for all students in the same grade, in preparation for entrance examinations to senior high schools, and as a policy to keep school curricula under control. The students with lower English proficiency level at MEHS followed the MOE-prescribed curriculum. The A-level students spent 50% less time going through the prescribed materials, as the levels of these materials were much lower than that of their current situation, and had more advanced training in English in the remaining English hours. The materials used in the Advanced English classes ranged from Harry Potter to English poetry, usually through a mixed pedagogy of grammar drills and comprehensive discussion of the information in the texts. The extra hours were taught only in Saturday supplementary classes by foreign teachers (FTs, i.e., native English speakers), in an "English-only" environment.

The Project Outline and the Participants

The project, entitled *English Drama Workshop*, proposed a three-day drama workshop during 20-22 January 2005 and was announced to all AEL students in the 7th and 8th grades of MEHS and their parents. Participants were accepted on a first-come, first-served basis. A total of 27 students were accepted, 16 females and 11 males, being the maximum it was thought the teachers could cope with.

The drama workshop started with a current happening in the news: the Southeast Asia Tsunami in Dec. 2004[2], as the pre-text. This pre-text created a dramatic "elsewhere", which was real and remote at the same time: it was real, as it took place on the seashore not that far from Taiwan, an island that could be easily affected by turmoil from the sea; it was also remote, as for these Taiwanese students, Indonesia was not so much a country that has got much international exposure. The magnitude of the happening and the consequences obviously brought Indonesia to the students' attention, and therefore the drama syllabus created a context as the framework of development: Jennifer, a 13-year-old Taiwanese girl, who had been going to Phuket since age four with her parents to run a business there, was sent back home for safety reasons, and would come to study at MEHS with these participants.

This context served not only as a connection between the event and the participants, but also as a stimulus for the development of drama. Jennifer, as the central role of the drama, never made a physical appearance in the classroom, yet her actions, made known to the students by the teachers and through her personal belongings and works, were the triggers that pushed the drama forward. Her dilemma in struggling to fit into the school and the local community became the "problems" that the participants needed to help solving through dramatic device as structure.

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[2] The Southeast Asia Tsunami, which took place on December 26, 2004, was caused by a 9.0 magnitude earthquake located in the Indian Ocean near the west coast of Sumatra. The energy the quake carried was equivalent to that of 23,000 Hiroshima-type atomic bombs, and the violent movement from the quake resulted in devastating consequences.

Specifically, this started with a series of dramatic activities, such as games, freeze-frames, and role plays, on certain "themes"—"Gift for New Year" for example—which were employed as warm-ups and also as physical training for the coming drama presentation. Each drama activity session was followed by an informal forum, in which the participants shared their reflections on the previous bodily interactions. These thematic activities, and particioants' verbal reflections about them in a "forum", then became the bedrock of development in the following drama sessions. More advanced storytelling techniques and group-scene construction skills were also developed at this stage.

A film entitled "The Day after Tomorrow[3]" was shown to engage the participants in the vividness of a similar disaster. Therefore, when Jennifer the fictional character was introduced to the participants, they could understand the magnitude of the tsunami occurrence and empathise with her right away. The participants posed a series of questions regarding Jennifer and her situation, and then created group images based on her story. In the evening session of the first day, the participants conducted research into the causes and consequences of the tsunami, and then wrote to Jennifer in English to welcome her to the campus and give her support. The urgency of the matter connected the participants with the situation.

On the second day, Jennifer's schoolbag was brought the classroom, and the participants got a closer look of her

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[3] The Day after Tomorrow is a 2004 climate science fiction film directed by Roland Emmerich. The film depicted a catastrophe which resulted in a new Ice Age for the planet.

"problems" through her journals and test papers found in the schoolbag. An emotional bond was developed, and the participants were asked to come up with help for her situations. After guided group discussions, the participants then presented their "solutions" – help/support for Jennifer – for her academic work and her social life. In the evening session, the participants were divided into four groups, and wrote scripts based on a certain aspect of Jennifer's situation, including their solutions and a prediction of what Jennifer would become ten years later once the problem was resolved. On the third day, the participants rehearsed their vignettes, made their own props and costumes, and presented to a small audience (mostly their parents and school teachers).

In a nutshell, the drama workshop was constructed through a chain of development based on the model proposed by Kao and O'Neill (1998) described above: it did not follow a pre-written script; on the contrary, the drama was developed by the participants, and the span of drama took place over a period of time, covering the past, the present, and the future. Furthermore, the workshop was conducted through a clear chain of development: drama activities → verbal reflections → group images → drama vignettes → verbal discussion → advanced drama activities → Jennifer's situation as stimulus → group images → verbal discussion → drama vignettes.

Data for evaluation of the whole were collected during the workshop and included: video recordings (12 DVDs), workshop journals, questionnaires, students' written assignments, and interviews.

FINDINGS

By emotionally engaging in the drama, participants developed critical understanding and construct reflective action. The findings of this research suggest the following:

1.   Embodied learning experience triggers re-examination of the relationship between self and others;

2.   Multilayered interactions prompt a constant dialectical process;

3.   Metaxical engagement enables dialogicality, flexibility and mobility in intercultural encounters;

4.   Theatre praxis creates a milieu for the development of critical action and reflection;

5.   Collaborative meaning-making process helps to construct a cultural production in foreign language classroom.

Embodied Learning Experience Triggers Re-examination of the Relationship between Self and Others

The participants engaged in a variety of activities, including "walks", "flows", freeze-frames, group images, role plays and games such as tag and charade, which worked on the exploration of bodily movements with the purpose of developing kinaesthetic awareness through subjective experiences. The elements of game and play injected a spirit of fun and excitement into these experiences, indispensable to the development of education drama, and as our participants engaged in the experience as language learners, we observed several significant dimensions.

Firstly, drama praxis initiates bodily enactment as one of the major means of expressions. Drama games, tableaux, role-playing, and short drama presentations employ physical movements and kinaesthetic representation. This new experience thus pushed the participants to develop a new set of non-verbal vocabulary, which would become their major means of expressing ideas in the drama process. This vocabulary was not only manifested through spatial and bodily interactions, but also transmitted through meaningful signs, which become acts of cultural practice. The development of another vocabulary means re-locating common cultural grounds with all co-participants, and a process of reconstructing cultural identity.

For example, the participants walked around the floor, adjusting spacing between each other, searching for a positioning of oneself in a constantly changing spatial relationship with others in the process. From time to time they stretched and touched one another, feeling the momentum passing around through physical contacts. They watched, listened to and felt the signals passing to them from others in a variety of ways: through gazes exchanged when they crossed each other during the *flow*, through power of hands from squeezes passed on from one to the other. They moved according to rhythm that others created and responded in a reciprocal way. At one moment they were probing into the emotional realm of co-participants in the transposition of meaning, at another they themselves pressed similar emotional experience into an articulation of their own.

In all of this, finding a "new" mode of self-expression and communication becomes a significant learning moment. In

order to step away from the heavy dependence on verbal expression, the participants need to engage in the process of "turning inward", "listening to own voice", and "transferring through semiotic signs" — in other words, a process of self-reflection. This process is a process of deconstruction, and the finding of a new set of vocabulary for expression is a re-constructing one. For all participants involved, to generate meanings from subjective experience through such semiotic signs and make them understandable to others might necessitate developing another mode of shared vocabulary to complete the transferal process.

Theatre Praxis Creates a Milieu for the Development of Critical Action and Reflection

The term "praxis" is used by Freire (1970) to denote a critical cycle of action, reflection, and action. Wallerstein and Bernstein (1988) indicate that "action" can be understood as critical consciousness against oppression, and following this perspective, a "praxis" is taken here as a process through which critical awareness is created.

The theatre praxis in this workshop enabled the participants to go through a variety of experiences in which action and reflection were constructed in a critical way. The experiences included many activities familiar to drama teachers such as kinaesthetic expression, individual/group scene construction, freeze-frame, teacher-in-role, hot-seating, research activities, forum theatre, story-telling, and even role-taking activities (Fleming, 1998). Through the experiences, participants conducted a series of inquiry activities which included: questioning, taking risks, making

inquiries, negotiating, mediating, and meaning-making. It was the emotional engagement in drama that provided the drive for the participants to go through the inquiry process. The drama process defined a space in which critical action emerged and was pursued in a natural way.

The following discussion examines when teacher Yen used the convention of "compound stimulus" for the participants to conduct an investigation through Jennifer's school bag in order to identify the problems that she would encounter after she came to Taiwan. As all the discoveries in the school bag linked to the participants' situations, the investigation turned out to be an internal dialogue with the fictional character. This kind of emotional engagement clearly laid a very essential ground for the reflective action that follows: it "prepared" the participants for the target issue under investigation. That is to say, the emotional engagement necessitates critical reflection (Heathcote, 1980). Here in this section, we will examine the inquiry process that participants undertook in developing the summaries and solution.

Extract 1:

(*Group 1examining journal from Jennifer's school bag*)

Teacher Yen:	She does not like to go to school? **Why you think that**?
Student 4 :	The drawing (*of the teacher as a Martian*) is all over the book.
Teacher Yen:	OK, there's a lot of drawing all over the book. So you think she cannot understand what the teacher was saying in the class? OK. And she can't understand what the

	teacher was saying **because**?
Student 4:	**Because** of this picture (turning the paper to the other side to show the teacher as a Martian). Mars, the teacher came from Mars. And we think she is violent. She wrote "l beat you!" all over the book.
Teacher Yen:	And she becomes very violent?
Student 5:	And **we found** her taking drugs.
Teacher Yen:	Is it drugs? Or medicines?? I think the correct thing is medicine? (approaching the group for the evidence).
Student 5:	Hydrochloride?

Here the dialogue between the facilitator and the participants is the one that inspires the initial step of critical thinking in the drama process: questions that probe into the evidence, and answers that lead to more probing under the surface of the problems. Furthermore, this process of inquiry was developed in a dialectic manner between the facilitator and the participants: an observation provided is furthered by an urge for another in-depth observation. As illustrated, the observation that *'s*he does not like to go to school" would be furthered by "why you think that?" which is in turn answered with another observation: "(t)he drawing (of the teacher as a Martian) is all over the book." In this way, a reflexive loop of inquiry is constructed by all members undertaking the dialogue.

Extract 2:

The second example illustrates yet another pattern of group interaction. Instead of presenting list of discoveries, the leader from this group summarized their findings with a clear rationale (my boldfaces).

(*Group 2*)

Student 6:	(*Summarizing, not reading from his list*) After we read all the letters we wrote to her, **we found** that everyone welcomes her to come to Taiwan, and, **but she might be** confused **because** she doesn't know any one of us **so why are we** writing letters to her?
Teacher Yen:	Student 6 has said a very important point. All of her classmates have wrote a letter to welcome her, maybe the problem is that she might not know why.
Student 6:	**Also, because** in lots of letters we wrote that we want to be her friends, and these words **might make her remember** the friends she had in Thailand.
Teacher Yen:	Student 6 said but the friend things like a linking thing, suddenly she remembered her friends in Thailand. You know. It's very important that you have friends in your age.
Student 6:	**And also** for her Taiwan seems to be a foreign country for her to live in, and **also** she can speak or write, or even read in Chinese. **So this might cause** a lot of problems. **Can you hear her (him)**? She thinks Taiwan is quite strange, it's like a

foreign country, **because** she cannot read, cannot write.

Here Student 6 (the leader from group 2) is not merely presenting discoveries, he is also presenting his rationale through observation of Jennifer's situations, by using strong cause-and-effect words such as "because" "so" "also" and "this might cause…" His final urge to the class, "(c)an you hear her?" addresses the problem in an emotional way as he was actually appealing to all participants who have been conducting the same kind of inquiry with him.

Dialogic inquiry of this nature prompts a sequence of reflective action: the participants study the phenomenon, search for clues, identify problems, find explanation for the problems, and suggest solutions. Through this investigation process, each group identified a certain perspective in the situation of the fictional character: respectively, language and communication, interpersonal relationship, academic achievement, and family connection.

This praxis developed reciprocity not only between teachers and participants, but also between different elements in the drama experience. The "*story*" built a linear track for happenings; imagination motivated the participants to project and identify with characters and dramatic situations; tensions created uncertainty and anxiety to stimulate the development of further action; spontaneity in dramatic engagement prompted participants to move between reality and the fictional world at ease; and improvisations helped to break the constraint of cultural boundaries and create flexibility and mobility in interpersonal encountering.

Multilayered Interactions Prompt a Constant Dialectical Process

The "dimensionality of perception" is furthered through the patterns of multilayered interactions in the drama praxis, a web of relationships in the drama space. Moreno's (1953) theory of roles for psychodrama describes five categories of roles in a social drama, namely *stage, protagonist, auxiliaries, director,* and *audience*. The stage sets a structural framework for the development of drama, and all other roles define the variety of interpersonal relationships. In the situation of a social drama, these roles alternate as the situation demands, wherein there develops a constant tension in the confrontation of different roles. In a process drama, however, a tension between role functions is generated from a different perspective: the tension is injected through the necessity to switch role function for each participant. The participants in our study took up and switched roles at moments of interpersonal confrontation.

Moreno (1946/1980) proposes three modes of role-switching, *doubling, role reversal,* and *mirroring*, each defines a different degree of projection and identification with the roles. Through *doubling*, the protagonist puts aside his/her own perspective and adopts the perspective of another role. Through the *role reversal* process, the protagonist enacts another role and in so doing he/she becomes empathetic with the role and develops a heightened awareness of the re-created situation. Through the *mirroring* mode, the protagonist reflects on the happening of other roles from a distance and thus develops a meta-cognitive perspective of the situation. All three modes of role-switching serve as different perspective to

understand self-other relationship. In our study, these three modes of role-switching were constantly visible in the interplay of various experiences. In other words, the experience of understanding the self-other relationship was made possible through an on-going, reciprocal process of stimulation, interaction, and reflection from the nonverbal, sensory elements the drama provided.

Thus, in our drama process, these types of multi-layered interactions among teacher and the participants in relation to different type of roles are inherent in each frame of the workshop. When the task demanded that a certain freeze-frame was to be enacted, the teacher assumed the role of a *playwright* who provided the road map for the performance, of a *director* who showed the participants ways to present the images, as an *audience* who observed the working of the process, sometimes even as an *actor* who participated in the process and influenced the direction of the performance. Each time he/she switched roles, it meant that a relative role that addressed the function of the previous role he/she left behind was to be taken over by other participants. The same shifting process occurred for all other participants: as one group was presenting, other groups stayed as audience, and when the presenting group got to observe other groups, it not only turned into audience but engaged in the working of self-spectatorship as it could see itself mirrored in some way in the presentation of other groups.

For example, when groups were given the task of enacting images of a TV set and of a new year's gift, these two levels of "quadripartite thinking" and "quadripartite response" developed simultaneously. As director the teacher described

the tasks to the participants, letting the participants draw maps about what to present. In this way the participants took over the role of playwright, and then of actors to do the presentation, while the teacher stepped aside and observed as a spectator. Yet even when the teacher switched her role to that of a spectator, there were two other roles that she simultaneously remained involved with: her role as a teacher who supervised the working of the process as an educational medium, and as a self-spectator who reflected about the effectiveness of her facilitation and her relationship with these participants as learners. To the same extent, one group that presented then gave the floor to the other group and switched to the role of audience watching how the floor-taking group carried out the same task. And it was exactly because the same task was demanded from every group, that each group easily lapsed into the self-reflection mode in observing the mirroring of a similar experience from other groups.

A more advanced example may be evident when a more complex task was given, teacher Mei stepped into the action to demonstrate the acting techniques necessary for the completion of the task. The students called numbers one through four, and were divided into four groups accordingly, with each group named as spring, summer, autumn and winter. Each student was given a piece of scratch paper to write one sentence without any prescribed context. Mei then collected the pieces of paper from the students and re-distributed them randomly to each one. She asked the students to make a script out of the six or seven sentences at hand, to give meanings to the parts with added tone and physical movements. The students watched and listened to the teacher demonstrating

possible ways of presenting the task, yet still showed hesitation in enacting this completely unfamiliar method of meaning making. Motivated and encouraged to probe the activity, the students started to throw questions at the teacher with an endeavour to get engaged in the game. She gave a demonstration based on two simple expressions: "good morning" and "that chair is empty". She imitated the action of a jogger, waving and saying "good morning" to the passer-by, then sitting down on a bench in the park. She then pointed to the neighbouring chair, showing with body gesture to the passer-by that "the other chair is empty." She went on to present a more easy practice, expressing "good morning" in three kinds of intonations to illustrate completely different emotions. The underlying emotions behind each tone were drastically different so the expressions were carrying different degrees of implications. When the teacher completed the demonstration, she guided the students to explore beneath the surface implication of each tone through verbal discussion.

Here the teacher assumed multiple roles at one single moment. She was the director giving instruction for the style of performance, she was also the actress participating in the process of the drama, and she was the teacher who made sure that the participants as learners acquired the keys to language learning and also the ability to see beyond surface meaning in verbal communication.

The participants were receiving the messages from this director-actor-teacher-playwright all-in-one as audience, and in the next moment, they themselves picked up the roles. They continued to complete the task by trying to develop a progressive narrative through the sentences on hand with

dialogue (as playwright), to envisage how a story out of those sentences could be envisaged in the presentation (as director), and to assign characters to each member and rehearse with the lines (as actor). When a group presented, other groups watched (as audience) and observed how the same task could be interpreted differently by others (as spectator).

As the switching of role functions became the state of interaction at all times, each participant was able to develop a heightened awareness of the existence of the otherness; each participant was actually conducting a process of dialectic inquiry in the drama praxis. Heathcote (1980) indicates that the inquiry is possible through "frame distance", which emerges through tension between role functions, and this idea and effect of distancing, especially the kind generated through an aesthetic experience, links to our discussion in the next section.

Metaxical Engagement enables Dialogicality, Flexibility and Mobility in Intercultural Encounters

Aesthetic distance between audience and stage is an inherent element and also a key factor in a theatre event. This element enables the audience to believe and not to believe at the same time (Jackson, 2007, p 140). In our study, we approached this concept from Boal's (1995) idea of "metaxis" ("in-between") (pp. 42-44). Eriksson (2011) summarizes two major functions of this "distancing" effect in educational theatre: one is to protect the participants from emotional identification with the fictive role/situation, and the other one is to provide a detached angle for critical reflection. Eriksson further indicates that, in order to create and maintain this

"distancing" effect, an emotional engagement has to work first. In Heathcote's (1980) discussion of educational praxis, this emotional engagement coincides and co-exists with critical detachment. In our study, we observed complex patterns of interplay between the real world, the fictional world, and the space in-between. This interplay was made possible through the multilayered interactions described above.

Extract 3:

When Mei performed the first teacher-in-role, the students probed into all sorts of information about Jennifer the fictional character through questions. They asked about Jennifer's name, education, family background, reasons for her going to Thailand and coming back to Taiwan. This information about Jennifer's biological and social background constructed a "reality" about the fictional Jennifer. As the teacher already deliberately informed them at the beginning of this session that she was going to be someone else by putting on a shawl, the students should have been very much aware of the fictional nature of this interaction. It seems that it is exactly this awareness, the students" curiosity about how "real" the story was, which pushed them further to ask for more details. In other words, the probing demonstrated a metaxical interplay between the spectators" imagination of the fictional aspect of an imagined character who seemed to exist "betwixt and between" (Turner, 1967) two perspectives. The issue that is of concern here is again not about why this was happening: we'd like to see beyond the experience to evaluate how

flexibly the spectators were able to move in the "betwixt and between":

Student :	**Why does she need to come to MEHS**? She goes to a bilingual school if she can really speak English there.
Mei:	Pardon?
Student :	**Why does she need to come to MEHS?** She goes to a bilingual **school if she can really speak English there.**
Mei:	Well, because **I just live near here**. And …I asked for **your head teacher's** help, and he is really nice to help us to deal with the problem. He is really a good guy.

To connect with Jennifer through the "fact" that she was said to be coming into the participants' life established a link here. The student raised the urgency in asking "why" she's coming, and the in-role teacher, in turn, pushed that linking further with more details: she actually "lives near here". And it was "the head teacher", a real character in the participants' school, who offered to help Jennifer to continue schooling. This head teacher from the same context as the participants provided a link between the imagined and the real.

Mei:	I am going to pick her up at (*reading her watch*) **7 o'clock** this evening. So, **it is 3:40,** and I need to go back and manage her things.

By indicating that "*I*" was going to pick "*her*" up from the airport, and "*it is 3:40*", the in-role teacher linked the fictional with the real: time, location, and characters merged.

The questioning process of "hot seating" not only functioned through multilayered interactions, as discussed in the previous section, but also indicated a simultaneous engagement in different realms of perspectives on the part of both in-role teacher and the students. The in-role teacher gave life to a fictional character, which is taking place in the common "real" world for both teacher and students, while she herself was also a real actor from a fictional world. However, the students seemed to keep their head above the water as all these make-believe acts were taking place. In the midst of the in-role process, a student remarked after the teacher encouraged the students to become friends with Jennifer:

> *Mei:*   I trust you, I trust you, you are going to be her classmates and you look friendly. You are so keen to ask questions about Jennifer.
> *Boy 1:*   **Sometimes that's not real.** (*Laughter*)
> *Mei:*   Of course it is real.
> *Girl 2:*   **Does she have friends?**
> Mei: She has friends in Thailand but not here.

"…That's not real," a boy said aloud, other students laughed and agreed, but still continued to engage in the story: the next question "Does she have friends?" was back to the previous context. Even at the end of this section, when Mei turned around toward the stage and slowly took off the shawl to indicate an ending to her in-role performance, students applauded her for her enactment, it shows that they were aware of the make-believe situation at all times. It might not be the context which shifted, to be precise; the students' view

of the boundaries between the imagined and the real could be a very blurred one.

The significance of this effect lies in the "outcome" of this metaxical engagement. In going through different modes of metaxical engagement, the participants' subjective and the objective roles shift and change in every moment of interaction. This is also to say the temporal, the spatial, the corporeal and the relational modes of the existential (van Manen, 1990, p. 101) among all participants are shifting constantly. The participants in this experience are simultaneously situating the "inside" (as part of "we") and the "outside" (at a distance from the other) modes (Gurevitch, 1988, p. 1188). This metaxical engagement itself is a process of de-familiarization, in which the "observing self" views the "participating self" with objectivity, and while the other becomes distant and strange, it triggers a new inquiry for the "observing self". In other words, the process of metaxical engagement enables a dialogic inquiry between the two selves (i.e., the observing self and the participating self).

Developing a Critical InterCultural Awareness Framework

The concept of drama/theatre praxis entails, as we have seen above, a range of experiences, mostly symbolic and imagined activities. However, the significance of drama praxis in the language classroom lies in the fact that the process provides opportunity for the learners to engage in a journey of selecting, reflecting, meditating, de-constructing, and reconstructing of meanings. This reflective process raises participants' awareness firstly through physical and

kinaesthetic relationship with others, which involves spatial, bodily and then psychological understanding of interpersonal/intrapersonal relationship.

Secondly, drama praxis serves as a filtering lens through which the participants engage in a constant re-defining process. In every single moment of the praxis, the shifting and ever-changing interpersonal/intrapersonal relationship is furthered through the variety of roles, or role switching, possible only in the imagined domains of drama. The flexibility in role-taking here entails the co-existence of *self* and *others*. Furthermore, as the drama praxis also denotes co-existence between the real, the fictional and the in-between, the process triggers a distanced perspective, which is again made possible through the need for constant de-constructing and re-constructing of meanings.

Such experience is "filtering" in the sense that it necessitates that the participants let go of their self-centeredness in order to be flexible at all times. A de-familiarization process starts to work in the metaxis, and thus help the participants construct a critical stance or perspective. The process itself is a cyclical one through questioning, mediating, reflecting, and meaning making. Most importantly, each individual participating in such a process is endowed with equal rights for his/her voice, and is in turn affected by the meaning co-constructed with other participants. In this sense, the drama praxis itself can be said to be a cultural practice.

The drama process thus functions as a process of develop intersubjectivity in an intercultural situation. The intersubjectivity denotes a reciprocal working of mediation

through conflicts, tensions, and collision between subjects, yet the working is not only dialogic but also dynamic. Through the ongoing, reciprocal interplay between the reality, the fictional world, and the space in-between, metaxical engagement enables the participants to let go attachment and fixation, and develop the capability to conduct reflective, critical action. Diagram 1 models the interconnectedness of the elements discussed above.

Diagram 1:

A framework/model for developing critical intercultural awareness developed through drama praxis
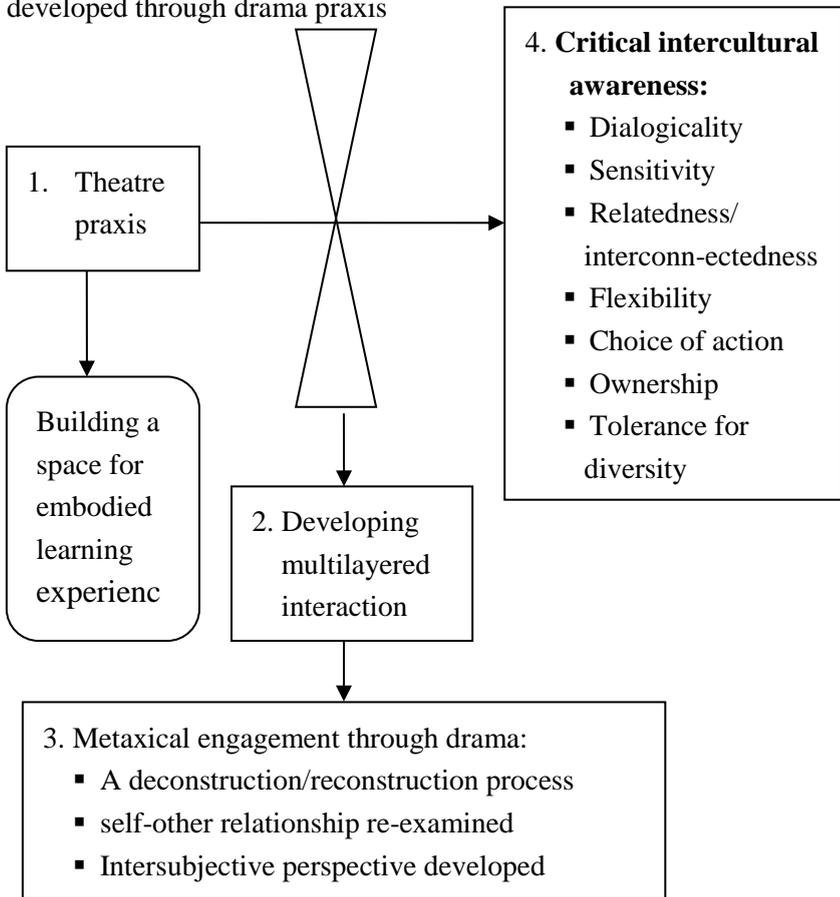
CONCLUSION

This research study is based on Byram's (1997) model for the intercultural speaker and argues for an elaborated framework for foreign language learners. Byram's concept requires, firstly, that intercultural language learning should acknowledge the encounter of the "Otherness" as a positive and necessary stimulus for intercultural understanding. The encounter with "otherness" is an experience through which the individual is able to distance himself and sees his own world from a different perspective. The drama workshop created a milieu as well as a praxis through which the language learner took a critical lens on his relationship with others.

Secondly, in the process of encounter, there is a dialogic mechanism between the self and otherness; i.e., a learner's perception and development of intercultural competence comes from a constant examination and re-examination of the interconnectedness between culture, language and identity. The multi-layered experience and the metaxical engagement through the drama workshop enabled the language learners to develop keen sense of culture and identity.

Thirdly, the process of intercultural encounter necessitates a generation of new meaning through interactions. The newly generated meaning injects dynamics into the cultural encounter and deepens the meaning of the next interaction in this language learning process. This dynamic, however, can be both generative and problematic. Hathaway (2007) maintains that this "refraction of cultural images, one's own and that of 'others', can be unsettling" as it "implies a new relationship with one's own culture, sometimes giving

rise to a tension between "criticizing" and "critiquing" one's own culture" (p. 232). The drama workshop prompted such interactions through a cyclical process of problematizing, reflection and action.

Drawing on these three perspectives, I have shown how a drama praxis project can develop in learners a more critical lens for their language learning journey. Critical cultural awareness, the core of intercultural competence, needs to be re-defined as *critical intercultural awareness*, which will address the more dialogic nature of intercultural encounters in foreign languages learning.

The analysis revealed how drama created a mental space for the participants to engage, to negotiate, and co-construct meanings with SELF and OTHER from a critical perspective, and thus activate the language learners' critical perspectives in examining the other culture(s) and the learners' culture(s). Such a syllabus moves away from the normative track of foreign language teaching in Taiwan and challenges the pre-set boundaries in cultural encounters. The project demonstrated how such space for the "crossing-over" of restrictions on learning allows the language learners to develop flexibility and mobility through a freedom in the choice of action endowed upon them by the drama syllabus.

METHODOLOGY

Participatory Action Research and Drama Pedagogy

As the purpose of this study was to find a new paradigm for the Advanced English Learners (AEL) students at MEHS and ultimately for students elsewhere, the research adopted a double-looped learning model (Argyris, 1976). As in essence this journey of inquiry takes the researcher and the researched both as agents and actors, *the researcher's* quest became the first loop of action research, while *the researched* taking a modified participatory action research is the second loop. As such, both parties conducted a research process that accomplished the cycle of action, reflection, raising of questions, planning of field work to review current (past) actions – in which "its conduct, analysis of experiences encountered, the drawing of conclusions, and the planning of new and transformed actions" (Wadsworth, 1998, p. 2).

Participatory action research (PAR) is a branch of action research. Different from the conventional approach in which the participants are regarded as the subject of inquiry, in PAR the participants and the researcher alike conduct a search for understanding of the world. Kemmis and McTaggart (2005, p. 563) indicate that PAR is itself "a social — and educational— process" and is "directed toward studying, reframing, and reconstructing social practices. *If practices are constituted in social interaction between people, changing practices is a social process*" (authors' italics, p. 277).

The second dimension of the research was to plan a process drama journey for the AEL in order to establish evidence of how the pedagogy put learners in contexts of

encountering "the others", and to look at how language learning experience becomes part of a process of cumulative development through which the learners acquire *critical cultural awareness* as a preparedness and capacity to use the intercultural competence in many ways.

The Research Procedure

The project, entitled "English Drama Workshop", was planned and proposed to the MEHS in November 2004. The project proposed a three-day drama workshop in January 20-22 of 2005 for the AEL group from the 7th grade of the school. Included in the proposal were: conceptual framework, objectives for linguistic and intercultural competences, syllabus and lesson plan for the workshop, description of procedure and target participants, budgeting and plan for technical supports and human resources. The school accepted the proposal and supported the research with full funding, on the grounds that a complete documentation would be carried out, and the copyright would go to the school. To protect the identity of the participants within this study, in this research report actual names of the teachers and the participating students have been changed to pseudonyms.

The Coaching Team

My role with the workshop was an action researcher-facilitator-observer. I invited two specialist drama teachers (DTs), Mei and Yen from two junior high schools in Taipei city, to join the team as the main facilitators for the drama workshop. Mei had received her MA in Drama-in-Education from a UK university, and had been

actively engaged in promoting and teaching educational drama nationwide. Yen was a graduate from the same university, with a major in applied drama and training in acting. Together we had conducted several workshops with similar approaches before this project, with me presenting the theoretical background and application of drama for English learning, and Mei and Yen working on the drama practices. However, this workshop would be the first time we committed ourselves to the development of a complete process drama situation.

Andy, a native English teacher who had been a teacher of English conversation classes for MEHS, was invited to host a forum on the morning of the second day of the workshop, and two Chinese teachers (CTs) joined the workshop as assistants.

A consent form signed by all parents and students of this workshop was obtained prior to the workshop.

The process of action research works as a loop: the research process is cyclical and alternates between action and critical reflection. In doing so the cyclical process generates understanding that in turn helps a continuous refining of methodology and interpretations of data. The procedure is explained as follows.

Stage 1: *The Reconnaissance & General Plan*

One week before the workshop, a check on the AEL students' English proficiency levels was conducted with the grade reports and test papers provided by the school. The purpose of this task was to decide on the level of language proficiency in order to develop a referencing framework for the two DTs.

The team further conducted the following tasks:

1. The team defined the language as well as communicative tasks for developing intercultural communicative competence based on the guidelines provided in the *Common European Framework of Reference* for *Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment* (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001) for the workshop, as in the following list. The objectives in implementing these guidelines were to build a backbone on the development of syllabus for the workshop. In this way the researcher and coach team constructed a common understanding of the targets.

   The language tasks included:
   - Asking questions
   - Listening to information
   - Identifying
   - Sharing information
   - Interaction
   - Instructing
   - Describing
   - Expressing
   - Sequencing
   - Summarizing
   - Persuading
   - Speculating—Inferring

   The communicative tasks included:
   - Cultural understanding.
   - Conflict recognition
   - Persuading
   - Conflict resolution

   The intercultural communicative tasks included:

- self-awareness
- accepting/bridging the differences between cultural groups
- Identities and cultural/social/national/world citizen

2. Once the tasks were defined, the team identified necessary teaching methodology for the drama praxis, and facilitated one training session for the two CTs on the practice of educational drama in ELT. After the training session, the team worked on the procedure, syllabus, and lesson plans using the methodology of process drama. The teaching materials for the workshop were then selected and evaluated with the following criteria:
   - Cognitive appropriateness;
   - Focus on cross-cultural differences and diversity;
   - Potential for further development in the EFL classroom;
   - Quality and quantity of the practice in the target language.

The team sent the guidelines and materials to the DTs, Mei and Yen, and discussed with the two teachers. With feedback from Mei and Yen, the team then developed a detailed syllabus. Again this syllabus was sent to the DTs for their final approval. Steps and procedure were then explained to the supporting team members and tasks for each team member in the workshop were allocated. The syllabus and task allocation were then sent to the MEHS administration for final approval.

Stage 2: *Action: Facilitating the Workshop*

At this stage, the drama workshop took place: a three days drama workshop (4 sessions/day, 90 minutes each session) for a class of 27 students. All participants and the two CTS stayed in the school dormitory for days 1 and 2 of the workshop, so there were also activities in the two evenings of the programme.

The two DTs, the two CTs and the researcher met at the completion of the sessions each day. The procedure and participants' responses were carefully examined and discussed, and the approaches for the sessions next day were modified and revised accordingly.

To address the research goal of raising critical intercultural awareness, the drama praxis entails five dimensions: *problematizing, distancing/deconstructing, dialogue, reflection, and reconstruction of action.* In terms of syllabus design, these five dimensions were not explored as a sequence; instead, they worked in a reciprocal and cyclical way. That is to say, one dimension might be triggered by another and lead to the development of others. For instance, "*problematizing*" might come from a "*distanced*" perspective, and thus lead to a "*reflection*" on one's own status, and again trigger the act of "dialogue" between self and others.

Stage 3: *Observing, Action, Reflective Action and Revision*

When the drama praxis was in action, the researcher and the two CTs remained seated at the far end of the room, and observed the execution of the workshop. During and after the each session, all members of the coaching team, which

included the two DTs, the two CTs and the researcher took notes and kept journals. The team met during almost every break, compared notes and share observations and responses. The discussion and sharing among members were then noted down in journals. If the coaching team agreed on a minor revision of the approach, the DTs responsible for facilitating the related session would modify her approach accordingly. At certain moments, reflection came in the form of "observation" and this might serve as reminders for approaches rather than request for changes. For instance, the DT mentioned that she observed a certain degree of reluctance in participants to follow a certain activity. The team agreed, and offered some relevant observation for such resistance. This did not lead to a noticeable change of approach, but the DT might modify her approach in the following section based on this observation. Some other reflections, however, led to a major change of approach. Especially during the daily meeting in the evening, a more structured review of the process was held, and major changes would be considered for the sessions next day.

Data Collection

Data collected for this study focus on both process and reflection. They included pre-workshop observation and interviews, questionnaires, video recordings, teachers' journals, and students' writing assignments.

Pre-workshop Classroom Observation and Interviews:

Two months before the workshop, I observed several AEL English classes taught by three different Chinese English teachers. The purpose of the observation was three-fold: a) to understand the language proficiency levels of the AEL learners; b) to understand the contents of cultural learning and awareness in the classroom; c) to understand the approaches of current teaching methodology and identify learning outcomes of the pedagogy. I then interviewed these three CTs to understand in details the current direction of EFL pedagogy.

Questionnaires:

On the first day of the workshop, the participants first took 30 minutes to complete a questionnaire in which two categories of questions were listed, a) background regarding their demographical data and English learning experiences before the 7th grade; b) their reflection on their English learning experience.

Video Recordings

During the workshop, the two assistant CTs helped to document the whole process, excluding the first session on the second day in which the foreign teacher (FT) conducted the three-hour forum in the auditorium for a viewing and discussion of a movie. Given the spirit of participatory action research which seeks to explore the meaning making process rather than simply the outcome of the study, video-recording provided detailed documentation of the participants' development of attitude and behavior, and how they changed during the process. This helped me to recall details of the

workshop afterwards, and to discern overall patterns and meaning of actions of the participants. It was also crucial in helping me to explain what led to an action and what an action would develop into.

In total, 12 DVDs were produced of good visual and audio quality except for the first DVD when the two interns were becoming familiar with operating the camera.

Workshop Journals

Both the researcher and the two DTs kept journals during and after the workshop. These journals were used in the team meetings every day, documenting the on-going reflections of the teachers and the researcher, and helping to synthesize observation and reflections generated in the process. They also recorded the participants' interactions with one another and with the DTs. Possible interpretations of the causes and patterns of interactions were also recorded in the journals. In this way the journals did not simply document what was viewed and valued by the teachers, they also provided the means through which teachers and the researcher were able to reflect on their approaches and perspectives, and deepen the level of reflection in data analysis.

Students' Writing Assignments

The participants' work sheets and two assignment tasks were collected and analyzed. These included a) *a letter to Jennifer*, which was done in the first evening of the workshop, and b) *a reflection on the workshop*, which was done one month after the workshop in the form of a winter break assignment. The first assignment revealed the degree of the

participants' projection and identification through the protagonist's story, i.e., evidence that showed the degree of understanding and perception of the world. To a certain extent, writing these assignments enabled a deeper understanding and reflection on the world and thus encouraged a more critical view. The second writing practice, *a reflection on the workshop,* helped the participants to reflect on their learning in this process.

Interviews with Chinese Drama Teachers

Two weeks after the workshop, interviews with the two drama teachers were conducted. With the purpose of exploring the effects of the project, these interviews asked the teachers to evaluate their approaches with regard to the objectives they set before the workshop.

Data Analysis and Interpretation: A Performative Inquiry

Performative inquiry follows the calls of many theatre practitioners and theorists (Austin, 1962; Burke, 1969; Goffman, 1959; Schechner, 1988; Searle, 1969) who see theatre as a space for understanding, critique and social action, and who share this line of inquiry in which human behavior is interpreted as a performance. Here in analyzing data, Fels' (1999; 2009; 2012) theory of performative inquiry is applied as the framework.

Fels (2012) asserts that performative inquiry "offers practitioners and researchers a way of engaging in research that attends to critical moments that emerge through creative action" (p. 50). Fels proposes that, in the spirit of performative

inquiry, an educational drama provides the following opportunities for researchers:

1. a performative (third) space for action to take place;
2. a collective experience of reflection;
3. learning through performance;
4. knowledge developed through action and interaction;
5. investigation from a new perspective;
6. moments of questioning, uncertainty, dislocation, and risks.

In my analysis of the data, the drama workshop was seen exactly as "a collective experience of reflection," in which the participants were made able to problematize the current situation, to see things from different and distanced perspectives, and develop understanding in every moment of encountering with others, while co-constructing meanings together through dialogue and critical reflections. To truthfully present this collective experience in action and reflection, and "because of the complexity of the interactions, the whole creative sequence needs to be studied" (O'Toole, 2006, p. 46), a descriptive narrative of drama praxis in the spirit of "thick description" was used to explore the meaning making process in the first part of the analysis. The exploration of the deeper meanings co-constructed in this experience then followed.

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A Cooperative Task-based Learning Approach to Motivating Low Achieving Readers of English in a Taiwanese University[1]

Tsu-Chia Julia Hsu

PREAMBLE

In reflecting on my experiences teaching English in Taiwanese universities, I became increasingly concerned about the effects the "achievement grouping" (AG) of classes had on the motivation to learn English of first-year students who had previously undergone many years of English instruction. Taiwan's numerous colleges and universities all use AG (Chan, 2004; Chang, 1992; Chien, 1987; Chien, Ching, & Kao, 2002; Haakenson, Wang, Dakin, Tsan, & Fisher, 1995; Luo, 2005; Luo & Tsai, 2002; Tsai, Lin, & Wu, 2000), the aim being to obviate teachers having to cope with wide disparities in individual students' English proficiencies, and to provide students with more effective instruction by grouping them with peers of similar ability.

For Taiwanese students, especially in elementary and junior high school, the effect of AG is exacerbated by the

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wider cultural context, leading to feelings of "loss of face" at the time they are placed in basic level classes, and causing them to be ashamed of their learning environment for the rest of their time in education (Chou & Luo, 2003). Wang (1998)

reported how low-level pupils disliked the notion of AG being implemented in their learning situations. Furthermore, students, after undergoing categorization, are actively mis-motivated to work toward goals consonant with their "labeled" rather than their "actual" ability (Wang, 1998). In addition, Ames (1992), referring to children in the US, echoes that AG is sometimes perceived as a form of "social comparison" which can be damaging to individual motivation. In contrast, this chapter provides a model using a Cooperative Task-Based Learning (CTBL) pedagogy, where group work serves as the first variable in motivation, linking to other variables in Gardner and Tremblay's (1995) standard integrative motivation model. The findings show that despite some limitations of the study, a CTBL strategy might be a solution for the wider problem of motivation in students in Taiwan. A number of implications for future research are made.

The Model: Adding CTBL to Gardner

The starting point for many studies on motivation is Gardner and Tremblay (1995), and the present study is no exception. Their socio-educational model of integrative motivation does not, however, purport to be exhaustive with regard to any non-integrative variables that might drive motivation in other cultures or situations, of which the learning situation itself might be one. As yet, Gardner and

Tremblay's (1995) model has not been extended to study the link between modes of class-based instruction and motivation for learners. To research this issue, this study employs CTBL pedagogies to enrich the motivational model in order to make it more useful and practical for real educational settings for EFL learners.

Drawing on aspects of cooperative learning theory, my model includes other variables, as described by cooperative learning theorists, including Johnson & Johnson (1975; 1999) devising the method of *Learning Together and Alone*, Slavin (1978) innovating the strategy of *Students Teams-Achievement Divisions* (STAD), and Aronson et al. (1978) who present the *Jigsaw* procedures method. After employing these cooperative learning methods and integrating them in actual practice, I agree with the research (Ghaith & Kawtharani, 2006) that regards STAD as the most effective method for improving pupils' learning objectives, including language rules and mechanics. The methods used in the *Jigsaw* procedures and *Learning Together and Alone* proved most suitable in meeting the requirements of this particular study group.

In addition, a Task-Based Learning and Teaching (TBLT) syllabus was employed to guide the students of this study to utilize communication techniques in order to interact with peers. The lessons were based upon the framework in Willis's (1996) work summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. The Framework Description of a Task-based Lesson (Willis, 1996)

Three Phases	Description
Pre-task Preparation	There are two functions: 1) introducing and motivating students' interest to carry out a task based on a selected topic 2) helping students to use useful words, phrases and sentences and to practice in a real-world learning situation by the use of vocabulary activities related to the topic.
Task-cycle (Task Performance)	Assisting students to organize their plans and present their spoken and written reports on the task. Attempting to provide more opportunities for students to achieve their goals.
Post-task (Language Focus)	Focuses on the use of language. The learners are allowed to carry out form-focused work as well as form-focused instruction for the teacher. The teacher draws out vocabulary or linguistic form while students are working on their tasks, enabling the students to learn how to examine the practical words or phrases in their learning materials.

The two additional variables I have added to the Gardner and Tremblay model (see Figure 1) are:

1. Group Cohesion: In the CTBL learning atmosphere, students' participation and engagement in achieving group goals is highly developed, leading to Group Cohesion (Dornyei, 2001).

2. Group Efficacy: Students in a cohesive group cooperate to achieve group success (Clement, Dornyei, & Noels, 1994; Dornyei, 1994). Group efficacy is the positive

relationship between group performance and group
cohesion (Evans & Dion, 1991).

Teaching the Class

The class was composed of a female teacher and 19
students (16 males and 3 females) in a low-level AG EFL class.
All participants were from science departments (Computer
Engineering, Chemical Engineering, and Chemistry). The
participants were allocated randomly to this class from all the
students who it was considered needed a C level class.

In the first class of the semester, the teacher initially
divided the whole class into two groups, as the teacher
originally intended to carry out a controlled experiment.
However, on reflection, the teacher decided it was feasible for
her to carry out an action research project as recommended by
Nunan (1992) along with Brown and Rodgers (2002).
Therefore, the rest of the study was focused on the whole
group.

The total teaching time was 24 hours spread over 12
weeks. Generally speaking, each topic encouraged learners to
reflect on their cultural or social experiences, such as
geography, leisure activity, transportation, cell phones, MP3s,
etc., in their own environment. Each session took on average
approximately 100 minutes, depending on participants'
specific individual demands or needs after class.
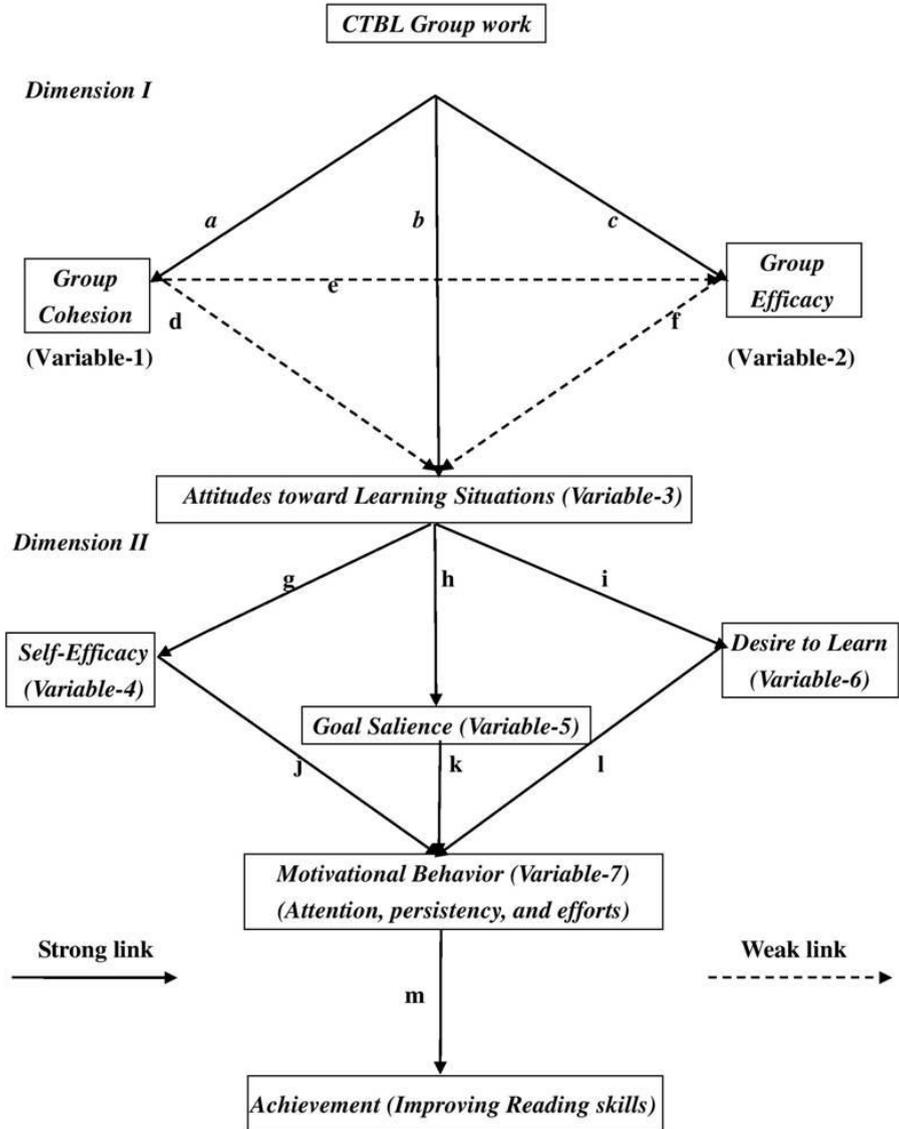
Figure 1

Causal-link Model for Motivation for Foreign Language reading using CTBL (Adapted from Tremblay & Gardner's revised model, 1995)

The solid lines reflect strong influences while the broken lines reflect weaker influences.

FINDINGS

The linkages between the variables (labeled a to m) in the model *Figure 1* are the objects of study, and the research question is:

To what extent does a cooperative task-based learning approach, with an emphasis on group work, increase motivation to develop reading skills amongst Taiwanese university students with low achievement levels?

In order to answer this question, I will present the findings in the following paragraphs (A to K) of the study by discussing the linkages (labeled a to m) in the postulated model. For each linkage, I will present relevant material taken from the data collected (see "Methodology" below for a description of the collection and analysis process). All interviews were conducted in Mandarin and excerpts translated by the author. All names are pseudonyms

Analysis of the Relationship between CTBL and Group Cohesion (line a)

The following example shows a male student's reflection on his unexpected learning experience in a group. Though his language ability was not good enough to engage in group discussion, he could still feel a positive relationship with the other group members. The sense of belonging to the group evolved because of the help of other group members:

> Perhaps, my vocabulary is so limited that I couldn't talk with others. They help me much more than I did them. I

could engage in their discussion because they explained topics to me sometimes. (Male Respondent, Yue)

This corresponds with Johnson and Johnson's (1985) argument that, in a cohesive group, members' acceptance and support is of great importance. Other members didn't exclude Yue despite his difficulties and offered help. In addition to Yue's comments, there were a total of eight observation worksheets (see Methodology section below) which reflected the consequences of good group work creating group cooperative learning because members in the group "felt a sense of belonging to the team."

Analysis of the Relationship between CTBL and Group Efficacy (line c)

According to Johnson and Johnson (1987), "Group Efficacy" refers to "the expectation of successfully obtaining valued outcomes through the joint efforts of the group members" (p, 146). In the following, the student, Gao, explained how he and other members worked together to develop group efficacy:

There would be assigned jobs to do for everyone in our group. Before the allotted time was up, all could achieve effective results together. (Male Respondent in post-course interview, Gao)

Gao thus told how everyone in his group was involved in certain reading assignments at least once. Through cooperative learning, every member on his team generated enough strength to complete their assignment and this helped to develop

interpersonal relationships. In the end, he added that "all could find the results together." With the strength of help from one another, "finding the results together" was seen to present the linkage of his group members to one another and to the group itself.

Another interviewee replied to the question, "What would good CTBL group work bring to your group?" as follows:

> Reading speed to him is faster than before...Reading (in a group) would help us to achieve longer retention than reading on his/her own. (Focus Group 1, Male, Joe)

Both of Joe's statements suggest that group reading leads to group efficacy. The more cooperative the group work, the higher the level of group efficacy reached. Another quotation from Chen presents a good example: "Discussion with others becomes faster and efficient." (Male Respondent in post-course interview) Chen responded that team strength improved through the use of CTBL. He said that discussion with others helped him increase his reading speed and he used the words, "faster," and "efficient" to describe effectiveness of CTBL.

In summary, these transcripts and students' diaries support the existence of Group Efficacy (Variable 2) and the relationship between Group Efficacy and CTBL.

Analysis of the Relationship between Group Cohesion and Group Efficacy (line d)

The following is from a female student's response. She was one of only three females out of nineteen students in this study. Shuhua stated that good group experience through

CTBL indeed helped her feel that she belonged to the group and that she would also be able to make a positive contribution to her team.

> I found many ways to read and I could directly ask other group members often when I didn't understand. Some things became easy to ask about, and we often discussed matters in this way… In addition, we answered some reading questions seemingly much faster than ever. (Female respondent, Shuhua)

Her sense of ease indicates her perception of group cohesion. It seemed natural for her to engage with other members of her group by asking them questions in discussion.

A weak link exists in this case because few students responded to my questions checking this link. Similarly, for line e and line f, the evidence in this case is insufficient to conclusively support the existing relationship among the causal links. These crucial links should be the main object of further research.

Analysis of the Relationship between CTBL and Members' Attitudes toward the learning situation (line b)

This section shows how students who experience CTBL group work gain more interest, leading to highly positive attitudes towards their environment. In the following, members' attitudes are categorised according to three dimensions: 1) Materials used, 2) Relations with classmates and 3) Activities and Tasks.

1) CTBL and Learning Materials Used

In the following case, the respondent, Hong, expresses the extent to which his positive attitudes toward learning grew out of experiencing good CTBL group work:

> …and (CTBL group work) is less boring than self study. For example, (one) could not quite understand the meaning of the reading content when (one) read on (one's) own. (Focus Group 2, Male Respondent, Hong)

And:

> Reading speed to me is faster than before... reading (in a group) helps me to retain the material longer than reading on my own. That is to say the opinions of my fellow team members would remain in my memory longer. (Focus Group 1, Male, Joe)

By implication, Joe agreed with Hong's opinion that good CTBL teamwork would bring about better understanding and longer retention in learners.

2) Relations with Classmates

The following section concerns recognizing to what extent there exists a relationship between CTBL group work and interactions among classmates:

> Group discussions with others seemed much faster and more efficient than ever. They can also help us to get acquainted with one another by interactions concerning the reading curriculum. (Chen, Male Respondent in post-course interview)

Another respondent, Yue, had a similar experience to that of Chen:

> Members got along well with one another. (We) had lunch together after class. (Male Respondent in post-course interview, Yue)

Effective CTBL group work thus creates positive relationships among members in and out of class. Another group echoed the previous respondents while commenting on the results of their teamwork: "We talked to others and we did our best." (Observation group sheet, Group C, week 1) By implication, there is a cause and effect relationship between CTBL group work and the interfacings of group members.

3) Relations with Classmates

The following respondent, Sheng said concerning CTBL group work and CTBL activities:

> For our group we enjoyed mutual sharing in discussing answers through group discussions. We all worked together and helped one another toward the same objective without destructive competition among our team members. (Sheng, Male respondent in post-course interview).

We can thus see group discussions as an activity during which members learn how to assist one another and work together as a whole. The implication of the word "enjoy" is that good CTBL group work leads to members' positive feelings towards producing meaningful results through CTBL activities.

Good CTBL group work experiences thus develop team members' positive attitudes toward the learning situation while motivating the individuals' decisions to read in a foreign language. The abundant evidence we found in existing data supports the relationships between CTBL group work and positive attitudes. It suggests the likelihood of a strong link, as the model in line b of the figure suggests, between CTBL group work and Positive attitudes.

Analysis of the Relationship between Members' Attitudes toward the Learning Situation and Self-efficacy (line g)

> The class was interesting for me today. I could use my imagination to write a story from pictures and could use whichever comic books I liked. I could talk with my teammates about interesting ideas and could practice my English. (Fuguai, Student diary, week 3)

Fuguai uses the word "could" four times when describing his experience. For example, he "could" write a story from pictures, "could" think of a comic book that he liked, "could" discuss interesting ideas with teammates' "could" increase his English ability through the further use of the language.

Interesting content in the reading material would facilitate his developing his learning abilities. He would feel special (more enthusiastic) towards learning in class. Here we have the concept that learning abilities increase once positive attitudes towards the reading environment are established.

Other than Fuguai, five other students also made similar statements about their learning attitudes towards reading

situations. They also felt empowered to learn and practice their English with other members in class.

Analysis of the Relationship between Members' Attitudes toward the Learning Situation and Goal Salience (line h)

One student, Yan, had a strong desire to establish his learning outcome by focusing on one of his goal-setting strategies, which would help him feel motivated and thus improve his reading in a CTBL class:

> In this class we considered it fun to use different transportation means to go any place, and we (our) team discussed which forms of transportation were the most economical. We chose cars as being the most reasonable, so I learned more ideas from these discussions. (Yan, Male Student's diary, Week 7)

His teacher assigned the students specific tasks to complete the group goal, which was to identify the question of what was the most economical method of transportation. Yan's team set goals for individual students and their insight was enriched by activities they found interesting. The members strongly engaged in their group discussions and chose the best answer as their group objective. The implication here is that Yen and his group understood the notion of how group goal setting can reinforce insights, leading to successful outcomes through group discussion.

As for different aspects of goal setting and classmates' positive learning attitudes, it would be useful to see how each individual defined his/her learning goals in a CTBL class. The analysis showed that 5-6 students settled on the goal of

learning new words; others would pick reading or reading short stories as their target goals. From the interview accounts and students' reflective diaries, we found a total of 12 passages that addressed how students found that goal setting was crucial to the individual's or group's fulfilment. Indeed, the majority of this class felt that way.

Analysis of the Relationship between Students' Attitudes toward the Learning Situation and their Desire to Learn (line i)

The following student, Liang, viewed this class with a positive attitude and this led to his strong "desire to do" the reading activity again:

> Not only did our team write a story, but I wrote another one myself. This activity can inspire our thoughts, so I think that this is a very excellent activity. I hope that we can do this again. (Liang, Male Student's diary, Week 3)

There were many other examples. Four students stated that desire to learn reading skills was of great importance to them. They wanted to improve their speed in reading speed and understanding the main idea of the passage. Three other students described how they wanted to learn more because other members in the groups helped them in their difficulties while reading together. These furnished further good examples of how positive attitudes in relationships with classmates created "a desire to learn." In addition, one individual stated his desire to learn arose because he found enjoyment in it. In particular, he liked to read fun and useful articles related to his daily life, such as games, films or biography.

Analysis of the Relationship between Motivational Behavior and Self-efficacy (line j)

> I feel (I) can remember the vocabulary by reading it many times. (Jie, male respondent in post-course interview)

In summary, much CTBL reading content and many activities were very interesting for the students. Reasons for the students to gravitate to motivational behavior included the feeling of being able to learn more, having the desire to read more, and goal orientation. This suggested that students' "desire to learn," "self-efficacy" and "goal setting" led to "motivational behavior" as defined by Gardner and Tremblay (1995).

Analysis of the Relationship between Motivational Behavior and Goal Salience (line k)

Goal salience is seen between learners' positive attitudes and learning behavior in this model. It involves two key components: the "specificity of the learners' goals" and the "frequency of goal-setting approach" (Dornyei, 2001). The degree to which learners are free and able to choose specific goals at the outset is perhaps crucial in determining whether students actually attain positive learning outcomes. The assumption here is defined by Locke and Latham (1990): "human action is caused by purpose, and for action to take place, goals have to be set and proposed by choice" (p. 81). The second key component, "the frequency of goal-setting strategies," also plays a key role. Learners who frequently update their learning strategies are more likely to accomplish

their goals. Here we are concerned with observing whether students felt they could choose their learning goals and whether they actually updated their strategies to obtain a successful learning outcome using the CTBL teaching strategy.

As Molden and Dweck (2000) indicate, individuals buying into goals they have themselves set and frequently discussed reinforces learners' insights and leads to successful outcomes. The following example shows how frequent goal setting leads to motivational behaviors:

> (We would) talk about assignments. We would discuss English homework and use the time after class, and lunchtime to talk about them. (Jie, male respondent)

Six other students said they chose extensive reading as their learning strategy. Their choice was based on their understanding that they would have to read the whole text to understand as many words as possible. In so doing, it would help them recognize enough words to be able to complete the task.

Analysis of the relationship between Motivational Behavior and Desire to Learn (line l)

The following student referred to the relation between motivational behavior and "desire to learn":

> I felt I wanted to do a little more English reading after class at home. Just like short articles or ads to gain a little more vocabulary. (Datong, male respondent)

This statement implied that he had noticed that he was limited in vocabulary, and paid attention to his needs while reading. "Paying attention" is considered an important motivational behavior in Gardner and Tremblay (1995).

In summary, much of the CTBL reading content and many of the activities proved very interesting and motivating for the students. Reasons for the students to gravitate to motivational behaviors included the awareness of an increased ability to learn, the feeling of being liberated, both as individuals and as a group, to choose and update their own learning strategies, and, crucially, an identification of their personal desire to learn with the goals they themselves set in order to fulfil the tasks they were assigned. This suggested that students' "desire to learn", "self-efficacy" and "goal setting" created their 'motivational behaviors.

The Effect of Enhanced Motivational Behavior on Reading Skills: Motivational Behavior Leads to Improved Reading Skills (line m)

The students traced a causal relationship between motivational behaviors and improved reading skills:

> Reading skills improved the most because it is often required during reading practices. (Chen, male respondent)

His reading skills improved because he practised them often in class and this point suggests that being persistent ("often") and making efforts ("practising") leads to improved reading skills. Another student (also called Chen) echoed his view:

Reading skills improved the most because it is often required during reading practices. (Chen, Male Respondent)

Chen emphasizes that the class was required to practise reading often. It implied that his reading skills improved the most because the class practising often (persistence and efforts) had made his reading skills progress the most.

It is clear that when pupils' motivational behavior is reinforced, it will increase their motivation for achievement in EFL reading.

In light of this point, the researcher concludes that the proposed model of L2 reading motivation could be helpful for future teachers and students in demonstrating the relationships among factors in the classroom to be taken into consideration when planning lessons.

IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Abundant evidence from the data demonstrates students' positive changes regarding their motivation to learn. The model presents causal links amongst possible motivational variables developed from the data, and the findings lead to implications for future reading courses and methods of teaching reading. Key implications are as follows:

1. Designing more suitable authentic reading materials in a given group task, which might stimulate more low-achieving students' learning motivation in Taiwan's higher education milieu.

2. Strong participation and involvement occurs through group cohesion motivation in studying English reading.

3. Researching possible effective pedagogies, especially communicative language teaching methods, task-based learning and cooperative learning methods, to fill gaps in students' needs.

4. Reinforcing EFL language teachers' awareness with reference to L2 motivational psychology in practice.

In conclusion, the teacher can indeed help low-achieving students. The class raised many issues regarding research methods, methods of data analysis and comparison with existing literature and current policy in Taiwan's educational milieu against the background of globalization. It suggests that low achievement and poor performance could be dealt with by employing a CTBL approach. Future longitudinal studies related to this study will be undertaken which explore further applications of a CTBL approach as a useful approach for empowering low-achieving students' motivation to read.

METHODOLOGY

Action Research

This study was constructed and designed as Action Research aimed at enabling the learners to improve their reading in a foreign language class. To implement it, I created a bridge between the two roles of researcher and practitioner through teaching strategies focussed on existing current conditions of the type described by Otto (1992). Above all,

Action Research is an active scientific approach to conducting a particular study. The study was designed to explore a combined teaching approach with cooperative learning and task-based teaching and learning strategies.

In my original plan, I intended to develop an experimental design with a control group, but this proved impractical because the sample size was too small (N=19). Because this study emphasizes the educational psychology of how CTBL technique motivates students to develop their reading skills through group work, I focused on analyzing students' self-reflection logs and cooperative learning group sheet, observation notes and interview accounts. I emphasized these data because I wanted to focus on the process in the classroom rather than the results of proficiency tests or class comprehension quizzes, which measure outcomes rather than the process of motivation.

Classroom Procedure

The participants were undergraduates considered to be low-achieving readers of English. There were no students from specialist foreign language or linguistic departments. The course began with a two-hour introductory session, aiming to provide an opportunity for all students to get acquainted with one another, after which the period of study totalled 24 hours over 12 weeks, with each session lasting about 100 minutes. Although there was a pre-test and a post-test in the study, they were not designed to answer the research question. Twelve units covering seven themes (geography, food, cartoons, life and living, sports, technology, and business) were created as main weekly topics for the students. The groups in the class

were formed in the following way: The five students with the highest scores served as role models within five groups; another five with the lowest scores were randomly distributed to each group. One or two members with medium scores were then assigned to each group.

The teaching process started with an example demonstrated by the teacher during the pre-task phase. Following this, each group member worked on the reading task according to their different roles in which they could support individual efforts to achieve effective outcomes within the time limit. Later, each group would produce the group results and at the end each could present these with their entire group.

With respect to the functioning of groups, individual students brainstormed and helped peers' engagement with the group task goals within the framework of peer tutoring, not competitive group structures. The teacher made use of the group work sheet in order to facilitate group learning by assigning individuals different roles, such as the leader, the observer, the reporter, and the note keeper/timer, etc. This structure is a recommended way to increase students' motivation by helping them develop more positive self-worth images, especially for second language readers at lower levels. Reynolds (1994), points out that the use of groups in the learning process seems obviously effective, as learning becomes a social process. It is useful to work in groups, as individualistic teaching methods are limited and less beneficial to the learners.

During the period of this study, most students were able to explore the learning process through their reflections in

writing self-reflective logs, interviews, and questionnaires. They commonly revealed their improvements in their worksheets in relation to learning reading skills and group interdependence, and reflected positive feedback in stimulating their learning motivation under the teacher's instruction. Reynolds (1994, p. 24) argues that, "People learn more when they are involved and enjoying themselves." Under a task-based language teaching (TBLT) framework, exposure, use, and motivation are the key conditions to facilitating language learning in progression (Willis, 1996). In addition, Reynolds (1994) encourages teachers to use activities or games as teaching materials to motivate students to participate actively. A limitation in this method, however, is found in the observation in that some individuals attain goals while only engaging a group via working towards the same objective for a longer period of time (ibid.). The teacher is thus often acting only as a facilitator (Willis, 1996) under the TBLT framework; on the other hand, the learners actively take their parts in learning language within the learning condition.

Data Collection

Carvalho, Scott, and Jeffery (2003), incorporating methods from Grounded Theory into research processes, conclude that accurate triangulation for data collection has been shown to require more than one source of evidence in order to not concentrate solely on one area. Multiple types of data (See Table 2) were therefore collected.

Table 2. Triangulation of Data Collection

Data Collection	Participants (Students)	Researcher (I) and others	Observer (I)
The fieldwork Through CTBL approach in	Self-reflective logs	Self-reflective log	Observation logs
	Small-Group Observation Sheet	Evaluation Sheet of Group Performance	Audio & Videotape records class
	List of Small-Group Labour Division		
	Semi-structure Interviews		
	Audio and Videotape Records		
	Pre-test/ Post-test (GEPT)		
	Evaluation Sheet of Group Performance		
	Cooperative learning self-evaluation sheet		

All audio-recorded data was transcribed. All techniques and methods include interview accounts and most group sheet.

Data Analysis

In analyzing the data to be assigned to each linkage in the model, I mainly focus on the qualitative method and the Grounded Theory research approach cited in Strauss & Corbin (1990). In addition, a three-phase coding system, including open, axial, and selective coding as pointed out in the work of Strauss and Corbin (1990), was used to present the interactions amongst the participants. This is because during the research process such interactions are interrelated on varying levels and one single coding method will not be sufficient to indicate the complexities of these interactions. The three-phrase coding system was used when analyzing codes for interview accounts along with other related written documents. It was expected that a number of diverse variables will have affected members' motivation through the intervention of the CTBL approach.

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A Study of Translation Teaching in a University of Science and Technology in Taiwan

Hsiu-Tzu Charlene Shen

INTRODUCTION

Translation studies has been a sub-discipline under Linguistics in university foreign language departments, and it has long been neglected in Taiwan (Ho, 1999; Lai, 2008; Sun, 1997; Wu, 2010). It was only after the first Department of Translation and Interpretation Studies was established, due to the increased demand of translation professionals, at Chang Juang Christian University in 1996, that the numbers of translation-related departments and translation courses at technological universities increased sharply. Accordingly, translation studies as a discipline has developed considerably in the past two decades due to the demand for professionals with language skills to answer the call for globalization (Liao, 2007; Sun, 1997) and regaining the nation's competitiveness.

"Translation" or translation-related courses are regarded as the "key" to reach out to the world of communication and information. In a research project carried out by the National Science Council[1]—in 2003 on the professional competence required by students at Departments of Applied Foreign Languages, competence in foreign language speaking, competence in translation, and appropriate professional

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[1] Now named the Ministry of Science and Technology

attitudes towards translation were identified as the top 3 of the 15 indicators (Huang, 2003). Also, according to a study reported by Lin and Chung (2002), which involved 7 technological universities in Southern Taiwan, with 23 teachers, 278 students as well as 62 organization executives, English communication and translation abilities were reported to be the basic requirements to enter a workplace. However, as a teacher of translation courses, I became concerned about the level and commitment of students and realized that it was necessary to carry out a thorough academic study, as will be described below.

Context of the study

The translation course in focus, "English Translation", is a mandatory one-year course offered to the Year 3 students. It is taught two hours weekly to enhance students' ability in translating English to Chinese. The aim of the course is to prepare students with basic translation skills before they enter the workplace. The module is designed to employ efficient current practice in class in order to enhance students' abilities in translating texts and also to introduce translation theories and techniques.

As a teacher of such a module, I was concerned when realizing that the students were struggling with the course. I first tried to find answers in the literature, but there have been very few studies conducted in regard to curriculum development in Translation in Taiwan. Even if there are general studies on curriculum, the vast majority tends to end at the needs analysis stage (Stocker & Reddad, 2013). Given the limited research on Translation curriculum development and

taking into account the students' interests, I decided to analyze and understand students' difficulties in learning by conversing directly with the students.

A group discussion was first conducted to understand students' thinking. Rich information was gathered and that turned out to be the beginning of the research. I then decided to introduce a needs analysis to further identify the students' learning needs. By using an action research approach, I hoped to improve translation education in Taiwan and to contribute to the general literature out of which other researchers can draw their conclusions.

Seeking Help in a Literature Review and Analysis

Lin and Chung (2002) points out that curricula should be designed according to students' language abilities and their interests in order to meet their needs. However, most studies in the field were conducted from the "employers" or "scholars" perspectives by focusing on the workplace or target needs. There are very few studies that address learning needs from the learners' perspectives, let alone how to "act" on it. There is certainly a lacuna in the literature and in practice about using needs analysis in planning Translation curriculum by focusing on students' needs in higher education settings.

Needs and Needs Analysis
Definitions of Needs

Defining "needs" is somewhat difficult due to the ever evolving and broadening perceptions of "needs". Diverse conceptions are implied by various scholars and hence "need" has "never been clearly defined and remains at best ambiguous"

(Richterich & Chancerel, 1983, p. 2) and "needs" is often seen as an "umbrella" term (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987, p. 55)

Hutchinson and Waters (1987) suggest that needs can be divided into two types: target needs and learning needs. Their definitions have been cited and are often referred to in the literature. Areas of needs can be summarized as necessities/demands (e.g., Munby, 1978; Mounford, 1981; Hutchinson & Waters, 1987; Robinson, 1991); wants/wishes/desires (e.g., Mounford, 1981; Richterich & Chancerel, 1983); lacks (e.g., Robinson, 1991); gap (e.g., Witkin & Altschuld, 1995); means/route (e.g., , 1981; Holliday, 1984; Witkin & Altschuld, 1995; Hutchinson & Waters, 1987); culture of the learners/classroom (e.g., Richterich & Chancerel, 1983; Holliday, 1984); constraints (e.g., Munby, 1978; Holliday, 1984); requirements (Widdowson, 1981; White, 1988); and what learners need to know (Tarone & Yule, 1989).

From the above we can see the definitions of needs have evolved from early target-oriented areas to a broad aspect which includes elements from different perspectives. In order to identify learning needs, one has to consider the circumstances in which the language is learnt, such as the learner's background, the reason for taking the course, the way the learners learn, as well as the time and place where the language course take place.

Approaches to Needs Analysis

To tackle the definitions and categories of needs, various methods have been proposed to analyze learners' needs in classrooms. Before the late 1990s, needs analysis was

categorized into two main areas in general - Target Situation
Analysis (TSA) and Present Situation Analysis (PSA). In
addition to these two traditional approaches, Dudley-Evans
and St. John (1998) later proposed a third approach, the
Learning Situation Analysis (LSA). Other methods such as
language audits, discourse-based analysis, genre-based
analysis, task-based analysis, and computer-aided corpus
analysis have also been suggested to understand learners'
learning needs.

Needs of Translation Classes at Applied English/Foreign Language Departments of Technological Universities in Taiwan

It should be noted that the purposes and goals of the
courses offered at language departments at general universities
and technological universities are often different. Ho (1999)
proposes that the learning goals of translation courses at
general universities and at technological universities should be
distinguished. Echoing her claim, Liu (2002) also identifies
the main purpose of translation courses at technological
universities as to enhance students' English ability instead of
learning translation theories or techniques. Moreover, Lee and
Liao (2010) suggest that translation courses at applied
language departments at technological universities should
emphasize the training of English abilities in the workplace.

What is Needed from the Instructors' Perspectives

There are only a few studies specifically investigating the
needs of translation courses at applied English/foreign
language departments in Taiwanese technological university

settings (Wang, 2007; 2008). One most cited work is that of Ho (1999), who identifies teaching difficulties from the view of 22 course instructors at technological universities/colleges with applied English/foreign languages departments. The data she collected was about both translation courses and interpretation courses offered at applied foreign languages departments which include applied German and applied Japanese departments. It should be noted that the main purpose of Ho's (1999) questionnaire was to collect information about and from the teachers. Her findings on translation courses were based on 12 valid questionnaires distributed in 1997 when there were only 17 technological universities/colleges that offered translation courses at the time. As the number of such universities/colleges has increased to 55 and translation courses have been developed rapidly in recent years, the status quo of teaching and learning may have changed since then.

Dai's (2003) study investigated the teaching situation, including curriculum design, teaching materials and approaches, teaching goals, teaching difficulties, learning difficulties, and exercise and assessment, at both general English departments and applied English departments. She also attempted to distinguish the similarities and differences between translation courses offered at English departments and applied English departments. She distributed an unpiloted questionnaire based on that of Ho (1999) with 31 questions to 63 instructors of 60 translation-related courses at 43 universities in 2001.

Besides these two studies, Shih's (2001) research analyzes curriculum design in translation courses offered at 15

general universities and 25 technological colleges/universities in Taiwan. Her analysis was conducted in 2000 by analyzing the course information illustrated on the web pages of these schools; no other instruments were used to collect data.

All the above mentioned studies collected data from the instructors' views. Their findings indicate that issues concerning aspects such as curriculum and materials, teaching and learning, and teacher qualifications are identified as needs by the instructors.

In terms of curriculum design, Shih (2001) points out that applied English/foreign language departments should have their own characteristics instead of being extensions of traditional English departments at general universities. She advocates that multi-media or software should be employed for language training. Ho (1999) argues that finding suitable teaching materials is difficult for the teachers. The lacuna of translation textbooks is also pointed out by Dai (2003) and Liao et al. (2013). Dai also reported that students prefer take-home exercises to in-class exercises. In regard to teaching and learning needs, both Ho and Dai claim that the lack of teaching resources, the time-consuming nature of teaching a large translation class, as well as students' insufficient context knowledge may attribute to teaching difficulties.

A common issue reported by Ho (1999), Shih (2001), and Dai (2003) is the qualification of translation teachers in Taiwan. Ho (1999) argues that the majority of the teachers has only vague concepts of translation and do not possess sufficient knowledge in developing teaching materials and approaches. Shih (2001) also comments on the lack of

translation teachers in applied English/foreign languages departments. She proposes offering adequate training to the teachers of other subjects in the language departments, a solution enabling these teachers to teach translation courses as well. Besides advocating the need for more graduate schools to offer translation studies, Dai (2003) also questions the teaching content at applied English departments for not being as practice-oriented as they can be. She suggests that as the majority of the translation teachers are from language or arts disciplines, they tend to create curricula with contents related to their disciplines instead of developing practice-based curricula which are needed in these departments.

Having said that, it should be pointed out that Ho's (1999) study was on the teaching of translation and interpretation not only in the applied English, but also German, and Japanese departments. Shih (2001), on the other hand, focuses on translation as well as interpretation curriculum design at applied English departments. Dai's (2003) work was on translation courses at both general English and applied English departments.　None of these studies aimed to investigate the students' learning process in translation courses as this study does. With that being said, due to the scarcity of literature on translation courses in applied English/foreign languages departments, Ho (1999), Shih (2001) and Dai's (2003) findings may help to understand the perceptions of translation teaching needs as seen by the instructors in higher education in Taiwan.

What is Needed from the Students' Perspectives

With respect to the needs of translation classes at technological universities in Taiwan, Wang's articles (2007, 2008, 2014) directly address the learning needs of students. By pointing out that all previous studies have been conducted based on students' objective needs instead of subjective needs, Wang (2014) claims that "no studies in students' needs have been explored for translation course design" (p. 76). Evidently there is a prominent lacuna in the literature and in practice on using needs analysis in planning translation curricula in technological settings.

In Wang's three studies, she employs year-end questionnaires to investigate students' learning needs. Both the 2007 and 2008 questionnaires consist of questions concerning 7 themes: personal profile, curriculum, learning goals, learning material and content, learning activities, instruction, and evaluation. She conducted another study in 2014 to specifically analyze learners' needs for translation course design. The data she collected falls under the following headings: learning goals, course planning, instructional materials, teaching and learning, and evaluation to analyze student's "felt needs, process oriented interpretations and subjective needs" (p. 79). All the questionnaires were structured with rating scales items mostly generated by Wang. There were no open-ended questions for the students to fully express what they actually needed in the translation course.

In regards to curriculum and material needs, Wang's (2007, 2008, 2014) findings show that students regard learning of "language structure", "translation skills", and "language knowledge" (e.g., slang and idioms) to be valuable and should

be included in textbooks. However, 60% of the learners think a textbook is not needed in a translation course (Wang, 2014). Similar to her (2008) claim, students seemed to prefer textbooks from Taiwan or Hong Kong to those from Mainland China because of cultural differences (Wang, 2014). As for learning contents, students preferred materials relating to "conversations", "songs", "stories", and "schedules" (Wang, 2008, 2014). Students also showed interest in "fashion", "travelling", "living" and "culture and art". In addition, students preferred "group work" (Wang, 2008, 2014) as well as "training of language skills" and "discussion on translation" (Wang, 2014). "Individual in-class translation" and "group presentation" ranked the lowest. Wang's results resemble that of Dai's (2003).

Where teaching and learning needs are concerned, the problem of large classes has been identified by teachers as one teaching difficulty (Ho, 1999; Dai, 2003). Similarly, students hold the same perception by saying that the ideal number of students in one class should be limited to 15-25 (Wang, 2007, 2008, 2014) in order to learn effectively.

Wang's (2008, 2014) findings also indicate that students expect teachers to correct the errors they make and to teach translation skills. "Common translation errors", "translation skills" "group meeting and discussion", and "students' translation errors" were regarded as important in teachers' instruction. However, due to the scope of the questions design, there was no other information concerning teachers' teaching approaches in Wang's studies.

Summary

By analyzing these empirical works in Taiwan, it can be seen that there is a gap to be filled in regards to students' perspectives towards translation learning. The studies discussed above all end with a needs analysis yet no further investigations have been conducted to investigate how students feel towards a curriculum which was designed specifically to satisfy their needs. This highlights the significance of this study which explores students' needs with a needs analysis and then goes further with an action research. The details of the project and the collection and analysis of data are presented later, and first we present the findings, the responses of students to a new curriculum based on their needs and wants.

FINDINGS

The New Curriculum

Acting on students' feedback from the questionnaire, new elements were included in the new curriculum. All activities added were based on students' preferences shown in the needs analysis, with the exception of presenting work on the board and the use of textbook, which were based on the teacher's experience and judgment. Also, all new materials added were based on the data collected in the questionnaire and were supported by the majority (over 50%) of the students. The following is an example lesson plan:

Date: May 14, 2008

Theme(s): 1. Introduction of Newspaper Terms D

2. Translating a scene from TV program

Duration: 100 minutes (a 2-period class)

Objectives:

1. By introducing newspaper terms (alphabet A to Z) D, students should expand their vocabulary capacity in order to translate articles from newspapers/magazines, as well as to enhance ability in simulation translation.

2. By watching and translating subtitles in a scene from 'Friends' as an in-class exercise, it is hoped that students will gain knowledge of the different contexts in which words are used in English and Chinese.

Teaching materials:

1. Newspaper terms D

2. A clip from TV program 'Friends'

3. Handout: subtitles of the TV clip

Activities:

1. Introducing and discussing Newspaper terms (D) – 30 minutes

2. Watching TV clip, first time without subtitles, second time with subtitles. – 20 minutes

3. Distributing and discussing subtitle handouts– 10 minutes

4. In-class exercise: translating the subtitles – 30-35 minutes (group work, presenting work on board)

5. Wrapping up class (questions and comment time) – 5-10 minutes

Homework:

1. Review Newspaper Terms D for a quiz next week

In the above lesson, we can see that the teacher introduced two new themes—"newspaper terms" and "TV program" to be part of the new curriculum. Neither of them was included in the old curriculum which focused solely on the approaches and techniques of translation. In addition to lesson contents, "group discussion" and "presenting work on board" were the new activities conducted in class. It should be noted that "in-class translation" had been conducted in the old curriculum before, but with materials from the textbooks only and with much less frequency.

How the participants experienced the process and how they thought about it are presented in this section, first from students' perspectives and then from the teacher's perspectives.

Students' Perspectives
Activities

The activities used in the new curriculum can be categorized into two types, the ones conducted in class (e.g., presenting work on board, group work, in-class translation), and the ones that took place at home (take-home exercise). The former makes positive impacts on students' learning in terms of "deepening students' impressions" and also helps build up students' confidence in translation. These activities were conducted in class and students felt that by doing the activities while their memories were fresh was helpful and effective. The only downside is that some students may be too "lazy" to participate in group work and therefore create extra work for the other group members. The data also shows that by using different approaches in teaching, students were

exposed to different learning experiences and thus offered the opportunity to compare these experiences. Hence they were able to distinguish what factors or elements contribute to their learning. As for take-home exercises, students believed that a sense of responsibility and accomplishment emerged by doing such an activity. This sense of satisfaction about themselves motivates them to want to gain more knowledge.

Apart from the above elements, another key point that keeps appearing in both types of activities is "discussion". Students develop a theory that they have learned a lot through discussions either led by the teacher or simply amongst peers. Below is a quote from a student's reflective notes:

> I think by doing so we could absorb more things…, then we discuss together, (I) could see what's the difference between my work and those done by other classmates, it would leave a very deep impression.

It is concluded that not only do students, in general, feel positive towards the activities in the new curriculum, but through the process they now also believe that the characteristics embedded in these activities help their learning.

Materials and Contents of the Lessons

Most of the new materials or content of the lessons involved up-to-date documents such as current movies, TV programmes, news articles as well as popular topics. These changes were "interesting" and "useful" to the students and they regarded the up-to-date information as stimuli which reinforced their interests in learning. 23 out of 38 students (60.53%) responded positively on changes regarding

materials/content by saying that they believed their knowledge in the course was improved by these changes. They felt their "likes" or "needs" in the course had been fulfilled to a certain degree by the changes in curriculum and these changes led to their improvements in the course.

Motivation

16 students reported on how their learning was motivated by the new curriculum. The students said they were motivated by my enthusiasm and the efforts I made in teaching, the following is extracted from an interview (SI-22):

> Student: Actually I think you teach very well, Teacher.
> Teacher: Really? Thanks!
> Student: It's… I don't know how to say… what I meant by teach very well is… when you attend a teacher's class you would feel whether the teacher teaches with his/her heart, if the teacher teaches with his/her heart, you would want to come to class… it's mutual… so I think it's important for a teacher to have enthusiasm in teaching…

The learning atmosphere was relaxed, "no-stress" and the learning process was "fun" and "interesting", so they spontaneously developed the desire for a deeper understanding which made them want to learn more.

The new materials used were also practical and helpful; they related to students' daily life. Not only were the changes in content interesting to the students but they also believed that their needs were satisfied. They thought the learning was systematic in the way that it accommodated their needs. The

students regard this type of learning to be what they thought they had previously lacked.

Examination Results and Performance

By looking at the performances of pre- and post- tests (the midterm and final examinations) and listening to the students' opinions, we can clearly see how students' perspectives towards the two curricula changed.

For the midterm exam, only one student said that she did well. Most students had nothing or little to say about the examination. The reason for performing poorly was that they barely remembered what was taught in class and/or they did not study hard enough. Having said that, they did recognize the fact that they could have done better if they had had studied harder.

In the final exam, on the other hand, 19 students said they performed better, mostly because they found the questions to be relatively easier to answer since similar examples were discussed in class prior to the final exam. Curriculum elements such as news articles and video clips were "interesting", "stuff they liked" or "what they needed", and so students paid more attention in class. They were more focused and motivated when learning things they want or like.

The Teacher's Perspective

As a teacher I kept a diary/journal of the courses and then analyzed it later, taking a researcher perspective. On the basis of this analysis, it is possible to see the reactions of myself as a teacher. As a means of keeping a distance and a degree of

objectivity, I referred in my report to "the teacher" and will do that here too.

The teacher was overwhelmed by the amount of students' feedback on their needs at the initial preparation stage, and so specific needs were selected to be included in the new curriculum according to certain criteria, one being following the majority's opinion on a specific need. Nonetheless, the number of needs included in the curriculum was still a lot. As much as the teacher found it difficult to accommodate all the elements students required in a 10-week teaching period, she finally managed to design a curriculum which in her opinion was adequate for the class. The differences which followed are discussed below.

Change in Attendance Rate

The changes in attendance were very obvious. The teacher checked and documented the increase number of students who came to class on the attendance sheet in her final log. The number of students who came to class before the new curriculum ranged from 24-30. However the number went up to 28-35 after the new curriculum was implemented.

Improvements in Exercises

Echoing the students' perspectives outlined in the previous section, the teacher noticed that the students considered the practice and discussion in class to be helpful, making it easier when they were doing exercises on their own. She also believed that the materials introduced in class were more to students' liking, therefore they were more interested and focused in class and so they did better on the exercises.

Reflections on New Teaching Approaches and Contents

The teacher's ideas of applying new teaching approaches and contents were partially stimulated by the group discussions and the open-ended questions from the needs analysis instrument which took place at the beginning of the semester where students expressed their opinions on their likes and dislikes. Besides keeping those that the students were in favour of, she initiated other approaches in introducing new lesson content. She constantly adjusted her teaching based upon classroom observation and students' reactions throughout the process.

She said in her log that she believed that students found the learning process "fun" and "interesting", and the atmosphere relaxing and easy. Through sufficient practice in class the learning outcomes are "better", as can be observed from this extract from the teaching diary (TJ 06/18):

> … lately students have been attentive in practicing in class, from their assignments I can see they are performing better than before, there are improvements in understanding, delivering and presenting meanings when doing translation…

The teacher also noticed some changes in students' learning behaviors which were positive indicators of their reactions towards the new teaching approaches. These changes were the results of "good" and "motivating" teaching approaches, according to her, which clearly satisfied students' needs.

Besides reflecting on her teaching approaches, she also analyzed the effects of the new teaching materials and contents

introduced in the new curriculum. From her observations, students tended to respond well when the lessons were introduced by means of popular media such as movies and TV program, songs, newspaper and magazines…etc. Students tend to regard these as "daily life" materials; things that they can apply in their daily contexts.

Reflections on "Old" Teaching Materials and Contents

The use of textbook sections is the only "old" content still included in the new curriculum was solely based on the teacher's personal judgment. The textbook used was published in 2004 by a Chinese author and she had used this textbook before and was aware of the cultural differences (Ho, 1999; Dai, 2003) so she carefully selected appropriate sections of the books or exercises to be included in the curriculum. Secondly, the teacher believed there was a "need" for the students to learn some basic theories and techniques of translation although they were not aware of such need.   By learning and practicing these skills better outcomes in learning were observed by the end of the course as documented in a log (TJ 06/18):

> … I think the training on basic skills throughout the course did make a difference… in class I sometimes gave them tips on using certain techniques, so they did quicker… practicing these techniques is beneficial in enhancing translation ability in every aspect….

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

As explained in the beginning of this chapter, translation studies as a discipline in Taiwan has developed considerably in the past two decades to answer the call of globalization and to strengthen the nation's competitiveness. This study was conducted against that background but also as a result of the researcher-teacher's experience of difficulties in the classroom. By addressing and developing a curriculum that accommodated the students' needs, the purpose of this study was to improve Translation learning and teaching in Taiwan based on my experience over this project.

Significance and Limitations of the Study

1. Needs analysis approach has been conducted mostly in the English for General Purposes instead of English for Specific Purposes classrooms.
2. Only a few studies with needs analysis approach have been carried out in translation classrooms.
3. All studies with needs analysis approach ended at the stage of identifying students' needs; no further research has ever been done to address or act on those needs.

As no curriculum has ever been designed from the students' perspectives to address the learning needs of translation students in Taiwan, the results from this study also have implications for curriculum development in the future. It is usually argued that the findings of case studies like this one may not be generalizable (e.g., Cohen, Manion & Morrison,

2000). Nonetheless, as an action research project which is the first and only case study on addressing translation learners' needs in Taiwan, it is hoped that other practitioners' own practice will be stimulated by the this study.

Learners' needs change over time depending on the changing characteristics of the specific groups and contexts, policy makers and stakeholders in institutions could encourage such research to be carried out in their own settings in order to improve teaching and learning situations. Also, it is hoped that curriculum developers will find this case a useful starting point for how curriculum should be developed in the future. A deeper understanding of the relation between a curriculum that accommodates learners' needs and the outcomes of learning hopefully will be established by the accumulation of knowledge by future studies.

METHODOLOGY

Research Questions

When two thirds of the students failed the mid-term examination in the first semester in the year 2008, as the teacher and researcher I felt it was my obligation and duty to find out if there was any problem with the teaching and learning in the classroom. Although there were possibilities that the problem could lie in other aspects such as the examination not being sufficiently valid, as a teacher, I decided to focus on the teaching as a first stage.

At the end of the class on the last day of school in the first semester, I asked my students if any of them could spare ten minutes to talk about what they felt towards the course. Five students volunteered to stay behind and a group discussion was conducted to begin to discover what their learning needs were.

The question then arose as to what approach to research I should take and action research seemed to be appropriate. The aim of action research is to improve "teaching" as a "process" in class, instead of fostering "learning outcomes". In the process I would observe changes (if any) to investigate whether students perform differently after changes were introduced in the curriculum and teaching methodology.

As a consequence the following research question were formulated:

1. Why are students failing to pass the module? Is the reason related with learning or teaching?

2. Students said they are not learning what they wanted to learn. Will they perform differently if they were taught with what they wanted to learn?

Research Design

Action Research

Typical definitions of action research have been conceptualized by scholars such as Carr and Kemmis (1988, p. 5), Cohen and Manion (2000, p. 186), Elliot (1991), Kemmis and McTaggart (1992, p. 10), Zuber-Skerritt (1992). Among these strands the most well-known model is the "spiral format" first illustrated by Lewin (1946, cited in McKernan, 1991, p. 16) and later elaborated by scholars such as Kemmis

and McTaggart (1988), and Elliot (1991). This has been referred to widely in educational settings as a cycle of planning, implementing, evaluating, reflecting and re-planning.

Drawing on the characteristics of action research as defined by researchers, we can conclude that action research focuses mainly on the process of practice with planning, acting, observing and reflecting as the common characteristics. With "reflecting" being the most significant element, action research is a form of small-scale self-reflective inquiry conducted by practitioners in a particular social setting in order to improve practice and understanding. However, action research though having potential as an approach to research in educational settings is not without limitations. It often receives criticisms as not being real research due to the lack of validity in the data collected and analysed. The fact that the findings of action research cannot be generalized often raises questions about the value of using such an approach. A further limitation is the "Hawthorne effect" (e.g., Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000, p. 127) which is a perhaps inevitable aspect of action research and cannot be counter-acted by the use of control groups or other techniques. That being said, since action research is conducted within a specific situation to improve practice and generate knowledge in that context, the value of such an approach lies in the fact that the participants in that context can benefit from implementing actions.

I acknowledged the fact that the research may be shaped by the researcher's own beliefs, background and experience, (Cohen, Mansion & Morrison, 2000). As Hammersley (2007) points out, the nature of data can only be appreciated when the

reflexivity is secured. Only by acknowledging the subjective and reflexive nature of her dual-roles, can the data presented by the teacher-researcher be appreciated.

The Participants

The number of the students in the class, the research participants, was 38. The students in this group were all from the same department—Department of Applied English. All students in the same year were divided into two classes by the school upon enrolment into the university. The average age of the class was about 22 years old and the majority (32) of the participants was female students. Among all the students seven were from Year 4.

Research Instruments and Procedures

Needs Analysis Questionnaires

As discussed earlier, the comments and feedbacks emerging from the group discussion became the basis to formulate a "proto-type" needs analysis questionnaire to investigate students' needs for this module. An English version of the questionnaire was piloted with 7 students. Several problems were found and modified during this process. The most significant problem was the language used. Considering the difficulty the students had with English knowledge, I decided to formulate the questionnaire in both English and Chinese. A final version was later distributed to the students to be completed in class.

The questionnaire was constructed with both closed/fixed response questions and open-ended questions which were grouped into 4 parts. Each section focused on a particular

aspect of the information which was connected to the research question. Part A contained 5 questions which were to find out basic information about the participants, and whether they would like to participate in further interviews. Part B consisted of 12 questions which focused on the analysis of students' needs for language situations and skills illustrated by students in the group discussion. The focus of Part C was the analysis of students' expectations for the course. With 3 open-ended questions, the theme of Part D was reflections and suggestions for the course.

Development of a New Curriculum

The criteria for choosing appropriate materials to be added into the new curriculum were:

1. The elements from Part B of the questionnaire which were supported by the majority (over 50%) of the students.

2. The elements which were suggested by students in the open-ended questions which had to go through a poll in class and gain support by the majority of the class.

The new curriculum was implemented within a period of 10 weeks in the second half of the semester.

The Examinations

The "English Translation" module was a one year course which lasted two semesters. The action research was conducted in the second semester in 2009. Following the university's regulation, a midterm examination and a final examination were conducted in each semester. Therefore, the midterm examination (before the implementation of the new

curriculum) and the final examination (after the implementation of new curriculum) acted as pre and post tests of achievement. The results of these two tests were compared to see if there is any change in the process. I focused on testing students' performance by written tests to investigate whether there is a relation between students' needs and their learning. But it is important to know that the exams were not standard tests. Although using standard proficiency tests is ideal to ensure validity and credibility of the assessment, if proficiency tests were used here, students would not be tested on what they have learnt in class.

Teacher's Journals

To understand the experience from the participants' perspective, a record which included aspects observed in classroom on a continuous basis was kept throughout this study. The journals in this study contained observations, experiences, feelings, reflections, understanding and any other crucial events that I felt or thought as a teacher in the classroom.

Diary keeping is commonly regarded as useful, in action research in particular, and researchers such as Kemmis and McTaggart (1988, p. 50-51), McNiff, Lomax and Whitehead (2003, p. 114-115), Creswell (2005, p. 214) have argued that diary/journal keeping is an important part of the process.

Students' Reflective Notes

Students were invited to write comments whenever they wished and the students' reflective notes used in this study were emailed to me voluntarily by those students who were

not able to participate in the interviews. Instead of answering the questions in the interviews, the students were invited to express freely their reflections on learning and teaching of the course. By doing so, the possibilities of leading questions would be minimized, but the fact that the reflective notes were not sent anonymously might raise doubts in its reliability for students might deliberately say things which they thought the teacher wanted to hear.

The Interviews

Due to the time restriction and difficulty in locating students during the summer vacation, the interviews were conducted both in groups and individually. The semi-structured interview conducted in this study consisted of questions that intended to investigate students' perceptions and attitudes towards the examination scores, motivation, the needs analysis questionnaire, the curriculum, the reflections, and other comments. The questions were structured to investigate students' opinions in areas with which the action research was concerned. Open-ended questions were formulated for students to comment on their experience.

Data Analysis

The action research project was undertaken from both perspectives of the teacher and the researcher; therefore all data collected were allocated into two parts: the data collected in the teaching role and the data collected in the researching role. Data collection and analysing in this study was an on-going process throughout the research. Sometimes both data collection and analysis from different sources were

undertaken at the same time. This echoes with what Hitchcock and Hughes (1995, p. 296) claim: that "data analysis is not together a separate process in qualitative research"; and what Burns (1999, p. 154) argues that "in practice it is difficult – as well as unnecessary – to separate the processes of data collection and analysis in action research".

Thus, having referred to the literature such as Strauss (1998), Burns (2003), Wellington (2000), and Bryman (2004) for procedures in data processing, data collection and analysis were conducted in the following sequence: 1) collecting data, 2) organizing and transcribing data, 3) reading and coding data, 4) investigating and interpreting data, and 5) presenting data.

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Promoting the Cultural Dimension in EFL Teaching: A Turning Point for English Education in Taiwan[1]

Yau Tsai

INTRODUCTION

With the trend toward internationalization and globalization, people living in the global society of the 21st century have more and more opportunities to communicate and interact with each other. The adoption of English as an international language facilitates such communication and allows people in the world to get involved in international affairs in an online or face-to-face capacity. Most people in Taiwan recognize the importance of English learning to them in communication with those who come from different countries, and take such learning seriously in order to enhance their competiveness in the workplace. In this context, the Ministry of Education (MOE) in Taiwan has set a goal with respect to global mobility and international competiveness, namely to cultivate more professionals who are knowledgeable about the global society and competent in adopting English as an international language to effectively communicate and interact with people from different countries (MOE, 2015).

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Furthermore, the communicative language teaching approach has become increasingly popular with English teachers in Taiwan to enhance their students' competence in communication and interaction with people from different countries (Chen & Tsai, 2012).

The task of developing students' intercultural communicative competence is expected to be achieved through English education, and whether it can work well is likely to be related to English teachers' beliefs, teaching approaches and/or the focus of English learning. However, studies show that English teachers in Taiwan largely pay attention to linguistic knowledge but ignore the importance of the cultural dimension which is crucial in complex interaction and communication to students who speak English as a foreign language (EFL) (Liu, 2005). While echoing such a finding, this chapter is to argue that the promotion of the cultural dimension in EFL teaching is the key factor which can help students in Asian countries such as Taiwan to develop the intercultural communicative competence needed in the global society of the 21st century.

In this chapter, we firstly explain the characteristics of intercultural communicative competence and describe the reasons why promoting the cultural dimension in EFL teaching leads to the development of such competence. The problems impeding the promotion of the cultural dimension in EFL teaching in Taiwan are then discussed through the analysis of the data collected from focus group interviews. We conclude with implications and suggestions which may help to promote the cultural dimension in EFL teaching in order to encourage educators and English teachers in Taiwan to

consider a new direction for English education in the global society of the 21stt century.

The Importance of the Cultural Dimension in English Learning

The reason why the cultural dimension in EFL teaching should be promoted for the development of EFL students' intercultural communicative competence derives from the influence of a cultural dimension on English learning. Researchers usually recognize the role of learning about foreign cultures in determining the success of English learning for two different reasons. Some take the view that a cultural dimension can be a support for teaching approaches, such as the communicative teaching approach, to enhance students' linguistic proficiency in English (Littlewood, 2012). Others consider a cultural dimesion as an essential characteristic of communicative competence. Superficially defined, communicative competence usually refers to the ability which a speaker possesses in order to communicate with others appropriately within a particular language community. When such competence is further explored, however, it expands beyond narrowly defined linguistics and learning psychology to the fields of anthropology and sociology (Savignon, 2007). As the concept of communication can be broadened to include a wide range of verbal and nonverbal communication behaviors, it seems clear that communicative competence also involves the styles and purposes of communication that can vary greatly in different contexts (Scollon, Scollon & Rodney, 2012). Thus, learners need to learn how to communicate with others not simply by words or meanings but rather through

symbolic competence (Kramsch, 2006). As noted by Garret and Baquedano-Lopez (2002, p. 339), "language is the primary symbolic medium through which cultural knowledge is communicated and instantiated, negotiated and contested, reproduced and transformed".

The Characteristics of Intercultural Communicative Competence

As international conflicts and affairs seem to commonly take place in the global society of the 21st century, it is necessary for people in the world to develop intercultural communicative competence which is beyond mere communicative competence. Intercultural communicative competence by nature may take more time and efforts in its development than communicative competence in that it is the combination of knowledge, skills, attitudes, values and behaviours. (Council of Europe, 2005), Such competence underlies the ability to respect and appreciate the values, beliefs and histories of other cultures (Byram & Gruilherme, 2010). It also involves psychological adaptability, communication skills, ego strengths and cultural awareness (Jandt, 2013) For example, those who have intercultural communicative competence "do not simply tolerate a difference but rather regard it as having a positive value" during the encounter with other cultures (Byram, 2009, p. 8). Intercultural communicative competence also consists of the abilities to create interpersonal relationship with people from different countries (Morgan, 2001). Based on the model of intercultural communicative competence developed by Byram (1997), such competence calls for knowledge concerning the

self and the others, attitudes of curiosity and openness toward different cultures and skills of discovering, interpreting and negotiating cultural differences. This means that the development of intercultural communicative competence needs to involve English learning in which students are taught to understand ideas about cultural similarities and differences. Promoting the cultural dimension in EFL teaching can thus be considered an approach to training EFL students to discover and interpret cultural differences which leads to the development of intercultural communicative competence.

The Development of Intercultural Communicative Competence

The learning related to different cultures is, on the one hand, considered to involve the process whereby individuals can acquire culturally-relevant social knowledge and skills and hold different attitudes toward the target culture for survival in a society (Masgoret & Ward, 2006). This kind of learning may thus enable one to develop intercultural communicative competence. On the other hand, learning about foreign cultures is a particular type of training pertaining to patterns of human interaction and identification (Damen, 2003) which helps to effectively engage in intercultural communication. The more one becomes involved in learning about different cultures, the more self-awareness which is accompanied by behavior and attitudes towards others can be developed (Bateman, 2002). Learning about foreign cultures also represents a form of cognition in which there exists a synthesis between one's own culture and another culture which enables him or her to understand more about the authentic meanings of

interaction through a cultural lens (Klein, 2004). Students may thus learn their own culture from the viewpoints of the other culture and benefit from the cultural dimension in EFL teaching in understanding more about the self and the others and developing intercultural communicative competence.

RESULTS AND DISSCUSSIONS

Learners' Views on the Cultural Dimension in EFL Teaching

Against the background of the rationale for promoting the cultural dimension in EFL teaching, this chapter now explores learners' views in Taiwan. It is based on a case study conducted among university students in Taiwan. The data were collected from the responses of 12 participants (referred to below as S1, S2, etc) during focus group interviews and analyzed thematically.

The Absence of the Cultural Dimension in EFL Teaching

Regardless of whether participants recruited for this study had taken or not taken a course on foreign cultures, it was found that all of them considered the lack of the cultural dimension in EFL teaching common in Taiwan.

Taking those who had never taken a related course in the classroom for example, S2 analyzed the situation by saying that "so far I have never learnt foreign cultures from English teachers in the classroom because they like to focus their teaching on English vocabulary and grammar". S5 echoed this viewpoint and responded that "most teachers in Taiwan do not

consider it necessary to teach foreign cultures in the English class". S1 explained the reasons for this situation by saying that "the English learning environment in Taiwan is limited to the task of taking different tests". S4 also admitted that "students in Taiwan's different educational systems have to work on tests every day", while S6 seemed to agree and referred to the specific tests: "English teachers in different educational systems tend to make efforts on preparing their students to take English proficiency tests such as the TOEIC and GEPT within recent years". S3 said that "what is learnt from English teachers is hardly related to foreign cultures" and also gave a different explanation, in terms of teachers' competence by saying that "most teachers may not know how to teach foreign cultures".

Those who had taken a course with a cultural dimension tended to have similar opinions and considered English learning among students in Taiwan mostly related to the linguistic knowledge of the English language under the influence of the test-driven English learning environment. For example, S8 responded that "most of the students in Taiwan do not learn about foreign cultures from English teachers in the classroom because no course on foreign cultures is offered by elementary schools, junior-high schools and high schools in Taiwan". S10 explained that "the learning environment in Taiwan is test-oriented", while S12 said that "English teachers like to teach English grammar and vocabulary in the English class". The remaining three participants' responses seemed to shed light on even more serious problems which impeded the promotion of the cultural dimension in EFL teaching in Taiwan. For instance, S9 said that "people in Taiwan seem to

pay attention to their own cultures and ignore the importance of learning about foreign cultures". S11 echoed this viewpoint by saying that "most people in Taiwan do not really know what culture means to them". In contrast, S7 suggested that there was another source of the problem, namely that " the English learning environment in Taiwan is shaped by the expectation of students' parents rather than teachers' planning".

In short, all the responses of the participants recruited for this study seemed to identify problems that impeded the promotion of the cultural dimension in EFL teaching in the English language classroom setting in Taiwan. However, their explanations differed and included the focus on tests, the lack of teacher exertise, the lack of interest in other countries and the influence of parents.

The Need for the Cultural Dimension in EFL Teaching

In terms of what participants who had taken a course on foreign cultures thought about this kind of learning, it was found that they all showed their interest in it but for a variety of reasons. First, there was the idea that it helped international understanding. S8 responded that he was interested in such learning because "learning about foreign cultures can help people from different countries broaden horizons and make friends with each other". S10 also expressed her interest in learning about foreign cultures because she considered "such learning is a way to train people in the world to understand more about each other". One specific aspect of this was the concern for English learning. S7 recognized the importance of learning about foreign cultures to students in Taiwan by saying

that "this is a kind of learning to improve my English abilities in listening and speaking." Second, there was the question of English learning motivation. S11 said that "such learning can motivate me to learn English". Third, there was the notion that a cultural dimension improved linguistic competence. S9 responded that "English proficiency can be enhanced through learning about foreign cultures".   Finally, there even existed an indication that a cultural dimension made a personal effect. S12 expressed her interest by saying that a "such learning is so interesting that it makes me intend to learn more about foreign cultures".

For those who had not had such a learning experience in the classroom, there was one similar reason given for a cultural dimension: the notion of international understanding. S1 said that "the concept of a global village should encourage people in the world understand the cultures of each other." S6 referred to the personal effect in this respect: "this kind of learning may change my attitudes toward foreigners", A similar statement can be found from S3 who expressed his curiosity in learning about foreign cultures and also explained that such learning could be done outside the classroom: "I am curious about learning about foreign cultures in the English classroom setting and it may be interesting to understand foreign cultures from the Internet".

A second theme emerged as an interest in making friends or improving opportunities to communicate with existing friends. S2 considered it necessary to learn about foreign cultures because of "communication with foreign friends". S4 expressed curiosity about foreign cultures in order to make "friends with people from different countries on the Internet",

and S5 also responded that "learning about foreign cultures helps to communicate with people from different countries in different contexts".

There was however no reference in the responses of this group to the effect on language learning or the related motivation.

In summary, the participants expressed a variety of reasons for including a cultural dimension. Those who had had the experience already had a wider range of reasons which may be a consequence of their experiences although further research would be needed to demonstrate a causal connection.

A Reflection on Learners' Viewpoints

Other studies have concluded that the reasons why EFL teachers separate a cultural dimension from language teaching mostly arise from deficient knowledge of the target culture (Byram, 2014), the shortage of teaching approaches (Lazar, 2011) and learning materials (Liu, 2005) as well as the lack of specification of the cultural dimension in policy documents setting out educational goals (Tang, 2006). Similar reasons have been given by students in this study, and it is clear that such findings are not unique to Taiwan. In order to understand more about why learning about foreign cultures is uncommon in Taiwan's English language classroom settings, as reported by these students, we go further to reflect on its wider context.

Confusion in Cultural Identity

With respect to the factor of teachers' limited knowledge related to teaching foreign cultures and the attention paid by people in Taiwan to their local cultures, this may be related to

the fact that people in Taiwan tend to exhibit confusion in cultural identity. For political or historical reasons, the Taiwanese may feel confused about which culture is the right culture for them. For example, many people in Taiwan consider Chinese culture with its history of more than five thousand years to be superior to other cultures including Taiwan's aboriginal culture and identify it as their own culture under the long-term political influence of the government led by the ruling Komintung (KMT) party (Ho, 2000). In contrast, some people may recognize the aboriginal culture as the main culture in Taiwan and fear the cultural imperialism of western countries (Tzoung, 2006). Indeed, the policy of localisation has become the main force influencing culture learning in Taiwan and has in turn made students start to learn more about the aboriginal culture and Taiwanese dialects in the classroom in recent years (Lin, 2002). However, despite the efforts on promoting the aboriginal culture made by the Demonstrative Progressive Party (DPP), the tendency to consider Chinese culture superior is still visible in the curricula of primary and secondary schools in Taiwan (Chen, 2002). Regardless of which culture people in Taiwan prefer, the confusion in cultural identity may be one of the reasons why the MOE in Taiwan pays attention to local cultures but ignore the importance of promoting the cultural dimension in EFL teaching to students in Taiwan.

Test-Oriented English Learning Environments

The results of this study find that the absence of the cultural dimension in EFL teaching may be linked to the emphasis on linguistic knowledge of the English language

with an eye to English language proficiency tests such as the TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication). Indeed, EFL students in Taiwan are used to learning linguistic knowledge of the English language in their English classes in order to pass various examinations (Liu, 2005). In consequence, the contents of English teaching designed by English teachers in junior-high schools and high schools are mostly focused on reading, vocabulary and grammar for the purpose of preparing their students for tests (Yang, 2002). With the test-oriented English learning environment in Taiwan, many students tend to be good at memorization for tests (Yei, 2008). In addition, most universities in Taiwan adopt different English proficiency tests including the TOEIC as a graduation benchmark and create a specific type of test-oriented learning environment (Tsai & Tsou, 2009). Some studies have concluded that the English learning environment in Taiwan has led to the lack of the competence to adopt English to effectively communicate with people from different countries in daily life (Yai, 2000; Liu, 2005). Even though the MOE in Taiwan is adjusting the policy of English education to educate more professionals who are competent in the global market studies also show that the expectation of parents in Taiwan and the policy of English education are usually unmatched (Su, 2006; Chang, 2008). This makes the effectiveness of English education in the development of intercultural communicative competence not as what is expected. Although the results of this study find that EFL students in Taiwan may be interested in learning about foreign cultures from the Internet by themselves, theories explained in the earlier section of this chapter strongly suggest that they need to learn about foreign

cultures under the guidance of English teachers in the classroom.

Limited Knowledge of Teaching Foreign Cultures

When teachers in Taiwan are considered to have no idea about how to teach a course on foreign cultures by students in this study, such a finding sheds light on another problem. Other studies find that teachers may recognize culture teaching as a part of innovation in English education but still struggle with including the cultural dimension in English teaching (Castro, Sercu & Mendez, 2004; Young, & Sachdev, 2011). Indeed, teachers' beliefs about teaching, perceptions of educational goals and their teaching experiences may determine the teaching results (Allamilo & Viramontes, 2000) but can be influenced by the policy of the government (Byram & Risager, 1999). This means that teachers themselves pose a barrier in culture teaching.

Once the notion of promoting the cultural dimension in EFL teaching is accepted by EFL teachers in Taiwan, however, they may also wonder whether this kind of teaching should be focused on culture-general approaches which prepare learners for engaging with any other culture or whether learners should engage only with one or more cultures associated with the specific language they are learning (e.g. Britain, USA and Australia). In order to avoid the confusion in how and what to teach, the culture-contrast approach can be considered to be one of the methods which may enable students to understand more about the cultural dimension of the target language and also to develop intercultural sensitivity toward the reality of the outside world (Bennet & Bennet, 2004).

Regardless of how much EFL teachers in Taiwan know about how to teach foreign cultures, the theories mentioned earlier suggest that they are definitely the ones who have to take the responsibility of adopting teaching approaches and materials to promote the cultural dimension in EFL teaching in Taiwan.

IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

While finding that there are certain problems impeding the promotion of the cultural dimension in EFL teaching, the results of the study in this chapter show that EFL students in Taiwan have interest in and needs for learning about foreign cultures in the English language classroom setting. In order to meet students' needs and promote the cultural dimension in EFL teaching in Taiwan, it is necessary for both the MOE and English teachers in Taiwan to make some changes in English education. In this section, we have suggestions and implications for the promotion of the cultural dimension in EFL teaching with an aim to evoke the attention of educators and English teachers in Taiwan to the importance of learning about foreign cultures to people in the global society of the 21st century.

Adjusting the English Learning Environment

Since the educational goal set by the MOE in Taiwan is to develop more professionals who are knowledgeable about the global society and competent in efficiently communicating and interacting with people from different countries, English

education in Taiwan's different educational systems should not be simply to strengthen students' linguistic knowledge of the English language and to improve their passing rate of English standardized tests but rather do something different in teaching foreign cultures in the English language classroom setting. In order to prepare EFL students in Taiwan to become knowledgeable and responsive to the changing world, we emphasize that the educational goal in which English teachers in primary schools, secondary schools and universities are responsible for developing students' worldviews and intercultural communicative competence by promoting the cultural dimension in EFL teaching should be clearly defined and taken seriously.

In practice, the MOE in Taiwan should encourage English teachers to change their stance on considering tests as the best way for achieving students' learning outcomes. We suggest that English teachers themselves should also actively promote the cultural dimension in EFL teaching and change the test-oriented way to assess their students' performances. For example, both the communication skills and the skill of reflecting on the strengths and weaknesses of different cultures cannot be assessed simply through tests but rather from other means such as reflection reports and group discussions in the classroom.

Understanding the Nature of Learning about Foreign Cultures

Since some people in Taiwan still consider their own culture superior to other cultures but have no idea about why foreign cultures should be learnt, they may ignore the fact that

promoting the cultural dimension of English as an international language is not only related to its native-speaking sources in western countries such as Britain or the USA but also involves the acquisition of knowledge about more diverse cultures. In order to promote the cultural dimension in EFL teaching, it is thus suggested that such teaching should entail both the training of comparing and interpreting different cultures and the process of understanding one's own culture from an external viewpoint and help students to develop their intercultural communicative competence. Taking the study of English texts about Taiwan written by outsiders for example, EFL students in Taiwan would not only understand another set of values, beliefs or ways of thinking but also think critically about their own culture. We also emphasize that the promotion of the cultural dimension in EFL teaching in Taiwan has nothing to do with cultural imperialism but rather is the best way to improve one's worldviews, cultural awareness and cultural identity.

Abandoning the Illusion of Linguistic Power

When the results of this study show that English teachers in Taiwan, as reported by students, may still consider culture learning simply as a prop for linguistic proficiency and focus their teaching on linguistic knowledge, this indicates that they probably overestimate the importance of linguistic knowledge of the English language. However, such attitudes may render EFL students in Taiwan inefficient communicators who fail to fully comprehend what foreigners actually express. In order to develop EFL students' competence for engaging in communication and interaction with people from different

countries in the global society of the 21st century, English teachers have to abandon the illusion that linguistic competence is solely equivalent to English proficiency in intercultural understanding and considered as the most powerful element in intercultural communication. We suggest that both educators and English teachers should recognize the importance of promoting the cultural dimension in EFL teaching which leads to the development of intercultural communicative competence to EFL students in Taiwan.

Strengthening Teacher Training in Foreign Culture Learning and Teaching

In addition to the insistence on focusing English teaching on linguistic knowledge, the results of this study show that English teachers in Taiwan seem to lack the experience of teaching foreign cultures and do not know how to fully undertake such teaching in the classroom. If this situation really exists in different parts of the educational system, English teachers need to not only learn new teaching approaches but also recognize the fact that learning about foreign cultures is a process which requires a fully-developed approach rather than simply occasional lessons. For those teachers who may not have either the experiences of studying and working abroad or the ideas about teaching foreign cultures in the classroom, it may be necessary for them to participate in training courses on foreign culture learning. We suggest that workshops or conferences on the promotion of the cultural dimension in EFL teaching should be regularly held by schools and universities and well supported by the MOE in Taiwan. Training English teachers in Taiwan to promote the

cultural dimension in EFL teaching may take time but deserves the attention of the MOE in Taiwan for cultivating more professionals who can efficiently communicate with people from different countries.

METHODOLOGY

As different kinds of interviews were commonly adopted to get more detailed information and to better understand the real situations in which those answering a questionnaire could not provide clearly (Keats, 2001), we adopted focus group interviews which might create authentic interaction and get more feedback from participants (Flick, 2002) for this study. Focus group interviews were also expected to allow participants reply freely (Keats, 2001). It was assumed that EFL students in Taiwan who might have or not have the experiences of learning about foreign cultures in the English langauge classroom setting would have their opinions about promoting the cultural dimension in EFL teaching. Three questions were the focus of this study:

1. How common is it to learn about foreign cultures to EFL students in Taiwan's English classroom setting?
2. What is the factor that may cause EFL students in Taiwan to be unable to learn about foreign cultures in the English langague classroom setting?
3. To what degree are EFL students in Taiwan interested in learning foreign cultures in the English classroom setting?

Procedures & Participants

12 students at a university in Taiwan who had completed a questionnaire survey related to a similar topic of learning about foreign cultures were recruited as participants for focus group interviews (Barbour, 2007). In order to compare the differences of participants' opinions, they were divided into two groups according to their experiences of learning about foreign cultures in the English language classroom setting, Six participants (i.e., S1, S2. S3, S4. S5 & S6) had never taken a course on foreign cultures from childhood, while the remaining six participants (i.e., S7, S8, S9, S10 & S12) had sometimes taken such a course at the university. Participants recruited for the focus group interviews came from three different departments (i.e., applied foreign languages, information management and early child education). Four of them were males and the others were females. They were all aged at 18-20.

The two group interviews were arranged during the time when students had no class, (i.e., at after-school time). Each group interview, which lasted for at least one hour, was conducted twice in two weeks. As participants were informed of the purposes of this study in advance and promised to attend such an interview, most of them felt free to express their opinions according to each of the three questions they were asked during the interviews. Even though some of them seemed shy and did not respond quickly, they did get involved in the discussion on each question. With the agreement of participants, all the data collected from focus group interviews were recorded for translation and analysis. The extracts were translated and analyzed according to different themes (Brown

& Clarke, 2006) to compare with what was found in other studies and also to show the real situation that may exist in Taiwan's English education.

Limitations of the Study

The first limitation of the study might derive from the small number of participants. Research based on the quantitative data and statistical analysis did need larger numbers to be valid and reliable. In qualitative research, however, other approaches should be taken and smaller samples could be acceptable. The study was also limited to its representativeness in which participants were recruited from one university in Taiwan. As all the participants were involved in focus group interviews for the first time, their fear or shyness about expressing opinions during the focus group interview might pose another limitation of the study. However, despite the limitations of this study, the data collected from participants in this study seemed to shed light on something that should be known to educators and English teachters in Taiwan and could be further explored for the innovation in English education.

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Analyzing EFL Team-Teaching in Taiwanese Elementary English Education: An Intercultural Perspective

Shu-Hsin Chen

INTRODUCTION

The Global Spread of English and the Native Speakerist Ideological Norm for Teacher Recruitment in Taiwan

Team-teaching of English in the Taiwanese context refers to a unique method of English language teaching (ELT) that is conducted by a native English-speaking teacher (NEST) and a non-native English-speaking teacher (NNEST), who form a teacher team to teach English as a foreign language (EFL) to a group of students whose native language is not English. The concept and teaching method originally come from Japan and can also be seen in Korea and other countries, mostly in East Asia. The idea of putting the NEST and the NNEST together in the same classroom to conduct EFL team-teaching, however, was originally implemented in Japanese secondary schools "without any form of pedagogical research to validate it as an effective educational innovation" (Wada, 1994, p. 15). The recruitment of NESTs from the "Inner Circle" (Kachru, 1985) as English language teachers has remained a controversial issue that has attracted researchers' attention in recent decades.

In Taiwan, a local English education program has been implemented since 2001 that initially recruited about 60

NESTs to teach English with Taiwanese teachers of English (NNESTs) in 26 elementary schools (Yen, et al., 2003). Later, from 2004, Taiwan's Ministry of Education (MOE) implemented the "Foreign English Teacher Recruitment Project" (FETRP) (Chen, 2013).

One may wonder: Why English? Whose English? Why native speakers? In international society, the factors that contribute to English as a dominant language of the globe are not its linguistic features, but "the power of its people – especially their political and military power" (Crystal, 2003, p. 9). British imperialism in the 19th century spread English to the world, and the USA took over and speeded up the process through its economic and military power in the 20th century (Crystal, 2003). For countries where English is used as the native language, it is believed that "[f]rom English comes wealth" (Graddol, 2005, p. 1). The fact that the US and the UK governments strive to promote ELT to the world nowadays has been criticized as a way of promoting the "Anglo-American Corporate Empire" (Phillipson, 2012). Such linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) may inevitably undermine multilingualism by threatening language diversity in the world. Scholars have warned that this may not only lead to loss of existing dialects and languages (Crystal, 2000; Davies, 2003; Graddol, 1997) but also threaten national identity (Phillipson, 1992).

The fact that the number of non-native speakers of English exceeds the number of native speakers of English (Crystal, 1997, 2003) has drawn attention from researchers attempting to describe the global landscape of the English language. To account for the varieties of English, Kachru

(1985, 1990) developed the three-concentric-circle model and defined the "Inner Circle" countries as those where English is used as the native language and which are, hence, "norm-providing". The "Outer Circle" countries are those where English serves as an official language and which are, hence, "norm-developing"; and the "Expanding Circle" countries are those where English is taught as a foreign language at school and which are, hence, "norm-dependent" (ibid.). The fact that language learners outside the "Inner Circle" tend to favor an ideal, a "Westernized" – which in fact means "Americanized" – unachievable linguistic goal has been termed "native speakerism" (Holliday, 2006, p. 385-386).

Some scholars emphasize the importance of promoting the Standard English of native speakers (e.g., Quirk, 1985, 1990) but Kachru (1985) disagreed, stating that "the native speakers of this language seem to have lost the exclusive prerogative to control its standardization" (p. 30). Widdowson (1994) points out that "[t]he very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have custody over it" (p. 385). Kramsch (1998) also states that "[t]he rise of English as the international language of research, business and industry, has dissociated native speakership of English from its traditional geographic locations" (p. 23), and that the model of "the intercultural speaker" (Byram, 1997, 2009) should override the concept of "the native speaker".

Under his framework of "World Englishes" (WE) (Kachru, 1985), Kachru (1992) discusses the legitimacy of teaching "English as an international language" (EIL) (Seidlhofer, 2005). Some have worked on a pedagogy based on "English as a lingua franca" (ELF) (Berns, 2008;

Canagarajah, 2007; House, 2003; Jenkins, 2007, 2009; Kirkpatrick, 2011; Seidlhofer, 2005, 2011), although it is argued that EFL is a part of the more general framework of EIL and World Englishes (Seidlhofer, 2005). The idea of a "post native-speakerist pedagogy" (Houghton, 2014, cited in Kunschak, 2014, p. 159) has been proposed to include the native speaker and the non-native speaker as a means to developing a more "critical, inclusive, interlocutor-oriented approach to language learning" (Kunschak, 2014, p. 159). The term "post native-speakerist EIL framework" (Glasgow, 2014, p. 87) has also been proposed in the course of arguing for the legitimate use of the learner's first language (L1) in the Japanese version of team-teaching.

In the context of Taiwan, the Nationalist Government brought mainlanders to Taiwan and started Mandarin Chinese education and foreign-language education in 1949 (Chung, 2003). Since then, Mandarin (TYB, 2015), or "Taiwan Mandarin" (Her, 2009), has replaced the Japanese language, the previous colonial language in Taiwan as the official language (Chen, 2003). Under the government's Mandarin-only policy (Chen, 2010, p. 92), however, Taiwan's ethnic languages (the majority's L1s) such as Holo (or Southern Min Taiwanese), Hakka, and Austro-Polynesian aboriginal languages are undergoing "language shift" – whose pragmatic functions are being replaced by Mandarin, while the use of English is increasingly favored (ibid. p. 100-102).

The origins of this focus on English are traceable to the 1950s since when Taiwan's ruling government received tremendous military and economic aid from the world's new superpower, the United States (Lin, 2003, p. 10). Before the

US cut off economic ties with Taiwan in the 1970s, Taiwanese society commonly regarded English (or more precisely American English) as not only a foreign language for study at secondary school but also a "label" indicating one's "higher social class" (ibid.), similar to Phillipson's (1992, p. 286) notion of "elite formation". Local scholars later proposed the reexamination of English education from the perspective of "glocalization" (Liu, 2003). Yet, recent studies on Taiwanese attitudes towards native-speakerism and English varieties have revealed that native-speakerism serves as "an ideological exclusion" in terms of teacher recruitment in Taiwan (Huang, 2014, p. 137) and that "the English of native speakers is much favored even when the notion of English as an International Language (EIL) is concerned" (Chien, 2014, p. 10). Although international scholars argue for multilingualism and the equality of local languages as a way to prevent non-native English-speaking countries from falling into the trap of "English linguistic imperialism" (Phillipson, 2012), as far as Taiwan is concerned, it seems that nothing can reduce the nationwide "English fever" (Krashen, 2003).

In 2001, under the influence of globalization and pressure from the general public (Chen, 2003) and from nearby countries that have implemented ELT in elementary education (Yang, 1999, cited in Chien, 2008, p. 1), the MOE implemented the Grade 1 to 9 Curriculum, which extended English education from secondary level to elementary level with the aim of promoting internationalization (Chen, 2003). The MOE also promoted "communicative language teaching" for elementary ELT teachers that contradicted the long-dominant "audio-lingual method" commonly used by

secondary English teachers in Taiwan (Chung, 2003). On the other hand, native languages (L1) education was included in the new elementary curriculum with the aim of promoting multilingualism. However, it is common today for elementary students to take only one lesson of native languages per week but two to three or more lessons of English.

Then, in 2002, the MOE launched the "Challenge 2008 – National Development Plan" that aimed to foster "internationalization" and "improv[e] the nation's overall English proficiency" (MOE, 2005). However, instead of teaching English to Grade 5 and 6 students, as suggested in the MOE guidelines, some local governments in Taiwan (e.g., Taipei, Hsinchu, Taichung and Kaohsiung) implemented their own elementary English education at different ages, while others suffered from a shortage of MOE-certified elementary teachers of English (Chen, 2013).

To minimize such discrepancies across the nation and to improve ELT quality, in 2003 the MOE decided to recruit NESTs from the "Inner Circle", primarily for schools in rural areas and outlying islands, through the Foreign English Teacher Recruitment Project (FETRP) (Chen, 2013, p. 160). The MOE Report (2003) states that a "foreign" teacher of English (i.e., a NEST) is not supposed to teach alone in the classroom, meaning that the foreign teacher and the local teacher of English (i.e., the NNEST) should always be present in the same class. This implicitly encourages a certain form of team-teaching in the elementary English classroom.

In sum, despite the fact that English has become an international language with regional varieties, it seems that Taiwanese society has been receptive to the native-speaker

norm in terms of English learning and teaching, and ignorant of existing English varieties in the world, current development of EIL pedagogy, and the importance of maintaining native languages diversity. The MOE's pragmatic policy aimed to compensate for the shortage of qualified teachers of English. This decision led to the legitimation of recruitment of NESTs for public schools from early in the 21st century without provision of clear guidelines on team-teaching. And NESTs' solo teaching has been allowed since 2012 (MOE, 2012).

The following study was written based on a summary of my Ph.D. research (Chen, 2009) on two groups of team-teachers in Taiwan, including NESTs and NNESTs.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Team-Teaching in East Asia

Research on team-teaching in Taiwan has grown considerably in recent years. Lin (2003) surveyed an EFL team-teaching program in north Taiwan with a focus on NESTs and students, in which the issues of "role discrepancy" in the classroom, inadequate interactions and lesson preparation, and collegial miscommunication were shown to hinder the effectiveness of team-teaching. Yen and his colleagues (2003) evaluated the same program and concluded that, "the success of team-teaching depends on an individual teacher's personality traits such as tolerance, acceptance, open-mindedness, and students-as-the-first priority" (p. 286, my translation). Chou's (2005) study of teacher collaboration confirms that the issue of role discrepancy between the NEST

and the NNEST may lead to poor teacher collaboration. Tsai's (2005) study also states that, "team dynamics depends on the individual team member's positive personality and attitude, kindness and goodwill, and agreeable teaching philosophy" (p. 136). The above findings seem to be in tune with Chien's (2008) findings based on her case study of a pair of experienced EFL team teachers who formed a successful team. This focus on teachers – rather than students – and the significance of their personality traits and ability to cooperate has been confirmed by longitudinal case studies on teacher growth or teacher efficacy (e.g., Chen, 2007; Tsai 2007; Lin, 2007; Su, 2009).

Increasing attention has also been paid to teacher training for elementary English education in Taiwan. As a teacher trainer and consultant to an English program, Luo (2006, 2007a, 2007b) conducted a series of projects on NESTs and NNESTs, based on which she proposed as the "collaborative teaching model", termed "R.E.F.L.E.C.T. Knowledge": "respect, equality, flexibility, language, empathy, collaborative culture, and time" (Luo, 2007b, p. 193). She argues that team-teacher training should cover three types of cultural knowledge: collaborative culture, the teacher's respective teaching cultures, and local students' learning culture (Luo, 2007b).

Beyond Taiwan, the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program has existed since 1987 (Wada & Cominos, 1994), the English Program in Korea (EPIK) since 1996 (Carless, 2006, p. 342), and the Native-speaking English Teachers (NET) Scheme in Hong Kong since 1998 (Lai, 1999), all of which recruit native speakers from the "Inner Circle" to teach

English to secondary or elementary students. The difference is that the JET and the EPIK aim to promote internationalization, while the NET Scheme is rather instrumental and "language-oriented" (Lai, 1999, p. 218).

In Japan, studies have identified factors that hinder team-teaching in secondary English education: cultural differences in values, beliefs and communication style (Kobayashi, 1994), NEST–NNEST "unequal power relations" (Miyazato, 2006, p. 212), "clash in learning and teaching style" (Macedo, 2002, p. 10), role discrepancy due to cultural differences (McConnell, 2000), personal characteristics and attitudes (Sturman, 1992), communication problems (Tajino & Walker, 1998), and a lack of time for meetings (ibid.; Kaichi & Lee, 2001). Carless (2006) conducted cross-cultural research and compared data collected in Hong Kong, Japan, and Korea, based on which he argued that the success of "intercultural team-teaching" (p. 350) would mostly depend on an individual team teacher's "interpersonal sensitivity", rather than his/her pedagogic or logistical conditions.

There thus seem to be general findings across national borders: the key to success of NEST–NNEST team-teaching could depend on personal and interpersonal factors. If this is the case, then the questions to ask are: What does the term "personal traits" really refer to? Are these individual traits or interpersonal factors innate or trainable?

Research Questions

My starting point for answering these questions about training was the teachers' own understanding of the team-teaching phenomenon. In order to understand how NESTs and NNESTs conceptualize their team-teaching experiences, how they explain success or failure in their experience, and what they attribute it to, I adopted an ethnographic approach to collecting qualitative data from teachers. My research questions were as follows:

1. What are the team teachers' team-teaching experiences, as they describe them?

2. With regard to their beliefs about team-teaching, are there any differences between those of the NESTs and those of the NNESTs? If there are, what are the differences? Do they try to bridge the differences? If so, how?

3. What favorable factors do the team teachers believe would help them develop effective working relationships?

4. What unfavorable factors do the team teachers believe would prevent them from developing effective working relationships?

Ethnographic interviews were conducted in the participants' preferred language, either English (assumed L1 of the NESTs from Canada, USA, South Africa, and UK) or Mandarin (assumed L1 of the NNESTs from Taiwan). The data were then transcribed and typed in English or Chinese, depending on the participant's interview language. More detailed research methods will be presented at the end of this chapter.

FINDINGS

Three themes emerged from the interview data: team-teaching inside the classroom, team-teaching outside the classroom, and team-teaching factors, which I present as follows:

Team-Teaching Experiences

In the first case, the participants all agreed that, from their experiences of team-teaching, the NEST and the NNEST often played different roles in class (NESTs: "the leading role"; NNESTs: "the supporting role"), presented different teaching styles (NESTs: "more animated"; NNESTs: "calmer"), and possessed different pedagogical preferences (NESTs: "interactive"; NNESTs: "lecturing"). In other words, the NESTs were often the main teachers in the team-taught classroom, and they tended to speak in English and use body language in order to communicate/interact with local students. The NNESTs, although mostly well trained, were there mainly to provide immediate interpretation for students and class discipline when needed.

The participants agreed that team teachers should ideally switch roles constantly or take turns to assume the leading role during the class. But they also thought it was rarely seen in reality, as these two extracts from separate interviews suggest:

NEST: Well, there's always one teacher talking. There's always someone talking and working with them. If one is prepping the other one is working; it goes back and forth.

NNEST: [Both teachers] are present but they should not talk at the same time. They should switch between the leading and the supporting roles, or, when one person plays the main role, the other plays the supporting role. So when someone is leading, I am following. When I am leading, someone is following. The two roles are not fixed. It's like in the "sìang-shēng" ("相聲" meaning "a traditional Chinese duet comedy show") where there must be always someone playing the drum in the background for the main character. These two performers do not talk at the same time. (Translated from Chinese)

Differences

The participants noticed differences in their attitudes towards working for the English program (NESTs: "for money"; NNESTs: "as a lifelong career"), their communication styles (NESTs: "straightforward"; NNESTs: "indirect"), and their social preferences (NESTs: "professional relationship"; NNESTs: "personal friendship"). One of the NNESTs observed the issue of intercultural miscommunication in the following excerpt:

NNEST: To be honest, I think the success of team-teaching depends on whether teachers accept each other's cultural differences! This American lad likes to talk very directly, which may sound so rude! […] So one is talking straightforwardly, but the other one is like dala-dala beating around the bush, which was the source of misunderstanding, miscommunication, and friction. My observation is… they don't understand each other well enough. (Translated from Chinese)

The next two excerpts indicate that the NESTs focus on establishing a professional relationship with their teaching

partners, while the NNESTs tend to expect collegial friendship at first but are often disappointed:

> NEST: Um, not so much friendship, but definitely professional respect for one another.

> NNEST: In the beginning I thought there should be a personal relationship between us, so I tried to approach them first and show my hospitality and consideration. But later I realized that it was me being too earnest… Now I've learned to keep a formal relationship with him on a surface level without expectations. (Translated from Chinese)

Contributing Factors

In terms of factors contributing to team-teaching, the participants agreed that certain personalities and attitudes make team-teaching work, such as cultural sensitivity, patience, open-mindedness, adaptability, and flexibility:

> NEST: [I]t's the teachers. It doesn't necessarily depend on where you're from or what you teach… It's more the personality – it's just teachers; the way teachers teach.

> NEST: If they understand the culture, then their relationship will be better. And that will of course… I mean, if there's a good relationship, then students will benefit from the English program.

> NNEST: To team-teach with teachers from other nations, you'll have to be as open-minded as possible.
> (Translated from Chinese)

The participants agreed that team-teaching means "two people teaching together for the same goal". However, there

were differences in what they expected from the team relationship. The NESTs emphasized the importance of showing professional respect during the lesson, which somehow was not recognized by the NNESTs.

> NEST: It's all, like, collaborative and lots of communication. Everyone is on the same wavelength, you know, and respects what other teachers do.

> NEST: [T]he Chinese teacher is very dominating […], she feels like she needs to take on the role as being the main teacher a lot of times. […] the foreign teacher feels [they] are not teaching, they're just like, standing aside. Or they're always corrected in the presence of the students.

All of the NNESTs believed the goal was to use each other's strengths to compensate for each other's weaknesses, for example:

> NNEST: There is a saying, "Three fools can beat a wise man." You have another person to complement your weaknesses. So I think it's a complementary and value-adding way of teaching.
> (Translated from Chinese)

But the Taiwanese teachers also expect "mò-chì" ("默契" meaning "unspoken understanding") from the team-teaching relationship, which they believed would grow with time, a concept not found in the NESTs' data.

> NNEST: If you want to teach like switching roles, then you really have to… the two people have to collaborate for a period of time long enough to develop more "mò-chì".

(Translated from Chinese)

NNEST: Well, I think it requires mò-chì! If [the two teachers'] mò-chì is good, the team can work very well in any model, either one leading and one supporting, or two switching roles, as long as there is mò-chì in-between, the team can work very well.
(Translated from Chinese)

The NNESTs believed that a teacher team sharing mò-chì is the key to successful team-teaching. Yet, it might require the NEST and the NNEST to spend some time together on lesson preparation outside the classroom. The reality was that the NEST might be offended by the NNEST's sudden and unexplained interruptions in Mandarin during the lesson, which was never intended by the NNEST as a lack of respect. Such a common misunderstanding might stop NESTs from developing collegial relationships with NNESTs.

Cultural Differences

These findings support the previously reviewed research. Certain personality traits do help teachers from different cultures to form a compatible and friendly teacher team, and it must be assumed that good relationships between team teachers would benefit students. But the more fundamental question is why the NESTs and the NNESTs tended to understand and conduct team-teaching so differently.

Knowing that the NESTs and the NNESTs hold different conceptualizations of the same teaching activity, I wondered what made them think and behave so differently. It is argued that "culture" influences people's logic and thoughts, and, thus,

people from similar cultures tend to share similar logic of thought and action (Servaes, 1989), and, culture and language are inseparable (Agar, 1994). I argue that conceptual differences may be influenced by teachers' different cultures and different native languages. It is my intention to use the Chinese concepts of "team-teaching", "mò-chì", and "communication" in the Chinese data to illustrate how NESTs and NNESTs interpret them differently in English.

Regarding the team-teaching program, the "emic" (from the perspective of subjects; see Pike, 1967) form of it in English is "co-teaching". To some of the NESTs, "team-teaching" may or may not mean the same as "co-teaching". They define "team-teaching" as a joint teaching method conducted by two teachers at the same time in the same room, while "co-teaching" or "collaborative teaching" could refer to a joint teaching method where two teachers do not teach at the same time.

However, to the locals or the NNESTs, the emic form of "team-teaching" in Chinese was "sié-tóng jiāo-syué ("協同教學"). The term "team-teaching" in Chinese translation can be ambiguous, because the word "team" in Chinese can be either "sié-tóng" ("協同" meaning "collaboration") or "tuán-duì" ("團隊" meaning "team") in the Taiwanese context. The connotation of "sié-tóng" means "to support" someone to do something together or jointly with others. The participants' differences in languages may thus explain why they hold different conceptions of the same teaching activity.

The NESTs and the NNESTs also show a vast difference in how they manage team dynamics during a lesson. The former would tend to show "respect" to other teachers and

students, while the latter would believe that relationship management would depend on whether there was mò-chì between the two teachers. The connotation of mò-chì means "silent agreement" between two entities without anything actually being said. Mò-chì is prevalent in the Chinese data, but neither the concept itself – which NESTs might have not heard of – nor any comparable term or phrase is found in the data from the NESTs.

Regarding the issue of miscommunication, the data show that the NESTs tended to interpret "communication" as something close to the meaning of "collaboration" that comprises the semantic elements of "both", "togetherness", and "equal". In other words, they regard "communication" as a two-way, mutually equal, and interactive process. However, the NNESTs used the Chinese expression "goū-tōng" ("溝通" meaning "to connect") to mean either that they wanted to communicate and discuss things with someone, or that they wanted to "convince" someone or to have them "conform with" their view. There could be no room for open discussion with the NNESTs, which was probably why some of the NESTs felt uneasy and not respected.

The next stage in analysis was to look in more detail at the question of "personality traits". I summarized the two teacher groups' views and distinguished the personal attributes from the "situational" ones (Thomas, 1992, p. 117). The personal attributes were divided into three elements: "cognitive factors", "attitudinal factors", and "behavioral factors".

Cognitive factors: Both teacher groups agreed on the need for the capacity for cultural awareness, cultural

sensitivity, cultural knowledge in communication, and shared goals. To the NESTs, most of the knowledge needed was cultural, in addition to some small degree of linguistic knowledge that may help them understand local students' learning progress and class management, while the NNESTs needed cultural knowledge of the target language in order to communicate with the NESTs more effectively.

Affective factors: Both teacher groups agreed that team teachers would have to be willing to adapt to each other's culture and be flexible in thought and ways of teaching, respecting differences in teaching style and communication style, and being willing to compromise or being open-minded about other options. They also believed in the importance of two additional types of personality trait between any two teachers in a team: "honesty" and "equality". The NESTs would have to learn from the NNESTs, listen and observe others' teaching, be more committed to work, and be curious about otherness, while the NNESTs would have to show more self-confidence when interacting with the NESTs.

Behavioral factors: Both groups agreed they needed the ability to negotiate and compromise, respect each other as equals, and develop a friendly relationship. To achieve this, the NESTs would have to be flexible in adopting appropriate teaching methods, and be effective in managing classrooms and enthusiastic in preparing and planning for lessons and in professional improvement. The NNESTs would have to be fluent in English, be direct, and show more confidence when speaking in English or interacting with foreign people.

Both groups also hoped to team up with someone they might find easy to get on with, which was something they

could not control. This was categorized as the relational/situational variable. Since the teachers in the program were not allowed to choose whom they worked with as a team, whether they ended up working with someone compatible was a matter of pure chance. In sum, team-teaching effectiveness may depend not only on individual team teachers' personal knowledge, attitudes, skills, and abilities but also on chance and given relational and situational conditions.

Modeling the Data

The third stage in the analysis was to look for appropriate theories that might help to explain how the differences and agreements on language-and-culture, or "languaculture" to use Agar's (1994) term, and on personality factors were influencing interaction among the teachers. I considered theories of teamwork in general (e.g., Larson & LaFasto, 1989) but these proved to be inadequate in dealing with all the factors identified from the data. They did not deal with relational/situational factors in multicultural circumstances.

Matveev and Milter (2004) and Callan (2008) state that intercultural competence, i.e., one's knowledge, personality and skills to communicate with people from other cultural groups, is one of the factors that affect multicultural teams. In view of this, I hypothesized that "intercultural competence" might be one of the factors that affect bicultural/multicultural team-teaching, although, according to the emic data, none of the participants had used the term "intercultural competence". I needed therefore to move from an emic (from the perspective

of subjects see Pike, 1967) to an etic (from the perspective of researchers, ibid.) level of analysis.

Among intercultural competence models (see Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009), Fantini's (2000) model of intercultural competence comprises "personality traits", "cultural awareness", "attitudes", "skills", "knowledge", and "language proficiency". However, it fails to recognize the "situational/relational variable" and "affective reactions" to unequal power relations between the NEST and the NNEST, which were identified as part of the personal capacity of the team teacher.

Byram's (1997, 2009) model of "intercultural communicative competence" (ICC) breaks down intercultural competence elements into "attitudes", "knowledge", "skills", and "critical thinking". Most of the intercultural competence components in his model (except critical thinking) are similar to the dispositional qualities and teaming abilities that a competent EFL team teacher should possess. However, the ICC model also lacks recognition of the situational/relational variables and affective reactions to unequal power relations.

It was necessary, therefore, to develop a model that takes previous models into consideration but accounts comprehensively for the data. Based on the theorization of the data, I developed the model of "intercultural team-teaching capacity", i.e., the "ITTC model", which includes the following five elements:

- *Professional capacity (PC)*: EFL teaching methodology competence, classroom role-taking, teaching styles, knowledge of students' learning

styles, child psychology, evaluation methods, and class management abilities;

- *Language capacity (LC)*: fluent target language for teaching and communicating, adequate pronunciation for international comprehension, and adequate knowledge of students' native languages; (in this case: basic knowledge of spoken Mandarin);

- *Team capacity (TC):* the necessary ability and trust to work as a team for common visions, enthusiasm and long-term commitment to collaborating with others as an effective team and to solving conflicts for students' benefit;

- *Intercultural capacity (IC):* skills to perform and to express affect or knowledge, and to interact and establish relationships with people from a different culture. It depends on one's dispositional qualities and attitudes, skills, cultural knowledge, and context-specific knowledge (in this case, Taiwanese teachers may expect mò-chì in team relationships, while NESTs may expect a more explicit and direct communication style from Taiwanese teachers);

- *Situational/relational variable (SRV)*: whether there is sufficient time available for both parties, or whether a teacher team shares mò-chì that leads to effective team-taught lessons, would depend on relational variables or "chance".

IMPLICATIONS

I have referred to a "model" of ITTC and it is useful to understand what scientific models are and how they can help to clarify a social situation. Models can be defined as "simplified representations" (Lave & March, 1993, p. 3) of studied phenomena particularly for the researcher's purposes. According to Morgan and Morrison (1999), models function as research instruments and can moderate "between theory and the world" (p. 11). They also state that, "the model's representative power allows it to function not just instrumentally, but to teach us something about the thing it represents" (ibid.). Moreover, we learn "how and why" things work only when we "build" the model or "manipulate" it (ibid. p. 12).

It is in this sense that we can derive implications for practice from the ITTC model that has identified key factors involved in ITT in the Taiwanese context. Theoretically, the ITTC model and its elements provide a conceptual framework and can contribute to further theoretical research on EFL team-teaching, ELT teacher training, multicultural team management, and intercultural communication. The findings also provide a theoretical basis allowing foreign-language teacher trainers to work on ITT pedagogy in order to improve existing pre-service teacher education and in-service teacher training.

Practically, the findings may give valuable insights into relevant personnel who are involved in the EFL team-teaching program in Taiwan. Particularly the ITTC model has identified trainable and non-trainable elements involved in ITT, which would allow teacher trainers to identify ways to improve EFL team-teaching performance. Most previous relevant studies

suggest that the recruiting agents for English programs should screen NESTs based on their personalities. This study however suggests that both NESTs and NNESTs should be trained together in order for them to reach better mutual understanding.

This study helps to provide insight into how EFL team-teaching is perceived and practiced by NESTs and NNESTs in Taiwanese elementary education. The ITTC model serves as a theoretical basis that helps EFL team-teachers to recognize the importance of developing intercultural capacity. It also helps EFL teacher trainers to identify trainable and non-trainable elements when seeking ways to improve intercultural team-teaching performance. More research needs to be conducted in this direction in order to develop a more comprehensive model to improve pre-service teacher education and in-service teacher training, which may eventually benefit future EFL learners in Taiwanese elementary education. Since ITT is one of the many facets of intercultural encounters that educationists may experience today, our policymakers should consider the importance of intercultural competence in today's world of globalization, as well as the importance of intercultural/multicultural education for the benefit of our future citizens.

METHODOLOGY

The holistic nature of my inquiry and its objective of understanding the multiple realities of the team-teaching phenomenon conceptualized by the NESTs and the NNESTs called for the use of an ethnographic approach (Charmaz, 2006). In order to elicit in-depth qualitative data directly from the participants, I recruited EFL teachers via purposive sampling in an EFL team-teaching program located in the north of Taiwan where I planned to conduct a series of interviews.

To prepare for the interviews, I adopted Spradley's (1979) "ethnographic interview" technique in order to elicit ethnographic data as native as possible. I composed my interview questions as research instruments printed in Chinese and in English. I obtained the school principals' permission to enter four elementary schools. I also established good rapport with the schools' administrative staff, which enabled me to identify key informants more efficiently. Thus a total of 14 EFL teachers (six NESTs and eight NNESTs) were recruited for the research.

During data collection, my participants decided which language, English or Mandarin, was to be used in interviews. As expected, all of the NESTs spoke English and all of the NNESTs spoke Mandarin during the interviews respectively. I obtained informed consent from each of the participants before switching on my audio-recorder. One of the NNESTs did ask me to switch off the recorder in the middle of the individual interview. Eventually, five individual interviews with four NNESTs, six with six NESTs, and two "group interviews"

(Cohen, et al., 2000, p. 287-288) with four NNESTs were conducted, resulting in audio recordings of 18 hours and 20 minutes.

Data Transcription

To ensure trustworthiness of data and interpretation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), I decided that literal translation of the Chinese data should not happen during transcription and data analysis, but only when writing up. Hence, both Chinese (my L1) and English (my L2) were involved not only during the instrumentation and fieldwork stages but also during the process of data transcription and data analysis. This means my data corpus included a set of data in English and a set of data in Chinese.

Many scholars and international students have neglected the fact that using translated data might affect the process of interpretation and hence the results of data analysis, particularly in cross-cultural or intercultural qualitative studies (Robinson-Pant, 2005). I considered whether I should translate the data into one language before analyzing them. Yet, my decision to keep the data as they were and code in the participants' interview languages was supported by the research ethics in *British Educational Research Association* (BERA, 2000) suggesting that researchers should endeavor to show respect and integrity when collecting, analyzing, and presenting evidence in research reports.

Data Analysis Techniques

I followed Glaser's (1998, p. 24) "close reading" and Thomas's (2006, p. 241-242) inductive coding procedures, summarized as preparation of raw data files (or data cleaning); close reading of text; creation of categories; overlapping coding and un-coded text; and continuing revision and refinement of category system. These steps were partially similar to Glaser's (1978) substantive coding technique and Strauss and Corbin's (1990) open coding technique. Yet, the inductive coding method cannot help generate theories. As Glaser and Strauss (1967) argue, theory can be generated through comparative analysis that implies both inductive and deductive analysis and comparison of data, and they believe that

> generation of theory through comparative analysis both subsumes and assumes verifications and accurate description, but *only* to the extent that the latter are in the service of generation. (p. 28, emphasis in original)

In practice, my data analysis required constant comparison and theoretical sampling, in which the data corpus was treated as secondary data or as if data collected by someone else. This was similar to what Glaser (1998) described as "secondary analysis of others' unanalyzed data" (p. 53). Meanwhile, my data analysis required not only an ability to decenter and detach from the transcripts when reading texts closely but also adequate patience in waiting for data patterns to emerge and in organizing memos and notes.

Hence, writing became the key activity throughout the coding and interpreting process.

Methodological Issues

The nature of the bilingual data in this study has made systematic coding a great challenge. I have presented elsewhere some of the methodological issues that I encountered during bilingual data coding, e.g. the issue of "semantic fuzziness" and "conceptual lacunas" of the bilingual data and how to handle them, and the issue of "conceptual contamination" and why and how a coder should keep an adequate "conceptual distance" (see Chen, 2010). A post-project discourse analysis on the interview data has also allowed me to ponder how and why the way an interviewer formulated probing questions in his/her L1 could be different from that in his/her L2, which has led to a discussion on the issue of power relations between the researcher and the researched (see Chen, 2011 for more details).

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The Journey of Sixty Adventurers to Becoming English Language Teachers in Taiwan

Wei-Yan Miguel Li

INTRODUCTION

Teacher Education in Taiwan

In Taiwan, the goal of pursuing international competitiveness created the need for English proficiency. This need later became tangible in the educational system when Grades 1-9 Curriculum (G19C) was introduced in 1998; policies mandating English language classes at the elementary-level were implemented. The change of policies resulted in the urgent need for training English-language teachers (ELTs). The Ministry of Education (MOE) initially adopted different approaches, namely, to hold an English proficiency test for ELTs, to train the homeroom teachers to teach English, and to authorize schools to hire ELTs from private cram schools. However, controversial arguments against these counter-measures, such as teachers' qualifications to teach English and the legitimacy of introducing private teaching into official schooling arose (Zhan, 2004). To alleviate the public's anxiety and to resolve the problem of the deficiency of teachers, more channels of teacher training were made possible with the practice of the new Teacher Cultivation Act, and all public and private universities with English or foreign languages departments or

graduate schools are now allowed to participate in the teacher training programs. For the past decade, local educational bureaus, as well as the MOE, have been focusing on promoting three main channels of training qualified ELTs: initial English teacher education offered by universities of education to their undergraduates as minor, also known as the 2nd Expertise Program; 40-Credit Educational Program for Elementary School Teachers provided by some universities to the English-major students as an extra qualification upon their graduation; and the 20-Credit Program offered by authorized institutes to in-service teachers of other school subjects with a teaching certificate.

An educational system cannot be sustained without the proper foundation of teachers, and such a foundation may only be developed in a stable educational environment. Nevertheless, due to the short history of the introduction of English education and English teacher education at the elementary school levels, the implementations are still at an infant state, a fact observed by the frequent amendments to the teacher training policies (Chang et al, 2010). With the revised policy of adopting multi-channel ELT training, the question of whether the quality of teachers can be well-managed has inevitably been brought into public discussions.

Research Purpose and Questions

Wu (2006) argues that teachers hold the key to the success of English education, and considerable attention has been given to the question of what constitutes a "competent" language teacher. Hence, the central questions beyond the current worries fall into two perspectives: what can be done

and how should it be done? One way to pursue the issues is to identify the contemporary ELTs' problems and simply make improvements; this is convenient as it is, less time-consuming. The other way is to closely examine the phenomena and to create efficient tactics avoiding similar plights for prospective ELTs. This study pursues the latter. To be specific, the purpose of this present research is to find an answer to the question of what professional competencies (PCs) are necessary and expected in an able ELT in Taiwan and to investigate the effectiveness and the practicality of current training programs in meeting these expectations.

In terms of effectiveness, the aspects of the comprehensiveness of training contents, the learning achievement of the trainees, and the degree of satisfaction of both the trainees' and the trainers' toward the training are examined. The comprehensiveness of training contents is defined by identifying the needs of the learners and the prospective teachers and whether the programs are able to facilitate the achievements of these needs by providing relevant training content. To this end, one central concept needs to be clarified: what is expected in an able ELT? To answer this, the present research calls for a need to establish a professional competency list, for it not only helps to portray a competent ELT, but also fulfills the intention of examining the comprehensiveness by serving as the criterion for evaluation of courses. As for practicality, the usefulness and applicability of the trained knowledge and skills in real life teaching are discussed. To be more specific, the research questions (RQs) to be answered here to fulfill the research purpose are the following:

RQ 1:   What PCs are expected in an able ELT in consideration of the social contexts in Taiwan?

RQ 2:   What are the trainees' opinions regarding the comprehensiveness of the training content, their own learning achievements, and their degree of satisfaction towards the training programs?

RQ 3:   What are the trainees' opinions regarding the usefulness and applicability of the trained skills and knowledge in formal teaching settings?

Though it is stressed that the examination of the effectiveness and practicality are the emphasized aspects here, it is not the author's intention to focus on the "scoring" of the performances of the training institutes or in any way to highlight or solve the possible conflicts among different training institutes or between the expectations of the educational authorities' and the trainees. Instead, it is intended that this work be a platform for the unheard to have voice. For this reason, it is hoped that the results of the investigation from this present research will not be misunderstood as judgments of good or bad, but rather as a journey of retrospections and introspection of what was, what is, and what is to be.

Scene-Setting

Due to the primary objective of conducting an investigation into the status quo of the ELT's initial education programs in Taiwan through analysis of the progression of the trainees, as well as their introspections and retrospections along the path of their training to becoming ELTs, this present

research is designed to be a longitudinal mixed methods research starting at pre-training stage and ending three years later upon the completion of the training. Three groups of trainees, each representing one training channel in Taiwan, were selected. Group 1 (G1), formed by 25 trainees enrolled in the 20-Credit English Course in a national university of education, consisted of normal university graduates with non-English majors. Group 2 (G2) consisted of 25 trainees enrolled in the English as the 2nd Expertise Program at a national university of education. Group 3 (G3) was formed by 25 English-major undergraduates at a non-normal university taking the Educational Program for Elementary School Teachers simultaneously. Five participants from each group were randomly chosen to form G4, the pilot study group. Therefore, five types of data were gathered for analysis: the 60 trainees' questionnaire survey results of their opinions at the pre- and the post-training stages, 3 trainers' interview data at the post-training stages, and 3 trainees' interview data at the post-practicum stages on two occasions, in 2008 and 2011. In short, the data were products of the trainees' and trainers' introspections of the trainees' transformations in their competencies, beliefs, and attitudes.

As previously discussed, the establishment of an evaluation measure is prerequisite to the investigation of the effectiveness and practicality of the training; accordingly, the discussion of how the competency framework suiting the nature of this research was generated is first discussed below, followed by the presentation of the findings from the pre-training and the post-training questionnaires, and the interviews.

The Evaluation Criterion: Framework of Required Professional Competencies

A teacher's PCs have been discussed in academia since 1980s (e.g., Liakopoulou, 2011). There have also been some discussions focusing on the PCs in teaching specific disciplines (e.g., Chien, 2011a). However, discussion on the PCs required specifically for Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) is still in need of more attention (Murray, 2009), especially in the case of Taiwan (Chien, 2011b). Furthermore, contemporary changes such as advances in technology, evolution of social structures, and educational reform taking place in many nations have all played controversial roles in reshaping the required PCs of today's teachers, especially ELTs. Considering the international importance of English-teaching and the lack of a comprehensive framework of PCs, the establishment of a contemporary PC list not only facilitates the awareness of new demands and challenges in teaching profession, but also ensures the teacher quality of the training programs in many places.

In an attempt to generate a more up-to-date and comprehensive framework of PCs corresponding to the social contexts in Taiwan, a framework of required professional competencies for English language teachers, termed the FRPC, was established based on the findings from both literature reviews and analysis of social contexts in Taiwan, and then consolidated with the results of an open-ended questionnaire survey of expert's opinions which was designed to gather suggestions on the types of PCs required for the Taiwanese

ELTs from six experts in relevant educational fields in Taiwan.

The generated FRPC consists of two dimensions: knowledge base and personality traits (Diagram 1): a total of eight PC areas, six of which are classified within the fundamental knowledge and skills and two form their own respective areas, Modern Demanded Knowledge & Skills (MDKS) and Attitudes and Beliefs (A&B). The eight areas are the Knowledge of Learners and Their Characteristics (KL), the Knowledge and Skills of Learning and Teaching (KSLT), the Knowledge of English (KE), the Knowledge of Education Ends, Purposes and Values (KEU), the Knowledge of School and Community (KSC), the Knowledge of General Education (KGEU), the Modern Demanded Knowledge and Skills (MDKS), and the Attitudes & Beliefs (A&B). Within each PC area, different PC forms accompanied with exemplified competency indicators are suggested. Two types of personality traits, attitudes and beliefs, are also suggested. Regarding these traits, a teacher's commitment to the educational causes and professional growth and beliefs in beliefs in self and education are centered.

Diagram 1. The Framework of Required Professional Competencies for ELTs

Area	PC Forms	Examples of Competency Indicators
KL	Knowledge of child development	→ Understanding children's cognitive, psychological & physiological developments
KL	Knowledge of learners' cultures	→ Understanding children's cultural backgrounds
KSLT	General pedagogical knowledge (GPK)	→Understanding the knowledge & skills of classroom management →Understanding the knowledge & skills of assessment of learning & teaching →Understanding the knowledge & skills of material development → Understanding the theory of motivation →Possessing interpersonal skills ※ *Understanding the knowledge & skills of intercultural communication* ※ *Understanding the knowledge & skills of academic research skills*
KSLT	Pedagogical content knowledge (PCK)	→ Understanding the knowledge & skills of TESOL methodology → Understanding the knowledge & skills of TESOL activity design → Understanding TESOL's relevant resources and their application ※ *Understanding technological pedagogical content knowledge & its application*
KSLT	Knowledge of learning & teaching (KLT)	→ Understanding the knowledge of 1st & 2nd language acquisitions
KE	English language skills (ELS)	→ Possessing good English writing proficiency & skills → Possessing good English reading proficiency & skills → Possessing good English speaking proficiency & skills → Possessing good English listening proficiency & skills
KE	Content knowledge (CK)	→ Is familiar with English literature → Is familiar with children literature → Is familiar with chants & nursery → Understanding the target language culture → Understanding the theory & skills of English pronunciation → Understanding the theory & skills of English spelling & phonics
KE	Knowledge of Curriculum (KC)	→ Understanding the organization of English curriculum → Understanding the educational resources and their application in education
KEU	Knowledge of general educational issues	→ Understanding educational policies & goals → Understanding current educational issues → Understanding the knowledge of history & philosophy of education
KSC	Knowledge of educational context	→ Understanding the local political, social & economic cultures → Understanding the school's & community's resources → Understanding the multi-cultural backgrounds of the community
KGEU	Knowledge of general education	→ Understanding the knowledge of other school subjects

Framework of the Required PCs for ELTs

- **Knowledge Base**
  - Fundamental Knowledge & skills
    - Knowledge about learners (KL)
    - Knowledge & skills about learning & teaching (KSLT)
    - Knowledge about English (KE)
    - Knowledge of education (KEU)
    - Knowledge of school & community (KSC)
    - Knowledge of general education (KGEU)
  - Modern Demanded Knowledge & Skills (MDKS)
    - Knowledge & skills of Technology (KST)
    - Knowledge of Cultures (KCL)
    - Knowledge & skills of academic research (KSR)
    - Knowledge & skills of Administration (KSA)
    - Knowledge & skills of integrated learning & teaching (KSI)
- **Personality Traits**
  - Attitudes
    - Positive attitudes toward the teaching profession
    - Positive attitudes toward professional growth
  - Beliefs
    - Positive beliefs of self
    - Positive beliefs of education

→ Possessing positive philosophical beliefs & self-beliefs

→ Possessing positive beliefs toward educational purposes & values

→ Demonstrating the willingness of providing extra devotion in time & work

→ Demonstrating the willingness of taking part in further development & colleague cooperation

FINDINGS

This section is divided into three sub-sections, each aims to answer one research question. The earlier parts of each sub-section discuss the findings extracted from both the quantitative and qualitative data, while the later part answers a research question highlighted in this present research.

Sub-section 1: The Trainees' Opinions about each PC Proposed in the FRPC
Finding 1: All the trainees value the PCs proposed in the FRPC with different degrees of importance.

The competency indicators in the pre- and the post-training questionnaires evaluated by the trainees were developed from the PCs proposed in the FRPC. Therefore, the results suggest that the importance of the PCs proposed in the FRPC were acknowledged by the trainees. Despite the fact that the PCs were all valued as necessary for an able ELT, the results of the degrees of importance of different PC areas and even some PCs within an area displayed distinct diversity of values. This implies that while the FRPC provides the information about what PCs may be important for a competent ELT, it presents all the PCs in a parallel way. However, the results show that this is not how the trainees conceive the PCs. The process of evaluating the PCs involved different factors which contributed to the diversity of the degrees. Most importantly, the PCs are valued by all the trainees, but they are valued differently; their degrees of importance are not equivalent.

Despite the divergence, two common opinions which were shared among the interviewees regarding the importance of all the PC areas, are that they all agreed that teaching is a complex activity requiring different knowledge and skills during the process and the majority shared the same pressures of facing unsound educational policy climates and being expected to be competent in all aspects. As a result of the similar concepts about teaching and the parallel anxieties, they all embraced the same attitude towards the PCs: "the more, the better", a phenomenon demonstrated in the example below.

> "What the authority asks of us alters every once a while, so the safest way to deal with the uncertainties is to adjust ourselves to the best."
> (Transcription 2-1, Post-Practicum Interview with GI2, 2008)

Finding 2: Four factors, the educational background, prior experiences, educational contexts, and needs, are identified to be interacting with the trainees' opinions.

In Transcriptions 1-9 and 3-13, the trainees' prior experiences, including the teaching experiences and the learning experiences, contributed to the formation of the trainees' beliefs:

> Knowing your students is a basic must, expecially the younger students, because this [being a teacher] is not only teaching them school subjects, but also the teaching of life matters.
> (Transcription 1-9, Post-Practicum Interview with GI1, 2008)
> [I] Learned second language acquisition before, and [I] knew that learning was not necessarily acquisition. It

required process.
(Transcription 3-13, Post-Practicum Interview with GI3, 2008)

Additionally, educational contexts may also be an influential factor interacting with the rating in a way that either facilitated or lessened the degrees (see Transcription 3-8).

They [The authorities] were taking one step a time. No one knew what's coming next. When the people on the top could not get the idea of what they were doing, how would someone like me know what or how to follow? With respect to the unstable politics, even the authorities were not sure about what to do, I suspected.
(Transcription 3-8, Post-Practicum Interview with GI3, 2008)

The last suggested factor is the trainees' needs, for in some cases like the one in GI1's below, the ratings might be the countermeasures (i.e., cooperative works with colleagues) the trainees adopted to satisfy the needs (furthering her own professional growth especially in English). GI1's anxiety may be diminished through the accessibility of organized educational materials and careful preparations before class; her anxiety could be transformed to "a conquerable obstacle" as she described below.

The knowledge relevant to English language is definitely important for an ELT. But I think it [the problem of having poor language proficiency] can be complementary and resolved if useful resources like organized syllabus, course plans and materials can be provided. Many schools adopted unified materials and course syllabus. With sufficient resources and

preparations before class, [the problem of poor] language proficiency should be a conquerable obstacle. Teachers should extend their learning voluntarily and get more frequent contacts with different resources.

(Transcription 1-4, Post-Practicum Interview with GI1, 2008)

These implications suggest that the trainees' prior knowledge and beliefs about the educational systems, the product, and the by-product manufactured through the trainees' educational background, may affect a trainee's opinions of the degree of importance in each PC area.

Sub-sectional Summary

This sub-section intends to answer RQ1: *what PCs are expected in an able ELT in consideration of the social contexts in Taiwan?* The FRPC results indicate that all the PCs are considered important by the trainees with different degrees of importance, and this helps consolidate the types of knowledge base and personal traits proposed in the FRPC.

Sub-section 2-1: The Trainees' Opinions Regarding the Comprehensiveness of the Training Contents
Finding 3: The trainees received most of the training suggested in the FRPC except for the training and development of Knowledge & Skills of Administration, Knowledge of School and Community, and Knowledge of Cultures.

As the long term goal for ELTs is for the prospective teacher to become a potential homeroom teacher (MOE, 2012),

administrative skills are essential for carrying out the administrative duties of a full time elementary school teacher, as well as a homeroom teacher. Nevertheless, relevant KSA training is lacking in the training institutions.

Moreover, KSC is promoted in the new reform, as cooperation between the teachers, the schools, and the community is encouraged for developing a school-based curriculum. This task requires a good understanding of the useful resources and the participants involved in related educational matters. In spite of its promotion, pertinent training is also absent.

KCL, one of the PCs demanded by contemporary society, seems to be overlooked, as well. Within KCL, types of cultures are mentioned. The learning of target language culture is provided in the training. Other types of cultures, the local culture, as well as the learner's culture, are briefly introduced and integrated in the learning area of Social Studies. This training content was absent in non-normal university G3's training.

The last type of culture deals with a more practical aspect of knowledge type: intercultural communicative knowledge and skills. The first three types of cultures are closer related to the role of a type of knowledge and understanding which serves as a guidance in the process of decision-making. This knowledge helps with the decision of what strategies should be taken for educational purposes. The last type of culture, however, can be considered a "means" to actualizing the knowledge and understanding. The development of intercultural communicative competence and the application of intercultural communicative skills allow a competent

teacher to effectively implement educational tasks in a more humanistic manner.

In the training of the three programs, the general skill, communicative skills, is cultivated in normal universities G1 and G2, i.e., the normal university educational system. It is introduced in the course of Classroom Management. However, the cultivation and introduction to the more specific skill, intercultural communicative skills are absent.

Finding 4: Normal university trainees receive more comprehensive training, whereas non-normal university trainees receive more English language related training.

The results from the post-training questionnaires revealed the fact that relatively less GTT and GEK training was provided in the program offered to the non-normal university trainees (G3) compared to the normal university trainees (G1 & G2). In contrast, the normal university trainees received less English language-related training in comparison to the non-normal university trainees. These two results may be attributed to the first degree the members of each group possessed. As suggested in Transcription 3-7, the solid foundations received in undergraduate courses greatly facilitated the trainees' confidence.

> The authority has been encouraging Whole Language Teaching in elementary schools for years and some of the popular kindergartens even follows this trend, too. Can you imagine how many times I had been asked to do a demo teaching in English when applying for a part time job? Fluency [of English] was usually the reason why I got a job. So to be an English teacher, good

> English ability is a number one requirement. Majoring
> in English is an advantage judging from this aspect.
> (Transcription 3-7, Post-Practicum Interview with GI3,
> 2008)

However, this very same reason may also be the cause for
their lower confidence in the PCs in which they received less
training (see Transcription 3-4).

> Our specialty was English language, so we knew
> how to use English. But like S22, how would we
> know what integration learning is? The
> administrative works and policies were all troubling.
> I think we need help, a lot of help. (sigh)
> (Transcription 3-4, Post-Practicum Interview with
> GI3, 2008)

Sub-section 2-2: The Trainees' Opinions Regarding Their Own Learning Achievements

Finding 5: English as 2nd Expertise Program trainees have the highest scores among the three groups at both the pre-training and the post-training stages.

Compared to the other two groups, G2 displayed a more
consistent range of rating, implying their confidence in the
different PC areas. Unlike G1, who displayed lower
confidence on KE and MDKS, and G3, who showed much
lower ratings on KL and KGEU, G2 showed a certain degree
of confidence in the PCs relevant to English teaching and the
PCs relevant to general education. Their confidence is well
reflected in GI2's response to the question of why she rated
relatively higher on the items:

> We have received English education and general education cultivations. Although there may be a lot of room for improvement, they should be enough for screening tests and beginning teaching.
> (Transcription 2-15, Post-Practicum Interview with GT2, 2008)

Thus, having received a more comprehensive training, which included both TESOL and general education courses, benefited the trainees' confidence, as well as their self-beliefs.

Finding 6: Positive progress is demonstrated in most PC areas, but the trainees of 20-Credit Program and Educational Program for Elementary School Teachers made negative progress on Knowledge about English.

The trainees' self-evaluation results show that all three groups thought they made positive progress on most PCs, with the exceptions of G1 and G3 making negative progress on KE. These results indicate that the programs are probably beneficial for their professional development. Though most PCs were rated as indicating G1 trainees thought they made progress in them, two still had mean scores below 3 "some degree of appropriateness". This means that the majority of the statements regarding KE and MDKS are considered "inappropriate". Similar to G1, G3 has also two PCs rated "inappropriate," KL and KGEU; both related to general education. This suggests that despite the progress G1 and G3 made on these PCs, which were the sources of their anxieties implied on their pre-training questionnaire and reported in their interviews in 2008, they still expressed diffidence in these particular PC areas.

Negative progress was found on the knowledge branch of KE. After an investigation into the reasons for G1's and G3's negative progress on KE, possible explanations were found. One possible reason is that the G1 trainees might have felt that the limited hours of training were insufficient for them to make distinct progress. In this case, the negative progress may not necessarily mean no progress, but instead simply imply the trainees' anxiety about the insufficient amount of training. This possibility is also implied in GI1's interview.

> English is still not proficient enough. Probably need more work on it.
> (Transcription 1-15, Post-Practicum Interview with GI1, 2008)

Another possible reason is that the original rating of the G1 trainees was their assumption of their own proficiency, and the rating at the post-training stage reflected the realization of their own proficiency after actually practicing it. If this is proven to be the case, negative progress may in fact indicate their realization of their true proficiency. Though no evidence can be found about this possibility in the trainees' data, relevant implication can be inferred from the trainer's interview data.

> After receiving the training for a while, the trainees realized that there should be much work done about their English proficiency. For them, the teaching ability is no longer the main issue.
> (Transcription 4-5, Post-Practicum Interview with GT1, 2008)

For G3, the possible causes for the lower rate of KE are two-fold. First, they did not receive much training in the English language since their focus of study was in general education training. Not receiving as much training in the language as they used to in their first degree may have created a feeling that the language training was neglected, hence the feeling of not progressing. The other possible reason can be elicited from the trainer's interview:

> There is a unique phenomenon. The trainees have learned a lot of technical terms and literatures, but they sometimes seem to have difficulty handling daily conversation. There was one time that the entire class could not name the produce "white-out".
> (Transcription 6-2, Post-Practicum Interview with GT3, 2008)

G3 trainees may be accustomed to using "academic English" or "literature English" in undergraduate study. Differences between using "academic English" and "teaching elementary English" were not distinguished properly, although there is a great difference. Hsieh (2002) states that some trainees have not subsequently had an opportunity to use English in real life or with younger learners, thereby making it difficult to convert English from form-based knowledge into communication.

Finding 7: The trainees' affirmative opinions regarding their own progress do not necessarily imply their confidence in their own PCs.

GI1's concern for KE and TESOL-related knowledge and skills and GI3's worry about her education-related PCs were already explicitly shown at the pre-training stage. The self-evaluations at the post-training stage demonstrate progress on G1's MDKS and on G3's KL and KGEU. However, the anxieties still remained, as shown in their rating results. This suggests that although the training was helpful for the development of most PCs, it was not able to build up G1's and G3's confidence. Furthermore, while the ratings reflected some trainees' confidence in their own PCs, for some other trainees, the ratings merely indicated their affirmative attitude toward their own improvements:

> We were just starting to receive the training back then, so surely not confident [in our own knowledge related to English education]. But as for English, we had done a lot of practice, so we should be better [comparing to the other group trainees.].
> (Transcription 3-14, Post-Practicum Interview with GI3, 2008)

To conclude, the training's effectiveness in facilitating the trainees' PCs, as the trainees themselves report, is proven, but the question of whether the degree of progress is sufficient for preparing them to face the challenges in actual teaching remains unanswered.

With regard to each group's learning achievement, the trainers shared their opinions as trainer. The trainers' interview data once again confirmed the trainees' reports of their progress. However, they expressed different opinions

regarding the readiness of each group of trainees. While GT1, a trainer from 20-Credit Program, doubted G1's readiness, GT2 and GT3, trainers from English as 2nd Expertise Program and Educational Program for Elementary School Teachers, held optimistic attitudes toward G2's and G3's potential in the teaching profession:

> Their teaching was already very good, so they learned really fast on TESOL relevant training. They showed less fear toward English, too…. Teaching English? They still need more time, especially on overcoming the obstacle in language. … They have less advantageous conditions in screening tests. The English written test in phase 1 is already very difficult for them, and the English interview and demon teaching in phase 2 are also big challenges.(Transcription 4-7, Post-Practicum Interview with GT1, 2008)

> Their class performances were good and they did well on the demon teaching in class. After the completion of practicum teaching, I think they stand for very good chance [on getting a job or passing screening tests]."
> (Transcription 5-2, Post-Practicum Interview with GT2, 2008)

Sub-section 2-3: The Trainees' Degrees of Satisfaction with the Training Programs

Finding 8: Most ratings are in-between unsatisfied and neutral.

Despite their sense of progress on most PC areas, the results from the satisfaction rates of the trainees seemed to conflict with some results in the self-evaluations. While G1 and G3 approved of the progress they thought they had made

in KSLT, KGEU, KEU, and KSC, they expressed their dissatisfaction towards GTT and GEK. Similar to G1 and G3, G2 said they made progress in KEU, KSC, and KGEU, but the satisfaction rate for GEK appears to be low. The data may seem contradictory when comparing the two results from the self-evaluations and the satisfaction rates. Although definite reasons for the low rates cannot be explicitly identified, the interview data suggested different possiblities. One possibility is that the trainees question the necessity and urgency of some particular PCs for pre-service teachers and this influenced their opinons regarding the importance of the PC areas (e.g. Transcription 2-7). These new beliefs then inevitably affected how the trainees viewed their own progress:

> This could probably benefit a teacher's work in the future, but it's probably less helpful for us who are struggling to pass the screening tests.
> (Transcription 2-7, Post-Practicum Interview with GI2, 2008)

The other possibility is that the trainees thought the programs were useful in facilitating their PCs, but the question whether the progress is suffcent for real teaching challenges remains:

> Classroom management is crucial…. I can ask for strategies and tips from the senior teachers. This is an issue of experience.
> (Transcription 3-18, Post-Practicum Interview with GI3, 2008)

Consequently, this uncertainty leads to anxieties reflected in the ratings.

In short, the findings in this part have suggested possible associations between the satisfaction rate and the trainees' self-evaluation of their PCs and the trainees' beliefs of the importance of the PCs.

Sub-sectional Summary

The research question this sub-section is trying to answer is what are the trainees' opinions regarding the comprehensiveness of the training contents, their own learning achievements, and their degree of satisfaction with the training programs. With regard to comprehensiveness, the development of most of the PCs is provided for, with the exception of KSA, KSC and KCL. With regard to the trainees' opinions regarding their own training outcomes, all respondents confirmed their own improvements in the majority of the PCs. Nonetheless, many trainees still question their own ability in securing a job or/and ensuring their own teaching quality. Lastly, in reference to the trainees' satisfaction level with the training programs, unlike the greater differences presented in the self-evaluations ratings, most satisfaction ratings appear to be lower. Though the cause cannot be definitely explained, some evidence suggests the association between this low rating and the trainees' uncertainties of their own level of professionalism.

Sub-section 3: TheTrainees' Opinions Regarding the Practicality

Finding 9: The trainees consider all the trained knowledge and skills useful, while they see the training of Knowledge about Learners, Knowledge & Skills about Learning and Teaching, Knowledge about English, Knowledge & Skills of Technology, and Knowledge of Cultures very useful.

All three trainee groups consider all the trained knowledge and skills useful because it takes a variety of PCs to deal with the complexities of teaching and learning. Though none is found useless, five PC areas are identified to be very useful by the majority. KL, KSLT, KE, KST, and KCL are all considered useful for their high relevance to English language teaching, a point demonstrated in Transcription 1-20.

> Good understanding of the learners is important, especially they are children and there are some students from different cultural backgrounds. Interacting with them is a tricky job. …Good applications of TESOL activities and materials reinforce teaching greatly. …Among teaching aids, I find online activities attract the students a lot. …Of course, good English proficiency eases the teaching greatly, too.
> (Transcription 1-20, Post-Practicum Interview with GI1, 2008)

Finding 10: All trainees consider the training of KSLT most applicable, and the training of Knowledge of Education, Knowledge of School & Community, Knowledge & Skills of Integrated Learning & Teaching and Knowledge & Skills of Academic Research less applicable.

KSLT was considered most applicable by the three interviewees, and within KSLT, the applicability of GPK and PCK is specifically mentioned in the data collected:

> I feel really good whenever I think I have the class in control. The learning atmosphere is great. …Some students are the big fans of my cartoons and puppets [self-made teaching aids] (laugh).
> (Transcription 2-19, Post-Practicum Interview with GI2, 2008)

The trainees find KEU, KSC, KSI, and KSR to be less applicable either because of the their insufficient proficiency in applying these PCs (G12 Transcription 2-20 below) or these PCs are not needed in the teaching duties of the trainees (G13 Transcription 3-24 below).

> We learned a little about KSI but there was really not any practice or experience. I don't think I am up for the job.
> (Transcription 2-20, Post-Practicum Interview with GI2, 2008)
> We will eventually have our turns, but as internets and novice teachers, we are still far from being qualified.
> (Transcription 3-24, Post-Practicum Interview with GI3, 2008)

Consequently, the applicability of a PC may be determined by a teacher's ability to transfer a particular PC into his or her teaching, his or her ability to utilize a PC, and the opportunities provided to make use of a PC in a job.

Sub-sectional Summary

This sub-section attempts to answer the RQ: what the trainees' opinions are regarding the usefulness and applicability of the trained skills and knowledge in formal teaching settings. The results show that the trainees value the usefulness of all the PCs, with some of the PC areas valued as very useful. Similarly, all the trained knowledge and skills are considered applicable with different degrees of applicability.

SUGGESTIONS AND CONCLUSION

Based on the trainees' interview data obtained at post-practicum stage in 2008 and those gathered three years after the completion of training in 2011, some suggestions are made for the training curriculum.

Suggestions Made in 2008

- The training of KE, KST, KCL and KSI need much more emphases.
- The training of KSLT (especially PCK), KSA, and GPK should also be reinforced.
- The cultivation of the knowledge and skills of counseling and talent-guidance are recommended.
- The issue of time constraint and the trainees' preconditions should be taken into consideration when planning the training curriculum.
- Readjustments of prolonging the training duration and offering a more trainees' need-oriented curriculum are suggested.

- Establishment of the authority's credibility by implementing more consistent educational policies

Suggestions Made in 2011

- The urgency of each PC should be firstly reconsidered when designing the training contents. With this kept in mind, it is proposed that the training of different PCs could be implemented at different stages, e.g. pre-service and in-service stages.
- More opportunities for in-service professional development, like the continuous development of the pre-service training programs should be offered.
- Reconsideration of the acquirability and evaluation measures of some specific PCs.
- Since ELTs' personal traits are neither evaluated nor trained, their emphasis in the FRPC should be reconsidered.
- The curriculum of initial education for ELTs could be adjusted taking account of the trainability of the knowledge and skills within limited training duration.

In the transition period, transformations take time and effort. Though it is true that short-term training is helpful for further professional development, it should only be provided as teacher-reinforcing programs, rather than having it become a legitimate method for providing official initial teacher education (Chien, 2011b). Educational reform is understandable as a way of innovation and improvement, but the reform and relevant policies should be explicit, and

tolerance should be shown towards those who have had pre-reform training. A unified system might make the training more "standardized" and more supervision-friendly (Wu, 2006). However, what is promoted in the new reform is the team spirit, where teachers can contribute different talents, and how realistic it is to expect a teacher to be competently equipped with all the PCs. The question of how much effort and time one should devote to achieve the appropriate proficiency in order to be respected and recognized as competent in the job was asked. Perhaps, what should be noticed is the spirit of teamwork in the new reform. The demonstration of one's uniqueness and strengths that are cultivated through one's own learning experiences and personal life experiences should be encouraged. These characteristics from different sources, may then contribute to a team spirit in the Taiwanese teacher force, in which the strengths of each individual is expanded and the positive diversity is recognized.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design and Plan

A flowchart of the Research Plan outlines the research procedures taken in this study. The research procedures are divided into seven different stages. Each stage, the steps taken, and the descriptions of the steps are also provided in the flowchart below.

Flowchart 1. Research Design and Plan Flowchart

2005	**Preliminary**	Literature Review of the English teacher education in Taiwan (research motivation arose and research question emerged)
	1st Stage	⇩
		Conducting literature review of the contemporary international & domestic empirical studies on the interested area
		⇩
		Writing the introduction section
		⇩
		Establishing the initial FRPC
		⇩
		Conducting literature review of the social contexts of Taiwan
		⇩
		Establishing the revised FRPC
2005 ~ 2006	**2nd Stage**	Administering the Experts' Opinion survey to 6 experts (1) / designing the survey → conducting peer reviewing → conducting the survey / Purposefully selecting 3 different training institutes

Consolidating the FRPC

Transcribing the survey data → obtaining confirmations of the results from the 6 experts → compare & incorporate with the FRPC

⇩

Designing the questionnaires

Creating the questionnaire items & categories from the results of the academic findings as well as the expert surveys → Jury's Opinion → revising the questionnaires → piloting

⇩

Administering Pre-Training Stage Questionnaire to 3 different group subjects (2)

2005~2007	**3ʳᵈ Stage**	Implementing the training education ⇩ Writing the draft of literature reviews and methodology sections ⇩
2007~2008	**4ᵗʰ Stage**	Administering Post-Training Stage Questionnaire to 3 different group subjects (3) ⇩ Analyzing Pre- & Post-Training Questionnaires
2008 ~ 2011	**5ᵗʰ Stage**	Designing interview questions — Designing GQs based on the research questions revising GQs in consideration of the quantitative results / Conducting the trainer Interviews (4)

2011 ~ 2012	6th Stage	

Administering trainee interviews I & II
(5)

Revising the literature reviews

⌜Updating the work with more recent studies → including the amended educational policies⌟

Transcribing and analyzing the interview data

⌜Transcribing → sending the transcriptions to the interviewees for confirmation → analyzing the data⌟

Writing the results & analysis sections

Revising the literature reviews and introduction sections and finalizing the FRPC

(1) Experts' Opinion Survey is an open-question questionnaire which aims to investigate 6 different experts' opinions regarding the required PCs of an able ELT at elementary school level in Taiwan.

(2) Pre-Training Stage Questionnaire aims to investigate the trainees' background information and their opinions regarding the importance of different types of PCs, the level of their own PCs as well as the importance of different training contents at the pre-training stage (2006 for G1; 2005 for G2 & G3).

(3) Post-Training Stage Questionnaire aims to investigate the durations of different training the trainees had received during their initial educations, their satisfactory rates of the training, and their opinions regarding their own learning outcomes at the post-training stage.

(4) The trainer interviews aim to investigate the trainers' opinions regarding the trainees' learning achievement as well as the trainees' level of PCs.

(5) The trainee interviews aim to investigate trainees' opinions regarding the effectiveness and the practicality of the trained skills

and knowledge after 6 months /3 years of actual teaching.

Development of Instruments

Within the mixed methods research design of this longitudinal research, two mixed methods design stages were involved: instrument development and follow-up explanation model. In the initial stage, instrument development, a quantitative instrument (Likert-type scale questionnaires) was developed based on the results from the qualitative data elicited in an open-ended questionnaire survey of experts' opinions). In the second stage, an analysis identified results from the quantitative data, elicited from pre-training and post-training stage Likert-type scale questionnaires for the follow-up investigation using a qualitative instrument, semi-structured interviews in 2008 and 2011. The intention of combining the two approaches was to validate the Likert-type scale questionnaire instruments, to generate general tendencies in the trainees' opinions at the pre-training and post-training stages, and to gain insightful information and explanations from the selected participants' opinions elicited in interviews.

Instruments Design

The pre-training stage questionnaire contains four types of information: the trainees' demographic information, 27 statements eliciting the trainees' opinions of the degree of importance and self-evaluation of each competency indicator, i.e., the demonstration of a PC (e.g. using English fluently in class), and 30 statements surveying the trainees' opinions of the training of each PC. The post-training stage questionnaire elicits three types of data: the trainees' self-evaluations of their own PCs, the duration of each PC training, and the trainees'

satisfaction rates with different types of PC training. The statements (i.e. competency indicators and training contents) used in the questionnaires were the results generated from the results of the FRPC.

Guiding questions (GQs) were generated for the interviews after the post-training questionnaires. The interview contents did not necessarily follow the pre-planned GQs but were relevant to the central idea of investigating the training programs. Three trainee interviewees, one from each group, were randomly selected, and three trainer interviewees, one from each training channel, volunteered to participate in the interviews. The GQs were sent to six interviewees two weeks before the interviews so that they could have sufficient time to prepare or think and organize what they plan to say in their responses.

Data Analysis

For analysing the quantitative data from two Likert-scale questionnaires, the SPSS software was used; useful statistical tests as ANOVA, *t*-test, Pearson correlation were carried out. The interview data were firstly transcribed. Kavle's (1996) 7-stage method was employed: the interviews were recorded at the times of conducting and they were then transcribed word for word.

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An Online Teacher Professional Development Framework for Taiwanese English Teachers in Supplementary Schools: Undoing Self-Marginalization

Pai-Hsien Aiden Yeh

INTRODUCTION

Marginalized Taiwanese English teachers in supplementary or cram schools (bǔ-xí bān) tend to undermine themselves (Su, 2009), and unfortunately, many non-native English speaking teachers use their non-native identity as an excuse for their poor aptitude in the English language and/or their lack of confidence in teaching (Choi, 2007). Sadly, their low self-perception as English teachers inevitably breeds self-marginalization. The dilemma for Taiwanese English teachers in supplementary schools does not only involve getting the right teacher education but also the need to engage in continuous teacher learning and professional development opportunities that enhance the value of personal and professional growth (Tiangco, 2005). Given the fact that many Taiwanese English teachers enter the EFL classroom without formal preparation specifically in teaching EFL, teacher professional development (TPD) has become more important than ever. TPD can include formal or informal learning experiences throughout one's career (Fullan, 1991). Marsick and Watkins (1990) state that formal learning is

"institutionally-sponsored, classroom-based, and highly-structured", while informal learning is a "category which includes incidental learning, may occur in institutions, but is not typically classroom-based..." (p. 12). Traditional forms of TPD may include annual local, national, or international conferences, workshops, college course (Little, 1993), while the most recent forms of TPD activities that teachers can do on their own and for their own sake (Edge & Richards, 1998) include joining communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), co-teaching, mentoring, coaching, reflecting on class lessons (Schifter & Fosnot, 1993), self-directed learning, and action research (Guskey, 2000). Traditional TPD has conventionally been offered as a face-to-face activity, and in most cases, held after school, during the weekends, and sometimes during holidays where teachers could find time to participate. Garet et al (2001) posit such TPD is "widely criticized as being ineffective in providing teachers with sufficient time, activities, and content necessary for increasing teachers' knowledge and fostering meaningful changes" (p. 920). Such reproof on the deficiencies of traditional professional development creates a niche for alternative forms. The advent of new technologies and the massive popularity of the Internet provide endless possibilities for innovative approaches in delivering and/or facilitating continuous online teacher professional development (oTPD) (Lock, 2006); the dynamic nature of oTPD using interactive web tools bridges the gap in providing teachers access to professional development. This chapter provides a discussion of the results of a qualitative study highlighting an online teacher professional development (oTPD) framework that integrated the principles of cognitive apprenticeship and informal

mentoring in online environments. The results show that despite some limitations of the study, the Taiwanese teachers benefitted from the oTPD through the construction of new knowledge and skills that had direct implications for their attitudes, behaviour, and practice.

Setting the Scene

The snowball sampling approach (Atkinson & Flint, 2004), where friends, colleagues, and other teachers were requested to pass on the information to others, was used to recruit the Taiwanese teachers who participated in this study. To qualify, teachers were to meet the following criteria (see Table 1).

Table 1: Criteria in Choosing Participants

1.	Must be of Taiwanese ethnicity (regardless of gender)
2.	Practicing EFL teaching in cram schools /supplementary school (part-time or full-time)
3.	Have access to computer with Internet access
4.	Have basic knowledge in computing and Internet skills
5.	Willing to participate in online TPD activities

Participants were then included in a number of activities as described below.

Asynchronous Discussion in Yahoo! Group

30 teachers who participated in asynchronous discussions in Yahoo! Group (YG) were interested in various topics related to their work as EFL teachers. Consent to participate in the study was given via email correspondence. My role in this

online group was that of an overt participant (cf. Fraenkel & Wallen, 1993) because I was able to participate in the discussions, and the members of this group knew that I was conducting research and that their participation and contributions to the discussions would be used as data in my study. Teachers were free to post anything that would spark dialogue and sharing of opinions. About 80% of the teachers in this group teach in cram schools that also offer after-school services (i.e., help with homework from mainstream school program). The other 20% also teach English in primary schools on a part-time basis. They were asked to identify their teaching needs and what instructional skill or other related areas they wished to learn or enhance. The following topics were raised and covered during the YG-discussion project:

1. How to teach English and enhance the students' language skills: reading, listening, speaking and writing
2. How to increase students' motivation to learn
3. How to improve teachers' language skills
4. How to improve teaching style
5. How to integrate technology into the classroom

Synchronous and Asynchronous Action Research Group

Two teachers (Joy and Cindy) were invited following the same criteria above and, most importantly, they expressed their willingness to participate in the action research. Joy's and Cindy's oTPD was done separately due to the specific teacher learning needs that they had, which had to be matched with appropriate mentors (cf Murray, 2001). Nonetheless, both followed the same oTPD guidelines. They were asked to

attend a synchronous webinar, where practicing expert teachers from various countries were invited to share effective teaching practices and offer advice. Class observations were held twice: one prior to the online webinar and the other was post-webinar observation. Class observations were video-recorded for analysis to establish the relation between perceived role and performance, and to see how much knowledge was gained from the web conference, whether or not it was implemented in their classroom, and to gauge the effect of their practice on students' learning, if there was any. As part of their action research, Joy and Cindy were asked to create a blog to serve as their online journal. They wrote blog entries concerning the online conference, class observations, reflections on lesson plans and class activities, and other class related events.

Mentors

The open call for volunteer teacher-experts to participate was announced on my social and personal learning networks (PLN) and the Webheads in Action (Webheads), an online community of practice (CoP) in which I have been a long time member. Webheads are language teachers who "engage in helping each other pursue lifelong, just-in-time, informal learning through experimentation in use of social-media and computer mediated communications tools" (Stevens, 2009, para. 9). In the call for mentors, I described what their participation would entail and the particular professional skills/knowledge the Taiwanese EFL teachers wanted to learn more about. Colleagues who felt that they had something to share and were willing to devote their time and efforts to

extending their help to mentor/coach these Taiwanese EFL teachers, expressed their commitment and followed it through to completion. Allocation of volunteer mentors to Taiwanese EFL teachers was made by making sure that these mentors had considerable experience and were knowledgeable enough in their field of expertise, and that their skills were matched to the teachers' learning needs (Murray, 2001). The invited mentors in this study were experts in their own right and all of them had solid background and experience in ELT/EFL. Table 2 below shows the teachers' learning needs and the invited mentors for their oTPD.

Table 2: Mentors and Mentees

Taiwanese Teacher	TPD Needs	Expert teachers[1] with extensive experience
Asynchronous Yahoo! Group	Teaching and instructional skills	Webheads 1) Elizabeth- a teacher trainer and an educational technology consultant who conducts online courses using collaborative tools; she is also professor emeritus at California State University,
	Lessons and activities	
	Teacher and student motivation	2) Arnold- a retired teacher trainer from the

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1 Permission was granted to use mentors' real names for the purposes of this study.

Taiwanese Teacher	TPD Needs	Expert teachers[1] with extensive experience
		Netherlands, 3)Michael- a British EFL teacher in Shanghai, China. He participated in asynchronous discussions by sharing, responding, and offering suggestions and help regarding teaching strategies.
Synchronous & asynchronous Action Research group	Joy: How to teach writing to young learners	Webeads Dafne: ESP professor teaching in Spain, Teresa: primary school English teacher from Portugal, Gladys and Alejandra: English teachers from Argentina.
	Cindy: How to teach speaking (English conversation) to seniors/adult learners	From Non-native English Speakers in TESOL Interest Section (NNEST-IS) Terry: ESL teacher in Adult Education in San Francisco

Cognitive Apprenticeship in Online Environments

The informal oTPD adapted in this study used a core conceptual framework as the basis for measurement of its effectiveness, i.e., what kind of knowledge or skills were learned as a result of their oTPD experience, and whether there were any changes in their instruction. The use of Collins et al.'s (1989) cognitive apprenticeship scheme and applying it in online environments allowed me to examine how 1) modeling, coaching, scaffolding and mentoring were applied in the oTPD process, 2) the various methods which the Taiwanese EFL teachers availed themselves of in articulating their needs, thoughts, feelings, and opinions with the other local teachers and mentors, 3) how they analyzed and reflected on their teaching and their participation in the oTPD activities, and 4) how they practiced their exploration skills, i.e., transferring what they had learned from the mentors into practice by creating learning activities for their students, changing their instructional practices, etc. This theory centers on the development of higher level thinking skills such as problem-solving, critical thinking, learning to learn, and being creative.

Online Teacher Professional Development Framework

The graphic representation (Figure 1) shows the four core areas and the integration of online tools needed in facilitating the proposed oTPD framework: Awareness, Catalyst, Core & Structural Features of oTPD, and Teacher Change.
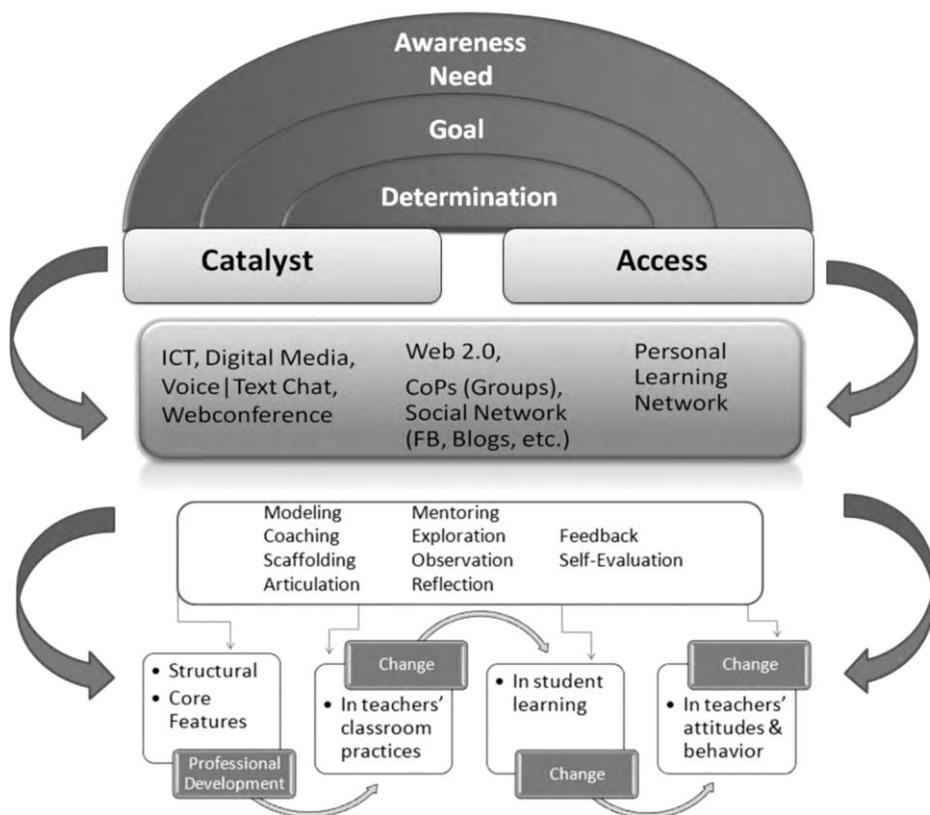
Figure 1: oTPD Framework

1. **Awareness:** The oTPD framework begins with having an understanding of what the teachers' learning needs and goals are in relation to their classroom practices, combined with determination to make meaningful changes.

2. **Catalyst in providing Access to oTPD:** This is where online tools are now integrated into the process as they will be used as a "gateway" for teachers' oTPD. Being a catalyst means being an agent in providing information or links to an oTPD opportunity. The oTPD catalyst can be anyone (e.g.

school administrators, teachers, colleagues) who is willing to share TPD or oTPD information that teachers can look into. This is why social networking is important. The network of like-minded people can share oTPD events that can be beneficial for EFL teachers.

3. **Core and structural features of the oTPD** (Appendix 1 and 2)**:** This is the heart of the entire process as it determines the how, where, when the oTPD will take place, why it is being offered, who the people participating are, and what the content focus of the oTPD is about. The major planning revolves around this area. The core features include a) content focus, b) active learning, and c) coherence. Content focus refers to the activity or activities that focus on improving teachers' skills and knowledge of the subject content that students will be learning (Ganser, 2000). Active learning, as opposed to passive learning, refers to the active engagement of teachers in the activity, i.e. meaningful discussion, planning, and practice (class observations either observing experts or being observed) (Borko, 2004). Coherence relates to "the degree to which the activity promotes coherence in teachers' professional development, by incorporating experiences which are consistent with teachers' goals" (Garet, et al., 2001, p. 920). If the professional development activity that they participate in is coherent with their other professional development activities that they have engaged in the past, they are more likely to change their practice.

The core features highlighted in this study provided the teachers with the support that they needed in gaining professional development that they could actually put into

practice, thus achieving a meaningful effect on teacher learning. The analyses of messages in both environments provided evidence that the nature of discussions involved the use of cognitive skills. The implementation of cognitive apprenticeship and mentoring theory into practice (which ensured that active learning was taking place) was critical since it underlies one of the core features of this oTPD (Appendix 2).

Structural features involved a) the form of oTPD, b) duration, and c) collective participation. Form refers to what type of activity is being conducted such as traditional forms like workshops, course, and conferences; other forms are reform types such as study groups, mentoring, and coaching. Duration pertains to the length of the activity i.e., hours, days, weeks, etc. It also refers to the time which the participants spent in the activity. Collective participation or the participation of other teachers is a potential form of teacher learning since it provides opportunities for meaningful interaction (Clement & Vanderberghe, 2001).

After finding out what particular topic the teachers want to discuss or learn more about, searching for suitable mentors or experts who would be willing to share their expertise is the next step. Posting a call for volunteer mentors to various PLNs and CoP (e.g., Webheads), similar to what I did in this study, is one solution in looking for experts or experienced teachers who can serve as mentors. This is also the time to plan for a suitable timeframe for the oTPD, taking into account the availability of both the mentors and the local teachers. Determining the venue where the oTPD will take place should also be in place

around this time. Choosing the online platform will depend on the type of oTPD, whether it involves asynchronous discussions, synchronous webinars, or both. This study strongly suggests that opportunities for teacher reflections should be incorporated into the oTPD process. In this way, the teachers will have the chance to review and reflect on their oTPD journey. The use of blogs for reflective purposes is a great way to achieve this; and as seen in this study, mentors can also make use of the blogs to leave comments or feedback, thus making the mentor-mentee connections even stronger.

4. **Change in Teachers' Attitude and Practice:** Finding out what the teachers learned from the webinars or asynchronous discussions can be done by looking at recording or chat archives. The quality of the interactions with the experts/mentors can say a lot about the communication dynamics that took place. Did the teachers ask questions? How engaged were they in the conversations? Did the mentors provide scaffolding or mentoring? The high level of social interactions that took place in this study allowed the construction of new knowledge (various concepts and skills in EFL pedagogy). Change in practice becomes evident when teachers carry out the suggestions and/or ideas given by the expert teachers, and normally entails doing something that was never done before. The change in attitude and behavioral cues manifested in Joy's and Cindy's practices are available in Appendix 3 and 4. The informal oTPD facilitated in this study shows how an effective professional development in online environments

can be implemented without incurring the high cost involved in traditional TPD. This framework also shows that informal oTPD can still be implemented following an organized and structured design.

FINDINGS

The Taiwanese teachers in this study had little opportunity to engage in a personalized TPD, thus the use of online technology enabled collaboration at a distance. The oTPD allowed them to experience an informal mentoring relationship among expert EFL/ESL teachers which includes the transfer of knowledge related to the teaching skills or strategies relevant to their own teaching contexts. While the focused areas were on mentoring, learning, sharing, etc., the entire social interaction (with the teacher-experts) involved the development of cognitive skills as they participated in an authentic learning experience. The conversations between the experts and the Taiwanese EFL teachers also demonstrated that collegial relationships can be fostered based on trust and respect. Exchanges of messages showed that efforts were made to collaborate with each other while engaging in consultation and sharing problems and solutions, which in the end helped the Taiwanese EFL teachers make sense of their teaching practices as they gave/received feedback. Due to length restrictions, I only provide a few excerpts of discourse from selected mentors that highlighted examples of cognitive apprenticeship[2].

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[2] For full report of findings and analysis, please refer to the longitudinal

Modeling

With the modeling method, learners are given opportunities to observe how experts go through the process of problem solving. The experts model a certain process by talking about it and explaining the strategies and reasons for doing so (Wang & Bonk, 2001). An example of modeling was when Elizabeth posted a message to the Yahoo! Group answering April's (one of the active Taiwanese teachers on YG) call for some teaching strategies that would make her elementary students participate and be interested in the class better. In her message, she gave April a concrete example of a learning activity called the "Name Game". By weaving previous comments made in the YG discussion list, Elizabeth shows she was not only following the messages that were posted by the Taiwanese teachers, but it also affirmed her support and understanding of the teachers' context and needs. She focused on students' learning motivation as this was what most of the teachers raised as an important issue for them. She also gave clarifications on the concepts that she mentioned. For example, she gave a simple and easily understandable definition of how "extrinsic motivation" can be done in class and a description of what the activity was about and why it was being suggested in the first place. Elizabeth wrote how the Name Game activity could be applied in the classroom and the process in which the students participate (Figure 2). By sharing her personal experiences (what worked and what did not) embedded in the learning activity that she was suggesting,

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empirical research project (Yeh, 2011) that includes data triangulation from case studies and two survey questionnaires which also looked into the attitudes and current practices of Taiwanese teachers in supplementary schools with respect to professional development.

she also shows her expertise and credibility. Such a form of sharing could also inspire teachers to adopt this activity in their own classroom. She also introduced the idea of pairing up students to get them to practice oral skills, and she also gave suggestions on how to use this activity to low level students.

I usually play the "Name Game" in the first class--sit in a circle, and the first person says his/her name. The second person says the name of the first, and his/her own name. The third person repeats, starting with the first name, all the way around the circle. I usually go last, and find I can remember some 40 or so names, backwards or forwards. Then continue around the circle! Students are surprised and pleased that they can do get everyone's name. Of course next time, when they change seats, you'll have to do some brush-up. I ask everyone to look around the room and silently say names--if they can't remember one, they can ask the person directly. → Provided concrete example of a learning activity

I then pair up students and have them interview each other, and then introduce their partner to the whole class. → Introduced the idea of 'Pairing' to get students to talk

This gives practice in asking questions, like "What's your name?" and "Where are you from?" and it's a good ice-breaker.

If students are low level, you can put the questions on the board first--ask them to help develop the questions on the board, too--what do you want to find out about the other person? how would you ask that in English? They might come up with names, hobbies, favorite foods, etc. You can suggest some that might make it fun. → Suggestions for low level students

Even very low level students can do this activity, and it helps you remember everyone. I've found if they introduce themselves, it doesn't work--they have to introduce the other person.

Your non-participants will have to take part, and they may see that you aren't such a bad person after all. → Suggesting the need for teacher participation

Figure 2: Screenshot of Elizabeth's Message

April posted a message to the group where she gave an update of her class (Figure 3). She said that she tried the learning activity that Elizabeth suggested with some improvements to suit her students better. She had prepared hand-outs with interview questions for the pair-up activity, and she also added a song and a puzzle activity. She mentioned that those students who once did not participate in class activities were participating in this one. In the end, she reckoned the class went smoothly, and that it had a positive effect on how the students treated her during their second class meeting. Seeing the change in behaviour of her students had affected her perception about herself as an effective teacher; this experience had given her the confidence that she badly needed. By posting this message to the group, April affirmed her active participation in her professional development. Reporting back to the group allowed others, including the guest teacher-experts, to know how their participation in April's teacher professional development proved helpful. It also informed the group about the progress that she had accomplished.
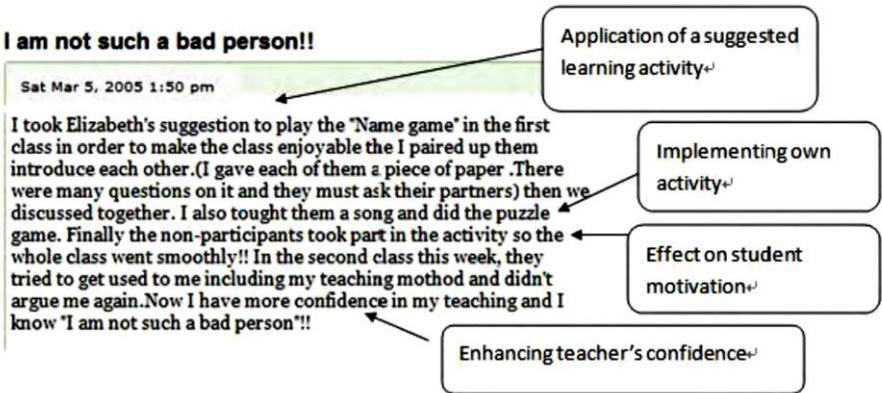
Figure 3: Analysis of April's Response to Elizabeth

The activity turned out to be a success since her students who previously did not engage in class activities started to participate and enjoyed the activity. April saw the changes in the way her students behaved in the class meeting that followed. This experience had positive ramifications for her attitude towards teaching and her own perception of herself as a teacher.

Figure 4 below shows the types of before-and-after attitude and behaviour that April expressed in her messages posted to the Taiwanese EFL YG soliciting advice regarding her dilemma.

	April's Expressed Attitudes/Behavior	Cues
Before	- I have pressure when I teach English because the students get used to their first teacher's style already	- Feeling the stress -Feeling threatened
	- they think…Do you agree or not?	- Fear of not getting employer's approval
	- Should I be like her or just be myself?	- Self-doubt
	- I can feel they don't really like me	- Low self-esteem
	- I could not only felt (sic) they were uncomfortable to get used (sic) to me but also didn't response (sic) me when I said hi to them.	- Making false assumptions -Misinterpreting students' actions - Lack of confidence
Practice	-I took Elizabeth's suggestion to play the "Name game"; to make the class enjoyable; I paired them up; I gave each of them a piece of paper w/ questions many questions on it and they must ask their partners; - we discussed together; taught them a song and did the puzzle game	- exerting effort to improve relationship with students - taking part in the learning activity
	- Finally the non-participants took part in the activity so the whole *class went smoothly!!!*	-feeling the thrill of accomplishment
After	-In the second class this week, they tried to get used to me including my teaching method and didn't argue with me again - Now I have more confidence in my teaching and I know "I am not such a bad person"!!	- seeing and experiencing the change in students' involvement and behavior towards her -gaining self-confidence -change in attitude and behavior

Figure 4: April's Expressed Attitudes/Behaviour Cues

Coaching

The examples below show the kinds of coaching or ways of providing teacher support, which range from simple suggestions or ideas to sharing teaching resources. The excerpt from the transcript shows the question Joy raised during the synchronous web meeting with the Webheads:

> I want to know how can we make the students uhm understand how they can maybe put a piece of writing together cus uhm I I can always do lots of reading or uhm fill-in-the-blanks or they have to re-order the different paragraphs, ….

There were several suggestions that were offered. Gladys suggested the use of templates. She wrote "Perhaps you could create templates, and brainstorm the options with the class?...". Dafne suggested the idea of doing pre-writing activities before the actual writing task (Figure 5).

"I think that's when pre-writing activities ah play a great role because you can uhm brainstorm the words that they will use in the mother's day composition and they can write it in there in the classroom before going home and maybe they can edit after they have spent the mother's day with (their) moms and add some more information to their compositions because in that way they will be writing in the classroom and they nobody will do the activies for them and they can share words and ideas and then each one will write their own compositions. I think that's the best way to have them write their own paper."

Figure 5: Dafne's Pre-writing Activity Suggestion

Cindy's email sent to Terry is also an example of questions that novice teachers would normally ask a mentor:

> Speaking of study, since one of your effective ways to improve the senior students' English is watching movie or guessing statements from the clips of movie. Do you still keep the T/F statements sheets from the authentic movies? I do need them to create a new lesson. <snip> …But could you please make a little time to assemble the materials for me. (Email correspondence)

Terry responded and sent her movie scripts and corresponding comprehension activities (Figure 6) for Cindy's perusal. He sent her more teaching materials on various movies that can be used in teaching EFL to seniors e.g. Listening Comprehension activity and idioms from the movie "Pursuit of Happyness", which Cindy found to be both "very practical and fun materials".

"I'm giving you a choice of three movies to start with. I'm including the (1) listening activities and (2) Idioms and Vocabulary Explanations. I'm not sure what to do about the script. Should I send it now or wait until later?

1. *Losing Isaiah* (a rather heavy, thought-provoking drama)
2. *Serendipity* (a romantic comedy, not serious, but useful for studying English)
3. *Pursuit of Happyness* (an up-lifting, optimistic drama that takes place in San Francisco) (I mispelled "happyness" on purpose. You will find out when you see the movie.)

If you can't find any of these movies, please let me know, and I will send materials for other movies."

Figure 6: Screenshot of Terry's Message on Teaching Materials

Scaffolding

Scaffolding is an interim support to learners in areas where they need help (Collins, et al, 1989). One way of doing it is by "providing learners with strategies of successful students" or "instruction tailored to specific learner needs based on current ability and interest" (Dennen, 2004, p. 815). The experts invited in the online chat sessions modeled their teaching strategies by discussing and showing examples of successful class blogs that they had done in conjunction with a writing class project that they had completed. Teresa wrote in the text chat area, "Joy, take a look at the T-S blog I did with my students for 1.5 years and see if you get any ideas. Communicating with kids in different schools and countries is a way of writing with a purpose. Here's the URL…" Dafne also did the same to show Joy an article where she discussed in detail how she worked on a storytelling project for K-12, "I did some work with storytelling - with K-12 students and this is an article about it."

Terry also used his students' success stories in learning the English language and Cindy learned some strategies (from learners' perspectives) that she could use. Terry's students came up with five points that they thought are good techniques or strategies that they use to learn English: 1) the use of idioms in context, 2) audio books, 3) idiom dialogues, 4) discussions with classmates at a similar level of proficiency, and 5) watching movies many times.

Words of compliment and appreciation that Terry wrote in his emails and blog messages provided emotional scaffolding for Cindy as she worked on improving her teaching skills:

I have posted my opinion about your lessons and skit on your blog. I like your class so much! I'm very impressed by your teaching and by your students. You are a wonderful teacher. Thanks so much for sharing the DVD with me. I can't begin to tell you how wonderful your lessons made me feel!(Terry's email correspondence)

Cindy posted a blog entry where she wrote how much she appreciated the positive comments made by Terry:

I like the words that Terry described, "You have warm relationship with your students and the class was joyful." I like that expression. I suppose Terry also has a wonderful class; as I can see he is a very caring and warm teacher too.

Articulation

Articulation is a part of cognitive apprenticeship where students express what they know, why they think so (reasoning), how they solve or decide on issues related to what they are facing (Collins et al., 1989). The online chat sessions with the experts (Figure 7), email exchanges, and blog entries used in this study provided Joy and Cindy with venues to articulate their thoughts and feelings about their teaching contexts.

Text/Voice Chat Transcript- Wrapping Up

Table :	Joy's Synchronous Text/Voice Chat Session Transcript 8
Joy (Voice)	I think I have a conclusion for tonight, that is maybe before I try to train my students to do serious writing I can have them interesting- *to be interested in the writing classes and I believe before I was not, before all I did was to ask my students to write to- about other people or other situations. I think writing is really more a way to communicate with people besides speaking. I totally forgot about this. I'm really happy that today's discussion I realize this* and I hope it's not too late.
Teresa (Text)	we're always learning how to teach better, Joy! it's a lifelong process
Gladys Baya (Text)	I like the idea of a "well-laid time", Tere, I believe it helps set learning aims for the project!
Teresa (Text)	in this case it had to be so. we had a topic and different phases. they also need a lot of guidance, but it works and it motivates them
Dafne (Text)	right, Joy

Figure 7: Chat Transcript

Both were engaged in dialogue with international teachers who are experts or well-experienced in the same area, which would not have been possible without use of these computer-mediated communication tools. The blog entries (Figure 8) that Joy and Cindy published on their sites are examples of blog entries where they articulate their thoughts.

Trial-Run with Aiden

Time: June 17, Friday, 15 GMT at Alado.

It was absolutely wondeful. I never had any oppotunities like this to dicuss teaching matters with teachers from other countries. It was surprising that we were all facing the same difficulties: teachers lacking the joyful spirit, students lacking the agressieve attitude, parents lacking the responsibility and time.

Now I know the problems do not only exist in Taiwan, and there are many people in Webheads who can help me find solutions to them. This helps ease my mind.

Joy

2009年6月9日 星期二

Rehearsal and Schedule for Last Week

June 8, I think the whole class had a very relaxed time today. We didn't learn anything new, but rehearsed the "Hen Skit" and reviewed the idioms with pictures again. In next class, we'll do the rehearsal with costumes on the stage; I hope everything would go well. We did run out of time to do the movie class, fortunately, my seniors students want to have an extra class that we can watch a clip of movie. So, the schedule for next week would be: Mon. June15 rehearsal, Wed. June 17 movie class, Fri. June 19 semester closing ceremony. Kau-Nan, one of my students would bring his notebook to the classroom that I can play "Joy Luck Club" movie with. And I'll set the "you tube" film before the Wednesday class starts.

Cindy R Shih

Figure 8: Blog Entries

Exploration and Reflection

In the process of exploration, learners have the chance to work on their own and come up with their own plan or ways of getting through a learning task (Collins et al., 2001). In this study, the participants were given the chance to digest what they had learned from the online sessions with the experts and choose a particular idea, a teaching concept, or teaching strategy that they could apply in their own classroom. Instead of simply adopting the experts' suggestions, they had carefully considered the things that they should implement, leaving out some ideas that they thought would not be suitable for their students. For instance in Joy's case, from the many ideas that were shared with her, she chose two learning activities that she could implement in her own classroom: (1) posting students' writings on a website and inviting other students from different countries to comment and provide feedback, and (2) in-class task-based activities following the "communicative approach".

In reflection, she wrote that she did not follow exactly what the experts had said, but instead she adapted what she felt fitted her students' learning needs better (Figure 9). By tapping into her students' first language, she came up with a matching-type activity where students had to match the English phrases with the Chinese translation. Instead of having the students do a Fill-in-blank activity, she decided to do a "re-ordering of sentences" activity.

"I got many ideas from the conference, but there it probably two ideas that I tired (sic, tried) to apply in the 2nd class:

1) Posting the articles/stories Ss write on a website to get feedback from learners around the world. (Which I am still working on—typing up their work and creating a writing blog)

2) Providing task-based activities. I was going to moving on to the next writing project after my first lesson, but after the conference, I decided I should spend more time on one task. This allowed Ss to create a writing piece by a less "structural" and more "communicative" approach to writing.

There are many ideas that "inspired" me to come up with the activities in the second lesson, though they are not exaltedly (sic) the same thing we talked about. For example, instead of giving Ss cartoons with blank dialogue box, I created a matching activity for Ss to match English with its translation. Instead of having Ss complete a fill-in blank worksheet, I made them do a "reorder the sentences" activity."

Figure 9: Joy's Reflections

For Cindy and Joy, blogging was used as an online space for reflection. The blog entries they wrote reveal their feelings about certain issues. Joy, for instance, wrote extensively about the local workshops that she had participated in and what she learned from them. For Cindy, the lesson plans or activities posted showed her organizational skills and creativity in working on them. Blogs as a reflective tool, if used in the way Cindy did, can be an effective means of providing oTPD.

Informal Mentoring in Online Environments

The characteristics of informal mentoring (cf. Chao, Walz & Gardner, 1992) as manifested in the outcomes of this study (Figure 10) show the relationship between the mentor and mentee which was formed as a result of chance or circumstance.

Characteristics	Taiwanese EFL Teachers' YG	Joy	Cindy and Terry
Design structure	Group discussions lasted for an extended period of time	Pre-determined length of time for synchronous discussion, asynchronous discussion in YG lasted for an extended period of time	Lasted for an extended period of time; after the synchronous meeting, conversations continued via email and blog
Catalyst connector to Network of experts and professional teachers	Researcher's access to Webheads CoP	Researcher's access to Webheads CoP	Researcher's access to NNEST-EVO 2009 session
Allocation of mentors to protégé (Taiwanese EFL Teachers)	Called for volunteers, assigned mentors based on teachers' needs and complementary knowledge and skills		
Participation in mentoring/coaching	Voluntary, based on mutual professional identity and respect	Voluntary, based on mutual professional identity and respect	Voluntary, often based on mutual professional identity and respect; which turned into friendship of peers
Monitoring procedures	No formal monitoring but followed/participated in discussions on YG	No formal monitoring during synchronous meeting but followed/participated in discussions on YG	No formal monitoring but followed conversations via email and blog; commented on class observation recording
Communication	Dialogue and open asynchronous communication	One-time synchronous discussion; open asynchronous communication	Continued dialogue occurred
Status in mentor/mentee relationship	Hierarchical status: Expert-less experienced	Hierarchical status: Expert-less experienced	From hierarchical status (Expert-less experienced) to peer
Mentor connection with protégé (Taiwanese EFL Teachers)	Personal connection of protégé to mentor through coaching, counseling and role modeling strategies	During the synchronous discussion connection of protégé to mentors was established but not enhanced although coaching and role modeling strategies were performed	More personal connection of protégé to mentor through coaching, counseling and role modeling strategies. Later as partners complementing each other's knowledge and skills
Commitment to the mentoring activity	Self selection based on personal and professional qualities, reciprocal benefit		

Figure 10: Informal Mentoring Online

The catalyst, i.e. the researcher, acted as the bridge that sparked the relationship between the mentor and the mentee. This was formed by tapping the researcher's network of professionals belonging to existing communities of practice, Webheads and TESOL NNEST-IS. The mentoring that took place in this study was done voluntarily by all the participating mentors and Taiwanese EFL teachers. The Taiwanese teachers were engaged in a learning process that allowed them to develop, and to perform in their own classroom what they have learned from the oTPD experience. They exhibited various cues that showed active learning whereas the mentors' input ranged from expressing appreciation to maintaining communication by sending feedback (Table 3).

Table 3: Mentees as Active Learners

Characteristics of Taiwanese Teachers' Input Cues as active learners
1. Analyzed and identified areas/skills needed
2. Took time to self-reflect
3. Shared and opened up discussions
4. Asked/gave answers
5. Explored mentor's suggestions by choosing a strategy that worked for them
6. Adopted/Adapted learning activities in their own classrooms
7. [For Joy & Cindy] set goals and worked on accomplishing them
8. [For Joy & Cindy] prepared and implemented lesson plans

Maintaining mentor-mentee relationships
1.   Expressed appreciation for mentors' input
2.   Established good rapport
3.   Showed respect as evidenced in the choice of words
4.   Maintained communications by sending response/feedback

Implications: Undoing Self-Marginalization

The research findings have several implications for Taiwanese EFL teachers and oTPD providers. First of all, it shows that teachers who are dedicated to their craft persevere in engaging in oTPD, and the effort and time invested in participating in oTPD can have positive influence on their teaching practice. Secondly, as shown in this study, these teachers would not have had the chance to experience learning from a group of international teacher-experts and from other local EFL teachers who were in the same situation. The ability to link people from different parts of the globe, the connectivity and the speed that makes this connection possible make these tools profoundly social in nature. Since the oTPD was geared towards meeting their professional needs, the outcome was highly positive. Finally, this study also reveals that oTPD efforts can and should address where the teachers think they need to grow as effective EFL teachers. TPD must be on-going as there is a need to update skills and reignite their passion for teaching to avoid experiencing job burnout. In other words, to become an effective EFL teacher, one must be motivated to gain improvements in professional skills, increase content knowledge, i.e., English language, stay committed to the profession, and keep the passion for teaching and learning burning. Engaging in continuous teacher

professional development can be a form of self-empowerment; improving themselves professionally can boost their sense of identity as language teachers, thus warding off self-marginalization.

For oTPD providers, i.e., school owners/administrators, this study provides a feasible framework that can be integrated into their teacher training and continuous development. For school administrators, retaining quality teachers should be a priority. A high teacher turnover reflects a poor image of the school. Providing TPD can make the teachers feel that they are being valued, that their contributions to the school matter. At the same time, school administrators can also use it as a benchmark when hiring, employing and retaining teachers who are dedicated to their own professional development. They should also recognize the effort made by teachers in their PD as it will trickle down to class performance and teaching practices. In other words, schools need to develop PD plans that are built around clear learning/teaching goals and outcomes.

Caveats

A limitation of the case studies (c.f. Stake, 2000) involving a few Taiwanese EFL teachers is that they may not be representative of the Taiwanese EFL teacher population's attitudes and practices towards oTPD, and outcomes from such endeavor could vary from teacher to teacher. Nonetheless, the case studies were able to show complex inter-relationships i.e., the mentor-mentee relationships between Taiwanese EFL teachers and invited guest online mentors and how they took place in an online environment. It was also grounded in lived

reality. The teaching and learning contexts were very much connected to what the Taiwanese EFL teachers do in their classroom, which have direct impact on their lives since they lived these experiences, they observed the process of their own learning and outcomes, and witnessed first-hand how their participation helped developed relationships and connections online and beyond.

In planning and implementing informal oTPD, flexibility is needed to be able to adapt to unexpected events that could come up. For example, the process of inviting online mentors can be time-consuming. It involved, in my case, sending messages to my network of communities of practice, awaiting response, confirmation of participation, planning/setting date and time of online session/webmeeting, etc. The asynchronous communications in the YG or blog also had their share of unexpected turns of events. Participation via sharing of experiences, comments, suggestions, etc. were all done on a voluntary basis. Dealing with silent participants must be done cautiously without sounding too pushy or desperate; constant friendly reminders, whether or not they were acknowledged, were necessary. Last minute cancellations or unexpected technical failure could affect the outcome of synchronous events. Technical scaffolding and coaching were needed to make sure that both the Taiwanese EFL teachers and online guest mentors were able to participate with a minimum of technical glitches. Experience in online moderation and facilitation is necessary in oTPD; the ability to make wise last-minute decisions during a live oTPD event is crucial in staying focused in achieving the set goals despite technology break-down.

New online tools for oTPD have to be integrated to keep up to date. For example, although Yahoo! Group is still being used today in the EFL/ESL TPD activities, there are other platforms now available. For synchronous webinars, Alado can still be used but Elluminate seems to gain leverage in terms of online presentation tools and applications, e.g. interactive whiteboard, web tour, and ease of use. Other free webinar tools such as Skype and WizIQ can also be drawn on in future research on oTPD. Various social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Skype, etc. are already available in mobile-web applications. From asynchronous chats in email-based Communities of Practice to video-conferencing/webinars, access to oTPD is literally within an educator's reach using mobile technologies. Teachers and TPD providers should consider what these new technologies could offer and how teacher development can be delivered in more ways than one.

METHODOLOGY

The data in this study were gathered using exploratory case studies: a focus-group made up of 30 Taiwanese EFL teachers who agreed to take part in the asynchronous oTPD and two Taiwanese EFL teachers in cram schools who agreed to take part in both asynchronous and synchronous TPD activities and classroom-based research. Yin (1984) defines case study as an empirical, ethnographic inquiry that examines a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context by using multiple sources of evidence. Lee and Yarger (1996)

claim that the use of case study in investigating the effects of teacher education programs on teachers' knowledge and skills provide researchers with the ability to gauge and describe the changes (if any) in their (teachers') teaching practices in different settings and stages.

Approaches to Analysis of Qualitative Data

Bogdan and Biklen (1982) define qualitative data analysis as "working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others" (p. 145). The approach is highly interpretative and it is the role of researchers to look for meaning and relevance from these data (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000). The qualitative data are usually text-based e.g. the outcomes of observation, interviews, or documents, and the data collection activities (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The raw data needs to be processed where the researcher corrects, edits, types up, and transcribes audio and video recordings. The whole process allows the researcher to interact with and reconstruct the collected data, thus generating some form of meaning, explanation or interpretation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The researcher examines and establishes meaningful thematic and symbolic content of the data via open coding, which is then followed by establishing categories generated from the coding are identified, described, and establish how they relate with one another (Ryan & Bernard, 2000). The researcher acquires a new understanding of the situation or phenomenon being investigated, constructs a conceptual model or a paradigm, and finally determines

whether there is sufficient data to support his/her interpretation. The last stage of the process is when the researcher translates the findings and interpretations in a report format that "closely approximates the reality it represents" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 57).

Research Procedure

In this study I identified and described patterns and themes based on the participants' online interaction and discourse. Analysis of data from video recording of synchronous webconference, observations, blog entries and email exchanges involved a continuous comparison of data from the case study subjects, Joy, Cindy, and the teachers in the Taiwanese EFL teachers' Yahoo! Group. I first created a database by editing the texts generated from transcripts of video-recording of the synchronous web chats, blogs as a reflective journal, analysis of email exchanges, asynchronous online discussions that took place in the Taiwanese EFL teachers' YG, and other relevant artifacts used in the study. By analyzing these data, I was able to establish emerging patterns and themes, categorized, interpreted, and finally worked on interpreting the results. The categories are based on three foci concerning Taiwanese EFL teachers in buxiban/supplementary schools as they: 1) undergo cognitive apprenticeship (modeling, coaching, scaffolding, articulation, reflection, exploration) and mentoring as they take place in online environments, 2) gain new knowledge, and 3) experience change in their attitudes, behavior, and practices.

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APPENDIX 1

Structural			
	Taiwanese EFL Teachers YG	**Joy**	**Cindy**
Form Online Teacher Professional Development	Asynchronous Discussion Workshop	Asynchronous/ Synchronous discussion workshops, (pre/post) class observations, blogging for reflection	Asynchronous/ Synchronous discussion workshops, (pre/post) class observations, blogging for reflection
Duration	2 months	5 months: Pre-oTPD (Needs assessment); Post-oTPD (Reflection)	5 months: Pre-oTPD (Needs assessment); Post-oTPD (Reflection)
Collective Participation	✔	✔	✔

APPENDIX 2

Core Features	Taiwanese EFL Teachers YG	Joy	Cindy
Content	Being a good teacher, motivating students, mentoring, etc.	Teaching writing to young learners	Teaching speaking to seniors
Active Learning: Cognitive Apprenticeship, Models of TPD in practice			
Online networking, scaffolding	YG- email-based discussion	YG, Blog, Email with expert/mentor/coach, Facebook	YG, Blog, Email with expert/mentor/coach
Synchronous Experts model effective practice, share advice, coach, mentor	X	✔Online session Platform: Webheads' Alado Webconference portal	✔Online session Online session Platform: Webheads' Learning Times Office, Elluminate
Asynchronous Experts share suggestions, opinions, & advice	YG- email-based discussion	YG, Blog, Email, Facebook	YG, Blog, Email
Documentation/ articulation, reflection	YG message board	YG message board, Blog, Email, video recording of class observations	Blog, Email, shared/discussed video recording of class observations
Practice & Exploration	✔	✔	✔
Feedback	Feedback/Comment on posted message thread	Feedback/Comment on posted message thread and during live session	Feedback/Comment during live session, blog comments' area, email exchange
Coherence	Consistent with their teaching goal		

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APPENDIX 3

	Joy's Expressed Attitudes/Behavior	Cues
Before	-I've just started my only new class at Garden this week; I need a little time to set up the class.	- Awareness of what her class needed
	- The topic I want to discuss: ways/methods/games/activities that help Ss learn how to write.	- Certain about what she wanted to learn -Focused on students' learning tasks
	-Look forward to the online lecture already!!! Talk to you soon.	-Thrilled about the online webmeeting to experience a different learning challenge

	Joy's Expressed Attitudes/Behavior	Cues
Practice	After the super busy two weeks of winter break, I finally found time to create my own blog. It's a brand new experience, just like being offer (sic) a place in an UK university.	-Carried on with busy work schedule -Acknowledged new learning experience -Hopeful despite feeling uncertain
	Not sure what to post yet, but hope that here will be a place where good things happen.	on how to begin using her blog
	Yes, I will try to apply some ideas on Friday. (But first of all I have to go back to read the copy of the on-line discussion because I was lost many times during the section.)	-Willing to try and take risks in doing a learning activity -Expressed recognition of difficulty
	I got many ideas from the conference…two ideas that I tried to apply in the 2nd class…Providing task-based activities. I was going to moving on to the next writing project after my first lesson, but after the conference, I decided I should spend more time on one task. This allowed Ss to create a writing piece by a less "structural" and more "communicative" approach to writing.	-Adapted and improvised ideas turning them into learning activities that worked for her class

	Joy's Expressed Attitudes/Behavior	Cues
After	I did learn from it so it's achieved part of the goal for my "TPD".	-Recognized learning achievement
	… I watched the tape after I recorded the two classes, and found there are many things I can improve: I said too many "ok, all right, now", I've got a hunchback, and I make mistakes when speaking English too…(there should be more, but I don't remember now).	-Awareness of new learning needs -Acceptance of personal weaknesses -Recognized need for improvement
	Despite of the "difficulties" I've encountered personally, I enjoyed the conference, and was very honored and grateful to have been offered this opportunity.	-Participated and embraced opportunities
	The "spirit" I have learned from this group that will continually help me to push myself to becoming a better teacher, a better-organized course planner, and a more responsible/caring educator.	-Observed and recognized the 'Webheads' spirit' experienced from both the YG and online discussion and its impact on her attitude towards her own professional development to become a better teacher

APPENDIX 4

	Cindy's Expressed Attitudes/Behavior	Cues
Before	I'm excited as well as nervous about getting involved in...I perceived this is an approach to learn more professional teaching skills for free.	Excited yet nervous; saw the experience as a learning opportunity
	Since this is a quite precious opportunity for me, I'll try my best and keep my blog up-to-date weekly.	Knew that she had to try and exert effort
	...there are some questions...what's the length of the passage would be proper? The contents would be relevant to my teaching experiences and classes...	Expressed questions; desired guidance
	I enjoyed the online conference, too. Although, I was scared of talking with "strangers" online before, I then conquered the fear.	Acknowledged her own fears and overcoming them
	I'll try out some new ideas you offered and share the information about e-mailing with foreign students and online exchange.	Was willing to try
	I have very positive thoughts about teaching and learning English through movies or DVDs. If you can please offer some materials that fit my seniors students whose levels are about 3 or 4, that would really do me a big favor.	Asked for help and support

	Cindy's Expressed Attitudes/Behavior	Cues
Practice	Also I did learn some great concepts and ideas through your presentation and the comments on the blog	Acknowledged learning
	I'll give you another DVD (the same copy) of my teaching class	Shared recording of class observations
	I applied the image-concept Prof. Terry D. offered in class practice... For example, if they picked pictures A, C, G, H and put them in the order they liked. They then started to describe what happened, who they were, where they were, when it happened. There were five groups working on this exercise.	Applied what she learned; adapted activity to fit her class's learning needs

	Cindy's Expressed Attitudes/Behavior	Cues
After	Thanks for all the comments, and I think what you are doing is going to benefit lots of people including me and students of mine.	Recognized benefits of this experience
	Thanks to the useful software and websites, modern people can take long-distance courses easily. For some who are computer challenging (sic), like me, it's a great opportunity to improve English teaching and computer operating skills at the same time.	Expressed advantages of using technology in enhancing skills
	I applied this idea in today's animal idioms review. My students all agreed this idea helped them memorize idioms easily. I've recorded the idioms review and described what I'm doing with that recording.	Awareness of post-activity effects on students; committed in teaching
	But they felt the conversations in the movie were kind of difficult to comprehend. I might give them part of the scripts previously and then play the movie in class during next semester.	Awareness of what went wrong in the activity and how to remedy it
	I'd like to continue using your movie materials while teaching.	Persistence in practice
	I think the project has opened my eyes to reach out further (sic) educational field.	Changed in attitude

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Towards a Global Citizenship: The Intercultural Competence Development of Taiwanese University Teachers through Short-term Study Abroad

I-Jane Janet Weng

INTRODUCTION

In the past decades, study abroad has been promoted as an efficient way to learn language and culture in a target language context. In times of globalization, many universities across the globe integrate various overseas study tours of different forms into their curriculum which allow students to immerse themselves in a foreign country to learn a foreign language and a foreign culture. Although most study aboard programs focus on students in undergraduate courses with the promise of more opportunities to develop their intercultural competence, there are some institutions in higher education and an increasing number of other organizations which notice the needs of faculty members or adult professionals who might also play an important role in the internationalization of higher education. Indeed, there is a need to encourage not only college students, but also adult professionals to have a global perspective and become more globally literate. It is unlikely that intercultural education can be promoted if university teachers from different departments do not have this competence themselves and do not believe in the objectives

and principles that promote intercultural education (Turturean, 2012). Moreover, many scholars (e.g. Alred, Byram, & Fleming, 2006; Byram, 2008, 2009; Guilherme, 2002, 2007) suggest that through international experiences and education, the development of an intercultural competence which combines cultural knowledge, attitudes, intercultural skills and culture-sensitive behaviors, would also facilitate an intercultural citizenship, which favors multiculturalism and equality. Such intercultural citizenship will be fostered when the "intercultural speaker" (Byram, 2008) acquires awareness of and respect for self and other, the desire to interact across cultures, and the understanding and skills that facilitate constructive, active participation in a cosmopolitan society.

To examine the impact of the overseas study journey on the development of personal intercultural communicative competence, many studies have been carried out with positive findings. For example, Jackson (2011) illustrates a case study of a young female college student who took significant steps toward a more sophisticated, cosmopolitan self and toward intercultural, global citizenship, intercultural communicative competence, through critical cultural awareness and experiential learning in a short-term study journey. Although the findings of most studies on study abroad are similarly encouraging, little has been done to explore the effects of short-term international experiential study tour on mature university teachers' intercultural competence and intercultural citizenship. A notable exception is Andrew's (2012) study of a group of professional staff members in an Australian university where the findings also suggest a lack in the provision of staff development in intercultural communication.

This means that, although there is a call to investigate the intercultural competence development that can be offered for faculty members, unfortunately, university teachers or professionals are rarely the focus of studies, especially when participating in short-term studying abroad programs. Given this dearth of previous research, this study seeks to expand the focus to investigate the learning experience of seven Taiwanese university teachers, who participated in a short-term international tour to a Catholic College in the U.S.A, providing information about the extent of intercultural competence they acquired through immersion in a foreign cultural context.

An Immersion Program in a Bounded Context

Starting in 2009, a faculty immersion program, Teacher Summer Study Tour (TSST), was initiated by a university in Taiwan to send their faculty members who had never studied in the USA and who worked in departments unaffiliated with English to attend a short-term study abroad program in a Catholic College in the U.S.A. The goal of the immersion program was to increase the university teachers' English language proficiency and intercultural competence as a strategy to make their own university more internationalized. From 2009 to 2013, 30 university teachers took part in TSST. The university teacher learners participated in the program as a cohort ranging from 5 to 8 members each year since it started.

As previous studies (Medina-López-Portillo, 2004; Viafara González & Ariza Ariza, 2015; Williams, 2005) have shown that contextual circumstances are one of the most important factors in influencing the intercultural learning

during study abroad, the present study begins with a short description of circumstances of the sojourn. Within the 4-week sojourn, the Catholic College in the U.S.A., cooperating with the home university, designed a learning program consisting of formal curriculum, short excursions, one-day field trips, homestay experience on weekends, and conversation with locals. The visiting teacher learners stayed on campus and dined with the sisters in the College convent three meals a day. There were more than 50 retired sisters living in the convent. They became one of the major counterparts in the host university as they interacted with the visiting teachers during meal time each day. Furthermore, an advisor was assigned and stayed with the visiting teacher learners in the dormitory. In addition to helping solve problems, the advisor played the role of practicing English with the participants in the dormitory. With respect to in-classroom learning, these visiting teachers attended a series of culture-focused lectures, covering a wide range of topics related to American Culture and Humanities, for three hours a day, taught by different professors in the host college. Field trips were also arranged, including visiting universities and colleges in the area, going to an outdoor concert, day-trips to several scenic attractions, local parks and museums, and attending mass with the sisters. In addition, a daily coffee gathering with the faculty members, friends, and alumni of the host institution was included in the program to bring the visiting teacher learners and local people together through casual talk, and a weekend homestay was arranged for them to experience American family life. At the end of the program, all visiting teachers had to deliver a presentation in English to share their learning with their hosts. After returning

to their home school, they were also required to share their learning experience with other colleagues, as well as submit a reflection report.

In the present study, the case consisted of seven selected university teachers, aged from 43 to 60, participating in the TSST program between 2009 and 2011. The selection criteria were that they had never studied in the USA and belonged to departments unrelated to English. The research question was "to what extent their intercultural competence can be developed for these Taiwanese university teachers through such short-term study abroad in the USA?" More details about their demographic feature are to be found in Table 1.

Table 1: Demographic Feature of the Participants

No	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
pseudonym	Louis	King	Bill	Susan	James	Wendy	Helen
age	51	46	60	50	50	43	46
sex	M	M	M	F	M	F	F
faculty	Whole-person Education	European & Asian Languages Education	European & Asian Languages Education	European & Asian Languages Education	International Cultural Practice	European & Asian Languages Education	European & Asian Languages Education
education	Ph.D. in Engineering	Ph.D. in Geology	Ph.D. in Economics	MA in Chinese	Ph.D. in Business Management	Ph.D. in Education	Ph.D. in Chinese
religion	Catholic	none	none	Buddhist	Buddhist	Christian	none
travel experience to America	never	never	many times, visiting family members and business trips	twice, visiting family members and attending conference	once, attending conference	once, visiting family members	three times, visiting friends and business trip
level of English	upper intermediate	advanced	upper intermediate	pre-intermediate	pre-advanced	advanced	pre-advanced
year attending the program	Jul-Aug, 2009	Jul-Aug, 2009	Jul-Aug, 2010	Jul-Aug, 2011	Jul-Aug, 2011	Jul-Aug, 2011	Jul-Aug, 2011

FINDINGS

From the data collected as described in the section on methodology below, all participants reported intercultural development to some degree; everyone admitted the short-term study program had a profound impact on them. They acquired not only the knowledge and skills to better interact with people of different backgrounds, but, more importantly, they had evolved to be more interculturally sensitive and were ready to serve people different from themselves at a professional level. From basic to more advanced stages, the intercultural competences developed through the program are identified as "Openness", "In-depth Understanding of Others", "Discovering and Applying Interaction Skills", "Critical Cultural Awareness", and "A Mindset of Global Citizenship". This personal expansion on their intercultural competence made them better understand what it meant to be a holistic teacher in a complex society, which might be a key element in fostering intercultural citizenship among young college students.

Openness

First, while the participants were well received and felt fully accepted by their hosts through the short-term study abroad, they changed their attitudes and became more open to accept differences between two cultures. For example, Helen (all names are pseudonyms) said, "*I learned to be more open-minded… It means having an attitude to accept different cultures*" (Helen, ZMET, 20120924).

The most dramatic change was seen in Louis. In an interview before departure, he admitted frankly the bizarre feelings he had toward Americans and said "*The foreigners look more like ETs rather than human beings. Although I know they are humans, I don't feel like they are. That's how I feel.*" (Louis, ZMET, 20120906) But, after returning from the short-term study abroad, his attitude was totally changed. He pointed at the last slide (as Figure 1) on the PPT he made for the final presentation before returning home and noted:

> I dared not to speak to them (i.e., the natives - author) in English because I perceived them as ETs. But, at the end, I realized they were not. So, I used the image of ET to represent that we could communicate and hold hand in hand…This is not only a cognitive understanding by reason, but my feeling...Emotionally, the feeling was very different in the heart. (Louis, ZMET, 20120906)

Figure 1: *A PPT Slide Showing Louis' Changed Attitude about Americans*
Note: Photograph by Louis (Louis, PPT, 200908)

Kinginger (2004) suggests that if participants are supported in navigating destabilizing, emotional experiences in study abroad settings, they may be more likely to be able to successfully negotiate differences. Such a concept is illuminated in this study by the fact that when being surrounded with support and love, these seven participants were able to cross the cultural boundaries by opening their mind to make friends and trust others. Through this short-term study abroad, the participants learned to embrace other people from different cultures and background with an open mind.

In-depth Understanding of Others

All learners reported they gained a better understanding of American culture. The learning happened in both the formal classroom and the casual encounters with their intercultural counterparts, such as when ordering local food in restaurants, watching local TV programs, attending local events, and being engaged in local leisure activities on weekends. When being exposed to a new experience or situation, the informants would reflect by comparing and contrasting the new one in the other culture with the old one in their own culture. For example, Helen talked about her experience of going to a symphony and how it was different from her past experience. Pointing at a photo of the music hall (as Figure 2), she compared two cultures:

> Their music hall is very casual, unlike the one in Taiwan which is usually very serious. Our orchestra performed only in the national theatre. In other words, art is art, and life is life. But, in Cleveland, their life and art seem to be naturally combined together. Besides, the music they

played was familiar to us, instead of something unfamiliar. (Helen, ZMET, 20120924)

Figure 2: *The Half-opened Music Hall in Cleveland*
Note: Photograph by Helen (Helen, photo, 201109)

Helen described in her report what in-classroom learning was like and how she benefited from it.

Most of the courses were first lectured by the professor for 1.5 hours, and then we would discuss it with the professor. To me, this kind of subject-based lecture was quite helpful. Because if I wanted to understand the contents through discussion, I had to first understand all relevant information of the subject in English; in that case, I could learn the knowledge and at the same time the language as well. (Helen, final report)

When immersed in a foreign context, the informants said they acquired a deep understanding of the foreign culture which broadened their horizons. For example, Wendy said, "*Travel is learning. On the trip, I saw different people and life styles. It is not necessary to copy their life styles, but it is a good reference. So, broadening my horizon is the biggest gain.*"

(Wendy, post-interview, 20120918) King said, "*I have a broader view of the world.*" (King, post-interview, 20120920)

From the data, it is evident that the diverse elements in the study abroad program, including the places, the people in the places, the arrangements and activities, and the characteristics of the context, afforded the participants an in-depth understanding of different aspects of the new culture.

Discovering and Applying Interaction Skills

Many informants described how they discovered new interaction skills or customs from their hosts in the target culture, such as hugging and greeting, which were applied step by step in new circumstances. For example, when adapting to American culture, hugging was a gesture that the visiting teacher learners discovered, learned and applied. At the beginning, they were not used to it, but, gradually, they began to adopt the same gesture when interacting with both the locals and their own colleagues as a way to express intimacy. In the interview, Wendy expressed that:

> You know we were not very familiar with each other at the beginning. In Taiwan, it is difficult for us to hug someone. But, when we were there, we hugged everyone, including our colleagues…Yes, with our colleagues…It was really not that easy. When I saw that they hugged the sisters, and the president of the College, it was contagious. With lots of freedom and joy, I gradually opened up. In German, this is called 'spontan', which means without thinking and spontaneously. (Wendy, ZMET, 20120831)

Although hugging is not a common way that people would greet each other in Taiwan, the informants adopted the new body language in the new context, feeling quite comfortable and natural about it. Through hugging, the distance between the selves and others became less. Interestingly, most informants stopped hugging right after they returned home. Susan concluded that it was not a part of Taiwan culture, and that if someone did it, people would stare at them. This shows how people's conception, attitudes and behaviors are mediated by different cultural contexts and the environment.

When applying the way Americans greet each other, it was compared to what was usually done in Taiwan. Helen found it interesting and stated:

I think it should be related to culture. For example, when Americans meet with each other, they would always ask, 'how are you doing?' But in Taiwan, no one would ask such question…We would directly cut into the subject and skip the greeting part. The question of 'how are you' would be considered as nonsense in Mandarin. But, they did it so naturally that it made me felt I was important…Maybe it is part of their culture, but lacking in Taiwan or Chinese culture. But, if we could apply it, it would be helpful in our interpersonal interaction. (Helen, Post-interview, 20120918)

After entering the new culture, Helen noticed the American style of greeting, and she learned to follow it when interacting with the locals. However, in American English, the question "how are you" is only a chance encounter greeting,

rather than an enquiry about the sojourners' situation, as it would be in Mandarin. It is difficult to understand the underlying meaning in English when emphasizing the linguistic or literal meaning. As suggested by Kuiper and Lin (1989), with a Taiwanese framework of reference, it is problematic to learn a new language without knowing the culture in a foreign setting. Helen was not the only one who applied the new greeting without understanding the underlying meaning; other informants also responded to the same question in a very formal way. James said since the sisters asked him the same question every day, he had to practice how to report what he had learned before he could answer the question. However, this casual greeting helped him reflect every day on things he went through, and consequently, it helped him think more about the connections between himself and others, by which he became more sensitive about the world around him.

The only exception in the cohort is King, who tried to avoid interaction with the locals because he felt frustrated by his poor listening comprehension. He also reported he was not very fond of the idea of homestay because he felt very tired in guessing the meaning of the conversation with his host:

> I didn't know what to say to them. I could not understand their accent. It was too fast for me. Although we were encouraged to chat with the sisters, however, I was not an extraverted person. If we were very familiar with each other, I could say a lot. But it would be very difficult for me at the beginning if we didn't know each other for long. Not to mention, I didn't know any sister there and was not a member of the church…I felt so pressured when I had meals with them. I saw other peers seemed to feel

quite comfortable in interacting with them, but it was difficult for me. (King, post-interview, 20120920)

Since King was not able to overcome the frustration of interacting with the native speakers, it was less likely that he benefited from the exposure to the host culture and the language. Also, when the learning experience of staying with a homestay was negative, King's self-confidence and self-efficacy decreased, which further affected his willingness to interact with the locals. At the end, he decided to withdraw from the interaction. The analysis of the photos provided by King in his report was more evidence of his frustration in building a rapport with the locals, since there were only 2 photos where the local people were involved. King's withdraw from the English learning in the process echoes Norton's notion on investment (Norton, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995). His lack of confidence, reserved orientation, and perception of non-Catholic identity curtailed his participation in the host culture and language learning, and, subsequently, his investment in the language learning through interpersonal interaction with the locals. Obviously, it is also naïve to think that, when joining a study tour, the sojourners will automatically immerse themselves into the environment and enhance their intercultural competence and foreign language learning.

Critical Cultural Awareness

Most visiting teacher learners continued to develop a critical awareness of both the new culture and their own culture. The data reveals that such awareness might be

facilitated by their own observational skills, enhancing cultural sensitivity, and a new understanding of the two cultures through comparison and reflection. For example, Louis said, "*Although they (Americans) were somewhat different from us, we still had many similarities. We could still communicate about many areas.*" (Louis, ZMET, 20120906)

Byram (2003) argues that a person who has intercultural communicative competence should be able to understand the relationship between his or her own culture and a foreign culture and critically analyze both. When the teacher learners were comparing and contrasting two cultures during the short-term sojourn, they became more aware of the cultures of the other and their own, as well as the world around them. This quality was found in all informants' interview transcriptions. For example, Susan said "*I kept comparing the new culture and my own culture, and by doing so, I learned something. I can understand what has been neglected in our schools, in our city, and in our whole culture*" (Susan, ZMET, 20120907).

Similarly, James compared and reflected on the two cultures. In the interview, he noted, "*We have perceived ourselves to be 'the country of refined gestures and courtesies' and the foreigners as 'the barbarians'. But I really doubt that we would be able to do as well as they have done if we were the host school.*" (James, ZMET, 20120910)

It is clear that when experiencing the differences and similarities between two cultures in this short international program, the visiting teacher learners not only changed their perception about others, they were also much more critically aware of themselves and their own culture.

A Mindset of Global Citizenship

Through the overseas short trip, the informants experienced cultural diversity in the USA and were hospitably accepted by the hosts. This new experience improved their multicultural competence and helped develop their sense of global citizenship. For example, on campus, they interacted with school administrators from different ethnic groups. On a cultural trip to the Amish village, they witnessed how this unique culture was preserved and respected by others. Guided by an Italian sister, they visited Little Italy and enjoyed Italian food. On weekend homestay or home visit, teacher learners were received by different host families of various ethnic backgrounds or a different religion. These rich cultural experiential activities provided these informants with opportunities to see cultural diversity in American society, from which they realized the importance of multicultural attainment and how people should embrace the differences and respect each other. As Helen wrote in her report about her visit to the Amish community:

> I rode in an Amish Buggy and tried Amish food in their restaurant. I was attracted by this unique culture…Although being a minority, their humbleness and uniqueness were respected by American society. From the trip, I experienced what is meant by multicultural accomplishment which was a very valuable lesson. (Helen, WR, 201109)

Similarly, Susan mentioned her observations of interaction between people with different ethnicity. *"I found there was a basic respect for different ethnic groups. In fact,*

there were many black Americans. I observed how they interacted with their black colleagues and the friendship between them. I really felt it was great" (Susan, post-interview, 20110920). The most direct experience which had an impact on them was the hospitality that they received from their hosts. When the participants were received by the people in the host school with love, trust and support, they not only developed a willingness to accept differences between cultures, but this new approach also led them to see and think more of their own understanding and acts in a critical way. Such hospitality from the hosts and their own reflections made the participants go beyond comparing the differences to actually committing to enacting intercultural citizenship (Byram, 2008) at work. Susan shared in the interview how the hospitality of the people in the host school had influenced her and how she decided to take action after returning home: "*Although I was from a different culture, they received me with such an open mind. So, I have no excuse not to do the same in my work place.*" (Susan, ZMET, 20120907)

Byram (2008) points out that intercultural citizenship education should be linked to foreign language teaching and focuses on taking action in the world, as a consequence of learning. He also reminds us that since the perspective of language teaching is outward looking, whereas many subjects focus on learners' own society, the action developed from intercultural citizenship should be beyond local, regional, and national, and include the international. It is encouraging to see that some informants in TSST progressed to a sense of global/intercultural citizenship as Byram (2008) indicates, which allowed them not only to be able to evaluate the cultural

practice of their own and other cultures in a critical way, but also prepared to take an action as a consequence of their intercultural learning through the intercultural interaction in study abroad.

IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

In brief, such a short-term international program when deliberately designed for university faculty members can have a significant impact in enhancing their abilities to negotiate between cultures. More importantly, the evidence showed that the advancement of their intercultural competence through short study abroad may lead to the development of their intercultural citizenship. For university administrators and program designers of the teachers' development, it is noted that the support and reception by their hosts and the disposition of these teacher learners were found to be closely related to the extent and direction of their intercultural learning in the foreign setting. To be most effective, reflection in forms of personal journals or individual and group conversation should be promoted to better facilitate their intercultural learning so as to make them understand the connection between diversity, equality, and what they can do as intercultural citizens. Before the trip, it is suggested there should be an analysis of the personal traits and the learning strategies of the participants. Moreover, an orientation related to appropriate cultural and language learning attitudes and behaviors in the new culture should be included, so the participants can be aware of how to adjust in a foreign

community in situations of challenges and difficulties. Such orientation should also be arranged in the host site for those who are prepared to receive the learners of different cultural background, so they too can understand the importance of affective support for the learners during their stay.

The findings add to current studies about intercultural development through short-term study abroad by identifying the commitment of faculty members in higher education to become more culturally sensitive in the classroom; that sensitivity might trickle down to their teaching practice. I would argue that, when universities aim to prepare students for cross-cultural collaboration and socially responsible careers in a global age, they should enhance the global citizenship among their faculty members in the first place. An authentic and rich intercultural short study abroad program emphasizing the quality of the host reception and incorporating diverse program elements as intercultural learning catalysts would be an effective strategy in fostering an intercultural competence which helps transform them personally and their teaching profession with new approaches for intercultural citizenship in a global community

METHODOLOGY

In this study, a case study was undertaken as the main research approach, with the focus on collecting qualitative data. According to Yin (2003), case study can be used to respond well, not only to aspects of "who", "what", "when", and "where" categories, but also to the "how" and "why" questions

which deal with complex operational links that cannot be adequately examined using experiment or survey.

Research Procedure

According to Miles and Huberman (1994), a case is defined as, "a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context. The case is, in effect, a 'unit of analysis'" (p. 25). In this study, the Teacher Summer Study Tour (TSST) program to a Catholic College in U.S.A. can be considered a "bounded context", as it is a finite system enclosed by time and by place (Stake, 1995, p. 2). For four weeks, a group of university teacher learners attended an immersion program in the host school. They were housed in the teacher dormitory and provided with an opportunity to understand American culture through formal curriculum, various cultural activities and interaction with the locals.

The TSST program case is distinctive in that it was tailored only for university teachers of mixed backgrounds unrelated to English and none of them had studied in any English-speaking countries. For the cohort, the program incorporated the notion of experiential learning through a variety of activities: field trips, short excursions, school visits, interaction with sisters and faculty members in the host school, and the opportunity to stay with a host family for one weekend. This study aims to attain an understanding of both the program and the participants' learning experiences through intercultural encounters within a specific context. Due to the complexity of the learning processes of the adult sojourners, a qualitative case study methodology allows for a more thorough

understanding of the actual practices and growth of the adult students.

Data Collection

Basically, there are three methods of data collection, which include in-depth interviews, Zaltman Metaphor Elicitation Technique (ZMET), and documents and artifacts (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993). Combining the proposals of Erlandson et al. (1993), a semi-structured question protocol was designed for the university teacher learners to gain an insight into their learning experiences and an understanding of the important elements of the program design which affected how the experiences were perceived. According to Wortham (2001), narrative inquiry is a self-constructed process in which the narrator selects the important events in life and interprets the relevance of the events and their meaning to oneself through verbal, written, drawn or photographed form. With the help of these guidelines to questioning, the researcher guided the university teacher learners to share their personal stories, so that their learning experiences and related issues could be further investigated. All interviews with the university teachers from Taiwan were conducted in Mandarin, the first language for the researcher and the participants, unless the informants asked to be interviewed in English. Each participant was interviewed for two to four times depending on the situation, and if follow-up interviews were necessary, they were conducted either in person, via Skype or via email. All dialogues were digitally recorded.

In order to yield more valid, reliable, relevant insights, ZMET (Zaltman, 1997; Zaltman & Coulter, 1995) was applied to elicit informants' hidden thoughts and knowledge. Proposed by Zaltman and Coulter (1995), ZMET is a qualitative methodology hybrid, which involves a visual image, provided by the informant, with verbal, semi-structured, in-depth, personal interviews centered around the image. ZMET has been adopted by many researchers in the field of marketing and psychology (Chen, 2006; Christensen & Olson, 2002; Khoo-Lattimore & Thyne, 2009; Ling, Yang, Liu, & Tsai, 2009), and was of benefit to this study in understanding the learning experiences of the visiting teacher learners. Since photo-taking is a common tool used by the participants to remember the trip and to share with each other during and after the trip, the participants were asked to share the photos taken during the trip which were most meaningful to them.

Based on the principles of ZMET, two stages were designed. In the first stage, each informant was asked to select 12-15 photos taken during the trip, which indicated their most impressive cultural learning experiences and which they wanted to share most with others. All informants were asked to send these photos before the interview to ensure that they had selected and reflected on the photos prior to their interview and to provide a preview for the researcher. Then, a personal interview was arranged.

In the second stage, the researcher used the following procedures and questioning guidelines:

1. *Storytelling*: Invite the participants to tell their story and describe how each picture related to learning on the study tour. The questioning guideline was:

- Please describe the picture. What is the meaning of the picture that is related to your intercultural learning on the trip? How do you perceive the meaning represented by the picture?

2. *Missed issues and images*: Ask the participants to describe any issues or images for which they were unable to find a picture, and to describe a picture that would represent the issue. The questioning guideline was:

   - Please recall any issue or cultural event on the trip which had a profound meaning for you, but for which no picture was taken.
   - Please describe the scene, as well as your impression and feelings about the scene.

3. *Sorting task*: Ask the participants to sort their pictures into meaningful piles, and provide a label or description for each pile. The questioning guideline was:

   - What is the meaning of each label in relation to your experience in the study tour?

4. *Metaphor elaboration*: Ask the participants to indicate pictures which best represent their feelings and impact from the trip. The questioning guidelines were:

   - Please describe the feeling at the moment that the picture was taken.
   - What is the meaning of each picture in regards to your life or job?

5. *The vignette*: Ask the participants to imagine a short movie that describes their thoughts and feelings about the experiences of the learning trip. The questioning guideline was:

   • If you were to make a short movie about your learning experience in the trip, what would the movie be like?

Each of the guided conversations took about 1.5 to 2 hours and was digitally recorded. Flexibility in applying the ZMET questioning guide was maintained in order to encourage the participants to construct their own story and to elicit more in-depth feelings and thoughts.

Thus, with this technique, the researcher was able to learn not only the initial thoughts but also the deeper meaning of the topic under research. When participants engage in nonverbal communication, rich stories can be elicited in the process. Participants' mental models can be further extracted from these stories. Zaltman and Coulter (1995) stated "these mental models reveal basic reasoning processes and develop deep, useful insights about consumers and their latent and emerging needs" (p. 49). The ZMET technique assists the researcher to dig deeper into the thoughts and knowledge of the participants, in order to understand the dynamics influencing their learning experience, and to illicit valuable and accurate constructs which might be missed or misrepresented by traditional research techniques. In addition to the previous techniques, unobtrusive measures were also chosen, including their PPT slides presented at the farewell party in the host school, and personal reports of reflection written after returning home.

Data Analysis

To get an overall sense of the data, the researcher had all interviews transcribed and engaged in repeated reading through the transcript data. During the data analysis phase, the process of open coding was applied. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), open coding is a conceptualization process that involves the labeling of phenomena which are identified as being significant in order to develop an understanding of what is taking place. A systematic and close examination of the data is done to identify discreet concepts through free codings, which then are compared to other emerging concepts and categorized in groups, based on similarities, to form sub-categories. Sub-categories are then defined more specifically in terms of general characteristics (properties and dimensions). Several sub-categories are compared and grouped to form categories. As described above, the researcher thus enters the world of the university teacher learners on short study abroad and uncovers the themes related to their intercultural development in a program which leads to global citizenship.

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